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– ARTICLE –

The Historical Archaeology of States and Non-States: Anarchist perspectives from Hawai'i and Vanuatu

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ABSTRACT

Pat Kirch's work throughout Oceania has been driven by the idea that islands lend themselves especially well to comparative analysis. Recently, Kirch has argued that the most elaborate forms of Oceanic socio-political hierarchy, ideological control, and agricultural intensification evolved in the Hawaiian archipelago, resulting in the emergence of archaic states. In Vanuatu, in contrast, elite power was much less institutionalized, and nothing state-like had emerged in the archipelago at the time of European contact. Starting from two very different forms of social organization, the colonial and post-colonial histories of Vanuatu and Hawai'i are markedly different as well. Archaeology has a useful role to play for understanding why this might be, especially since it can provide a perspective that reaches beyond the limited documentary sources available for people living on the peripheries of state power in the modern world. Materials from agents of the state living in non-state space, and inmates in a state institution are compared to explore the interpretive potential of a common thread of behavior, termed 'counterpower.'

Keywords: historical anthropology, Vanuatu, Hawai'i, anarchist theory

COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Pat Kirch's work in the historical anthropology of the South Pacific (e.g., Kirch 1984, 1985, 1992, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2007, 2010) contains an element of challenge integrated into the narrative, pushing us to expand the boundaries of research and to question our assumptions in ways that answer questions of broad relevance to the contemporary world. This body of work stands out among synthetic comparative anthropology in that it is not simply a matter of making cross-cultural comparisons based on assumptions about the nature of human history, hanging traits on a pre-existing narrative frame (*cf.* Diamond 1999; Frazer 2009). Rather, Kirch's work recognizes the importance of drawing on multiple lines of evidence to trace out evolutionary relationships between societies across Oceania. The Pacific region is seen as particularly suited to research in comparative historical anthropology because of shared ancestral populations (e.g., Kirch and Green 1987, 2001), and because islands provide useful units of comparison, though we must acknowledge transoceanic connections and variability within the units (e.g., Kirch 1984, 1997, 2000; see also Goldman 1970; Sahlins 1958). Comparison in this sense has a diachronic element to it, as what are compared are not snapshots of static cultures, but long-term historical trajectories of dynamic societies populated by human beings who were active explorers, manipulators of their environments, and socio-political and religious innovators (this perspective is especially developed in Kirch 1997, 2000, 2010).

With this in mind, one of the challenges implied by Kirch's work is that histories are never arcs leading to a predetermined end point, but subject to a continuously variable (if realistically circumscribed) set of possible dynamics across time and space, which can be explored and understood through the application of archaeological data (e.g., Kirch 2000: 302–325). One particular field in which Kirch (Figure 1) has been quite influential is in the 'rusty nails' world of Pacific historical archaeology (e.g., Kirch 1992), where the historical trajectories of Pacific Islands societies can be traced through the period when truly global networks of trade, religion, politics, and environmental transformation emerged in the region. Here, I would like to make a brief foray into the kinds of controlled comparisons advocated by Kirch, while also exploring some of my own ideas about power relationships in state and non-state societies in more recent Pacific history.

ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The word 'anarchist' tends to raise eyebrows, conjuring up images of leather-clad teenagers upturning police cars and generally causing chaos and disorder. However, anarchist thought has a much older history of both careful theoretical work, and practical application to social problems (e.g.,

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Figure 1. Pat Kirch mapping a domestic structure on the Big Island of Hawai'i in 2007. Learning the fine art of telescopic alidade and plane table mapping is a familiar rite of passage for many of Kirch's students, one which we carry on proudly when doing our own survey work.

Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Dolgoff 1971; Graeber 2004; Kropotkin 1902, 1926; Proudhon 1994; Scott 2009, 2012). Perhaps the best summary of anarchism comes from Peter Kropotkin's definition in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*:

> The name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being (quoted in Graeber 2004:1).

There is at this point very little archaeology explicitly labelled 'anarchist' (though see Angelbeck 2009; Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Nida 2010; Roby 2009). There is much untapped potential for dialogue between archaeological approaches and anarchist theory, especially for studies of social complexity and colonialism.

In many archaeological studies, the term complexity usually refers to increasing hierarchy and specialization within ancient societies, eventually resulting in the emergence of ancient states. Archaeologists who study social complexity recognize that this is not a simple, one-way process, as hierarchical societies emerge in environments where claims over power, wealth, and status are contested and often resisted. Nor are states stable structures, as socio-political entities can change dramatically through time while remaining arguably recognizable as the same unit. Archaeologists know that states are not so much a set of traits at the endpoint of a universal trajectory, as a set of dialectical mechanisms and processes experienced in the realm of everyday life, as well as historically significant events (e.g., Feinman and Marcus, eds. 1998; Kirch 2010; Patterson and Gailey, eds. 1987; Smith 2003; Yoffee 2005, 2010). Further, archaeologists in many ways have access to the majority of examples of non-state societies, that is, those societies without the entrenched inequalities, bureaucracy, and ruling class that are integral to everyday life in states. In part, this is because of the systematic and often violent repression or destruction of non-state societies by states over the last 500 years or more.

It says something about our habits of analysis in archaeology and anthropology that so many of our analyses of social complexity focus on the emergence of societies that appear 'like ours' (i.e., that become states). Further, it is problematic to structure any kind of comparative analysis by defining one of the phenomena in terms of absence

(non-state societies, i.e., everything that is not 'like us'). On the one hand that is one way that comparison works: you start from something relatively familiar, and work across to things that appear relatively unfamiliar. On the other hand, it is probably about time to start to experiment with frameworks other than the orthodox model for the evolution or emergence of social complexity, which might be called 'statist' for its tendency to associate prehistoric complexity most closely with ancient states.

Fowles' (2013) analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of the archaeology of religion provides a useful parallel. Drawing upon turn-of-the-century studies of primitive religion and social evolution (e.g., Frazer 2009; Morgan 1877), anthropologists often criticize a 'unilinear' model for increasing secularization through time as underpinning the study of religion historically from 'premodern' to 'modern' times (in Fowles' terms, 'A→B'). On closer analysis though, anthropologists have really developed and continue to rely on a more complex, cyclical model of return to a better version of the original form (which Fowles calls 'A1→B→A2'). In studies of religion, this model suggests that primordial forms of religious practice, however defined, were communal and emphasized group solidarity. Eventually, religion was co-opted by opportunistic individuals who used their connections to the supernatural to increase their economic and political prestige. The logical outcome of this is the emergence of the great monotheistic religions, with their coercive and at times oppressive tendencies to dominate and restrict human behavior. It is only in the modern period that, largely through the progress wrought by science we are able to throw off the shackles of religious superstition to return to a more communal kind of spirituality (Fowles 2013: 12–35). What was ancient magic, after all, if not a primitive form of science?

Just so with analyses of socio-political evolution. Far from suggesting that ancient states emerge as an end-point, long-term historical analyses of the state follow this same model of A1→B→A2, but instead of secularization, there is democratization. Primitive human societies were relatively egalitarian and democratic, with an emphasis on shared resources and ecological adaptability. Then certain individuals were able to enhance their power and wealth by developing exclusive access to certain resources, notably agricultural surplus, especially where land and/or water resources were limited. These processes were accompanied by the development of ideologies to legitimize inequality, with most early states characterized as relatively despotic in nature (e.g., Wittfogel 1957; Price 1994). Finally, with modernity, more rational approaches to social organization, and the separation of spheres of influence, especially religious, political, and economic, we have a return to an improved, benevolent, modern version of democracy.

