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Book Reviews

"They Eat from Their Labor": Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia. By Ann Zulawski. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995. xvi + 283 pp. Maps, charts, tables, appendixes, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

Colonial Andean history has come into its own during the last fifteen years. The work of myriad scholars—Andrien, Bakewell, Powers, Newsom, Cook, Spaulding, Tandeter, Wightman, Stern, Saignes, and Larson, to name a few—has added immeasurably to our knowledge of Spanish and Indian societies and the way these two worlds intersected. High on the Andean scholastic agenda has been the inquiry into the nature of the transformation of indigenous society produced by the coming of a European colonial power. This book is an important contribution to the ongoing discussion and especially to questions of population, labor and wages, gender, and acculturation.

Ann Zulawski looks specifically at non-*mita* labor from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, a period of first boom and then bust in the Andes. Although the early chapters provide an overview of the entire Upper Peru area, Zulawski's study centers on two regions of present-day Bolivia: urban Oruro and rural Pilayo y Paspaya. She finds markedly different conditions in each region. The former was an important colonial mining center; in the latter, wine production for an external market provided the region's economic mainstay. There were also markedly different labor relations in the two regions: in Oruro, individuals settled their own working arrangements, and *yanaconas* emerged as free workers; in Pilayo y Paspaya, *kurakas* managed labor agreements, and *yanaconas* were effectively transformed into rural serfs.

Zulawski stresses the mutual action, interaction, and reaction between the Spanish conquerors and the conquered indigenous people. She notes that the diversity in both Iberian thought and Andean society gave indigenous people room to maneuver. The author is also sensitive to complexity and change over time. She sees post-conquest Andean society not as a homogeneous world but rather as a world in which class and gender are important within indigenous groups.

The book first traces post-conquest population decline, examining both indigenous and Spanish responses to the catastrophe. In the Andes, population decline was followed by widespread migration and in many cases by the development of a dichotomy between two groups of indigenous peoples: *forasteros* and *yanaconas*. The former were Indians who, although they no

longer lived in their *ayllu* or *reducción* of origin, nonetheless continued to identify with their Andean ethnic group. The latter, also Indian, had lost or renounced ethnic identification. By the end of the seventeenth century, Zulawski finds that many Indian residents of Oruro, especially those who were *yanaconas*, had become skilled artisans.

In an interesting discussion of gender among the Indian inhabitants of Oruro, the author challenges historians who argue that Indian women were able to manipulate the colonial system more effectively than men. Zulawski finds that, quite to the contrary, Indian women "experienced the most extreme oppression under colonialism." Drawing on court cases involving these women, the author stresses that Indian women lacked rights. She further argues that women only worked because of dire necessity or because they were forced to work; however, her own information shows that there was a group of prosperous market women who owned property ranging from houses to furniture to religious paintings. It is also important to consider that using criminal records to examine the position of women tends to exaggerate the negative aspects of women's lives. Furthermore, the very existence of the cases which the author uses demonstrates that Indian women had recourse to Spanish justice.

The author skillfully weaves together a variety of sources including censuses, official reports, and civil and criminal court cases throughout. Particularly interesting is Zulawski's ongoing conversation with other Andean scholars. The book is generally well written, although from time to time it is somewhat marred by an overdependence on Marxist jargon ("the forces of capitalist production") and loaded words. Nonetheless, this is an invaluable study which deserves a place in the growing body of colonial Andean works.

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