University of Nebraska - Lincoln
DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters

University of Nebraska Press

2016

Captives

Catherine M. Cameron

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/unpresssamples

Captives

| CATHERINE M. CAMERON

Captives

| How Stolen People
Changed the World

University of Nebraska Press | Lincoln & London

To Tien Fuh Wu (1886–1973)
and other women who have survived slavery

Contents

Illustrations

| Acknowledgments

I trace the origins of this book to an email from Jim Skibo in spring 2005 inviting me to organize a Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry conference for the University of Utah Press (Jim was editor for the series). Encouragement from Jim and Jeff Grathwohl, then editor of the University of Utah Press, allowed me to develop an idea into a long-term study. The participants in the Utah conference and resulting book helped enormously in shaping my ideas about captives and I thank them all: Susan Alt, Ken Ames, Brenda Bowser, James Brooks, Warren DeBoer (who also pointed me toward some of the illustrations for the book), Judith Habicht-Mauche, Laura Junker, Noel Lenski, Debra Martin, Peter Peregrine, Peter Robertshaw, and Ann Stahl. My many conversations with Brenda Bowser were especially helpful. I wrote the first chapter for this book as a fellow with the University of Colorado's Center for the Humanities and Arts (2009–10). The fellowship involved meeting biweekly with a group of scholars from across campus who were studying migration (that year's topic) from a myriad of perspectives: historical, political, literary, and anthropological. Reading and talking about our work was tremendously stimulating and I thank: Pompa Banerjee, Ozge Celik, Céline Dauverd, Nan Goodman, Kira Hall, John Leffel, Anne Lester, Deepti Misri, and Marni Thomson.

I wrote much of the rest of the book as a residential scholar at the School for Advanced Research (SAR) in Santa Fe, during 2010–11. The year at SAR was a transformative experience for me. I worked with a close community of scholars who came from a variety of disciplines. We met often to enjoy food and explore each other's research. My thanks to Jamila Bargach, Gloria Bell, Lucas Bessire, the late Linda Cordell, Sarah Croucher, Doug Kiel, Teresa Montoya, and Melissa

Nelson, whose careful critiques made a significant impact on the book. James Brooks, then president of SAR and a founding scholar of captive studies, was (and continues to be) enormously generous with his time and advice and I am most grateful. John Kantner, then vice president at SAR, was also a great resource during that year.

My archaeological colleagues at the University of Colorado read and commented on several chapters of the book during our monthly "archaeology lunch" meetings. I thank Doug Bamforth, Gerardo Gutierrez, John Hoffecker, Art Joyce, Steve Lekson, Scott Ortman, and Payson Sheets. Payson also provided me with a wealth of articles on slaves and slavery from his wide reading. Very special thanks to Beth Dusinberre of the University of Colorado Department of Classics, who generously provided comments on a draft of the entire manuscript. At the University of Nebraska Press, Matt Bokovoy and Pekka Hämäläinen offered many helpful comments for developing the manuscript.

Also in Colorado's Department of Classics, Noel Lenski's work with slavery in the ancient world has been an inspiration. In fall 2013 Noel and I co-organized a conference with the theme "What Is a Slave Society" and then we jointly taught a class on global slavery. Both the conference and class took my knowledge of the slave experience worldwide to new levels. I thank Noel, the conference participants, and students in the class.

Many people have discussed captives with me, suggested references, passed on news clippings, and recommended new avenues for research. Although I won't attempt to name them all, they have my thanks, especially for listening and being interested. Mary Brooks, Joy Margheim, and Lindsay Johansson did a wonderful job editing the manuscript, which greatly improved it.

Finally, my interest in captives was stimulated in part by my childhood "aunt," Tien Fuh Wu, whose father sold her into domestic slavery when she was just five years old. This book is dedicated to Tien, to all of the girls and women through time who endured slavery, and to those who not only survived but contributed significantly to the cultures they joined and the world in which we now live.

Captives

The Captive in Space, Time, and Mind

An arrow fell behind us. The enemy had followed us and had waited until we entered the *shapuno* [a large, thatched enclosure]. Other arrows began to fall: tah, tai, tai.... Meanwhile the *tushaua* [leader] of the Shamatari [the enemy] had already entered.... Not even one man of those in the shapuno was standing up. The old Hekurawe was there, dead, with arrows in his body; the Aramamiseteri, too, was lying dead not far away.... Meanwhile the men began to bring the women prisoners together. They held them firmly by the arms. They were many and they were young.... Then they [the Shamatari] raised their shout: Au, au, au, with a cavernous voice and we began the journey. We marched and marched.