Acknowledging this underlying logic of the study of political economy gives cause to re-think many of our assumptions about the evolution of political economies through time. Anarchist approaches to the archaeology of social complexity might turn the statist model on its head, by focusing as much on the spaces where states *did not* emerge, as those spaces where they came to dominate, as well as the ways that people living in state space worked to undermine the emergence of hierarchies. From this, we might develop a completely different multilinear model for the emergence of social complexity outside of, or parallel with, the evolution of states. Rather than seeing non-state societies as deviant, the exception to the rule, we might begin to look at examples of anarchic societies as adaptive and progressive along alternative trajectories with historical mechanisms in place designed to maintain relative degrees of equality, rather than simply those who haven't yet made it to statehood. One starting point for this is in analyzing those situations where state and non-state societies interacted with one another.

States have made it a major part of their ideological work to imagine themselves as the exclusive keepers of order, characterizing non-state spaces as chaotic, violent, and disorderly. In Western thought, this is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in Hobbes' famous (and oft misquoted) observation from Chapter XIII of *Leviathan* that life in a state of nature is 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.' Of course, such an observation is not only present in Western statecraft, but seems to be a tool many states use to belittle the lives and accomplishments of non-state peoples (e.g., Scott 2009). This has largely been a matter of propaganda, as anarchistic societies, i.e., those societies not having a state bureaucracy or centralized government, are in fact perfectly capable of maintaining social order, material comfort, and attaining an high degree of 'social complexity,' if complexity can be seen as the elaboration of material culture, ritual, and other phenomena which may or may not be accompanied by the emergence of hierarchies (Angelbeck 2009; Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Graeber 2004).

In historical terms, too many analyses assume that non-state peoples represent the 'contemporary ancestors' of those of us who live in state societies. As Scott (2009: 7–9, 117–119) has suggested for the hill tribes of Southeast Asia, there is ample evidence that non-state subjects have actively chosen to reside outside the bounds of the state for economic, social, spiritual, or other reasons. In other words, non-state peoples are not simply the backwards relics of the time before states emerged, but live in societies with mechanisms in place that actively work to prevent the centralization of power into what might become state institutions. This is what David Graeber (2004: 24–26, 35–36) terms 'counterpower', suggesting this is an element both of non-state societies, and of resistance within states (see also Crumley's 1987 dialectical critique of hierarchy).

The general tendency in historical studies to rely primarily on documentary evidence contributes to the tendency to interpret the past within a statist framework.

States dominate the archives in every sense of the word. Resistance, insurrections, and revolts only tend to appear in the archives when either successful or extremely disruptive. Minor forms of everyday resistance enacted by subaltern groups are generally not remarked upon. These kinds of acts have also been called the 'weapons of the weak', which can be found, 'in ridicule, in truculence, in irony, in petty acts of noncompliance, in foot dragging, in dissimulation, in resistant mutuality, in the disbelief in elite homilies, in the steady, grinding efforts to hold one's own against overwhelming odds' (Scott 1985:350). These kinds of acts generally take place outside of or beyond the attention of official power. Scott (2009:34, 2012:12–13) has suggested that for resistant, dispossessed, or subaltern groups of people, 'to stay out of the archives' has been a goal of sorts, as resistance that goes unnoticed is less likely to result in a violent reaction from state authorities.

This is where archaeology could potentially play a powerful role in uncovering evidence for what Hall (2000:198) calls 'subaltern voices.' Many of the acts or habits described above as the weapons of the weak are unlikely to leave a large mark on the archival or archaeological record. Archaeologists are accustomed to searching for much more subtle kinds of evidence, both in the ground and in the archives, and must do so if we want to find relevant materials. For colonial archaeology, there is ample evidence that even in the most violent, unequal interactions, colonized peoples were able to persist, adapt, and even thrive (e.g., Flexner 2014; Gosden 2004; Lightfoot 2005; Wilcox 2009). In the archaeology of total institutions (*sensu* Foucault 1995), the ability of even the most downtrodden to resist the power of the state can be thrown into greatest relief. Ethnohistoric evidence for direct confrontation with the state through violent or nonviolent protest or revolt, as well as more subtle clues only accessible through archaeology, such as graffiti, artifacts reflecting the use of contraband items, or even the landscape itself might undermine state power where it was most thoroughly proclaimed in material form (e.g., Baugher 2001; Burton 1996; Casella 1999, 2001, 2007; De Cunzo 2006; Flexner 2012; Garman 2005; Gibb and Beisaw, eds. 2009; Lindauer 1997).

There is a wealth of ethnographic and archaeological data to draw on for examples of counterpower. Graeber (1994:26–29) cites the Piaroa, from the Orinoco basin in South America, the Tiv, from Nigeria, and the Malagasy of Madagascar as examples of anarchic societies that actively prevent things resembling state power from emerging. One way in which this happens is by simply moving away or disappearing whenever something like state power appears, a strategy that Scott (2009) also notes for the highland tribes of Southeast Asia. Archaeological evidence suggests that peoples such as the Coast Salish of the Pacific Northwest of North America used various ritual behaviors as well as warfare to engage in complex interactions while avoiding centralization (Angelbeck and Grier 2012). Another anarchic tendency is to use the threat of witchcraft, either from unseen forces outside of the society (as among the Piaroa), or as coming from powerful individuals in the society (as among the Tiv) to make sure that the social order isn't disrupted by an excess of inequality among individuals (Graeber 2004).

For an archaeological example, there is the somewhat controversial case of witchcraft among peoples of the American Southwest. We must be careful about sensationalizing this because of misguided and overstated myths about primitive 'cannibals' that were commonly used as an ideological prop for colonial domination (e.g., Arens 1980; Obeyesekere 2005). However, there is ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence that suggests ritual mistreatment of the corpses of those identified as witches in Puebloan societies (Fowles 2014). It may be that, as Graeber (2004:27–28) suggests for the Tiv, the accusation of witchcraft was used as a means to punish those seen as on their way to becoming too powerful. The threat of witchcraft may even have been a way to prevent people from wanting to pursue wealth and power in the first place, as individuals tried to avoid the most powerful positions, since the priest executing the Puebloan witch might himself be the next to be accused of witchcraft (Fowles 2014:168–170).

The issue of violence must be raised here. Social violence appears to be associated with the perceived purpose of maintaining the social order. There is some indication in archaeological and ethnographic analyses of a fundamental difference between egalitarian societies, which direct violence inwards to accomplish this, and hierarchical societies, especially modern states, which direct violence outwards towards cultural others constructed on the basis of behavioral difference (e.g., Clastres 1989, 1994; Foucault 1995; Fowles 2014). Violence of a society directed at its own members tends to be quite limited in nature and extent, usually tending towards the symbolic. With that in mind, we must be careful of falling back on the myths of either the peace-loving, egalitarian native, or his evil twin, the bloodthirsty savage. We can't assume that egalitarian equates with peaceful, and hierarchical with violent, or vice versa. Violence, however, may be a critical marker of the interactions between state and non-state societies worthy of close contextual analysis. Todorov (1984:143–145) draws the distinction between 'sacrifice societies,' such as the Aztec, and 'massacre societies', such as the Spanish *Conquistadores*. Sacrifice societies use ritualized violence to maintain the social order. Massacre societies, on the other hand, emerge where a dehumanized cultural other can be tortured and killed with impunity. European colonial encounters, by Todorov's logic, bred massacre societies. Todorov's argument is essentially that, away from the metropole, colonial agents may embark on bouts of violence that would be unthinkable at home, with the most extreme examples happening where the victims are identified as barely human (see also Fowles 2014).

