

THE ETHNIC DIMENSION
OF CALAVERAS COUNTY
HISTORY: AN OVERVIEW

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OF
CALAVERAS COUNTY HISTORY

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Section I

Calaveras, one of the original 27 California counties established in 1850, has never had its ethnic history fully chronicled. Aspects of that story pertaining to Joaquin Murietta and the early Mexican population, local Indian tribes, and Chinese miners have been told in an incomplete way. But no history comprehensively portrays the roles played by numerous immigrant and racial groups in the development of Calaveras County.

Insufficient immigrant group presence or unawareness of their existence cannot explain the paucity of information on the ethnic dimension of the county. Italians, Germans, Slavs, Irish, Chinese all appeared in large numbers, while other groups which were numerically small--the Jews and the French--played prominent roles. Clearly, nineteenth century commentators were acutely aware of the multicultural character of both California and specifically Calaveras. "From the time of the first discovery of gold in this country," wrote the San Andreas Register in 1866, "men speaking different languages, accustomed to different habits, educated in different schools, brought up under different governments, and controlled by different prejudices, flocked to the land of gold" ¹ Likewise, Edward Brown recalled that in Mokelumne Hill of 1851 "the jabbering of so many different languages gave me a faint idea of what it must have been at the building of the Tower of Babel." ²

A number of factors may account for the county's collective ethnic amnesia. The economic history of Calaveras is part of the problem. The boom and bust cycles of the mining economy created frequent influxes and exoduses of population. With each departure, a personal story or part of a group story was permanently lost.

The destruction of historical records is another factor. The fires which periodically ravaged almost every Calaveras town often consumed newspaper backfiles and other relevant written records. Moreover, family albums and other important data were commonly stored in attics and sheds, and if they were not lost in fires the combination of heat, water, rodents, and time destroyed many of them.

Even the extant written record is inadequate. Newspapers, for instance, were sporadic in their coverage of immigrant group activities, or prejudiced, or both. The information culled from those sources is an outsider's perception of the group and reveals nothing of the immigrants' feelings or the inner vitality of various groups. To a degree, the immigrants themselves compounded the problem, especially as it relates to census tracts, tax rolls and other official records. Suspicious of the motives of the census taker or tax assessor, or unable to understand English well, they either conveniently disappeared at polling time or provided incomplete or false responses. "Amongst Europeans," pointed out the San Andreas Independent, "are large numbers of Italians, French, Greeks, and Germans, who cannot speak English and understand just enough to misapprehend every explanation which is made to them. They

have property for the most part, and fear of taxation makes them chary of giving it in." ³

The image and meaning of the West in the national mind also militated against the recording of ethnic history. It symbolized newness, opportunity, and red-blooded Americanism. In such a setting ethnicity had no place and was largely ignored. ⁴ Finally, the Turnerian idea that the real American was forged in the crucible of the frontier reinforced the nation's assimilationist ethic. Frontier life was considered a deracinating force, stripping away all but those elements of culture necessary for survival. Thus ethnicity was but a transitional condition on the way to full-flowered Americanism and did not warrant serious documentation and study.

Locally the few available county histories do contain biographical sketches of prominent residents of immigrant origin, but usually these were authorized by the subject of the sketch and stressed only the positive aspects of his life. Occasional church or newspaper commemorative publications are also available, but are of limited usefulness due to their inaccuracies and often overly romantic approach. Oral history has its limits as well. As descendants of immigrant families have retold their stories over the years, facts have been blurred or forgotten. Reluctantly, one must agree with the observation of the late Judge J. A. Smith in 1952: "It is late to get full particulars of many of the early events in the history of the county. The pioneers and Argonauts have gone to their reward. Much valuable material is lost." ⁵

Yet the written record and statistical data are our best sources. Town newspapers reported most of the on-going activities of the aforementioned ethnic groups as well as the larger society's response to them. Unfortunately, it is impossible to move from an outside view to an analysis of the inner dimensions of group life, for Calaveras County's ethnics did not publish their own newspapers, and records of the early fraternal lodges are not extant. The one partial exception to this rule was the German language newspaper, California Staatszeitung, which commenced publication in Mokelumne Hill in 1858, but it has not survived. Little additional information was gleaned by consulting ethnic publications from outside the county. San Francisco's Italian language newspaper, L'Italia, is a case in point. It was the largest Italian newspaper on the West Coast and regularly reported news of Italian communities in the West. Its back-file--commencing in 1897--was perused for the first 13 years, but yielded insignificant information on the Calaveras Italians. The limitations of time and linguistic abilities prevented additional research in the press of each group.

Next to newspapers, scrapbooks, and an occasional oral history, the greatest source of information was the numerical data derived from the federal census reports as well as the naturalization and voting records of Calaveras County. Statistical computations based on those historical resources and bolstered by secondary materials made possible the plotting of the overall growth and decline in size of each group over a sixty-year period. Occupational patterns were also obtained in that way.

Given the variety of limitations, it is impossible to ferret out and write a complete history of the ethnic dimension of Calaveras County. Rather the aim of this unit has been to select several immigrant and racial communities which are illustrative of key socioeconomic trends in the development of Calaveras or whose experiences were common to immigrants in general or unique to the specific group.

Thus the Italians were selected not only because they were one of the oldest and largest ethnic communities in the county, but because their occupational response to the vagaries of the local economy is key to understanding the ingredients for long-term residential and financial stability there. Conversely, the Jewish experience is illustrative of the fate awaiting a group whose occupational base was too narrow and overly dependent on the financially turbulent mining industry. It also evidences one pattern of acculturation associated with frontier mining town life. The German experience lies somewhere between that of the Italians and Jews. Economically they were more diversified than the latter, but more specialized than the former. Their large numbers enabled the Germans to sustain the bonds of ethnicity more effectively than did the Jews, while their organizational talents produced a greater number of fraternal lodges and publications than was true for the Italians.

Finally, the fate of the local Mexican and Chinese communities offers an effective vehicle for exploring the socioeconomic anxieties of Calaveras society; or more specifically the racist manner in which both the myth of equal opportunity was interpreted and the meaning of community defined.

Section II

At the time James Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's Mill, California was predominantly Hispanic-American in its culture. Within the state was a non-Indian population of approximately 7,000 Californios and 6,000 American-born residents.⁶

Despite its minority status, the "American" population constituted a majority of the mining population in 1848.⁷ Most of this population was concentrated in the vicinity of Coloma, where gold was first discovered, an area which was part of what became known as the Northern Mines. By midsummer, however, large numbers of miners were rushing to the region south of the Cosumnes River where large gold nuggets had been discovered by Indian miners. That find fired a belief that the area was the real source of gold. This region became known as the Southern Mines, or "dry diggings," because of the scarcity of water for mining purposes at certain times of the year.⁸

Americans in California did not have the first season of gold mining entirely to themselves. As word of the discovery spread, a large number of migrants from Oregon began arriving in the mining camps, as did some overland travelers from the East Coast who had begun their journey to California before hearing the news of gold. Added to this influx was a sizable contingent of foreign-born prospectors from Mexico and other Pacific Basin countries: Chile, Peru, Australia, and the Pacific Islands. The following year this "Pacific monopoly" was broken as migrants from Europe began pouring into California.

The presence of these newcomers contributed to the erosion of the Hispanic culture and laid the foundation for a multi-ethnic state. By 1850, only 9 percent of the population was California-born, 66 percent was born in other states, and 24 percent was foreign-born.⁹ Of the latter, 51.3 percent came from three European countries (Great Britain, 30.1 percent; German, 14.1 percent; France, 7.1 percent), and another 29.6 percent from Mexico.¹⁰

In the earliest years of the gold rush, the location of the population within the mining region was largely determined by migratory routes and, to some extent, by ethnicity. In general, migrants who made the overland journey across the prairies ended their travels in the Northern Mines. Those who reached California by sailing around South America to San Francisco were as likely to go to either mining region. Gold seekers who came by a southern land route, from Mexico and elsewhere, generally wound up their trip in the Southern Mines.¹¹ Given these migratory tendencies, and the presence of American miners already working the northern diggings, the northern region had a larger native-born population, numerically and percentage-wise, than did the southern.

