

Notes

¹ Total world production of gold from 2000 BCE (in Egypt) through the mid-nineteenth century has been estimated at 10,000 metric tons. Gold production from the 1848 rush in California through the opening of the goldfields in Yukon Territory in 1891 totaled 13,540 metric tons (435.32 million ounces). See “Gold Production through History,” *GoldFeverProspecting.com*, <http://www.goldfeverprospecting.com/goprthhi.html>; and David Zurbuchen, “World’s Cumulative Gold and Silver Production,” Jan. 14, 2006, *Gold-Eagle.com*, http://www.gold-eagle.com/editorials_05/zurbuchen011506.html. Marcello de Cecco, *Money and Empire: The International Gold Standard, 1890–1914* (London, 1984); Barry Eichengreen, *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System* (Princeton, 1996); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). On Pacific worlds before the gold-rush era see David Iglar, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (New York, 2013).

² For classic works on mining, see Charles Howard Shinn, *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885); Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947); and

Deleted: For comments and suggestions I thank Warwick Anderson, Betsy Blackmar, Sue Fawn Chung, Ann Curthoys, Gary Gerstle, Moon-Ho Jung, Madeline Hsu, Marilyn Lake, Valerie Lovejoy, Benjamin Mountford, Gunther Peck, Kier Reeves, and anonymous readers of the *JAH*. I thank Melissa Borja, Maria John, Nicholas Juravich, and Yuki Oda for research assistance and the Cullman Center of the New York Public Library and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars for fellowships, which supported the research and writing of the essay.¶

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Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851–1861*

(Melbourne, 1963). For works on the California and Australian gold rushes that

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take a more critical approach to nationalist historiography, see Malcolm J.

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Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation*

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(Berkeley, 1997); David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the*

1850s (Stanford, 1994); and Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World*

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of the California Gold Rush (New York, 2000). On “Pacific Man,” see Philip Ross

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May, “Gold Rushes of the Pacific Borderlands: A Comparative Survey,” in

Provincial Perspectives: Essays in Honour of W. J. Gardner, ed. Len Richardson

and W. David McIntyre (Christchurch, 1980), 100.

³ In 1852 there were twenty thousand Chinese in California, 10% of the population

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of California and 20% of the mining population. Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in*

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California, 1850–1880: An Economic Study (Madison, 1967), 12–13. In 1858 there

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were thirty-three thousand Chinese miners in Victoria, nearly 26% of the total

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mining population. Chinese were sometimes a majority in California and Victoria

districts. Serle, *Golden Age*, 388–89. On Chinese miners in the American West see

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Randall Rohe, “After the Gold Rush: Chinese Mining in the Far West, 1850–

1890,” in *Chinese on the American Frontier*, ed. Arif Dirlik (Lanham, 2001);

David Valentine, “Chinese Placer Mining in the United States: An Example from

American Canyon, Nevada,” in *The Chinese in America: A History from Gold*

Mountain to the New Millennium, ed. Susie Lan Cassel (Lanham, 2002), 37–53; and Sue Fawn Chung, *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West* (Urbana, 2010). On Chinese miners in Australia, see Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties: Chinese in Early Victoria* (Melbourne, 1982); Sophie Couchman, John Fitzgerald, and Paul Macgregor, eds., *After the Rush: Regulation, Participation and Chinese Communities in Australia, 1860–1940* (Melbourne, 2000); Keir Reeves, “Sojourners or a New Diaspora? Economic Implications of the Movement of Chinese Miners to the South-West Pacific Goldfields,” *Australian Economic History Review*, 50 (July 2010), 178–92; and Barry McGowan, *Tracking the Dragon: A History of Chinese in the Riverina* (Wagga Wagga, 2010). For a work that treats Chinese gold miners as historical subjects in their own right, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp*. For discursive analysis of the “coolie question,” see Lisa Lowe, “The Intimacies of Four Continents,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, N.C., 2006); and Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia, 2008). For a discursive and empirical analysis of the “coolie question,” devoted to the experiment in Chinese contract labor in Louisiana, see Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore, 2006). For early and mid-twentieth-century scholarship that does not promote the coolie thesis