It is here that an anarchist approach to historical archaeology might be brought in to the discussion. Is there

a tendency for colonial violence to be more dramatic, or to take on different forms when the colonizers come into contact with independently developed states or anarchic societies? What else happens when expansionistic state societies complete with elaborate bureaucracies, standing militaries, and the ideological as well as practical mechanisms for territorial conquest come into contact with anarchic ones? Where might counterpower manifest itself in these interactions, and how might that be read through the archaeological record? What other phenomena can we read through an anarchist lens when analyzing archaeological remains from colonial encounters? As noted above, this is still a line of theoretical and methodological research that is new to archaeology, so this analysis is more about exploring an interpretive potential than coming up with any definite models or conclusions.

HAWAIʻI AND VANUATU AFTER CAPTAIN COOK

What kinds of evidence for counterpower might be found in the historical anthropology of the South Pacific? Specifically, can we use archaeological evidence beneficially to examine the interactions of states and non-state or anarchic societies? Here, I want to explore ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence from two Pacific island groups that had very different historical trajectories: Hawaiʻi and the New Hebrides (now called Vanuatu). For the purposes of comparison, the focus will be on the histories of these island groups after the arrival of Captain Cook in the 1770s, though pre-contact history is also relevant (Table 1). The analysis moves from general comparison to more specific interpretations of case studies within the two archipelagoes. Seen from an anarchist perspective, Christian Missionaries in the islands of Tanna and Erromango, Vanuatu represent state agents living in largely non-state space, while in the leprosarium at Kalaupapa, Molokaʻi, inmates undermined the intentions of authorities in a state institution. Archaeological remains can tell us about the different ideologies and practices of people from state and non-state societies through the landscapes and material culture of these places.

As Kirch (2010) has convincingly argued, Hawaiʻi represents what may be a unique example of a primary or archaic state to evolve in Oceania out of an Ancestral Polynesian form (the one other possibility being Tonga, Clark *et al*. 2008; Hommon 2013; Kirch 2010: 27–28). All of the elements of state power were in place when Captain Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, including centralized production, an incipient class system and state bureaucracy, and divine kingship supported ideologically by a state religion (Hommon 2013; Kirch 2010). These patterns were recognized by Cook and his crew, who note the kingly nature of elite life on these islands (Beaglehole, ed. 1967: 281, 613, 617). Of course, even in the Hawaiian kingdoms, traditions recorded in the 19th century indicate some mechanisms in place to challenge state power, including armed rebellion, when a chief's actions became intolerable to the common people (e.g., Kamakau 1991: 153; Malo 1951: 58, 195).

While there were chiefs in the islands of the southern New Hebrides, their power was often limited, largely through redistributive competition within and between districts (e.g., Humphreys 1926). Cook noted that no centralized political power appeared to extend much beyond the household level on Tanna (Beaglehole, ed. 1961: 496, 497, 501; see also Turner 1861: 84–85). That said, it would be an huge mistake to gloss 'simplicity' from this observation, given the great complexity and variability of Melanesian political forms (e.g., Spriggs 2008). There are superficially similar land divisions on Tanna, Erromango, and Aneityum when compared with the Hawaiian Islands (Spriggs 1986; Spriggs and Wickler 1989). Arguably, where Hawaiians used the annual ritual cycle of the Makahiki to collect tribute from the various land divisions, reinforcing the power of paramount chiefs (e.g., Kirch 2010), people in the southern New Hebrides used their divisions to promote chiefly competition, preventing any one chief or district from becoming too powerful. Where Hawaiʻi had one Polynesian language, the islands of the New Hebrides had over 100 languages and an equally variable set of religious, political, economic, and social practices. Where Hawaiʻi had been occupied for less than a millenium when Captain Cook arrived, the New Hebrides had seen nearly 3,000 years of human occupation (Bedford 2008; Kirch 1985, 2000; Spriggs 1997). Thus from the 1770s onwards, there are different starting points for the colonial trajectories of these two island groups. Here, the issue of comparing 'apples and oranges' should be seen as a positive one, as these starting points can inform the subsequent analysis of colonial histories and archaeological evidence

Table 1. *Some historical differences between the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and Hawaiʻi*

	The New Hebrides	Hawaiʻi
Initial Settlement	2900 BP (Lapita)	1000 BP (Polynesian)
Indigenous Languages Spoken	110 (probably more at contact)	1
Political Institutions at Contact	Variable, Heterarchical	Small Kingdoms
Colonial Politics	Joint Anglo-French Condiminium	Indigenous Dynastic Monarchy, then U.S. Territory
Current Politics	Independent Republic	U.S. State

for counterpower.

Turning to colonial history, there were again clear differences between Hawai'i and the New Hebrides. From the late 1700s until the early 20th century, Hawaiian people experienced a period of intense, and at times violent, colonial encounters involving the British, French, Russians, and Americans. At times Native Hawaiians, especially the *ali'i* (chiefly class), actively participated in these 'adventures', using the outsiders for their own purposes, particularly within the realm of politics in the early days of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Kirch 1992; Mills 2002; Sahlins 1992). The United States government and associated groups of missionaries and capitalists were the most intrusive of the colonizers in Hawai'i. From 1795 until 1898, the islands were ruled by indigenous Hawaiian monarchs from the lineage of Kamehameha I. This government was periodically undermined by the incursion of various colonial agents, including missionaries, capitalists, and government bureaucrats, eventually resulting in the Māhele reforms of 1849–1851 that alienated the Hawaiian people from the land, the 'Bayonet Constitution' of 1887 that essentially nullified the power of the monarchy, and the arguably illegal annexation of Hawai'i by the United States in 1898 (e.g., Daws 1968; Kame'elehiwa 1992; Kuykendall 1953, 1965, 1967; Osorio 2002; Sahlins 1992; Silva 2004).

Colonialism in the New Hebrides, in contrast, was much more remotely administered. Despite the presence of traders (e.g., Docker 1970; Shineberg 1967) and missionaries (e.g., Miller 1978, 1981, 1986) in the islands from the 1820s onwards, neither France nor England, both of which had otherwise serious influence in the region, showed a great interest in formalizing territorial dominion over the islands. There was some regional bickering among British and French colonists in the area, but the two nations were reluctant to engage with these. A joint Anglo-French 'Condominium' was formed in 1906, growing out of a joint naval administration of the islands, which was probably created to keep out the Germans, who had ambitions for a Pacific empire. The results were chaotic and ineffective, as the primary role of colonial government seems to have been to protect European land claims, while the relationship with indigenous people was one more of occasionally abusive neglect than conquest (Bonnemaison 1994: 85–94; Rodman 2001: 21–50).