—HELENA VALERO'S ACCOUNT OF HER SECOND CAPTURE BY YANO-MAMÖ, QUOTED IN ETTORE BIOCCA, *Yanoáma: The Story of Helena Valero, a Girl Kidnapped by Amazonian Indians* (1965).

Tuesday 22 April 2014, Nigeria. Terror grips northern Nigeria after "Boko Haram" kidnappings: Last week's kidnapping of 230 schoolgirls in northern Nigeria, which is being blamed on the Islamist group Boko Haram, has plunged the region into chaos. Will the victims ever be seen again? Chibok boarding school in the remote state of Borno was attacked last week by the militant Islamic group, who burnt out the school before

abducting its students. . . . The official number of missing girls has risen
to an estimated 234.

—JONATHAN MILLER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT, CHANNEL
4 NEWS, LONDON

In every corner of the world and through time people have stolen oth-
ers, mostly women and children. Helena Valero's account of the attack of
one Yanomamö group on another and the seizure of the defeated group's
women has played out over and over again for millennia. Media reports
a few weeks after the Boko Haram kidnapping followed a common pat-
tern. A Boko Haram leader called the girls his slaves and said he would
sell them or give them to his men in marriage (*Time Magazine*, May 26,
2014, 32). As I read these accounts, I recalled Helena and the hundreds
of descriptions of captive taking I discovered in ethnohistorical, ethno-
graphic, and historical studies during the decade in which I researched
this book. A nighttime raid, men clubbed to death or shot, women and
children hurried into a corner of the settlement by raiders, a long march
that many did not survive, and at the end of the march, a new life.

People around the world hope for the recovery of the kidnapped
Nigerian girls and as I write this, their eyes are on the spot in the bush
where the girls are believed held. For the vast majority of women and
children taken captive in the distant past, beyond the reach of histor-
ic records, no such hope existed. Not only were captives lost to their
families, archaeologists have ignored the importance of their lives.
This book brings this invisible class of people out of the shadows and
explores the contributions they made to the societies of their captors.

As an archaeologist, I hope this book influences the scholarship of
fellow archaeologists (as well as that of scholars in other disciplines),
yet this volume is not an archaeological study. Nor is it a study of
captives in a single society. It is a cross-cultural investigation of the
common patterns and variability in warfare, captive taking, and the
captive experience. It is a wide-ranging exploration of ethnohistor-
ic, ethnographic, and historical sources, as well as the occasional ar-
chaeological study, that focuses on the lives of captives in small-scale
("nonstate") societies around the world. Because many captives became

slaves, the slavery literature is an important component of the study. The broad comparative approach used here follows that of scholars of slavery, including sociologist Orlando Patterson (1982, 2008) and early twentieth-century scholar H. J. Nieboer (1900).

Small-scale societies rely primarily on kinship ties (real or fictive) as the basis for their social and political organization. They mostly fall into the category that archaeologists call "middle range"; in other words, they are not small bands or complex states. Service (1971) called such groups "tribes" (or "segmentary societies") and "chiefdoms." These terms carry outmoded evolutionary and conceptual biases and I employ them primarily when discussing parts of the world where their use is common. My focus on small-scale groups is partial, however. Captive taking operated on a large geographic scale that enmeshed societies of a variety of social levels and structured the complex relationships among them. Furthermore, captive taking did take place in band-level societies and at times I use examples from both band-level and state-level societies to support my points.

Captives typically entered captor settlements as members of a despised enemy group and their captors beat, abused, and mistreated them. They often remained marginal even after their captors married or adopted them. We might ask ourselves, What could these bedraggled, subordinate people contribute to the societies they joined? and Why are they worthy of archaeological interest? This book demonstrates that captives affected the societies they joined in a number of ways. Their presence created or increased social stratification in captor society. In small-scale societies where power derived from control over people, captives increased the power of their captors. Captives affected social boundaries in captor society by allowing captors to contrast themselves with their abject captives. Social boundaries were also strengthened when captives tried to conform to captor social practices in an effort to "fit in" and gain better treatment. My most important point, however, is that captives were a significant mode of cultural transmission and a source of culture change. They brought with them knowledge of new technologies, design styles, foodways, religious practices, and more that transformed captor culture.

I begin with a discussion of the pervasiveness and antiquity of raiding and warfare in small-scale societies, the source of most captives. I review the global scope of captive taking, as well as its selective focus on women and children. The next section defines captives and captors and discusses the scale of captive taking. The cross-cultural methods I use for the study are considered next, including a discussion of the concerns archaeologists have about the use of both analogy and the cross-cultural approach. Finally, I take a brief look at captive taking and slavery in the past and present. We have come a long way from the time when the majority of the world's people suffered in bondage, but the horror of the captive experience is still very real for far too many of today's women, children, and men.