Deleted: [On “When they do appear,”] A notable exception is

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Deleted: Moon-Ho Jung’s *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore 2006) is notable for both discursive and empirical analysis, but the latter is devoted to the experiment in Chinese contract labor in Louisiana. See also

of debt peonage or indenture, see Mary Roberts Coolidge, "The Coolie Fiction," in *Chinese Immigration*, by Mary Roberts Coolidge (New York, 1909), 41–54; Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1939; Urbana, 1971); Paul, *California Gold*, 321–22; Rodman W. Paul, "The Origin of the Chinese Issue in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25 (Sept. 1938), 181–96; and Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California*. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 55–58, 67–76, 113–17. The term *coolie* is often mistakenly associated with the Chinese word *kuli*, meaning bitterly hard use of strength. It is, instead, a European pidgin neologism referring to a common laborer and then to indentured Indian and Chinese workers in plantation colonies. For works concurring that Chinese emigration to the United States was voluntary, see June Mei, "Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration: Guangdong to California, 1850–1882," *Modern China*, 5 (Oct. 1979), 463–501; Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910* (Berkeley, 1986), 21; Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions* (Walnut Creek, 2004), 39–76; Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1989), 35–36; and Franklin Ng, ed., *Encyclopedia of Asian American History* (6 vols., Tarrytown, 1995), II, 364. For a work that argues against using the term *system* to describe the use of credit tickets,

see Elizabeth Sinn, *Pacific Crossing: California Gold, Chinese Migration, and the Making of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2013), 50–53. For works in U.S. economic and labor history that cite Gunther Barth and entrench the view of unfree Chinese labor in the literature, see Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1974), 8; Patricia Cloud and David W. Galenson, “Chinese Immigration and Contract Labor in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Explorations in Economic History*, 24 (Jan. 1987), 22–42; Charles J. McClain Jr., “Chinese Immigration: A Comment on Cloud and Galenson,” *Explorations in Economic History*, 27 (July 1990), 363–78; and Gunther Peck, *Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880–1930* (New York, 2000), 51–52. For works arguing that Chinese miners were not indentured yet that still use throwaway statements about “indentured Chinese,” see Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 186; and Rohe, “After the Gold Rush,” 5. For a work that views the claim of servitude skeptically, see Matthew Guterl and Christine Skwiot, “Atlantic and Pacific Crossings: Race, Empire, and ‘the Labor Problem’ in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Radical History Review*, 91 (Winter 2005), 40–61, esp. 52.

⁴On anti-Chinese racism in Australia, see Andrew Markus, *Australian Race Relations* (Sydney, 1997); Ann Curthoys, “‘Men of all Nations, except Chinamen’: Europeans and Chinese on the Goldfields of New South Wales,” in *Gold:*

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Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects, ed. Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook, and Andrew Reeves (Cambridge, Eng., 2001); and Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (New York, 2008). For a work that focuses on mining in Australasia, the Caribbean, and South Africa but that looks at the California credit-ticket system (described as bound labor through debt bondage), see Persia Crawford Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (London, 1923). Persia Crawford Campbell's evidence for the California system was based on selective quoting from the same primary sources used by Barth. On the evidence for Campbell's case for a bound labor debt system in Australia as empirically weak, see Serle, *Golden Age*, 321. On the reading of the coolie trope in gold rush-era Australia, see Keir Reeves, Lionel Frost, and Charles Fahey, "Integrating the Historiography of the Nineteenth-Century Gold Rushes," *Australian Economic History Review*, 50 (July 2010), 111–28; and Valerie Lovejoy, "The Fortune Seekers of Dai Gum San: First Generation Chinese on the Bendigo Goldfield 1854–1882" (Ph.D. diss., La Trobe University, 2009), 145. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, 1999); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (London, 2009). On anti-Chinese racial politics, see Andrew Markus,