KALAUPAPA: RESISTANCE IN THE INSTITUTION

Institutions of the state took on divergent forms in these divergent colonial contexts. In Hawai'i, the indigenous monarchy enacted various laws to assert its place as a nation capable of fending for itself on equal terms with any of the countries of Europe. One such law was passed in 1865. *An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy* emerged out of a concern for dealing with the 'leprosy problem' perceived by King Kamehameha V and his largely American advisers. Part of the act included a provision for the establishment of a quarantine station on the north shore of Moloka'i Island on the Kalaupapa Peninsula. The first inmates diagnosed with leprosy arrived in 1866 and the quarantine policy remained in place until 1969, as Hawai'i passed from Kingdom, to U.S. Territory, to the 50th State (Flexner 2010; Greene 1985; Inglis 2004, 2013; Moblo 1997; Moran 2007). During this time, thousands of people were incarcerated involuntarily on Moloka'i. In light of the analysis above, this 'exile in paradise' could still be seen as a form of symbolic violence carried out by the state because of fears about infectious disease, reflected in the Hawaiian name for leprosy, *ma'i ho'oka 'awale 'ohana* (the disease that separates families). The vast majority of people exiled to Kalaupapa were Native Hawaiians by descent. Generally, the ruling classes did not suffer as a result of the enforcement of the leprosy quarantine law. The one notable exception is Peter Kaeo, a member of the royal family who spent about three years in the institution before being set free in 1876, one of the only cases where this happened in the history of the settlement (Korn, ed. 1976).

Archaeological research on the early years of life in Kalaupapa, from 1866 through the 1930s, has shown the various ways that people living in the leprosarium undermined or challenged state policies in the realm of everyday life. The landscape of Kalawao, which is the earliest area inhabited for the leprosarium, provided a means of resistance, largely arranged as it was according to traditional Hawaiian, rather than institutional landscape patterns (Figure 2). Further, even where more institutional spatial patterns were present, material culture followed patterns more typical of Hawaiian villages than panoptic institutions (Flexner 2010, 2012). Archaeological remains of faunal materials suggest that people spent time collecting fish and shellfish for immediate consumption, and gathering non-staple foods (Flexner 2011b, 2012: 143–144). This happened despite repeated pleas from the State Board of Health to increase local agricultural production in order to reduce the expense of importing *pa'i 'ai*, cooked taro paste, into the leprosarium. Bottle glass artifacts recovered from Kalawao likewise reflect the choices people made that flew in the face of state decrees, notably regarding alcohol consumption (Flexner 2011a).

Evidence from domestic sites across Kalawao might be interpreted in unexpected ways using an anarchist framework. On the one hand, relatively uniform households might be seen as a kind of institutional normalization of behavior (*sensu* Foucault 1995). The presence of matched sets or wares that 'mimicked' those found in elite contexts (see Bell 2002) could be seen as indicating the socio-economic aspirations of Kalawao's inmates within an emerging consumer mindset for 19th century Hawai'i. Domestic architecture in the settlement was highly variable, with indigenous thatched *hale* persisting alongside introduced post-on-pier houses throughout the habitation of the settlement at Kalawao. To compare assemblages from within these households, we can turn to ceramics,

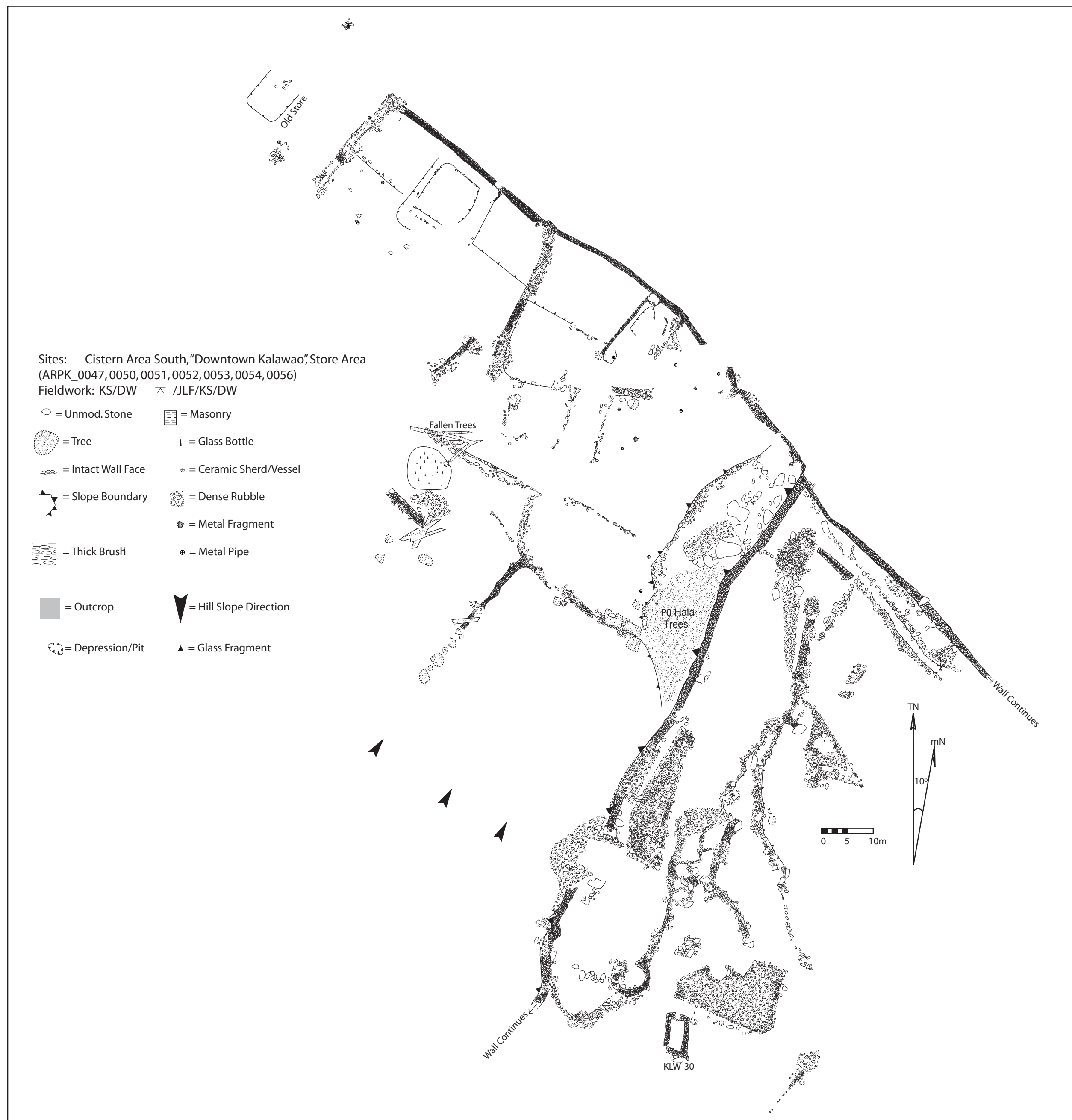

Figure 2. Composite map of archaeological surface features in a central area of the Kalawao leprosarium. The long, straight walls are interpreted as post-contact constructions overlying, but not completely obscuring the earlier Hawaiian settlement patterns. Note also the old store in the northwest corner of the area, which would have been an important locus of social activity in the leprosarium (for a more thorough discussion of Kalawao's landscape, see Flexner 2010, 2012).