Warfare, Kidnapping, and Captives

Most captive taking has resulted from warfare and raiding. Kidnapping was also common in many times and places, and the isolated herder, garden tender, or child left briefly alone was vulnerable. By proposing that captive taking was an ancient and almost universal practice and most often the result of warfare or raiding, I am, of course, implying that warfare and raiding were common, ancient practices (figure 1). Lawrence Keeley (1996) complained more than twenty years ago that archaeologists "pacified" the human past by ignoring the presence of warfare, especially in small-scale societies. R. Brian Ferguson and Neil Whitehead's *War in the Tribal Zone* ([1992] 1999) had launched a heated debate among anthropologists concerning the prevalence, frequency, and impact of war in small-scale societies. Ferguson, Whitehead, and many of the contributors to their edited volume argued that contact with Europeans created a "tribal zone" of warfare through the introduction of new trade goods, new diseases, and other factors, including an increasingly active slave trade (e.g., M. Brown and Fernandez [1992] 1999, 185–87). These scholars imply that before European contact, warfare in small-scale societies was uncommon and not particularly lethal. Countering this view of peaceful, precontact small-scale societies, archaeologists pointed to abundant material evidence of warfare in the past, including defensive structures, weapons of war, bodies showing
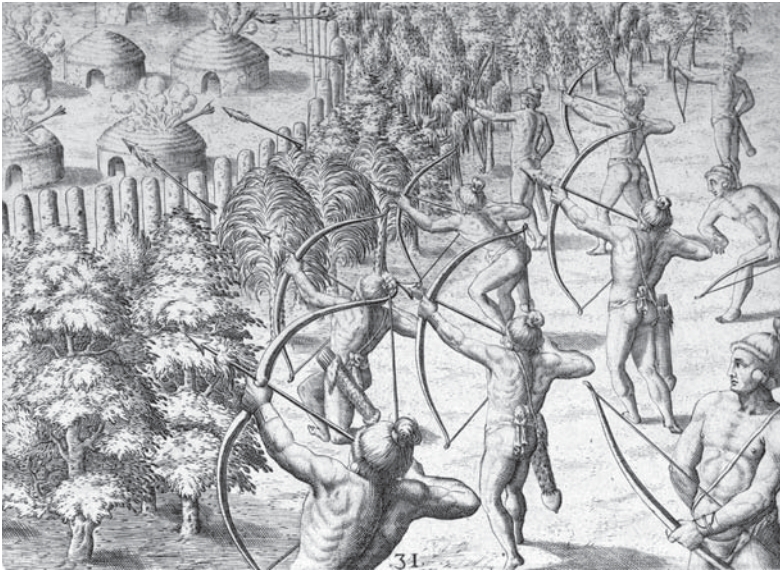
1. *Setting an Enemy's Village on Fire*. Created by Theodor De Bry, a Belgian engraver who reportedly reproduced paintings made by artist Jacques LeMoyne. LeMoyne accompanied French explorer Rene Laudonniére to Florida in 1564, where they encountered the Timucua Indians. Image courtesy of University of South Florida Tampa Library, Special and Digital Collections.

evidence of violent death, and iconography related to warfare (Chacon and Mendoza 2007a, 2007b; J. Haas and Creamer 1993; Keeley 1996; LeBlanc and Register 2003; Lekson 2002; but see R. Ferguson 2013).

In the course of this debate, archaeologists working in a number of parts of the world took up the study of violence and warfare and evaluated its impact on the societies they investigated (Arkush and Allen 2006; Chacoan and Dye 2007; Chacoan and Mendoza 2007a, 2007b; LeBlanc 1999; LeBlanc and Register 2003; Martin, Harrod, and Pérez 2012; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998). Surprisingly, few of these authors mention one of its most common by-products: the taking of captives. These studies, nevertheless, provide many insights concerning warfare in small-scale societies that are useful for understanding the practice of captive taking (Arkush and Allen 2006; Keeley 1996, 32–33; Guilaine and Zammit 2005; LeBlanc 1999; LeBlanc and Register

2003; Lekson 2002). Tribal-level societies, for example, typically engaged in small-scale raids, while chiefs often maintained groups of high-ranking warriors who undertook much-larger-scale warfare.