Deleted: On Chinese miners in the American west see Randall Rohe, "After the Gold Rush: Chinese Mining in the Far West, 1850–1890," *Chinese on the American Frontier*, ed. Arik Dirlik (Lanham, 2001); David Valentine, "Chinese Placer Mining in the United States: An Example from American Canyon, Nevada," in *The Chinese in America*, ed. Susie Lan Cassel (Lanham 2002); Sue Fawn Chung, *In the Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants* (Urbana 2010). On Chinese miners in Australia, Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties: Chinese in Early Victoria* (Melbourne 1982); Sophie Couchman, John Fitzgerald, and Paul Macgregor, eds., *After the Rush: Regulation, Participation and Chinese Communities in Australia, 1860/1940* (Melbourne 2000); Keir Reeves, "Sojourners or a New Diaspora? The Economics and Organisation of Chinese Mining in Colonial Australia," *Australian Economic History Review* 45 (2005), 17892; Barry McGowan, *Tracking the Dragon: A History of Chinese in the Riverina* (Wagga Wagga 2010). early and mid-twentieth-century scholarship"] The sociologist Mary Roberts Coolidge, writing about Chinese immigration in 1909, refuted the coolie thesis promoted by nativist politics. In 1939 Elmer Sandmeyer wrote about the anti-Chinese movement, describing the allegations of servitude made by anti-Chinese elements, but without sanctioning them as fact. Rodman Paul's 1947 classic work on California mining described Chinese mining practices without once mentioning indenture or debt peonage. Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York 1909), Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana 1971); Paul, *California Gold*, 32122; "The Origin of the Chinese Issue in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 25 (Sep 1938) 18196 Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California* University of Wisconsin economics dissertation, refutes the notion that Chinese were bound labor and also argues that they were not the cause of decline in white mining wages. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964). The title is the translation of the Chinese words *kuli*, which Barth and others have mistakenly believed to have been the origin of the word "coolie." In fact "coolie" is a European neologism, a pidgin contact word probably with roots on the Indian subcontinent, which traveled through Asian colonial ports. It referred first to simply a common laborer and then in the mid-nineteenth century to indentured Indian and Chinese workers sent to plantation colonies to replace enslaved African labor. In Chinese, *kuli* (lit. "bitterly hard use of strength") was an older term and was not the same word for laborer or slave. Barth, *Bitter Strength*, chapters 3 and 4, esp. 55–58, 67–76; 113–117. Barth's recovery of this alleged secret system of bondage relied on highly selective quotes from newspaper commentary and testimonies from hearing ...

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This point is also made by

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Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California, 1850–1901 (Sydney, 1979); and Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*. For comparative indigenous studies, see Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 (Dec. 2006), 387–409; Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010); and Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln, 2009). On immigration restriction, see Charles A. Price, *The Great White Walls Are Built: Restrictive Immigration to North America and Australasia, 1836–1888* (Canberra, 1974); and Aristide R. Zolberg, “The Great Wall against China: Responses to the First Immigration Crisis, 1885–1925,” in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern, 2005). On comparative gold rushes, see Goodman, *Gold Seeking*; Morris W. Wills, “Sequential Frontiers: The Californian and Victorian Experience, 1850–1900,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 9 (Oct. 1978), 485–94; and Reeves, Frost, and Fahey, “Integrating the Historiography of the Nineteenth-Century Gold Rushes.”⁶ “Agreement between the English Merchant and Chinamen,” 1848 (Wells Fargo Corporate Archives, San Francisco, Calif.); Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California*, 12. The average fare on a transpacific sailing vessel in 1852 was \$50 but was probably

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higher in 1849. The advance of \$125 may also have included fees and interest. Even in the late 1850s and 1860s, when competition lowered passage fare to \$40, brokers' fees and other add-ons could raise the cost of emigration to over \$100.

See Sjin, *Pacific Crossing*, 99; and Mei, "Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration,"

488–89. On contract labor use early in the gold rush, see Kelly J. Sisson, "Bound

for California: Chilean Contract Workers and 'Patrones' in the California Gold Rush, 1848–1852," *Southern California Quarterly*, 90 (Oct. 2008), 259–305;

Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking*

Californians, 1846–1890 (Berkeley, 1970); Michael J. Gonzalez, "'My Brother's

Keeper': Mexicans and the Hunt for Prosperity in California, 1848–2000," in

Riches for All: The California Gold Rush and the World, ed. Kenneth N. Owens

(Lincoln, 2002), 119–41; Mary Collette Standart, "The Sonoran Migration to

California, 1848–1856: A Study in Prejudice," *Southern California Historical*

Quarterly, 58 (Fall 1976), 333–57; Vicente Pérez Rosales, "Diary of a Journey to

California, 1848–1949," in *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California*

Gold Rush, ed. Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos U. López (Pasadena, 1976); and

María del Carmen Ferreyra and David S. Reher, eds., *The Gold Rush Diary of*

Ramón Gil Navarro (Lincoln, 2000). As with Chinese labor, it is important to

avoid the generalization that all Indians and African Americans were held in

bondage. See Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 67–71, 189, 219–23; and Sucheng Chan,

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“A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush,” in *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California*, ed. Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley, 2000), 50, 68–69.

⁷ On ethnic relations in the goldfields, see William Kelly, *Stroll through the Diggings of California* (1852; Oakland, 1950), 13; Chiu, *Chinese Labor in*

California, 12; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California (4 vols., 1885–1897)*, IV,

102. Thomas Robertson Stoddard, *Annals of Tuolumne County* (Sonora, 1963);

Erwin G. Gudde, *California Gold Camps: A Geographical and Historical*

Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Found and Mined,

Wayside Stations and Trading Centers (Berkeley, 1975). Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 220–26; Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 193–218.