which are an old staple of archaeological analysis (Flexner 2010: 159–212). The majority of ceramic wares from Kalawao were classified as whiteware (77%, N=279 of 364 total ceramic artifacts), a type of clear-glazed refined earthenware that has been manufactured from the 1820s through the present (Aultman *et al*. 2008). An interesting aspect of the Kalawao ceramic assemblage was the high percentage of decorated sherds (41% of the total assemblage and 46% of whiteware). Within the assemblage, the richness and variability of decorative techniques (Table 2), and especially colors, were quite high. There are 53 different color combinations apparent on 151 decorated ceramic sherds recovered throughout the settlement (Figure 3). Further, while half of the color combinations consisted of two colors (most commonly blue on white, which accounts for 17% of the decorated assemblage), 39% of decorated

Table 2. *Decorative techniques from the ceramic assemblages from Kalawao (KALA) and Vanuatu mission sites (TAFEA)*

Decoration Technique	KALA	TAFEA
Banded Slip	2	
Base Stripe Only	5	
Fake Shell-Edge	2	
Hand Painted	74	
Hand Painted, Stamped	5	
Incised	1	
Molded	11	25
Molded, Decal	1	
Moulded, Rouletted		2
Molded, Transfer Print	2	
Not Determined	2	
Rim Stripe Only	16	
Slipped	6	
Stamped	10	
Transfer Print	13	35
Transfer Print, Decal	1	
Total Decorated Ceramic	**151**	**62**

sherds had three or more different colors (to a maximum of five), notably the pink and green on white similar to the Lokelani pattern common from domestic sites in the Anahulu Valley (Kirch 1992: 109).

Variability of the ceramic decorations from feature to feature in Kalawao reflects a lack of 'normalization' within the community. There was a common preference for ceramic bowl forms adapted to Hawaiian foodways (which comprised 40% of identifiable vessels in Kalawao), a pattern also noted in Anahulu on O'ahu, and Hālawa on Moloka'i (Anderson 2001; Kirch 1992). Perhaps the form of vessels was a reflection of community integration through a shared Hawaiian identity, while variability in decoration reflects a tendency towards one of the less-explored realms of political dissent, namely an attempt to seek enjoyment in ways not sanctioned or expected by the ruling elite, especially when such attempts carry a subversive message with them (e.g., Graeber 2004: 72, 84). Perhaps for Kalawao, the emergence of a more variable suite of goods in the settlement represents the attempt by different households to carve out an acceptable life within the institution via consumer behavior. Consumer items were presumably obtained through the leprosarium's store, but were also likely brought in through more clandestine networks.

In other contexts where poverty is seen as a form of deviance, outside reporters tend to focus on the lack of material wealth in poor households, and Kalawao was no exception (e.g., Greene 1985: 182–183). State institutions of the type encapsulating prisons, almshouses, hospitals, and leprosaria were not meant to be pleasant places to live. They were meant to be efficient, bureaucratic solutions to perceived social problems. For Kalaupapa, outsiders and government officials alternately extolled the beauty of the surroundings and the good fortune of those exiled to Moloka'i, and decried the poor living conditions while claiming to be working towards improvements (e.g., Inglis 2013: 136–137), generally ignoring or downplaying the ability of the inmates to shape life in the institution. The consumption of a variety of colorful objects around the home may be a reflection of alternative systems of value as expressed in material goods that intentionally or unintentionally undermined bourgeois expectations about consumer 'taste.' Similar patterns have been found in 19th century rural Irish and Outer Hebridean households (Orser 2010: 89–98; Webster 1999). Perhaps what is emerging from these materials is a relationship between a community identity among Native Hawaiians in Kalawao, and a playful accumulation of colorful objects meant to alleviate the dreariness and desperation of everyday life in the institution.

TANNA AND ERROMANGO: MISSIONARIES IN NON-STATE SPACE

The New Hebrides was a site of much less intensive colonial government when compared with Hawai'i, though the islands did see a significant amount of colonial settlement before the establishment of the Anglo-French condominium. Presbyterian missionaries began settling in the southern part of the New Hebrides in the 1840s, though with the exception of Aneityum, the mission presence was not well established until decades later, in some cases not until the early 20th century (as was the case in west Tanna). Local interactions between islanders and missionaries in the New Hebrides sometimes took the form of direct, violent confrontation, with missionaries killed or chased off of both Tanna and Erromango on multiple occasions (Erromango became known to missionaries as 'the Martyr Isle' because of this tendency; Miller 1978, 1981, 1986; Robertson 1902). For this analysis, it's worth noting that the Presbyterian missionaries, like many other 19th century missionaries in the South Pacific, believed that conversion to Christianity also involved the transformation of outward traits of converts, notably in the realms of agriculture, domestic architecture, household goods, and bodily adornment (e.g., Lydon 2009; Lydon and Ash 2010; Middleton 2008). Working on the Moravian mission in Australia, Lydon (2009: 154–155) notes that an unspoken goal of the mission was to convert Aboriginal people into good, capitalist labourers who might form a useful underclass to serve the increasingly affluent settler society.

In other words, some goals of mission work were aimed at reforming non-state peoples into good state subjects. It is hard to attribute whether this is intentional or not. While Christian subjectivity and capitalist ideology, usually glossed together as civilization, were often closely

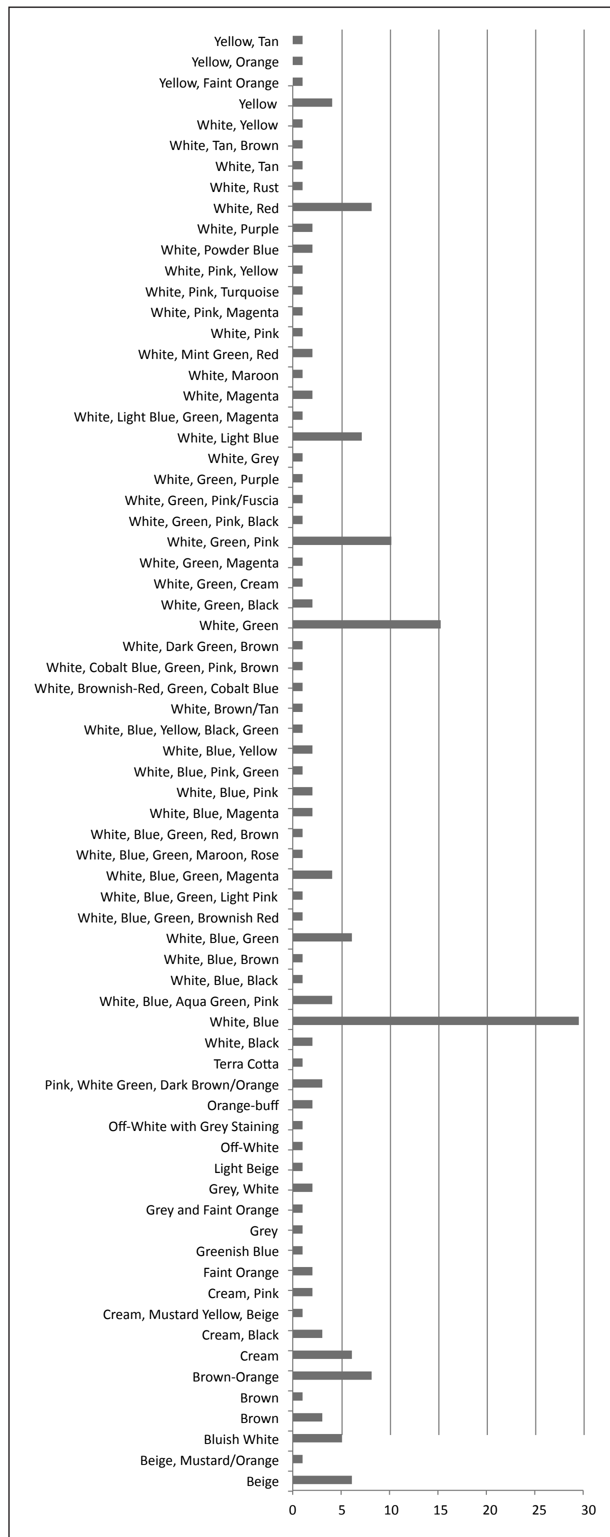

Figure 3. Bar graph showing the large number of color combinations on Kalawao ceramics, along with a photograph of a few relevant examples.