The taking of captives, especially women, was not simply a by-product of warfare but often a major objective of raids or war (Golitko and Keeley 2007, 339; Keeley 1996, 86; LeBlanc 2002, 362; LeBlanc and Register 2003, 71; see also R. Ferguson and Whitehead 1999; also raiding for wives, Barnes 1999; Bowser 2008; DeBoer 2008; Jorgensen 1980; McLennan 1865). The ethnohistoric cases discussed in this volume make it clear that prestige and the acquisition of captives are powerful motivators of warfare in small-scale societies. In some cases the taking of captives was one of the most highly valued results of conflict. While R. Ferguson (2006) and others believe that warfare in small-scale societies was conducted only for material gain of land or resources and was undertaken primarily by groups suffering resource stress, other scholars disagree. They argue that the desire for prestige and status, revenge, and access to women were powerful motivations for warfare in small scale-societies and also essential to the success of these societies (Chagnon 1988; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998; see also Bishop and Lytwyn 2007 for band-level societies).

There is no doubt that Western intrusion into small-scale societies increased the incidence of warfare, and especially slave raiding and captive taking. Western demand for labor in agricultural and extractive industries required a large labor force supplied in part by indigenous slaves who had been captured by other, more powerful indigenous groups (Gallay 2002; Thornton [1999] 2003). That any warfare was the consequence of Western contact, however, assumes that the "resulting transformations . . . occurred almost instantaneously" (Keeley 1996, 21). While warfare in every society was likely episodic and differed in intensity, it was a common social behavior long before contact in many, perhaps most, small-scale societies (Chacon and Mendoza 2007a, 2007b; LeBlanc and Register 2003). The earliest ethnohistoric accounts should provide useful data for exploring warfare in the past, but ethnohistory is especially important for the study of captive taking because the material evidence for captives in the archaeological

record will be far less obvious than that of warfare. Defensive structures and weapons of war are relatively unambiguous, but individuals taken captive may be seamlessly incorporated into captor society, leaving little trace of their origin.

Captives who were the victims of kidnapping, often taken in isolated events involving one or a few people, are even more difficult to see. I do not join Patterson (1982, 115–22) in distinguishing between "genuine prisoners of war" and kidnap victims. He classifies raids made for the specific purpose of taking captives as kidnapping expeditions. I argue that such expeditions have a variety of social and political purposes and I restrict the term *kidnapping* to small-scale events in which a few captors target one or a few victims (see chapter 4). For some groups, kidnapping was a common method of obtaining captives; for example, the Comanches of the American Southwest frequently stole young Mexican shepherds to tend the vast herds of horses they had also stolen. In some band-level societies, such as the Tutchone of the Upper Yukon of Canada, low population density (less than one person per one hundred square kilometers [thirty-nine square miles]) precluded anything we might call warfare or even organized raiding. Yet even here more powerful families stole or appropriated the women and children of their distant neighbors and enslaved them (Legros 1985).

Geographic Scope and Scale of Captive taking

Captive taking was so prevalent worldwide that one is tempted to second DeBoer's (2008, 234) "rash" suggestion that the practice was almost primordial (see also Patterson 1982, vii; Taylor 2005). Ethnographic accounts and studies of slavery provide a sense of the geographic prevalence of captive taking. Nieboer's (1900) early cross-cultural study reports slavery on every continent except Europe (he was wrong about Europe) and throughout the Pacific. Slaveholders made up more than one-third of George Murdock's sample of 186 world cultures (Murdock and White 1969) and these groups ranged geographically from northeastern Siberia to New Zealand and from central Uganda in Africa to the Great Plains of North America (Patterson 1982, 350–52). Both Nieboer and Murdock considered only those societies that

held slaves, but in many other groups captives were adopted or married into families. Cross-cultural studies of North America document raiding for women in a high proportion of Native American groups (Driver 1966; Jorgensen 1980; both cited in DeBoer 2008). Raiding for women and children is similarly well documented in a large number of small-scale South American societies (Bowser 2008; DeBoer 2011; Morey 1975; Santos-Granero 2009).

The Atlantic slave trade devastated and transformed the small-scale, "decentralized" societies of Africa, but evidence shows that raiding and captive taking were common practices among these groups from at least the first millennium (and likely long before) until well into the twentieth century (MacEachern 2001; R. Reid 2012, 19; Robertshaw and Duncan 2008; see also Lovejoy [1983] 2000; Meillassoux 1983, 1991; Thornton 1998). Warfare and captive taking also occurred throughout Europe prior to the modern era among state-level and small-scale societies, including among the so-called Germanic tribes and the small polities that formed after the fall of the Roman Empire (Bonnassie 1991; Lenski 2008; Patterson 1982, 150–57; Woolf 1997). Vikings raided throughout the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean, taking innumerable captives to labor in Scandinavian settlements or to sell to others (Helgason et al. 2000; Karras 1988). Similar maritime raiders were found across island Southeast Asia (Junker 2008; A. Reid 1983; Warren [1981] 1985, 2002).