Additional factors may have accounted for the initial concentration of foreign-born in the Southern Mines. There, the early presence of Catholic, Spanish-speaking miners possibly served as a magnet for other Latin groups. In the first three seasons of prospecting, moreover, the superiority of the North over the South in mineral wealth was not yet apparent, as both sections enjoyed rich, easily worked surface diggings.

This fact, coupled with the belief that the southern region was the prime source of gold, suggests that alien miners would be somewhat more likely to head there upon reaching California.

Information derived from the Census of 1850 confirms the preference of foreigners for the Southern Mines. That year, 34.5 percent of the area's population was born outside of the United States. (In Calaveras County the foreign-born comprised a similar 34 percent.) In the Northern Mines it was only 15.3 percent.¹²

By the mid-1850s, the easily worked placer claims were becoming exhausted and the mining population began drifting away. The subsequent rise of corporate mining and wage labor was a factor in the continued decline of the mining population in the 1860s and 1870s, for many refused to work for wages and headed to newly-discovered mineral regions beyond California.

Changes in the ethnic composition of both the Northern and Southern Mines accompanied the overall population decline. The makeup of the population engaged in mining was becoming more heavily ethnic because the native-born either did not have the skills for quartz mining, or turned to farming, or moved out. By 1870, the three leading ethnic communities in the Southern Mines were the Irish (23 percent), Germans (16 percent), and the English (14 percent). The English (Cornish) and the numerous Irish fulfilled the quartz industry's need for skilled miners and inexpensive manual labor. A similar situation applied to the Northern Mines.¹³

In one important respect, Calaveras and neighboring Amador differed from every other mining county: in both, the Italians rather than the Germans were the second largest immigrant group. They accounted for 16 percent of Calaveras' foreign-born and 18.8 percent of Amador's.¹⁴ By 1910, they comprised more than one-third of the immigrant population in both counties.

Statistical information derived from the federal censuses to determine the size of ethnic communities in the mining counties can distort historical reality if it is not used in conjunction with other sources. The Latin American, Chinese, and Slavic populations illustrate different facets of this problem.

Neither the federal census of 1850 nor that of 1860 provides any information on the Mexican population, yet the writings of contemporaries clearly indicate that it was a large and important element in the early history of Calaveras and the other mining counties. "There were many villages peopled nearly altogether by Mexicans" noted a Calaveras sojourner of the 1850s. Many of the county's future villages, including Calaveritas, Campo Seco, and San Andreas had been the campgrounds of early Mexican miners, while San Andreas and Lancha Plana were the chief centers of the local Mexican population. By 1850, San Andreas already had an estimated 1,000 Mexican residents. There "t/he streets . . . and gambling rooms were crowded with them, loafing about in their blankets doing nothing," according to the uncharitable opinion of J. D. Borthwick.¹⁵

By 1870, when the federal census first acknowledged the existence of the Mexican population, only 255 members of that group were enumerated. By 1910, that figure had dwindled to 58.¹⁶ Based simply on census information, therefore, one would erroneously conclude that Mexicans did not appear in Calaveras until well after the gold rush, and that their numbers were insignificant throughout the span of six decades.

The Chilean population was never even listed in the censuses (it was part of the "South America" category). However, local geographic spots, such as "Chili Gulch" near Mokelumne Hill and the so-called "Chilean War" of 1849 attest to that group's previous presence in Calaveras, while county newspapers document the annual celebration of Chile's Independence day in Mokelumne Hill as early as 1861 and the existence of a Chilean hospital in that town as late as 1872.¹⁷

There is ample statistical data on the Chinese for the entire period under review but little supplementary material from the Chinese themselves.¹⁸ Whereas that group had only 150 residents in 1850, the lure of gold had jumped that figure to 3,657 in 1860, so that the Chinese constituted nearly one-quarter of the county's immigrant population and made Calaveras the fourth largest Chinese center of the fifteen mining counties. Due partly to the decline of placer mining and partly to the ensuing anti-Chinese outbursts, which flowered from the 1870s onward, the Chinese gradually abandoned the mountain counties. By 1910 only 49 (0.5 percent) Chinese remained, and Calaveras had a lower percentage of them than any of its 15 sister mining counties.¹⁹

The Slavic population demonstrates a slightly different twist to the census story. Until 1920 the federal census did not list Slavs as such, but rather as "Austrians." This was simply a recognition of the existing political reality in which ethnic Slavs were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For the historian relying solely on the census materials, it is impossible to discern what percentage of those "Austrians" were in fact Slavs or, more specifically, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.

Both the 1870 and 1880 censuses list an "Austrian" category but provide no statistics on those groups in the mountain counties. A logical but incorrect inference is that they had not yet arrived there. In fact, the Great Register of Voters (1877) lists 23 Slavic voters in Calaveras, and newspaper items occasionally refer to "Austrian" miners.²⁰

Secondary materials indicate that Serbs filtered into Amador (and most likely Calaveras) in the 1850s and 1860s and established a Slavonian Benevolent Society in Sutter Creek in 1872. With the assistance of the Serbs of Calaveras, St. Sava's Serbian Orthodox Church was established in Jackson in 1894. (It claims to be the oldest Serbian Orthodox church in North America.) By 1909, Calaveras' Serbs had established St. Basil's Church in Angels Camp.²¹

The maturation of the quartz mining industry after 1880 and its need for abundant cheap labor prompted a significant increase in the local "Austrian" population, so that by 1910 it comprised 11 percent of the foreign-born of Calaveras, and 21 percent in Amador County.²² According to the investigation of the U.S. Senate's Dillingham Commission in 1911,

Slavs constituted the only white immigrant group confined solely to general labor in two nearby quartz mines in Jackson, Amador County. This observation was bolstered by a contemporary Calaveras County pastor who said of those immigrants: "They are mostly poor, struggling . . . people who came to work hard and gave their best strength in the over-emphasized and not-at-all romantic occupation of gold mining --Our cemeteries tell their tales too truthfully." ²³ Unfortunately the census records never did tell their story, and its reconstruction is difficult.

Earlier in this narrative it was mentioned that in the Southern Mines the Italians were one of the largest European immigrant groups. Throughout the period 1870-1910, that region consistently led the north in the percentage of Italians among its immigrants, and Calaveras continued to have the second largest Italian community in the entire mining country. ²⁴ Given the numerical importance of the Italians, it behooves us to look more closely at the history of that group in Calaveras County.

Section III

According to one source, two-thirds of the Italians in California in 1849 had come from the East Coast, and the remainder from South America, especially Argentina and Peru. ²⁵ Which exact travel routes these and later gold rush Italian immigrants took to reach California and the numbers using each route is not known, but we do know the general routes they used.

A sizable contingent of California's Italians emigrated via ship from

South America up the West Coast to San Francisco. A significantly larger portion came directly from Europe or via temporary residence on the East Coast. How many came directly from Europe and how many lived on the eastern seaboard before arriving in California cannot be determined.

Most of the Italians who came from the East Coast either sailed to Panama, Mexico, or Nicaragua and then trekked overland to the Pacific where the sea voyage was resumed, ending in San Francisco. From there, fortune seekers heading to the mines usually traveled up the Sacramento or San Joaquin Rivers, and then overland to the foothills. This trip required about a week and cost a minimum of \$16.²⁶

Immigrants arriving by sea and landing in San Francisco could have headed as easily for the northern as the southern mining region, since which way they should proceed from San Francisco was an "open question."²⁷ Thus we might expect Italian immigrants to be equally distributed in the population of both regions. This was not the case, however. In 1850, 78 percent were in the southern mining region and only 17 percent in the northern mines. Clearly, Italians had answered this "open question" in a particular way.