aligned, missionaries also often placed themselves in the role of 'protectors' of indigenous people against what they saw as the excesses of modernity (e.g., Keane 2007; Weber 2002). In the New Hebrides, this was clearest in missionary tirades against the labour trade, in which Melanesians left their home islands to work abroad, usually on sugarcane plantations in Australia or Fiji. While many Melanesians were voluntary participants in this system, missionaries characterized it as a 'slave trade' that only spread death, disease, and sin (e.g., Kay, ed. 1872). On the indigenous side, violent repulsion of missionary settlement could be read as an expression of counterpower, as non-state peoples sought to eliminate agents of the state from their lands. At the same time, Melanesians often courted outsiders, including sandalwood and labour traders as well as missionaries when they thought it might be beneficial (Docker 1970; Shineberg 1967; Paton 1903). Thus there is no simple characterization of missionaries as entirely devoted to the causes of the state, or indigenous Tannese and Erromangans as completely against. This is not terribly surprising, as the general pattern of external behaviors in relation to the state sometimes masks ironic countercurrents even within the everyday lives of specific people (Scott 1985).

Archaeological research on this period is still in its developing stages (Flexner 2013; Spriggs 1985). The interpretations below are based on ongoing fieldwork on Vanuatu mission sites, but as mentioned above, the point of this paper is more about exploring possibilities than reaching definite conclusions. Despite the preliminary nature of this analysis, there have been some materials recovered from mission sites in the southern islands of Erromango and Tanna that make for interesting comparison with the Kalaupapa material. Specifically, the missionaries can be treated as 'state agents,' keeping in mind the caveats noted above. They may have railed against the labour trade, but

missionaries were also among the earliest and loudest voices to call for imperial annexation of the New Hebrides by the British (partly, no doubt, to prevent competition from Catholic missionaries, who were backed by the French). Further, though missionaries didn't necessarily work directly for state institutions, they were active in propagating certain ideologies associated with modern capitalist states, such as private property, wage labour, and consumerism. Of course, resistance to these phenomena is also a part of this history, though this is a dynamic that we are only beginning to understand, especially in light of the 'non-state' interpretation of local social organization.

Archaeologically, limited test excavations at mission houses have shown the multiple roles that these structures played (Flexner 2013:16–20). One of the purposes was to provide a showcase of civilized life that might be emulated by potential converts. Domestic architecture has been found to be somewhat variable. In some stations, such as Robertson's mission at Dillon's Bay, Erromango, inhabited from 1872 through the early 1900s, there is evidence for massive investment of native labour in the house and mission landscape. In earlier missions, the houses tended to be more modest in terms of size and materials, with an overall expansion of house size and greater investment in building lime mortar foundations over time. Compared with Kalawao, the ceramic assemblages recovered from mission houses around Erromango and Tanna (Figure 4) reflect the kinds of plainer goods one might associate with a more ascetic form of capitalism thought to have been embraced by Calvinists and their Presbyterian ideological heirs (Weber 2002).

A similar percentage of decorated sherds are present in the Vanuatu mission house assemblages when compared with the Kalawao assemblage described above (N=62 of

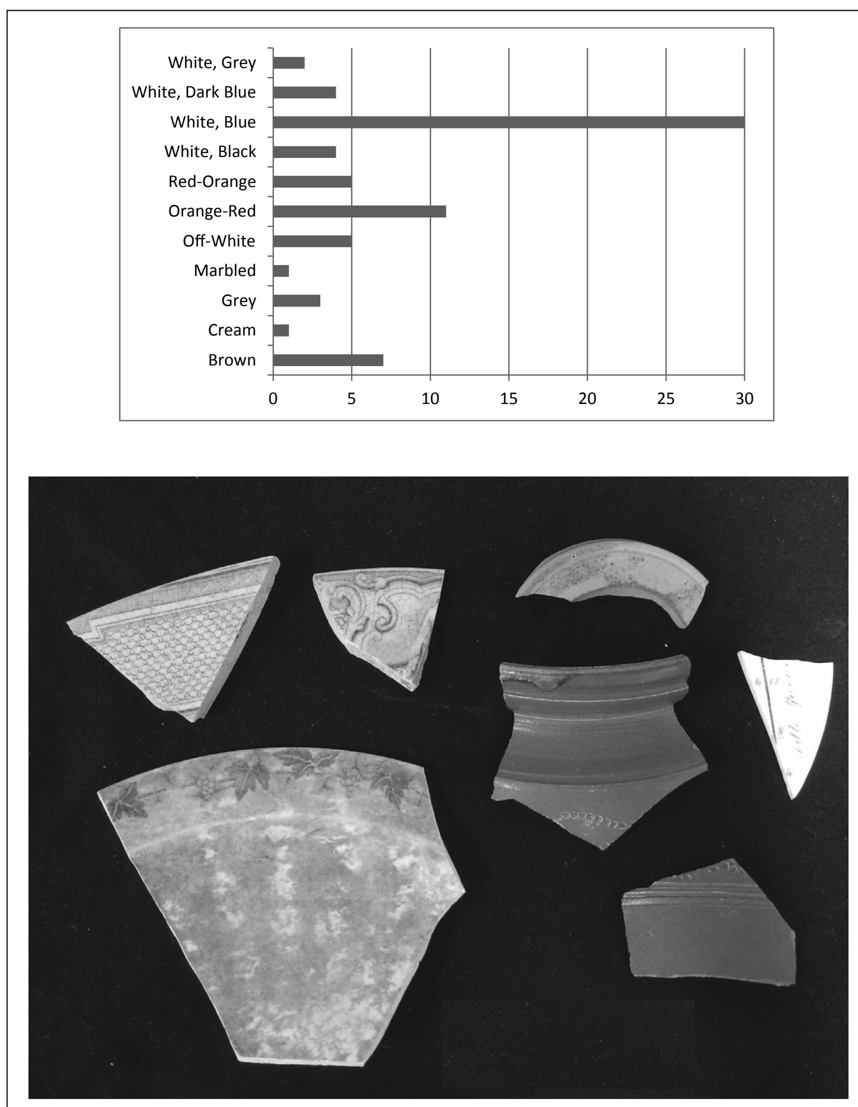

Figure 4. Bar graph of color combinations from Vanuatu mission ceramics, with examples of the plainer decorated ceramics from these sites.