War captives and slaves were common in ancient state-level societies (10–20 percent of Roman Italy [Lenski, forthcoming], one-third of the population of Greece from the fifth century BCE to the Roman period, 50–70 percent of Korea prior to the seventeenth century, and 15–20 percent of many Islamic states [Patterson 1982]), and ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts suggest that small-scale societies also included significant numbers of captives. Slaves composed about 10–20 percent of the population of the Northwest Coast of North America, although the number of slaves in any one village varied considerably over time (Ames 2008, 141–42; Donald 1997, 185–90). Chagnon (1992, 106) reports that 12–15 percent of wives among the Yanomamö of Amazonia had been captured in raids. Among six slaveholding societies

in "tropical America" (which includes Amazonia, but not the Yano-mamö) studied by Santos-Granero (2009), proportions of slaves ranged from 5 to 19 percent of the population, not including servant and tributary groups that made up more than 40 percent of some societies. In Africa, slaves ranged from 1 percent to as high as 50 percent of the population depending on the level of complexity of the group and access to trade routes (Kopytoff and Miers 1977, 60–61). Slaves were equally common in Europe. The Domesday Book census of 1086 CE reported that England's population of slaves ranged from 5 to 25 percent (McDonald and Snooks 1986, 16–17); in Scandinavia the typical twelfth-century farm had three slaves, suggesting a significant slave population (Karras 1988, 78). Similar proportions are found among the maritime chiefdoms of Southeast Asia, ranging from 10 to 30 percent (A. Reid and Brewster 1983, 161–62).

Captives, Slaves, Captors, and the Landscape of Captive taking

The term *captive*, as used here, refers to women, children, and men who are unwillingly (and usually violently) seized, taken from their homes, and introduced into a new society. Captive taking is a selective process, and captives most often come from the lowest strata of society as defined by gender, age, and social standing. Women and children made up most captives in small-scale societies (Cameron 2008a, 2011; Patterson 1982, 120–22). Adult males, who were a challenge to transport and manage, were most often killed in battle. Once separated from natal kin, captives could be bartered, sold, or captured yet again by another group. The captive role is temporary, and social positions eventually opened to these people. Some captives became wives or were adopted, and some became slaves; others occupied intermediate positions between these two extremes as concubines, drudge wives, household servants, or similarly marginal individuals (see chapter 3).

　　Slave and *captive* are overlapping categories used somewhat interchangeably in this volume. While not all captives became slaves, many did. Some slaves were born into their status and had not been captured, but Donald (1997, 117) suggests that, at least on the Northwest Coast, the rigors of life as a slave and lack of access to mates may have

limited reproduction. Patterson (1982, 132) disagrees but seems to be discussing state-level societies. Furthermore, among many small-scale groups, slavery lasted only a generation. The children of slaves were considered full members of the captor group and new slaves had to be recruited through raiding or warfare.

Scholars have spent a considerable amount of time defining slavery and arguing about the importance of slaves to the economy ("slave mode of production"; Finley 1980; Meillassoux 1991) as well as about what limits an individual must have on her access to independent action and the benefits of kinship in order to be termed a slave (Bonnassie 1991, 16–25; Copley [1839] 1960, 4–9; references in Davis 1966, 31–35; Engerman, Drescher, and Paquette 2001; Patterson 1982, 13; A. Reid and Brewster 1983). Because the individuals considered in this study occupy such a sliding scale of social roles, I will sidestep this debate. This study focuses on the effects of captives on captor societies; therefore, determining whether captives are considered "slaves" is less important than assessing the nature of the social roles captives played in captor society (Bowser 2008; Brooks 2002).

I use the terms *captor* and *captor society* often in this volume. Because captives are most often taken during raids or warfare, captors are commonly male warriors. But the face of the captor can change. Warriors may be required to hand over their captives to a chief or the individual who financed the raid. Warriors may give captives to female relatives or to others as a gift. Captives may be traded almost immediately to another group. In the discussion that follows, the captor is the person who initially takes the captive but also those individuals or groups ("captor society") that hold the captive during her lifetime and to whom she passes elements of her natal culture.

