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Karen B. Graubart. With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru

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considerable light upon the trade and commercial circuits of Havana. Here, the author enumerates several surprises. While Havana may have been the sugar center of the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that product occupied a fairly modest, almost marginal, niche initially. Instead, other activities such as ship building, the trade in animal skins, and commerce in basic staple foods (e.g. flour) emerge as far more important and lucrative.

At the end of his work, De la Fuente speculates about the value of an Atlantic World approach to understanding the emergence of Havana. De la Fuente suggests that Atlantic World practitioners are often Eurocentric, positing that every important development in the New World originates from actions on the eastern side of the Atlantic and are too often British centered. His book argues instead that Havana reached a point after 1555 where the internal dynamics of growth that shaped the great port city rivaled in significance those produced in Europe.

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With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700. By Karen B. Graubart. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007. xii + 249 pp. Illustrations, map, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

Karen Graubart's detailed and richly documented study of the intersection of ethnicity, economic transformation, and cultural production opens with an illustrative account of a remarkable indigenous woman trader, Francisca Ramírez. As seen through her four wills written between 1633 and 1686, Ramírez moved away from a humble indigenous identity and use of traditional trade items towards a more Hispanized dress, clientele, and products. She also achieved a higher societal status denoted by the honorific title "doña." Graubart convincingly establishes, with numerous individual cases, the fluid nature of ethnic identity and social classes in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andes. Through their patterns of dress, consumption, and engagement with trade and the courts, indigenous people could and did make decisions about how they were seen by others in urban and, to a lesser extent, rural settings during the first 150 years of Spanish rule.

The scholarship on the Andes already recognizes the success of rural indigenous communities in using the Spanish legal system to defend villagers' labor and resources. Graubart adds a new level of understanding of how individuals—particularly indigenous women in urban centers—used legal means to stop employers' abuses and force them to honor labor agreements. By extension, she shows how indigenous people, Africans, and Spanish

plebeians more generally combined the legal redress of individual grievances with other actions and associations in order to demonstrate who they were and to create niches for themselves in colonial society. Thus, factors such as a cash and credit economy, wage labor, Catholic brotherhoods offering capital and moral support, and a variety of dress and hair styles allowed colonial inhabitants to move up and down the social scale. Graubart uses these conclusions grounded in everyday life and habits of production and consumption to point out a surprising colonial reality: although colonial powerholders excluded subalterns from the top-down political process, the political and economic system could not be imposed on them and could not produce results without negotiation with subalterns at the base.

Graubart emphasizes the relationship between social organization and gender in the creation of this fluid and diverse society with its negotiated terms of rule. Her approach moves away from viewing indigenous women primarily as marginalized victims of sexual and economic abuse. Men and women experienced colonization differently, and different demands were made upon them. Among indigenous people who migrated to cities, women survived by engaging in multiple activities such as working for wages, selling in the market, renting out rooms, and farming. Indigenous men could more easily survive by dedicating themselves to one occupation and often building a career through apprenticeships and steady employment. Women more often used wills to resolve family disputes over inheritance by providing explicit instructions if widowed or recognizing children born out of wedlock. While men's wills provided for the "official family," they less frequently recognized illegitimate children. In terms of religious participation, both men and women are found in the religious confraternities, but women devoted more resources to prayers to help their souls and their family's out of purgatory. In other ways, indigenous men and women in the city looked quite similar: they both engaged in wage labor, used the courts, and claimed new colonial labels like "indio criollo," "solarero" or "vecino," and "don" and "doña."

To explain this dynamic nature of early colonial society, Graubart embraces the concept of hybridity to describe how ethnic and gendered identity was hammered out from the 1560s forward by women from different indigenous groups in both their rural homes and in the colonial cities of Lima and Trujillo, where they appeared originally as immigrants alongside Europeans and Africans. She defines hybridity as an organic response by individuals and groups accommodating the demands of colonial society and recognizing the material effects of their choices. This careful and nuanced use of the concept of hybridity proves convincing. Remarkably, Graubart is able to show in many cases that colonial subjects recognized that they were creating something new and "were conscious of the repercussions of their choices" (p. 20). Graubart achieves this level of understanding by carefully analyzing 202 wills of indigenous women from 1565 to 1698 supplemented by other sources and by keeping these women rooted within their multiethnic and cross-class context. To do otherwise would be to artificially isolate indigenous women

from the world they operated in and helped create through their actions. Graubart offers an outstanding study that will interest experts and students.

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Between Two Rivers: The Atrisco Land Grant in Albuquerque History, 1692-1968, by Joseph P. Sánchez. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xvi + 235 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, appendix, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

On 6 November 2006, after years of controversy, the shareholders in Westland Development Corporation based in Albuquerque, New Mexico, voted overwhelmingly to sell their business to Sun Cal Companies, a developer from Irvine, California. As part of the final sale, Sun Cal agreed to contribute one million dollars a year to the Atrisco Heritage Foundation. This event was the most recent twist in a three-hundred-year history of the Atrisco Land Grant, a Spanish settlement that lay between the Río Grande and Río Puerco in New Mexico, comprising a portion of western Albuquerque and thousands of acres of land potentially rich in oil and natural gas. As argued convincingly by Joseph Sánchez, the real wealth of the Atrisco land grant has been its cultural and economic history and the struggles of the people who have participated in the development of New Mexico. This land grant's long and complicated story reveals the *nuevomexicano* people's tradition of involvement with the Spanish, Mexican, and American legal systems, and their role in shaping the key events in western history. Their cultural identity has been bound to the land, and they have fought to maintain both.

This study offers an in-depth analysis of the complexities of everyday life in colonial New Mexico. With its origin in 1692 as a land grant to reward Fernando Durán y Chaves for his help in the reconquest of New Mexico, the Atrisco grant preceded the founding of Albuquerque in 1706. The land grant settlers were a vital part of the founding and colonial history of that important town. Within the Atrisco grant lay another grant, that of the Río Puerco, further to the west. For more than a hundred years, the *atrisqueños* were key players in the many struggles to expand and preserve the Hispano presence in the region. They fought with the Spanish governors and officials to keep their land grant. They fought among themselves contesting inheritances, new land claims, and competing contracts. They defended the inclusion of the Río Puerco grant as part of their children's inheritance. And they fought against Indian attacks as well as the intrusion of unjust Mexican authority.

For anyone wanting a window into the workings of the Spanish colonial legal system, Sánchez's book offers a clear and well-documented summary and interpretation, using the many legal cases fought by the