142 total ceramic artifacts, or about 44%). However, the decorations tend to be much less variable. There are only three different types of decoration among the Vanuatu ceramics versus 15 for the Kalaupapa ceramics (Table 2). The Vanuatu ceramic assemblage contains a total of 12 color combinations on 62 decorated sherds (a ratio of roughly 19%), versus 53 color combinations on 151 sherds in Kalawao (a ratio of roughly 35%). No ceramic sherd from the Vanuatu mission assemblage had more than two colors. While field research on Vanuatu mission sites is ongoing, the preliminary assemblage suggests that the missionaries were much less eclectic than Kalaupapa's exiles when choosing ceramics for their houses.

A few limitations of this analysis must be noted. The majority of ceramics analyzed from Vanuatu so far (N=103 of 142 total ceramic artifacts) come from the house of James Gordon, missionary to Erromango from 1868–1872, so there is an heavy bias towards that one site. However, limited surface collections and excavations at other house sites suggest this is a broadly similar pattern among the different missions. If anything, ceramics from later mission sites become even more plain and uniform. Ceramics recovered from the Robertson house site, dating from the 1870s through the early 1900s, consisted of undecorated whiteware plates and terra cotta flowerpots. This raises the possibility of using variability versus standardization (or normalization) of consumer behavior as a proxy for how closely individuals' ideologies aligned with the capitalist orthodoxy of the 19th century. In the case of Presbyterian missionaries, this might be as much an issue of church as state, since Calvinist religious doctrine encouraged a kind of simple material affluence as a marker of God's grace (e.g., Weber 2002).

The second issue has to do with the degree of consumer choice available to Presbyterian missionaries in Vanuatu and Native Hawaiians in the leprosarium in Kalawao. After all, if one group had access to more variability in consumer goods in the first place, isn't this simply what the assemblages reflect? At this point, I would argue that the two assemblages are comparable on two grounds. First, both the New Hebrides missions, and the Kalawao leprosarium were pretty far removed from 'open market' situations, from the perspective of geographic as well as social distance. Second, where missionaries may have periodically had access to a full range of consumer goods on trips away from the New Hebrides, they appear to have selected relatively plain but relatively higher value transfer printed and molded wares, compared with the relatively lower value sponge-stamped wares that appear to have been popular in Kalawao. Again, I see this is a case of alternative systems of value, as the 'lower value' (from a capitalist perspective) wares of Kalawao may have resonated more with the consumer habits of that community than the plainer, but 'higher value' wares preferred by Western middle class state subjects. Of course, this interpretation could change if future research turns up a shipping manifest or other document for one or both communities that suggests otherwise, or if a more variable mission assemblage is uncovered. For now, the available evidence suggests it is valid to treat the two assemblages as reflecting consumer choices made within the limited possibilities of each situation.

A major line of evidence that remains to be examined is the circulation of imported consumer goods within indigenous households in Vanuatu. Initial research on local settlement patterns, notably at the site of Kwaraka in south Tanna (Figure 5), suggests a great deal of continuity in indigenous vernacular architecture. Nineteenth century artefacts from Kwaraka are limited to a few fragments of clay tobacco pipe stems and a single lead bullet, though there is still much excavation to be done at this site. Local oral traditions about Kwaraka note that Yeni Iarisi, a local chief, brought the gospel back to the village himself after an encounter with John Geddie, missionary to Aneityum in the 1840s. Where Christianity was adopted in the New Hebrides, it was heavily localized, and only succeeded where native chiefs accepted its presence. While the missionaries' religion was sometimes passionately adopted by local converts, some of the other elements in the package of civilization, such as mass consumerism and wage labour, were adopted less enthusiastically, if at all, and continue to be problematized in the local context.

There is much to indicate that patterns of land use and exchange on Tanna and elsewhere in Vanuatu continue to follow distinctly non-state patterns. Tanna's John Frum Cargo Cult is arguably a manifestation of resistance to capitalism and the extension of state power (among other interpretations; see Bonnemaison 1994: 220–256; Lindstrom 1993; Tabani 2010). The origins of solidified political movements centered around *kastom* (a term broadly used to refer to aspects of traditional culture in Melanesia) on Tanna more generally likely emerged out of unrest related to abuses of church and state power (Bonnemaison 1994: 201–219). On Erromango, the continued existence of the *siman-lo*, important communal meeting houses (Humphreys 1926: 156–158; Spriggs and Wickler 1989: 84), is likewise a reflection of the persistence of *kastom*, which has a complicated relationship with the state in Melanesia (e.g., Forsyth 2009). While much work remains to be done on this topic, there are at least initial hints that elements of counterpower are at work in the strategies employed by local indigenous communities in Vanuatu over the last two centuries to resist or undermine elements of modern, capitalist, state society.

WHY THIS MATTERS

Hopefully this analysis makes it clear that anarchist approaches to archaeology have a viable potential for producing alternative approaches to archaeological analysis, especially in relationship to assumptions about states. What anarchism brings to the discussion is a set of terms and concepts that allow us to discuss society outside of, in