Captive taking took place at a large geographic scale and is only one of the processes, including marriage, migration, and refugee situations, that moved people around the landscape. "Predatory landscapes" (Bowser 2008; Stahl 2008) could enmesh societies of all social levels. Larger, more complex societies typically raided their smaller, less complex neighbors, but such relations could also be reversed, with the raided becoming the raiders (for Africa, see MacEachern 2001; Morrissey

Buy the Book

1984; Robertshaw and Duncan 2008; for the American Southeast, see Bowne 2005, 2009; Gallay 2002, 40–69; Meyers 2009). The large geographic scale of slavery provides another reason for scholars to avoid conceptualizing historic or prehistoric groups as bounded social entities that persisted through time (Stahl 1999, 2008, 31; see chapter 5).

Raiding, warfare, and captive taking could dramatically affect cultural landscapes by changing settlement patterns, remaking ethnic affiliations, stimulating sociopolitical development, and reworking social relationships. Relations between predatory societies and the groups they raided were at times asymmetrical but not always negative; in some regions, they also involved mutual interdependence, like in marriage arrangements or trade (Albers 1993; Brooks 2002; Chernela 2011). Captive taking also functioned to maintain social boundaries, permit economic interactions, and establish kin relationships between groups that could be exploited in times of need. These topics are discussed in the chapters that follow.

Methods

This study is broadly comparative and like most archaeological work relies on analogy to reconstruct the past. Unlike the approach in most archaeological studies, however, I do not compare archaeological cases, nor am I making a direct analogy between material culture used in past and present societies. Instead, I explore the lives of captives in societies around the world in order to identify commonalities that we might use to understand people in similar circumstances in the past. I compiled cases of captive taking and descriptions of captive lives from a wide variety of secondary sources, described by region in chapter 2. Sources include those written by ethnohistorians, historians, anthropologists, and, occasionally, archaeologists. The surge of studies on captive taking and slavery among small-scale societies by anthropologists (Carocci and Pratt 2012; Donald 1997; Santos-Granero 2009) and historians (Brooks 2002; Campbell, Miers, and Miller 2007, 2008, 2009; Chatterjee and Eaton 2006; Colley 2002; Ekberg 2010; Foster 2003; Gallay 2002, 2009; Rushforth 2003, 2012; Snyder 2010) during the last decade is essential to my analysis. In addition, I rely on a

range of other books, articles, and book chapters that focus on warfare, captive taking, slavery, coerced labor, and women as slaves. I occasionally use original sources, such as early explorers' accounts or captive narratives. Articles prepared for the edited volume *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences* (Cameron 2008b) provide some of the foundational material for this book.

My goal is to develop an understanding of captive lives in small-scale societies prior to European contact. Only archaeological data *directly* addresses the past before written records, and such data on captives is currently limited; however, we can learn a great deal about captive taking and captive lives from ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and historic accounts, and these sources are the primary data upon which this study is built. I use data from historic periods to examine prehistoric times and apply the fundamental method of archaeological interpretation called "analogy."

There are well-known problems with the use of analogy, a form of inductive reasoning, but there is also agreement among archaeologists that analogy is an indispensable tool for understanding the past (David and Kramer 2001, 43–54; Gould and Watson 1982; Wylie 1985, 64). Much of this concern focuses on "source-side" considerations, in other words, the contemporary groups we select as analogues for the past (David and Kramer 2001, 48; Wobst 1978). Archaeologists are criticized for developing analogies that treat modern and historic non-Western societies (especially small-scale societies) as if they were timeless and unchanging ("people without history"; Wolf 1982) or for selectively studying only aspects of those societies deemed "traditional" (Stahl 1993; see also David and Kramer 2001, 43–54). European contact and colonization disrupted lives around the world, most profoundly in the sorts of small-scale societies considered here. Uncritically "upstreaming" contemporary conditions into the distant past, even for historically related cultures, either ignores change or makes our arguments for similarity teleological (or both; see Cobb 2005; Lekson 2011; Peregrine 2001, 2).

Comparison is fundamental to most archaeological work and archaeologists are increasingly willing to consider large-scale cross-cultural

comparison, after several decades in which postmodern agendas and small-scale research dominated the field (Flannery and Marcus 2012; Michael Smith 2012; Trigger 2003). These new studies grapple with the fundamental question of how much of human behavior is determined by factors that operate cross-culturally and how much by factors unique to the history and development of particular cultures (Michael Smith and Peregrine 2012, 4; Trigger 2003, 3). They compare both archaeological data and ethnographic data that can be used to develop analogies to inform our knowledge of the past. The present analysis is of the latter sort and compares cultures around the world to show that captive taking was a widespread, perhaps almost universal practice and that commonalities are found in the treatment of captives and captives' influences on captor societies.