⁸ J. [John] D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh, 1857), 252–53.

For the English ship captain’s statement, see Edward Lucett, *Rovings in the Pacific from 1837 to 1849: With a Glance at California, by a Merchant (2 vols.* London,

1851), II, 363. Chilean workers also deserted their contracts, as did sailors of all

nationalities. See Ferreyra and Reher, eds., *Gold Rush Diary of Ramón Gil*

Navarro, 6, 10. California State Legislature, “Report of the Committee on Mines and Mining Interests,” in *Journal of the Fourth Session of the Legislature of the*

State of California, Begun on the Third Day of January, 1853, and Ended on the

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Nineteenth Day of May, 1853, at the Cities of Vallejo and Benicia (San Francisco, 1853), p. 10, appendix 28; “Importation of Chinese on Labor Contracts,” *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, March 8, 1852, p.1.

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⁹ *Sinn, Pacific Crossing*, 45–53; Mei, “Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration,” 480–81.

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¹⁰ *On Chinese arrivals in Australia and Victoria*, see Serle, *Golden Age*, 321; and Cronin, *Colonial Casualties*, 16–17. *C. Y. Choi, Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia* (Sydney, 1975), 19.

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¹¹ A parallel emigration stream comprised merchants and traders, who went to California and Victoria to make money by selling provisions and other services to the miners rather than to mine gold. They usually came from the *sanyi* (“three counties”) region of Guangzhou Province. See Mei, “Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration,” 478; and *Sinn, Pacific Crossing*, 47–50.

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¹² *On California and Victoria alluvial gold mining done solo or in partnerships*, see Serle, *Golden Age*, 73. *Mining Records of Calaveras County, 1854–1857* (n.p., n.d.), Rare Books Collection (California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento). The Tuolumne County manufacturing schedule in the 1860 census lists only one Chinese miner: W. Chang, with one “employee” (more likely a partner). The 1860 population census counted 1,104 Chinese miners in Tuolumne County, some likely working for wages but many also working independently.

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U.S. Census, 1860, Schedule of [Industry](#), California, Tuolumne County, Township

2, [Selected U.S. Federal Census Nonpopulation Schedules, 1850–1880, available](#)

at [Ancestry.com](#): “U.S. Census, 1860, Schedule of Industry, California, Tuolumne

County, Township 3,” [ibid.](#)”

¹³ Claim no. 1786, Ah Ping and Low Ying, 1868, Mining Registrar’s Register of

Claims, Sandhurst Mining Division, series no. VPRS 6946, consignment no.

P0001, unit 2 (Sept. 8, 1865–June 15, 1869), (Public Record Office of Victoria,

[North Melbourne](#), Australia); [Sluicing](#) claim no. 1693, Ah Hee, [March 29, 1865](#),

600 x 120 feet (1/10 acre), Sailor’s Creek, Court of Mines Register of Mining

Claims, Daylesford, series no. VPRS 3719, consignment no. P0000, unit 1 (Jan.

1865–Oct. 1868), (Public Record Office of Victoria, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia).

On Chinese and European [miners](#), working in close [proximity](#), see Lovejoy,

“Fortune Seekers of Dai Gum San,” 154. “Golden Point Section of Forest Creek,

Division and District of Castlemaine,” 1859, map, *Energy and Earth Resources*,

Department of State Development, Business, and Innovation, State Government of

Victoria,

http://www.energyandresources.vic.gov.au/__data/assets/image/0020/19109/14_go

[ldenpoint_castlemaine_3500x2667_big.jpg](#).

¹⁴ [For Chinese claims along the Klamath River in Siskiyou County, see California](#)

[State Mining Bureau](#), *Eighth Annual Report of the California State Mineralogist*

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for the Year Ending October 1, 1888 (Sacramento, 1889). Approximately one thousand Chinese mined in Siskiyou County, with an estimated annual income of at least \$365,000. On California Chinese mining companies with fifteen to twenty workers engaging in hydraulic and drift mining during the late 1860s to the 1880s, see Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California*, 31. On mining companies with local merchants as principal investors, see *ibid.*, 25, 30–31. Chung, *In Pursuit of Gold*, 17–18.