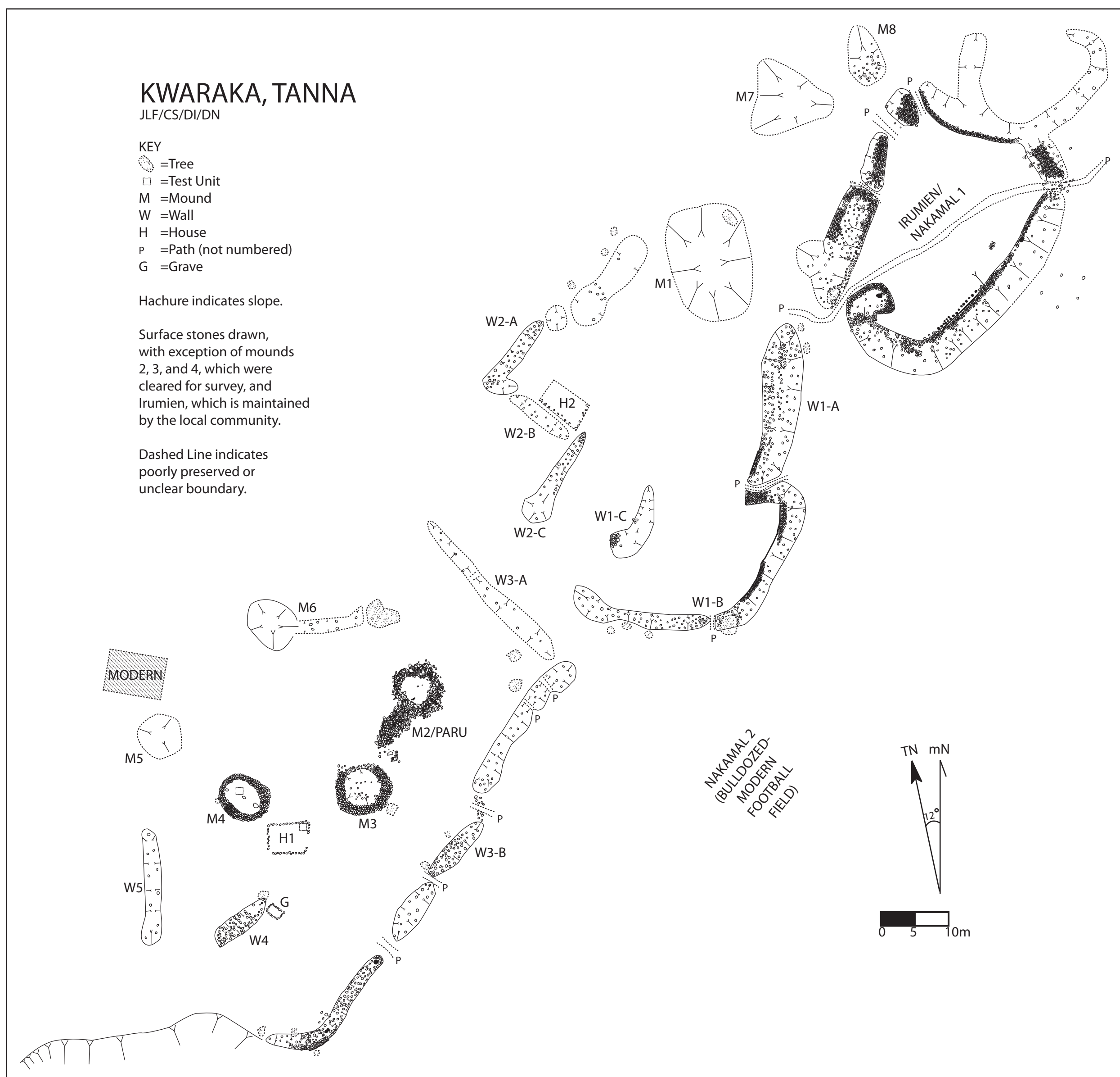

Figure 5. Plan of the native village of Kwaraka, a cluster of stone mounds (M1–M8), walls (W1–W5), and house foundations (H1–H2) that should provide interesting information about daily life for indigenous people on south Tanna during the colonial period (for further discussion about this and other sites that are helping to tell the indigenous side of the story of mission encounters in southern Vanuatu, see Flexner *in press*).

opposition to, and without the state critically and realistically. Further, the directness of these terms can help to give us new perspectives on the interactions between different groups within state societies, states that interact with each other, and states and non-states. Anarchist perspectives in archaeology can provide an alternative, but not separate or exclusive approach to interpreting our materials. This is not meant to be a wholesale replacement for the theoretical frameworks that are already out there, but simply another way of building upon existing stories about the past in ways that help us to examine some of our socially-conditioned assumptions. Specifically, 'counterpower' is more than just another vocabulary term thrown into an already cluttered theoretical landscape. Counterpower can be thought of as an active, creative force that works against the creation and maintenance of hierarchies. It is related to other terms, not least resistance, which archaeologists have often recorded as an important aspect of human behavior, and should continue to approach from a variety of perspectives (e.g., Singleton 1998). In terms of this analysis, resistance can be considered as more reactive, emerging from the application of social power, while counterpower was always there, preventing inequality from emerging in the first place.

In colonial situations, resistance and counterpower might be usefully distinguished, in order to tease apart those phenomena that came about as a result of the encounter, and those that were already extant. This raises the question of the extent to which evidence for counterpower might be an expression of cultural continuity in the archaeological record. In some cases, this would certainly be a reasonable expectation. But, interpreting change and continuity in the archaeological record raises some fraught issues. Methodologically, we can measure change and continuity in archaeological phenomena, such as artefact types. Theoretically, we must be really careful in interpreting what these dynamics might mean through time. Understanding the historical and cultural context is critical in such analyses, and we have to be careful not to base our interpretations on assumptions about cultural 'authenticity' (Flexner 2014). With this in mind, these three elements: counterpower, resistance, and continuity, should not be seen as mutually exclusive options, but entwined phenomena that were critical factors in shaping colonial societies. Historical archaeology plays a crucial role in this situation, because of its ability to find evidence for these phenomena that are often downplayed or omitted from official, orthodox state histories.

States, despite the proclamations, claims, and aspirations of their rulers, are neither perfectly ordered, nor historically stable, as historical archaeology often reveals (e.g., Hall 2000). Of course, states and their ideological proponents have always been apt to grandiose claims of spatial and temporal transcendence, and contemporary nation-states in an increasingly globalized world are no exception (e.g., Fukuyama 1992). This is precisely why an historical anthropology that acknowledges the role of people's counterpower when confronting the state is so important. Much of the violence that emerges from state/non-state interactions, whether physical, symbolic, or structural, comes from attempts by states to expand or assert complete control and discipline among actual or perceived subjects. This kind of attempt is often met with some form of resistance, either direct confrontation or more subtle forms of undermining behavior. The history of resistance to the state tends to be largely erased in the documentary record, either intentionally or through simple omission, as lists of rulers and events such as wars and treaties form 'concrete' histories, with the producing classes appearing as mere abstractions (Scott 2009: 33–34).

Given ongoing struggles over land, resources, and identity in Hawaiʻi (Kawelu 2007; Tengan 2008), and many of the difficult legal ramifications of state and non-state governance in Vanuatu and elsewhere in the Pacific (Forsyth 2007, 2009, 2012), perhaps we should consider listening more seriously to those who are signaling their unease with the potential of capitalism and state institutions to cause all kinds of social, environmental, and economic upheaval. Counterpower has great potential as an interpretive tool for colonial archaeologies couched in anarchist frameworks with a continuing relevance for the present. In examining evidence for the interactions of state and non-state subjects, a common element is the undermining of state-based projects. But the situation is more complicated than this. Not only do non-state people resist the incursion of state power through a variety of strategies, but these same strategies are available to state subjects: direct confrontation, avoidance, '[d]eception, desertion, evasion of census-taking or taxation, theft, sabotage, arson, laziness, and purposeful ineptitude' (Gailey and Paterson 1987: 10; see also Scott 1985; Singleton 1998). Just as anarchic societies might do their best to clog up the inroads of state institutions, for example by chasing away white traders and missionaries in the New Hebrides, state institutions themselves can be infused with a little bit of anarchy, as was the case with domestic life in the leprosarium at Kalawao.

Historical anthropology of the type advocated by Kirch (1984, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2010; Kirch and Green 2001), integrates numerous lines of evidence: archaeological, ethnographic, archival, linguistic, and environmental, to illuminate the evolutionary relationships and diachronic trajectories of the societies being analyzed. This kind of approach has much to contribute to our understanding of ongoing struggles between those who assert state power (or in the 21st century, corporate power, which is quickly becoming the same thing) and those who work to undermine it. Far from presenting history as a *fait accompli* in which we are stuck with our present conditions for all eternity, we can begin to see the kinds of pressures and movements that have shaped social life through time. Rather than labeling certain forms of counterpower or resistance that involve demands for environmental sustainability or social justice as 'deviance' or 'threat', we can begin to recognize that these kinds of social movements can in fact bring something positive into the world. With luck, recognition of the structures that counterbalance some of the more hegemonic tendencies of the state will help shape decision making patterns at all levels of society towards ones that are more egalitarian, as well as peaceful and sustainable in the long run (see Kirch 1997, 2007 for explorations of historical trajectories and sustainability). By examining alternative ways of understanding the past, we can begin to expand the 'realm of the possible' (Scott 1985: 326) in historical narratives, and at least metaphorically, in our narratives about the present, which is the first step in expanding the possibilities we see as available in the future.

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