Once established there, chain migration may have served to replenish the lifeblood of the Italian community. No doubt, employment in the quartz mines also influenced that trend, but there is no way, short of a very time consuming analysis of the census tracts, to determine precisely what percentage of Italian immigrants were miners. Some evidence can be culled from voter registration lists as well as from the

report of the Dillingham Commission. In 1877, 68 percent of the 344 registered Italian voters listed mining as their principle occupation and 41 percent in 1909. In 1911 the Commission found in its investigation of the Italian quartz miners of Jackson that 58 percent had been in the United States less than five years, and that an additional 28 percent had resided there no more than nine years.²⁸ Evidently, mining was a contributing factor to the continued influx of Italians to Calaveras.

Unlike the Chinese and Latin Americans, who were forced to live in ethnic enclaves, the Italian population was spread throughout the county, although some areas (Calaveritas and Vallecito) had a higher concentration of Italians than the county as a whole. Often boarding houses near the mines had a specific ethnic clientele. Italians operating boarding houses or related hotel and restaurant business exemplify in varying degrees a crucial element making for the long-term residential stability of that immigrant group, namely occupational diversification. While a number of Italians remained directly dependent on mining, others established a limited economic buffer by moving into occupations indirectly dependent on that industry, and still others found avenues of employment which further removed them from the uncertainties of the mining economy.

Olivia Rolleri, Carlo Degano, Charles Gardella, Salvator Crezenzo and Lorenzo Oneta represent that contingent of entrepreneurs who moved one step away from mining by catering to the food and shelter needs of the miners.

Rolleri, born in Italy and married in California in 1861, spent the first twenty years of her marriage moving throughout Tuolumne County as her husband tried his luck at mining, ranching and eventually merchandising. Widowed in 1888, she moved to Angels Camp and established a boarding house, soon known as the Calaveras Hotel. "This hotel," stated an ad in an 1897 edition of San Francisco's Italian newspaper, L'Italia, "the largest on the Coast, is supplied with all the comforts which science can provide. More than 100 very clean and airy rooms are available to any class of people."²⁹ An astute businesswoman, "Grandma" Rolleri soon had purchased adjoining hotel property as well as several ranches, a butcher shop, and a saloon. The produce and meat from those ranches were served at her hotel. After nearly forty years of entrepreneurship, Olivia Rolleri died in 1927.³⁰

Among the other Italian hostellers and restaurateurs of the county were Carlo Degano of Sheep Ranch, Charles Gardella of Mokelumne Hill, and Lorenzo and Magdalena Oneto of San Andreas, all of whom were in business in the 1880s and 1890s. The Onetos' Colombo Hotel was reputed to serve such good meals that the proprietors could "set a table for King Humber."³¹ Local restaurateurs included, but were not limited to, Evangelista Solari, proprietor of the Silver Mountain Restaurant in San Andreas in the mid-1860s, and Salvator Crezenzo of the French Restaurant in Angels Camp, where a diner in the 1860s could purchase a meal for 50 cents, or 75 cents with wine included.³²

Another occupational pattern common to a large number of Calaveras

Italians was a tendency to engage simultaneously in diverse employments. Initially, this may have been prompted by economic necessity, especially once the flush placer mining days had ended. Italians began to cultivate small plots of land for garden produce--a skill these peasants had learned in Italy--which they either consumed or sold for supplementary income. Eventually they became full-time farmers, but when a shrinking population limited their market, they again relegated farming to a part-time occupation and took up selling some of their home-grown produce along with dry goods.

Lucca Canepa, N. Costa, and Andrea Lagomarsino are typical of those immigrants who moved from mining to agriculture in their quest for financial stability.

Like the majority of his countrymen in Calaveras, Canepa was a north Italian (from Liguria) who brought his family from Italy several years after he immigrated to California. Arriving in Calaveras in 1860, he mined for gold, but quickly discovered his distaste for that work and his attraction to the land. He and his brother-in-law jointly acquired a parcel of land in Vallecito which they planted in fruit trees and grape vines. While the vineyard and orchard were young and unproductive, Canepa made a living growing vegetables and selling them in nearby mining camps. He remained a farmer the rest of his life.³³

N. Costa of the Italian Gardens on Middle Bar Road was another early produce merchant. His newspaper ads informed the public that he had for sale "Summer Fruits of the season in unlimited quantities

In the vegetable line we defy competition as we have for sale the choicest varieties of vegetables cheap for cash." 34

Finally, there was Andrea Lagomarsino, who came to the county in 1857 via the broken voyage route from Panama. Along with two colleagues he successfully mined a portion of the Calaveras River and then took his share of the money to buy two 80-acre parcels near Mokelumne Hill. At that point, Lagomarsino was still infected by the gold bug and not ready to commence farming. Hearing of the gold strike in British Columbia, he and his colleagues headed north. This time luck was not on their side and they soon returned to Calaveras to develop their property. From that time until his death in 1897, Andrea Lagomarsino engaged successfully in the produce business. 35

John Peirano is representative of those Italians who made the additional step from agriculture to operating a general store in Angels Camp. Peirano reached San Francisco from his native Genoa in 1850 and headed for Calaveras County and Angels Creek. Evidently successful at mining, he purchased a sizable amount of land near Angels Creek and developed it into a vineyard and orchard. Somewhat later, Peirano opened a general merchandise store in Angels Camp, which he ran until his death in 1887. 36

Of course, not all Italians followed the patterns sketched above. Some never engaged in mining, realizing from the outset that greater financial opportunities awaited merchants who catered to the needs of miners--hence the long-standing joke about "the miners mining the gold, and the Italian merchants mining the miners." Those merchants no

doubt benefited from the existence of a large Italian population in Calaveras, since the immigrants preferred dealing with their own as a manifestation of both ethnic solidarity and convenience. Thus Italian merchants had an initial advantage over those county businessmen who had no such built-in clientele.

Some evidence exists that several Italian merchants provided a banking service of sorts to their countrymen; namely, securing gold dust and jewels in their store safes. Antonio Gagliardo of Douglas Flat was one of those merchant-bankers. A "Dealer in Dry Goods, Men's and Boys' Clothing, Hardware, Crockery, Cigars, Tobacco, Groceries, and Provisions," Gagliardo equipped his store with iron shutters and a shot-gun window beside the rear door so that the guard could better protect the safe housed there.³⁷ Such precautions did not always deter robbers. In 1865, the safe in an Italian store at Vallecito was robbed of \$2,500, \$500 of which was jewelery. At Camanche Camp in 1868, Domenick Cavagnaro's store safe was broken into and relieved of \$4,200, of which an estimated \$400 belonged to "depositors."³⁸

Before leaving the subject of Italian merchants, a few of the earliest county businessmen should be mentioned. They include: S. Ruffino of West Point (1863-1887); Bartalomo Dughi of Mountain Ranch (1860s); L. Cassinelli, G. Dasso, and C. Agostini of San Andreas (1870s); Luke Sanguinetti and John Arata of Vallecito (1880s); and lastly, Luigi Costa, who settled in Calaveritas in 1850-52 and operated a general store there until his death in 1912. His epitaph contained a characterization which

could be applied to a number of his countrymen as well: "able and ambitious" they were willing to "undertake any enterprise that promised legitimate gain." ³⁹

In concluding this survey of the occupational history of Italians, it is worth noting that some were the proprietors of saloons, butcher shops, livery stables and other businesses. Frank Perretti, for instance, owned the Murphys and Altaville Toll Road until 1885, when Joseph Oneto gained a controlling interest. He continued to operate it until it became a free public road in 1911. Commencing in San Andreas in 1882, the Raggio brothers developed a stage business delivering goods over 230 miles of Mother Lode roads by 1900. They also owned a logging camp near Murphys which supplied lagging to the mines between 1894 and 1910. ⁴⁰

Compared to some other ethnic groups, Italians were not so heavily concentrated in town businesses, but were more diversified occupationally. Yet it is possible that too much can be made of their variegated employment pattern as an explanation for the group's apparent success. Large numbers of those immigrants were directly dependent on mining for their livelihood and were unable to achieve financial security; many ultimately drifted to San Joaquin Valley communities and San Francisco. Their fate is unknown but, if it could be included in the analysis, might alter the research findings in a substantially negative way. Moreover, the Italian immigrants' own definition of success might have had more to do with their long-term presence in the county than their particular employment. It is plausible that merely owning a cottage or several acres

of land was a significant upward step for them and a source of satisfaction which led to the initial commitment to root themselves in the county. Until more detailed studies are conducted on that group, these potential explanations cannot be confirmed or rejected outright. It is clear, however, that in the political life of Calaveras the Italians were active from an early date.