¹⁵ “Report on Mineral Industries in the United States: Gold and Silver,” in *Eleventh*

Census of the United States (Washington, 1890), 109. Mining cooperative

members in Sacramento County in 1860 earned shares of approximately \$40 to \$50 per month. U.S. Census, Schedule of Industry, California, Sacramento County, Cosumnes Township, *Selected U.S. Federal Census Nonpopulation Schedules*,

1850–1880, available at *Ancestry.com*. *Mining Records of Calaveras County*,

Claims with larger numbers of miners may have been cooperatives or small companies. See, for example, “Ah Choy & Co. of ten men,” Sept. 2, 1856, *ibid.*

Testimony of Ah Fock, Dec. 12, 1887, *People v. Ah Jake*, transcript, pp. 106–7, Ah

Jake pardon file, *San Quentin Commitment Papers* (California State Archives,

Sacramento).

¹⁶ William Young, “Report on the Conditions of the Chinese Population in

Victoria,” March 2, 1868, reprinted *The Chinese in Victoria: Official Reports and*

Deleted: , enumerating Chinese river claims along the Klamath River in Siskiyou County. According to the report, there were some

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Documents, by Ian F. McLaren (Hotham Hill, 1985), 40, 42–43. Heads of Chinese mining companies in southern New South Wales took a 20%–25% share and

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charged miners for weekly board. Small companies also worked on shares instead

of paying wages. See Barry McGowan, “The Economics and Organization of Chinese Mining in Colonial Australia,” *Australian Economic History Review*, 45

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(July 2005), 119–38, esp. 121, 123. On puddling and tailing, see Serle, *Golden*

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Age, 321. Geoffrey Serle’s use of the term cooperatively would have applied to egalitarian cooperatives and proportional share companies, as distinguished from

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employees earning a wage.

¹⁷ Sluicing claim no. 1883, Ah Ling, Aug. 25, 1865, three acres, Old Race Course Spring, Mining Registrar’s Register of Claims, Daylesford Mining Division, series

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no. VPRS 3719, consignment no. P0000, unit 1 (Jan. 1865–Oct. 1868), (Public

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Record Office of Victoria, Ballarat). See also dam and puddling mill claim, Ah

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Hing, April 8, 1863, Spring Gully, Mining Registrar’s Register of Claims,

Sandhurst Mining Division, series no. VPRS 6946, consignment no. P0001, unit 1

(April 8, 1862–Sept. 7, 1865), (Public Record Office of Victoria, North

Melbourne); and dam and puddling mill claim, Ah Hing, June 22, 1863, *ibid.* For

the Bendigo Advertiser report, see Lovejoy, “Fortune Seekers of Dai Gum San,”

157–58.

¹⁸ For an example of an egalitarian cooperative, see sluicing claim no. 155, Feb.

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13, 1868, Ah Toy, Ah Quio, Ah Sing, Ah Wah, two acres, Deep Creek, Mining

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Registrar's Register of Claims, Daylesford Mining Division, series no. VPRS

3719, consignment no. P0000, unit 1 (Jan. 1865–Oct. 1865) (Public Record Office

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of Victoria, Ballarat). On the death of Ah Yung, see the testimonies of Ah Su and

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Ah Ter in, "Inquest Held upon the Body of Ah Yung at Creswick," Feb. 2, 1863,

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(Public Record Office of Victoria, North Melbourne). Thirty shillings per week

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was the average earning for a Chinese miner through the 1860s and 1870s.

Lovejoy, "Fortune Seekers of Dai Gum San," 159.

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¹⁹ Qing-era mining merchant-investors allotted as much as 40% of the profits to

their workers. See E-Tu Zen Sun, "Mining Labor in the Ch'ing Period," in

Approaches to Modern Chinese History, ed. Albert Feuerwerker, Rhoads Murphey,

and Mary C. Wright (Berkeley, 1967); Valentine, "Chinese Placer Mining in the

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Moved up [2]: Qing-era mining merchant-investors allotted as much as 40% of the profits to their workers. See

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United States"; and Alister Bowen, "The Merchants: Chinese Social Organization

in Colonial Australia," *Australian Historical Studies*, 45 (March 2011), 25–44. On

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the practice of share division, see Robert Gardella, "Contracting Business

Partnerships in Late Qing and Early Republican China: Paradigms and Patterns,"

in *Contract and Property in Early Modern China*, ed. Madeleine Zelin, Jonathan

K. Ocko, and Robert Gardella (Stanford, 2004), 329.

²⁰ Mary Somers Heidhues, *Goldiggers, Farmers, and Traders in the 'Chinese Districts' of West Kalimantan, Indonesia* (Ithaca, 2003); Mary Somers Heidhues,

"Chinese Organizations in West Borneo and Bangka: Kongsis and Hui," in *Secret Societies Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Early Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, ed. David Ownby and Mary F. Somers Heidhues

(Armonk, 1993), 34–88; James C. Jackson, *Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields:*

A Study in Cultural Geography (Hull, 1970). Kongsis were also prevalent in the tin-

mining industry on the Malaysian peninsula. See Anthony Reid, "Chinese on the

Mining Frontier in Southeast Asia," in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo and Wen-Chin Chang (Durham, N.C., 2011), 29.