The two major criticisms of cross-cultural comparison are of concern for the present study. Critics accuse cross-cultural comparative studies of plucking traits from their cultural context for purposes of analysis and ignoring how those traits developed and functioned in the broader society (Trigger 2003, 21). Cross-cultural studies also tend to seek (and find) similarities instead of differences. Despite these concerns, a new generation of archaeologists has embraced these cross-cultural comparative studies, which have considerable power to help us identify and explore patterning in human behavior (Drennan et al. 2012). I see the present volume as a first step in the exploration of captive taking. Exposing the pervasiveness of this practice will allow archaeologists to investigate the presence of captives prehistorically around the world.

I do not use ethnographic or ethnohistoric data to interpret archaeological material in this study, but I do assume (based on analogy) that the vast number of historically documented accounts of captives in small-scale societies provide evidence of their existence in prehistoric societies and suggest similarities in their treatment. The examples of captive experiences used in this volume are selected from across time and space, yet each of the cultural groups discussed was the product of a distinctive history and a unique engagement with colonization. There is no doubt that European contact increased the prevalence of violence, giving us a potentially skewed view of the very practices we

hope to understand. Competition for access to European trade goods and routes increased warfare, and Europeans often manipulated animosities among indigenous groups for their own benefit, creating more conflict. Among New World indigenous societies, a global market for slaves in some cases affected the value of captives to their captors. European diseases; social, economic, and environmental disruption; warfare; slavery; and ethnic erasure significantly reduced indigenous populations, destroying some societies completely (Cameron, Kelton, and Swedlund 2015). Remnant groups sometimes differed dramatically from their precontact ancestors.

When possible, to avoid some of the problems common to cross-cultural ethnohistoric comparison, I use sources that focus on the earliest explorers' accounts, especially those that aim to understand the time before contact (e.g., Donald 1997; Santos-Granero 2009). But the purpose of many studies of captive taking is to examine the *effects* of colonization. Of this group, those that try to link changes to precontact patterns are most useful (e.g., Brooks 2002; Gallay 2002; Santos-Granero 2009; Snyder 2009, 2010). Most of the accounts I use date to the postcontact period, yet they describe small-scale societies with lifestyles similar to those of the past. Studying captive-captor relationships in these societies provides insights that can be applied to the past.

While my interest is in small-scale societies, I occasionally use data on warfare, captive taking, and slavery in state-level societies. This is true especially in chapter 6, which explores the cultural practices captives contributed to captor society. In state-level societies, where documents are available, it is abundantly clear that captives introduced many important technologies or cultural practices into captor societies. Making the same sorts of links is difficult or even impossible for small-scale societies of the past. The best that archaeologists may ever be able to do is document the presence of captives at the same time that a new technology, design style, or architectural pattern is introduced. Patterns present in state-level societies can help us link these two lines of evidence.

This book develops a context for understanding how captives fit into captor society and their impacts on it. I argue that archaeologists

can no longer afford to ignore the presence of subordinate people, including captives, in small-scale societies. But only by considering the lives of captives in ethnohistoric or ethnographic societies can we incorporate them into our accounts of the past. Captives may have clung to the lowest strata of the societies they joined, but this book contends that not only were they present in most prehistoric small-scale societies, their presence could be transformative.

The Captive's World

In the following chapters I use comparative research to characterize the impact of captives on the societies they joined. I begin in chapter 2, "Captive Taking in Global Perspective," by discussing the historic, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological sources I use. Data on captive taking used in this volume is derived from eight broad regions of the world, and these regions are described. Four of these regions are in North America and data from these regions is used most intensively. Other accounts come from South America, Africa, Europe, and Southeast Asia.

The remainder of the book moves from microscale considerations of how captives are incorporated into captor society and captives' effect on its power structure to macroscale topics, including the role of captives in the formation and maintenance of social boundaries and the ideas and practices captives contribute to captor society. Chapter 3, "The Captive as Social Person," explores the social location captives were offered in captor society, which was an important determinant of the captives' level of impact on the societies they joined. Social locations for captives ranged from wife or adoptee to abject slave. A number of factors determined which of these social roles they took up. Perhaps most important was the captor's assessment of whether "others" could be civilized or properly trained in captor social practices. The captive's age, gender, sexuality, skills, and personal characteristics (intelligence, language ability, and so on) also affected access to more intimate social roles. Unlike the rigid racial divisions between slaves and masters in the American South, in most (but not all) small-scale societies, captive status evolved. With increasing age, marriage, the

birth of children to their captors, or the ability to demonstrate interpersonal or technical skills, captives could improve their social standing.