The earliest available statistical information on the Italian voters is for 1877. That year they comprised the third largest group of ethnic voters, trailing only the Irish, and almost equalling the Germans. By 1908-09, they had moved into first place. Unfortunately neither the Great Register of 1877 or that of 1908-09 lists their party affiliation, yet comments in the local press suggest that they were generally in the Democratic camp. "When the polls were opened at this precinct," reported the San Andreas Register in 1865, "almost the first man that voted was an Italian, and they rolled in, in a continued line till nearly noon, each presented his papers, and deposited his democratic /sic/ vote"41

Some evidence indicates that Italians were quick to become citizens and to exercise the franchise. "No class of Europeans are more ready to become citizens of the United States than the Italians," asserted a newspaper in 1860.⁴² Contemporary observers disagreed as to what prompted that eagerness for citizenship. Republicans occasionally charged that the Italians owed their naturalization papers to local Democratic politicians who gathered groups of them at election time, quickly and illegally issued citizenship papers, herded the men to the polls and

instructed them to vote the Democratic ballot. They "knew no more about what they were voting for than a flock of sheep," charged one source. When a "flock of the 'Garibaldi batallion'" was asked to name the nation's president, the response was "Ben Thorn," the county sheriff and a Democrat. 43

Those who claimed that Italians were pawns of the Democrats asserted that the local contingent of that party operated a "naturalization mill" at Knight's Ferry (Stanislaus County). A letter to the Copperopolis Courier described the alleged naturalization process:

Seventy-five or eighty /immigrants/ were put through the Stanislaus County Mill to-day, Calaveras county furnishing the raw material. Four-fifths of this stock is owned within ten miles of the county seat of the latter county, yet to this court is paid the doubtful compliment of being selected to rush through and furnish with papers full and complete, seventy-five or eighty villainous looking guerrillas, scarcely one of which can speak the English language, and not a tenth of the number but who had lost his first papers, and yet were without exception admitted to citizenship on presenting an affidavit written by somebody and subscribed to by a member of the X family. 44

These charges are difficult to substantiate or refute. An analysis of the county naturalization records does not solve the problem. Those records are unavailable for the period in question, and when the extant records are reviewed, there is little overt evidence that naturalization papers were received shortly before an election date. What is at least curious is a tendency for the authorization of citizenship papers to cluster at particular months. Perhaps this was the tip of the much-discussed illegal iceberg, but it may simply reflect legitimate considerations for which the record supplies no information.

Because of their numerical strength the Italians were courted by both parties. By 1877, the Republican party was unsuccessfully running Joseph Devoto for county treasurer because he was "a representative man among an influential class of our citizens--the Italians--and it would certainly be unfair, as well as impolitic, for Republicans to give the slightest occasion for a suspicion that they had been lukewarm in support on account of nationality." 45

In spite of their supposed political clout and assertions by some Italians that in Calaveras and Amador Counties they had the local governments virtually in their control, it is instructive that no Calaveras Italian held any significant local public office in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ That county never produced an Italian-American politician of comparable political stature to Amador County's Anthony Caminetti, who was a force in California Democratic politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Woodrow Wilson's Commissioner-General of Immigration. Indirectly, though, Calaveras could claim Louis Devoto--son of Benedetto Devoto of Mountain Ranch--who was elected to the state Assembly from San Francisco in the early years of the twentieth century.

To summarize the outlines of the Italian experience in Calaveras County, it appears that their early arrival in large numbers, coupled with occupational flexibility and diversification, enabled a significant number of those immigrants to withstand local economic fluctuations and to establish long-term residence. In turn, residential stability and the overall shrinkage of the county's population gradually led to that

group's integration into the local society and a dilution of ethnic identity.

This trend did not apply to the Jewish community. In many ways that group's experience was the converse of the Italians. Occupational concentration made the Jews vulnerable to the vagaries in the Mother Lode economy and ultimately forced them to abandon the mining counties for the state's population centers.

Section IV

A long-standing myth exists that the Jews who came to gold rush California confined their business activities to merchandising. No doubt, many did pursue that occupation, especially since a good number of them had been tradesmen and were of town or urban background--unlike the rurally rooted Italians. Yet a recent historical investigation of the Jews in the Mother Lode has concluded that "there are evidences of Jewish miners and claimants all through the region in the period before 1880."⁴⁷ In the period 1850-1880, for example, 91 mining claims were recorded by Jews in El Dorado County, and in Calaveras the number was 123.⁴⁸ It is difficult to determine how many Jews resided in the Mother Lode or temporarily took up mining because the federal censuses did not list them as a group. The bulk of these immigrants came from Germany and were enumerated in that category. Thus the number of Germans in Calaveras is somewhat inflated, and that of the Jews can only be approximated through other sources.

Among the identifiable Jewish prospectors of Calaveras County

were Charles Goldstein of West Point, who discovered a rich quartz lead in 1865 that was conservatively estimated to pay \$300 per ton; Lewis Gerstle, who prospected near Murphys; and Arnold Friedberger, who participated in several mining ventures and eventually settled in San Andreas via Sheep Ranch. Finally, there was Morris Cohen, who owned a rich mining claim which made news when thirteen pounds of solid gold was discovered there at one time.⁴⁹ Cohen exemplifies the experience--but in grand form--of those Jews who were involved in both mining and merchandising. Called the "Merchant Prince of Calaveras," Cohen arrived in New York from his native France in 1843 and came to Calaveras in 1850. There he and L. Dinkelspiel opened a store and established a flourishing trade with the miners. Eventually he acquired large mining interests in the area and became wealthy. Somewhat later he opened stores in Angels Camp and San Andreas but then left the county for permanent residence in San Francisco.⁵⁰

While Jews like Goldstein and Cohen played a direct role in the mining industry, a much larger portion was indirectly associated with it as town merchants supplying the needs of the miners and their families. Another common assumption about Jewish merchants in the mining towns--that they remained in the Mother Lode towns only long enough to acquire wealth and then moved to San Francisco or back East--has not held up under recent research. In fact, "to a significant degree, the credit for the settlement of urban areas in the mining regions of the West belongs to the Jewish merchants and not to the romantic miner or transient prospector."⁵¹ As a group, they were among the first to replace their tent

stores or burned down wooden ones (fires were a frequent occurrence in Mokelumne Hill, San Andreas and Angels Camp) with brick and stone buildings. Not only did those structures enhance the towns' appearance, but also reflected the merchants' commitment to their communities.⁵² To a degree, therefore, some of the surviving Mother Lode architecture owes its existence to the efforts of Jewish businessmen.