²¹ David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China:*

The Formation of a Tradition (Stanford, 1996); Dian H. Murray, *The Origins of*

the Tiandihui: The Chinese Triads in Legend and History (Stanford, 1994); Ownby

and Heidhues, eds., *Secret Societies Reconsidered*. On the Zhigongtang, see, Sue

Fawn Chung, "Between Two Worlds: The Zhigongtang and Chinese American

Funerary Rituals," in *The Chinese in America*, ed. Cassel, 217–38; Adam

McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago,*

Hawaii, 1900–1936 (Chicago, 2000), 111–12. On Yixing in Australia, see, Cai

Shaoqing, "From Mutual Aid to Public Interest: Chinese Secret Societies in

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Australia,” in Couchman, Fitzgerald, and Macgregor, *After the Rush*; John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie, Chinese Australians in White Australia* (Sydney, 2007), 69–76; and Kok Hu Jin, *Hung Men Handbook* (Bendigo, 2002).

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Deleted:²² [On “Chinese from Guangdong”] June Mei, “Socioeconomic Origins,” 481; R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, 1997), 19–20. By the mid-eighteenth century most hired farm hands were legally considered free persons. Wu Chenming, “On Embryonic Capitalism,” *Chinese Capitalism, 1522–1840*, ed. Xu Dixin and Wu Chenming (New York, 2000), 11–12. Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California*, 34–37; Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West’s Greatest Adventurer* (New York, 1928), Vol. II, 525; Rossiter Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining* (1870), 4.¶

²³ J. Ross Browne, *Resources of the Pacific States and Territories* (San Francisco 1869) 180. Browne actually thought the investment was excessive, reflecting a “rush” quality of capitalization in the industry. North Bloomfield consumed 16 billion cubic yards of water in one year, 1878, alone. Also staggering was the environmental damage wrought by hydraulic mining over the course of 30 years, until it was outlawed by the courts in 1884. One study estimated that hydraulic companies dumped 210 million cubic yards of debris into the Yuba, American, and Bear rivers alone. “Monitors: Water Canons of Hydraulic Mining,” *Journal of Sierra Nevada History and Biography*, 2 (Spring 2009), <http://www.sierracollege.edu/ejournals/jsnhb/v2n1/monitors.html>.

[On “In the 1870s”] Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California*, 36–38. There are no extant payroll records for North Bloomfield but records illustrate the general patterns. The workmen’s time book for Alturus Mining Company (Sierra County) for months of June and July, 1869, shows 11 individual whites working part and full time and “Chinese” labor counted as number of men per day. The size of the Chinese labor force ranged from 13 to 40 men per day. See workman’s timebook, folder 10, box 675, Hendel Collection Mining Papers, California History Section (California State Library, Sacramento, Calif.) The Little York Gold-Washing and Water Company, an English-owned hydraulic operation in Nevada County, hired whites and Chinese in roughly equal numbers, and listed Chinese on the payroll individually by name. Little York also hired supplemental Chinese labor through headmen. See *Little York Payroll Ledger (1873–75)*, vol. 4, William Maguire Mining Records, 1873–1918 (Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.). ¶

²⁴ Young, “Report on the Conditions of the Chinese Population in Victoria,” 33–43. Young reported few or none working for white-owned quartz companies in other districts, reflecting differences in mining conditions. [On the portion of the sentence “Although some Chinese worked underground,”] These include mining for Chinese-owned quartz companies, which were several, if not large; and European companies such as the Reform Mining Conear Ballarat, which leased its number-one shaft to Chinese on tribute. Lovejoy, “Fortune Seekers of Dai Gum Sa,” 160. Rasmussen, “Chinese in Nation and Community,” 84–87.¶

²⁵ [On “If it surprises”] Barry McGowan, “Economics and Organization of Chinese Mining,” 121; Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 125; Rasmussen, “Chinese in Nation and Community,” 73–75. [C...

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