The three chapters at the heart of the book explore the effects that captives could have on the societies they joined. Chapter 4, "Captives and the Creation of Power," suggests that captives may have been an important source of power prehistorically. Aspiring leaders need followers and control over the labor of others. Captives meet both of these needs without the reciprocal obligations involved in demanding the services of kin. Chapter 5, "Captives, Social Boundaries, and Ethnogenesis," investigates the effect of captives on the creation and maintenance of social boundaries. Surprisingly, even where captives make up a large proportion of a population, they do not necessarily blur the boundaries of the societies they enter but may strengthen them, either by assiduously following captor cultural practices or by serving as reminders of incorrect "ways of doing." Chapter 6, "Captives and Cultural Transmission," suggests a new mode of intercultural transmission, the captive. This chapter argues that, even though they were marginal, captives could introduce a variety of new cultural practices into the societies they joined. This chapter is especially important for archaeologists, who lack adequate models for how cultural practices moved between social groups (Cameron 2011). The final chapter, "Captives in Prehistory," reviews the book's major arguments and outlines archaeological avenues for finding captives in prehistory.

Slavery Past and Present

The news clip that opened this chapter shows that the horror of captive taking has not disappeared. Today we call it human trafficking and its victims are not typically taken during raids and warfare (although, as the Boko Haram raid shows, that still happens) but are kidnapped, sold by their parents or another relative, or tricked by deceptive offers of a lucrative job. Human trafficking is receiving increased attention from governments and the public. A 2012 report by the United Nations finds that since the 2003 implementation of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, efforts to criminalize trafficking have increased worldwide (United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime 2012). One hundred and

thirty-four countries now have laws criminalizing trafficking. Statistics in the report, however, remain grim. Globally, almost 21 million people (a more recent report by the Walk Free Foundation's 2014 Global Slavery Index puts the number at 35.8 million) are victims of trafficking for either sexual or labor exploitation. Fifty-five to 60 percent of trafficking victims are women; 27 percent are children. Two of every three child victims are girls. Even though many countries have laws against trafficking, conviction rates are low. Between 2007 and 2010, 16 percent of the countries covered in the report had no convictions.

As disheartening as the UN report is and as devastating as trafficking remains for its victims, the world of slavery and human trafficking has changed dramatically in the past two hundred years. Adam Hochschild (2005, 2) observes that at the end of the eighteenth century over three-fourths of the population of the world was in some form of slavery or bondage. For an eighteenth-century person, whether slave or free, Asian, African, European, or American, this was simply the way the world was. Slavery supported ancient Greece and Rome, the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages, the great states of Asia, the striking cultural developments of ancient Islam, and the warlords of Africa. As this volume and others show, it was common in many small-scale societies, too (Brooks 2002; Cameron 2008b; 2011; Gallay 2002; Hämäläinen 2008; Rushforth 2012; Snyder 2010). It is no exaggeration to suggest, as historian Marc Bloch ([1947] 1975, 30–43, 161–70; cited in Bonnassie 1991, 1) has, that the most dramatic change the world has seen is the virtual elimination of slavery as an acceptable form of human relations.

Two hundred years is the blink of an eye in terms of human history, yet once slavery began to disappear, the memory of its pervasiveness was only selectively retained. While racial segregation the United States prevented African Americans from forgetting slavery, in other places memories of the nightmare of slavery were buried. At the end of the twentieth century, heritage tourism emerged in locations related to the Atlantic slave trade. But at the same time, memories of internal African slavery became part of what Carolyn Brown (2003, 219) calls "a haunting silence" (see Stahl 2008, 32–33). Similar

"forgetting" occurs in many other places. In the San Luis Valley of Colorado, a wife whispers to an anthropologist about her Hispanic husband's ancestors, who had been indigenous slaves (Brooks 2002, 405). In the Ecuadorian Amazon, the recent descendants of captive women will discuss their origins only when no one else is around (Brenda Bowser, pers. comm.). On the Northwest Coast, the slave ancestry of neighbors is still the subject of gossip and derision (Donald 1997, 249).

Not only did people involved as slavers or the enslaved try to forget, so did historians and anthropologists. As Igor Kopytoff (1982, 207) observes, "Anthropology almost completely forgot slavery in the 1920 to 1960 period, when so much of the modern world view was being forged. The amnesia was, above all, theoretical." As references at the beginning of this chapter show, the amnesia is over and scholars and others are willing to consider captives and slaves and their effect on the world they inhabited. This book contributes to that conversation.