Occupationally, the majority of Jews were proprietors of dry goods and general merchandise stores. The next largest category comprised sellers of tobacco and literature, followed by those selling jewelry or making clock repairs. In the early 1850s, their places of business were usually wood-framed, canvas-covered structures and were referred to as "Jew shops." "The Jew slop-shops," commented one observer in 1851, "were generally rattle-trap erections about the size of a bathing-machine, so small that one-half of the stock had to be displayed suspended from projecting sticks outside. They were filled with red and blue flannel shirts, thick boots, and other articles suited to the wants of the miners, along with Colt's revolvers and bowie-knives, brass jewelry, and diamonds like young Koh-i-noors."⁵³

Louis Davidson of Mokelumne Hill was one of these early merchants. Born in Germany, he worked as a clerk in New York City before coming to California in 1850. Once there, he headed directly to Mokelumne Hill and opened a make-shift store, displaying articles for sale on a clothes line. In 1856, his "store" was destroyed by fire, but he was soon back in business at a new location.⁵⁴

Isidore Sokolowsky, also a Mokelumne Hill merchant, owned one of the largest general merchandise stores in the town. Like his competitors, Sokolowsky made buying trips to San Francisco and then advertised his newly-acquired stock in local newspapers:

The subscriber having just returned from San Francisco with the most extensive stock of groceries, provisions, liquors, confectionary, cigars, tobacco, etc., ever brought to the mines is now prepared to offer the citizens of Mokelumne Hill and vicinity better bargains, fresher goods, and a larger assortment to select from than other establishment /sic/ in this town. My stocks of wines and liquors is /sic/ unsurpassed for purity Also on hand a complete assortment of picks, shovels, ax handles, axes, pick handles, nails all sizes, hammers and in fact every article usually found in an assortment store. All goods warranted. Goods delivered free of charge. Give me a call and determine for yourselves. Recollect the place! Centre Street, opposite Milner's Drug Store." 55

To merchants like Sokolowsky goes some of the credit for bringing the latest fashions to Mother Lode towns. In turn, their store goods reflected the growing stability and domestication of the mining towns as miner-oriented goods were increasingly supplemented by a wide assortment of dresses, children's apparel and other garments.

Some Jewish merchants, such as M. Davidson, engaged in branch merchandising. While this could mean operating two or more stores within the county, as practiced by Morris Cohen, it also meant that a Calaveras store was a branch of a San Francisco-based operation. Direct ties to San Francisco wholesale and retail houses gave the Mother Lode affiliate stores somewhat of a competitive edge. Thus Myer Davidson, owner of the "One Price Store" in Mokelumne Hill, informed the

public in 1865 that

to keep pace with the times, and in order to retain the advantage over my competitors I have now established myself in San Francisco, and have thus the facilities for supplying my Store with the latest arrivals of all kinds of gent's clothing, dry goods, boots and shoes, carpets, oil cloths, boy's clothing. . . . Particular attention will be paid to the selection of such articles in the San Francisco Market.

56

Kohleberg, Rosenbaum and Co. of San Andreas also served as an affiliate of the San Francisco-based A. S. Rosenbaum and Co. 57

How many Calaveras merchants emulated the practices of the branch store proprietors cannot be determined, but it is worth acknowledging the existence of the following Jewish tradesmen: B. Strauss of Angels, who sold dry goods and "fine goods, at cheap rates," and general merchants Friedberger and Haslacher, also of Angels; J. Retteberg and M. Rosenbaum of Copperopolis, dealers in general merchandise and clothes, respectively; L. Rosenberg, a dry goods seller in San Andreas; Hexter, Adler and Co., Mokelumne Hill grocers; and L. Weil, a variety store owner in that town. 58

Dealers in tobacco and jewelry comprised the next largest group of Jewish tradesmen. The tobacco merchants often sold foreign and English language newspapers and periodicals as well.

Among the county's Jewish jewelers and tobacco merchants were: A. Saloman, a Murphys jeweler; I. S. Rosenbaum and L. & J. Openheimer, tobacco merchants of San Andreas; H. Wolfstein of Angels Camp, who offered "books, stationery, and a circulating library, pipes, peanuts, etc." as well as tobacco products; L. Weil, of Mokelumne Hill;

and Jo Meyers, of Copperopolis, both of whom dealt books and tobacco.⁵⁹

As a group Jewish merchants were highly successful in the short run. Robert Levinson's statistics for Calaveras County in 1860 bear this out. He found that they accounted for less than 1 percent of the county's population but owned 7.8 percent of all the real and personal property and made up 7.8 percent of the tax assessment rolls.⁶⁰

This economic clout was augmented by their active involvement in the political and social life of their communities. Jews did not run for political office but actively supported various political causes, such as the movement to close all businesses on Sundays. Statewide, that movement reflected California's growing domestication as well as a backlash against the excesses associated with earlier mining camp life. Edward Brown's reminiscences contained a description of a typical Sunday in Mokelumne Hill of 1851: "More business is transacted at the Hill on Sundays than any other three days in the week. Monte tables were in operation, teamsters were selling provisions from their wagons. . . . A bowling alley and numerous saloons were crowded with customers."⁶¹ As family men desirous of a more refined environment for their wives and children, the Jewish merchants could support the Sunday closing movement even though it wrapped itself in the cloak of Christian morality. As businessmen, they saw the benefit of one day of rest being observed by all commercial elements.

In 1858, the state legislature passed a Sunday Closing Law, but it was honored largely in the breach. By 1871, some Mokelumne Hill busi-

ness elements were attempting to reinvigorate the law locally. Among them were K. Hexter, L. Davidson, and Adolph Adler. Along with others, they wrote a resolution designed to close the town's business every Sunday, commencing October 1871. Other merchants refused to sign it, including a Mr. Costa who told them heatedly: "Gentlemen, you close the bar-rooms--me open; you no close bar-rooms--me open." The latter outlook prevailed and the resolution was retracted, prompting the local town newspaper to conclude: "The idea that the businessmen of a country village can be induced to agree upon any proposition relative to business affairs, is a comical absurdity. You might as well attempt to bore through the Sierras with a boiled carrot, or drown the devil in holy water. The thing 'can't be did.'" 62

The community involvement of pioneer Jews also reflects the absence of overt anti-Semitism in Calaveras and other gold rush communities. 63 Why this was true there but did not hold for other areas of the nation is not easily explained. Perhaps the fluidity of early California society and the fact that almost all the state's residents were newcomers played a role. A "live and let live" attitude may have prevailed among the heterogeneous pioneers, at least as it applied to whites. Likewise Jews benefited from the popular perception of "community," which was defined largely along racial lines, and incorporated Caucasians only.

Another significant aspect of Jewish history in the mining counties which differed from that elsewhere was the greater impact of frontier environment on the erosion of old world cultural patterns. "If there was

any significant difference between the Jews in the gold rush and those in other parts of the United States, it was that . . . the 'melting pot' of the Mother Lode took on the characteristics of a pressure cooker." 64

"Pressure cooker" may be too strong a description of the acculturation process, but it is apparent that in Calaveras County the religious life of Jews underwent significant modifications, even though they made no conscious effort in that direction. To the contrary, they took several stabs at forming religious and fraternal organizations, all of which were only temporarily successful. In 1857, for instance, a Jewish cemetery was established in Mokelumne Hill and that same year the Jews of Amador and Calaveras pooled their resources to create Congregation Beth Israel in Jackson. (In 1858, M. Raphael, newly of Mokelumne Hill, became the congregation's president; however, by 1870, the synagogue had closed.) Finally, in 1860, the Jewish women of Mokelumne Hill organized a benevolent society. 65

Newspaper items document the observance of the High Holidays by the Calaveras Jewish community. Typical was an 1856 article appearing in the San Andreas Independent: "The /Jewish New Year/ day was generally observed by the Israelites in this vicinity in the closing of stores, etc." Similar reports appeared in other county newspapers at least until 1875, by which time Jews had begun to leave the mountain towns. 66

Several factors account for the Jewish diaspora from Calaveras and other Mother Lode communities. The occupational concentration of

that group, which initially accounted for its financial success, became a handicap during the hard times which settled on the county by the 1860s and did not begin to lift until the revitalization of the quartz industry in the mid-1880s. By that date it was too late.

