Stone, Erin Woodruff. *Captives of Conquest: Slavery in the Early Modern Spanish Caribbean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021.

In *Captives of Conquest: Slavery in the Early Modern Spanish Caribbean,* Erin Woodruff Stone examines the development and evolution of the Indigenous slave trade during the Spanish conquest and early years of colonization in the circum-Caribbean. Focusing on Spanish imperial expansion from 1491 to the prohibition of the Indigenous slave trade in 1542, Stone argues that "the enslavement of and trade in Indians was central to the processes of conquest," helping "to construct economic, legal, and religious colonial policies in the nascent Spanish Empire" (2). Throughout Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Bahamas, Florida, the Lesser Antilles, Tierra Firme, and what is now the southeastern United States, Spanish exploration and the Indigenous slave trade fueled each other during this period, leading to imperial expansion and eventually the growth of the Atlantic slave trade. Borrowing from anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, Stone argues that the Indigenous slave trade began as a "structure of the conjuncture," or a period "when two distinct cultural systems collide to produce a moment in which multiple cultural schemas are present and interpreted in distinct ways." By the 1520s, however, Indigenous negotiation in the direction of the trade had largely diminished and the Caribbean shifted to what she characterizes as a "shatter zone" of "violence, warfare, disease, and slavery" (6).

Drawing on methods from anthropology, archeology, and history, Stone combines her reading of Spanish documents and chronicles with archeological sources to create an ethnohistory that traces both the evolution of this slave trade and its impact on the Indigenous populations of the Caribbean. Organizing the book chronologically and, at times, regionally, Stone begins with a chapter-long examination of pre-contact conceptions of slavery in both the Caribbean and Spain. Stone illustrates the kinship ties, political alliances, and trade networks that existed between islands to highlight the deeply interconnected nature of the pre-conquest Caribbean, which she argues "helped to shape both the pattern of Spanish conquest and the development of the earliest indigenous slave trade" (13). Stone uses the remaining five chapters to illustrate the vacillating policy of the Spanish Crown toward Indigenous slavery, which was largely determined by the immediate needs of the empire or a specific region at a given time. Throughout these chapters, Stone highlights the various legal methods of enslavement, which at certain times included those determined to be "Caribs," those living on islands deemed "useless" by the Spanish because they did not possess gold, those captured through "just war," and those already enslaved and later bartered for by the Spanish in what they called the "rescate" system. As she traces the expansion of the legal trade, Stone also reveals the existence of "an endemic illegal, and undocumented Indigenous slave trade," which she argues "flourished due to the contradictory nature of Spanish laws, the distance of American territories from Spain, and the general ambivalence of Spanish officials toward the plight and legal status of Indigenous peoples" (5). Ending her study with the passage of the New Laws, which outlawed the Indigenous slave trade, Stone asserts that it was not moral arguments that ended this trade, but the empire's need to make the colonies stable and profitable.

Captives of Conquest makes many important interventions in the historiography of the conquest and early Spanish colonization. Throughout her detailed examination of the Indigenous slave trade, Stone illuminates important political, economic, and cultural structures in the Caribbean both before and after contact. This region, which remains largely understudied as a whole during this period, emerges not as a backdrop to the areas that would become Spain's first two viceroyalties, but as an area that was vital to the establishment of the Spanish colonial project. Importantly, Stone applies to the Caribbean the recent developments of conquest historians who move beyond the frameworks of Indigenous resistance, removal, or isolation to highlight the paradoxes of the early period of

colonization.[1] Stone illustrates the persistence of pre-contact political structures and connections between islands and regions to show "evidence of survival, incorporation, and knowledge sharing" among those who were impacted by the trade (9). Throughout her work, Stone also traces the complex and diverse ways that Indigenous individuals and groups negotiated the expansion of this trade at the hands of the Spanish. From the Taíno ideas that drove the earliest laws of enslavement in the empire, to the deceit and abandonment of enslaved individuals forced to lead colonizing missions known as "entradas" into both North and South America, and the numerous and lengthy rebellions that brought the trade to its final end, Stone underscores the instances where Indigenous groups influenced Spanish expansion and policies.

Stone's focus on the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century also makes an important contribution to the larger historiography of the Indigenous slave trade, which has remained heavily centered around the Dutch and British Empires in the seventeenth century. Stone joins a number of historians who are attempting to illuminate the importance of slavery and the slave trade to the early Spanish imperial project.[2] Building on this work, Stone brings together the history of the Indigenous slave trade with that of the African slave trade to examine the ways that they coexisted in the first half of the sixteenth century and influenced each other. Instead of viewing African slavery as a replacement for Indigenous slavery, Stone highlights the ways that these two institutions and their victims worked and, at times, rebelled alongside each other, fundamentally shaping the establishment of the Spanish Empire and its policies in the Caribbean. Stone's close and critical readings of a wide variety of Spanish documents and decrees from this period also vastly alters previous understandings of the size of the Indigenous slave trade in the Caribbean, with Stone's estimations of the actual number of Indians enslaved to be between 250,000 to 500,000.

Overall, *Captives of Conquest* is an impressive work that makes many important contributions to the study of the Indigenous slave trade, the early colonial Caribbean, and the Iberian Atlantic. The length and writing style make it an accessible work that serves as an excellent introduction to the largely understudied Indigenous slave trade in the Spanish Empire and the early colonial Caribbean.

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[1] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992); Camilla Townsend, *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept their History Alive* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[2] Emily Berquist Soule, "From Africa to the Ocean Sea: Atlantic Slavery in the Origins of the Spanish Empire," *Atlantic Studies* 15, no. 1 (2018): 16–39.