As the county's population dropped from 16,884 in 1850 to 9,904 in 1880 and the market for the merchants' goods shrunk accordingly, Jewish tradesmen were forced to the financial wall and began to sell their businesses and move out. In 1858, the general store of Laventhal and Bro. of Murphys announced a close-out sale: "At a great loss, FOR CASH, for the next sixty days . . . in order to enable them to leave for the east. . . . COME AND BUY! And forget all about hard times."⁶⁷ In 1864, Henry Levy of San Andreas informed the public that he "designs removing with his family to San Francisco," while J. J. Seldner, the town's druggist, moved to Stockton in 1868. L. Weil, a Mokelumne Hill businessman since 1858 pulled out and moved to Virginia City in 1873.⁶⁸

Atypical was the experience of Fred Newberger, who also left the county, but soon returned. In February 1869, Newberger closed his Mokelumne Hill store after eight years of business and announced that he was moving to Chicago. His subsequent peregrinations took him not only there but also to New York and other east coast locations; yet by October 1869, Newberger was back in Mokelumne Hill because "f/or some inexplicable reason this place possesses a singular charm."⁶⁹

Declining population; lack of occupational diversification as a hedge against a stagnant local economy; and the growing tendency of gentile mer-

chants toward business specialization (i. e. , hardware or furniture stores, etc.) while Jews continued to operate in an increasingly less successful fashion as general merchandising proprietors, placed the latter at an economic disadvantage which accelerated their departure. By the 1880s, the Jewish presence in Calaveras was negligible, thereby bringing to a close an important chapter in that county's ethnic history. Because their Old World co-nationals--gentiles from Germany--did not suffer a similar fate, even though a significant number of them were involved in town trades, a glance at that group is in order.

Section V

In both the Northern and Southern Mines, the German immigrant community was one of the three leading foreign-born white groups for the entire period, 1870-1910. In the north it averaged 18.5 percent for those 40 years and 14.5 percent in the south. In Calaveras that figure was an impressive 13.5 percent.⁷⁰ Many Germans were engaged in mining--as were the Italians, but not the Jews--and contemporary accounts frequently mention them and their camps, such as Stoutenberg (later part of Murphys).

As the bloom wore off placer mining, a number of Germans, like the Italians, fanned out into a variety of occupations, ranging from farming and ranching to hotel proprietorships and merchandising. Like the Jews, many were engaged in town employment, but did not confine themselves to merchandising as did the Jews. Germans did have a near monopoly in

the brewing of beer. As early as the 1850s, Mokelumne Hill (a major center of Calaveras Germans) was the home of J. C. Behardt's Mokelumne Brewery, which produced 2,250 gallons of lager beer a week. G. B. Zaiss, "an old and experienced brewer" who "thoroughly understands the art of making Good and Wholesome Lager, " operated the Copperopolis Brewery. Other Germans made wine and brandy on a commercial basis. This was true for John Heinsdorff of Murphys in the 1860s and somewhat later for Frederick Mayer.⁷¹ The net effect of this employment diversification was the long-term establishment of a high proportion of the German population.

Given their large numbers, it is not surprising that the Germans established ethnic organizations and publications. In this regard they were more active than the Italians, and different from the Jews, who confined their organizing mainly to religious-oriented institutions. By 1858, a German Concert Society existed in Mokelumne Hill as well as a German festival and a German language newspaper, the California Staatszeitung, published by Adolph Wagner.⁷² A local newspaper concluded that "No people on the face of the earth more fondly cherish the remembrance of the country that gave them birth than the natives of the 'Faderland.'" ⁷³

Ethnic solidarity was especially apparent during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. In August of that year a number of Mokelumne Hill Germans congregated at the hotel of their fellow countryman, George Leger, and voiced support for their "brethren in arms, who are struggling for the preservation of German liberty and unity against a powerful and aggressive foe." Subsequently, Leger was named president of a special committee

formed to raise war relief funds.⁷⁴

Occasionally, German ethnic solidarity was interpreted as clannishness, particularly in the political arena. During the election of 1862, when some prominent Germans urged their countrymen to vote the Republican ticket, a Democrat warned that ethnic considerations should have no place in American politics and that such a practice was fraught with danger.

"When men discover that any class of foreigners vote only for their own people, even on opposite tickets, they will retaliate and give their suffrage against them. . . . Let it once be understood that men clannishly vote for their countrymen, instead of voting for their party principles, and there will be as many parties as there are nationalities represented in the country."⁷⁵ Given the Italians' predictably Democratic vote, it appears that the sticking point was that the wrong party stood to benefit, and not clannishness itself.

Based on the limited historical information on the German community, a reasonable conclusion is that those immigrants were able to remain a long-term force in the development of Calaveras County for the same reasons as the Italians, namely, numerical strength and occupational diversity. For some groups, such as the Latin Americans and Chinese, who also were well-represented in early Calaveras, sheer numbers did not prove beneficial. Indeed, their very presence was considered detrimental to the interests of the community, from which they were ostracized for reasons of race. Occasionally, even an immigrant group which bore an "insider's" label could taste the xenophobic wrath of the miners, as

did the French, but that was not the norm. To understand this overall situation more fully, it is important to look at xenophobic, nativist and racist patterns in Calaveras County's history.

Section VI

The discovery of gold and subsequent belief that wealth was available to anyone wishing to prospect for it gave temporary validity to the American concept of equal opportunity. Because of the initial abundance of the precious metal, previous mining experience and technological expertise were unnecessary; one could learn the rudiments of mining in several days and be on par with his competitors in the race for success. Equality of opportunity was proscribed only by the number of workable mining claims in a particular district. That realization led to the conclusion that claims should belong to members of the community, which by definition meant white Americans or those judged capable of assimilation--i. e. , European immigrants. Hispanics, Chinese and others were considered outsiders. Given that outlook, Latin Americans quickly became a source of concern to the white miners, who feared that the Mexican, Chilean, and Chinese miners were stripping the placers of gold to which they were not entitled.

Compounding the situation was the national issue of slavery in the 1850s and the fear that that problem was being introduced to California through Latin American "peons" and Chinese "coolies." Indeed, it was the peonage issue and its economic ramifications which sparked the so-

called "Chilean War" near Mokelumne Hill in 1849.

American nationalism also contributed to the anti-Mexican environment. Only a few years had passed since the Mexican War and former American soldiers, many of whom harbored decidedly anti-Mexican sentiments, were well represented among the argonauts. As the flow of Mexican miners to the gold fields increased, so also did a worry that the situation could lead to a retaking of California by Mexico. Most likely those concerns help to account for the overreaction to the protest of the Foreign Miners Tax by French and Mexican miners in the famous "French Revolution" of 1850 in Sonora. The majority of the 4,000 protesting foreigners were Mexican and at least 150 of the Americans who rushed to help quell the "Revolution" were Mexican War veterans "who put on the remains of their uniforms, and, with regimental colors high, marched to Sonora for action." 76

By a combination of methods, including the Foreign Miners Tax of 1850 as well as violence, the Latin American population was gradually forced from the mining districts or restricted to areas considered worthless by the white miners. In turn, an unknown number of Mexicans took to robbery and especially harassment and claim jumping of the Chinese --one of the few ethnic groups considered beneath them. It was within this social context that Joaquin Murietta rose to fame as a bandito and that Mother Lode newspapers began recording his exploits and those of his countrymen. "Some Chinamen living in the out-skirts of the town of Campo Seco," noted the San Andreas Register in reporting a robbery by

three Mexicans in 1864, "tied the Chinamen four in number, and hung them up by the neck until they delivered over all the money in their possession." (The maligned and oppressed Indian population shared the Mexican community's dislike and contempt for the Chinese. An observer of Indians in the employ of a Chinese mining company at Big Bar wrote in 1856 that they had "grunts of dissatisfaction and dull-meat axe looks" for their "long-tailed task-masters." This contempt also manifested itself in their "yah-yah-yah-a-h imitation of John's jaw-breaking jargon.")⁷⁷ By 1870, however, the Mexican population had declined to less than 300. Along with other Latin American groups, the Mexicans had been effectively neutralized and were no longer an inflammatory issue in Calaveras County.

Many of the same economic motives which underpinned the anti-Hispanic acts also applied to the initial confrontations with the French, the major difference being that the French were regarded as insiders but were disliked for ethnocentric reasons. Thus the "French War" of 1851 was brought about by the greed of American miners who envied the French for the rich gold claim they were working and decided it should be theirs instead. The catalyst for calls to storm the French camp, however, was the alleged hoisting of the tri-color. Fortunately, the issue was mediated and before long cooler heads prevailed.⁷⁸

There is little information to document similar anti-foreign outbursts against other European groups in Calaveras County. The Italian experience seems instructive on this point. Unlike the French, who were

well represented in the mining camps by 1850, Italians counted for under 300 people in the state that year and were probably inconspicuous in the eyes of the American miners. By the time their numbers had grown significantly, the early flush placer mining days were waning and the Chinese were being singled out for scapegoating. It appears, too, that Italians were not easily intimidated by threats and could be as aggressive as the American-born in seizing the gold claims of others. In 1858, for instance, 41 Italian miners were arrested for "routing a mining company out of their claim on the San Antonio . . . and unlawfully, forcibly and riotously holding the same" 79

Finally, Italians, as insiders, could lay claim to due process of law. They were quick to manipulate it to their advantage, despite only rudimentary legal knowledge, as the following story shows. It took place in Vallecito in the late 1850s or early 1860s and concerns an inquest in an apparent murder. It is told by a miner who witnessed the proceedings:

There was a lot of Eyetalians worked there then . . . and it was among these Eyetalians that the trouble began
/A/ fellow they called Antone was killed and another Eye-talian named Joe, was accused of killing him But that killing kicked up the biggest fuss you ever see. Seems like both of the fellers had a lot of friends and there was more fuss over it than there would have been over an American. /When the inquest started, / the Eyetalians, they gathered round thicker 'n flies when you cook cabbage.

/The inquest was delayed several times due to disputes over selection of a judge and a lawyer for the defendent. Eventually, it commenced and everyone went to view the corpse. / The man was laid out in a little low house . . . that you could hardly stand up in, and the corpse had been in that hot place for about four days, so when the room got filled up with all them jury fellers it was much easier breathing outside.

/Before long, the proceedings were interrupted again because the Italians claimed they needed an interpreter, and later a doctor to perform an autopsy on the victim. Following the doctor's report--the victim allegedly died of a perforated stomach due to drinking too much wine--the Italians became more alarmed and obtained a new defense lawyer, who eventually had the case dismissed. /

But when they come to hunt for Joe it turned out nobody had seen him for a week. Everybody had been so busy attending to the inquest that no one had thought of him, and he had skipped out the day before the inquest began. ⁸⁰

Italians suffered little if at all from the sting of xenophobia, but the Chinese were far less fortunate. They were the chief victims of anti-foreign and racial animosity which flowered in the gold camps of the early 1850s and did not subside until well after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

Section VII

The lure of gold drew the Chinese to California just as it had the other immigrant groups. Like Europeans, Chinese immigrants were preponderantly males who were single or had left their families in China, but unlike the Europeans the Chinese had a larger share of assisted immigration. This fact was later to be used against them by sinophobes who charged that the Chinese were merely slaves ("coolie labor" was the popularly used term) of the Oriental merchants and district companies that had sponsored them.

Reaction against the Chinese did not commence until 1852, when the first large wave of those immigrants reached California. Whereas there had been fewer than 100 Chinese in 1850, there were at least

20,000 in the state by 1852 and 3,600 in Calaveras County by 1860.⁸¹

Most quickly headed for the mining country, and it was not long after that the first agitation against them commenced.

The majority of Chinese placer miners worked in companies ranging from a handful of men to 25 or 30. Early Calaveras County newspapers contain frequent items describing their exploits. "At Big Bar, on the Mokelumne river," wrote the Independent in 1856, "a party of seven Chinamen are working a claim" In 1857 near Calaveritas "all along the stream, companies of Chinamen were at work Fifteen or twenty Chinamen work each claim, in the river bed, carrying all the useless sediment away in buckets, and sluicing out the paydirt." The main channel of the Calaveras River was also the site that year for "about twelve or more Chinese companies, (very large,) Some two hundred and fifty men are employed at different places between Greaserville and the Canon"⁸²

A number of observers were quick to note the "expeditious, practical and industrious" methods of the Chinese miners. "It is remarkable how scientific and systematic the Asiatics work their claims /N/one of their labor manifests a slovenly appearance; neatness and industry--like the labor of the ant--is the ruling feature in all they do."⁸³ On the one hand the industry of the Chinese was applauded because it touched one of the key components in the American value system. On the other hand, it was perceived as a direct threat to the miners because it exhausted the placers of their remaining gold and lessened the oppor-

tunities of white miners. Thus the Chinese, as outsiders, began to taste the same cluster of hostilities which had been reserved for Latin Americans. They were confined to menial tasks in the mining camps or, at best, allowed to purchase second-hand surface claims considered worthless by white miners.⁸⁴

Even those apparently worthless claims were soon receiving a covetous eye from white miners. By the late 1850s "dull times" had settled over the mining camps and the apparent success of the Chinese led to the conclusion that the depleted mining claims still contained enough gold--at least by the depressed standards of the time--to warrant their renewed use by Caucasians. Accordingly, the presence of Chinese was viewed as a hindrance to the economic survival of the insiders, for whom gold rush opportunities were supposed to exist. "The ground they have worked," informed the Independent in 1860, "would gladly be filled with white men, had they never destroyed its value, and the ground they are now working would in a few years be very acceptable to many of our own countrymen. They are every day removing an opportunity which should be left open to invite and encourage the permanent settlement of white men."⁸⁵

Compounding the anti-Chinese situation was the initial development of the quartz mining industry. The exhaustion of the placers meant that the miners would have to turn to the gold buried deep in the earth, and that required engineering expertise as well as special equipment and large financial resources. The formation of mining companies and the

introduction of wage labor was not long in coming. That new reality confirmed the end of independent mining on a large scale and the short-lived period of perceived unlimited opportunity. Unfortunately for the Chinese, their presence in large numbers coincided with these developments, and the limited use of Chinese wage laborers in quartz operations was viewed either as contributing to the rise of corporate mining or denying jobs to needy white laborers, or both. Thus a North Branch miner who clung to the illusion that wage labor was but a temporary condition, could bitterly charge that "Capitalists who are largely engaged in works that give employment to large numbers of men, find a profit in keeping this class /Chinese/ of people among us, but it will be at the expense of the white miner, who, through bad luck in prospecting, or some other misfortune, is forced for a time to work for wages." Those who reluctantly accepted the new employment reality were equally bitter because they saw jobs going to the Chinese rather than themselves. "One of the oldest Quartz Companies in Angel's are /sic/ employing Chinamen when there are plenty of white men that have families to provide for, and children to school, who would be glad to have a steady place to work. The reason why they hire Chinese is, either that they carry no tales, or else the paltry difference of fifty cents a day. When they can hire a white man for \$3, they can hire a monkey for \$2.50. How long are we to allow this to proceed?"⁸⁶ The response was not long in coming.

In 1852, the Foreign Miners tax was reinstated and directed primarily at the Chinese, who were required to pay \$3 per month and

\$10 by 1858. To the frustration of the sinophobes, the Chinese preferred to pay the tax than to incur a direct confrontation with the white majority. Soon, however, those immigrants were being accused of evading the tax collector, which was interpreted as tangible proof of their unworthiness for acceptance in the larger society.⁸⁷

A more dramatic approach to ridding the mining counties of Chinese and, it was believed, halting the company mines, was for the miners to assemble and pass resolutions ordering the Chinese to leave the mining districts. This anti-Chinese, anti-capitalist prototype was established in nearby Columbia, Tuolumne County, in 1852, and before long was emulated in Calaveras County. In the South Fork mining district an assemblage of miners passed a set of resolutions calling for the banishment of Chinese miners from the district within six months and forbidding white miners to sell their claims to Chinese or to employ them. Stricter action was taken a month later by the miners at Douglas Flat, who gave the Chinese ten days to cease mining and thirty days to dispose of their claims. The preamble of the Douglas Flat resolutions clearly indicates the concerns of the miners: ". . . whereas the presence of so numerous a class of persons is a great detriment to the State, and if allowed will, when the placer mines become exhausted which will soon be the case, and mining operations shall have passed into the hands of capitalists, cause coolie labor to take the place of the present hardy, intelligent, independent miners and useful citizens . . ." ⁸⁸

In spite of such activities Chinese miners remained in Calaveras

and the other mining counties until the mid-1860s and early 1870s, by which time the reworked streams and gulches had little or no gold to offer. Thereafter, those immigrants began an exodus to other California towns, where they generally sought employment in agriculture and various menial tasks. Of course, some Chinese who remained in Calaveras continued to try their luck at mining or worked for other miners. In the 1870s, for example, Samuel Moser employed Orientals at his Spring Gulch hydraulic mining operation and paid them \$1.62 per day.⁸⁹ By 1883, most of the hydraulic operations near San Andreas were Chinese owned. "One by one the old hydraulic mines in this vicinity are passing into the hands of Chinamen," recorded the Calaveras Prospect. Elsewhere it noted that "About six or seven hydraulic mines will soon be in full blast near Pine Peek. These mines are owned by Chinamen" ⁹⁰

By 1884 even hydraulic mining was no longer an option to Chinese or other miners. The Sawyer decision of that year enjoined hydraulic mining operations due to the problems which the slickens posed to the agricultural interests of the valleys. Hydraulic mining was effectively dead thereafter.

The ever-declining Chinese population which stayed in Calaveras generally pursued non-mining employment, becoming cooks, laundrymen, produce peddlers, domestics and menial laborers in saw mills and on ranches. Some confined their activities to the various Chinatowns of the county, while others served the needs of local white communities as well. Representative of this occupational spectrum were Ching Jim, who

operated a laundry in San Andreas in the 1890s; Hop Lee, a general merchant of that same town who advertised "a full line of ladies' ready-made underwear, teas of the best quality, etc."; Chinese Louis, Big Sam and Ling Sing, who were cooks at the San Andreas Metropolitan Hotel and the Golden Eagle and Commercial Hotels of Angels Camp. There was also Willie Lee, who worked as the cook at Rolleri's Calaveras Hotel and gained a reputation as "one of the finest ravioli makers in the Mother Lode." 91

Even the Chinese employed in these non-mining occupations were not immune from occasional anti-Oriental agitation. In the mid-1880s there was a temporary resurgence of anti-Chinese sentiment throughout the West and California in particular. One strong manifestation was a local effort to boycott Chinese business establishments and whites who employed them. The rationale for this action was that the lack of employment would force the Chinese to repatriate. "Except that our people employ the Chinese they can not live here," contended the Prospect. 92 Such boycott efforts were rare and little action along that line materialized, however. Evidently Calaveras County residents, while negative in their attitudes toward the Chinese and supportive of national legislation against that group, no longer considered the local contingent a direct threat by the late 1880s. 94

Economic considerations had prompted the initial outpourings of hostility against the Chinese, but racism and ethnocentric, moral and social arguments in the anti-Chinese arsenal were long-standing com-

ponents of that behavior too. Recent research has documented the ethnocentric response of Americans--indeed Occidentals in general--to the Chinese well before the first wave of those immigrants landed on American shores. Measured against the allegedly superior culture of western civilization, and more particularly that of England, the religious, culinary, dress, and social practices of the Chinese appeared strange and inferior.⁹⁴ In Calaveras County the ethnocentric outlook revealed itself in many forms, one of which was in response to Chinese music and theatrical performances. Their music was described as being "a series of soft, whining tunes, varying between bad, worse and intolerable." Itinerant Chinese theatrical troupes received no better fare at the hands of the local press. Following the departure of such a company from San Andreas, the Independent wished: "May we never see their like again, or hear the 'howling and chattering teeth' of their Infernal tom-cat squalls and night-owl screeches." It offered its sympathy to other Mother Lode towns to be so-visited because of "the suffering and annoyance they will have to undergo . . . but hope they will bear it with true fortitude . . ."95

More pernicious still were the efforts to characterize the Chinese as morally and socially beneath contempt. Branded as gamblers, thieves, prostitutes, and drug addicts, they were not fit for incorporation into the larger society, for they "infest and infect, rot and riot like a leprosy in our midst--contaminating the moral atmosphere . . ."96 The tendency to see all in negative terms led one local resident to conclude that of the estimated 3,600 Chinese in Calaveras in 1860, 2,500

were "slaves" of Oriental mining companies, and "9/10ths" of the women were prostitutes. "The remainder of the lot are to be rated among petty thieves, merchants, gamblers and loafers who daily and nightly infest the stinking lanes which they congregate" 97

The inclination to generalize from the particular in regard to the Chinese is evident in the case of Hop Long, a local San Andreas laundryman "suspected of honesty." He was discovered stealing several pairs of boots from a local merchant, and based on that theft, the local press concluded that "his short-coming . . . has convinced a good many that stealing is a national vice of his countrymen." 98

Symbolizing the immorality of the Chinese (especially as it related to prostitution and opium smoking) and an on-going reminder of it were the local Chinatowns. Veiled in mystery, they were assumed to contain the worst forms of debauchery and to be potential contaminants of innocent white youth which ventured there. "Let any one go of an evening into the Chinese quarters of any of our towns," commented the Prospect in 1884, "and see the crimes that are carried on in the midst of our community; watch the little children who move in this vicinity to watch the moves of the Heathen Chinese, and probably in after time imitate their example. It is a shame and a scandal to us all." 99

Because of, and reinforcing the association of moral pollution with Chinatown, was the decision of public officials of Angels Camp in the 1890s to force that town's numerous white prostitutes to vacate their existing places of business and to take up residence in the local Chinese quarter.

There they remained until the flood of 1909 destroyed most of that section of town. 100

Given more than a quarter of a century of constantly negative statements about the Chinese character and the threat which it posed to the well-being of the nation, it is not surprising that violence was frequently perpetrated against that group from the gold rush years onward. In the 1850s even the legal system encouraged that behavior. In 1854, the state supreme court ruled that Chinese and other non-Caucasians could not testify in court in favor of or against whites. Not until 1872 was that ruling reversed, but the reversal did not stop physical assaults against the Chinese, or the general approval of such behavior by the community at large. The Chinese were fair game. Thus in 1883 a group consisting mainly of Italians, who had been drinking wine, singing and playing music at Latora's cellar, decided to amuse themselves by bursting into the kitchen of the Dughi boarding house near the Washington mine and informing the Chinese cook that "There shall not be a Chinaman in this part of the country. We own this part of the country." Before he could respond, he was "kicked, choked and abused." 101

Even children participated in the harassment of the Chinese. "Several youngsters just old enough to wear trowsers and short jackets were amusing themselves by throwing stones across the street at the Chinese wash-house," reported the Prospect in 1884. Such activities proved annoying to the Chinese, but potentially more lethal "games" could also be played, such as that recollected by one individual: "Many of the older

rowdy white boys, often . . . /threw/ rocks at their /Chinese/ houses, taunting them personally, or anything to stir them up. At one time they even launched a heavy wagon wheel down the hill into their homes. "102

Calamities befalling the Chinese were usually viewed either with amusement or indifference. Fights between contending Chinese factions were relished by white bystanders; expectations were usually high that the "Chinamen" would mame or kill each other. If that did not happen there was great disappointment, as in the case of a local reporter who "left the scene with a sigh at the thought of losing a Chinese cutting scrape or at least a justifiable homicide item." But when a Chinese fish peddler suffered a broken leg, a destroyed wagon, and the loss of his two companions in the accident, the Calaveras Prospect commented simply that "Such is life." 103

For the Chinese in Calaveras and elsewhere in the period 1850-1910, life was difficult and dangerous. Enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Geary Amendment of 1893 made their lives even harder, for those laws closed the doors to the bulk of Chinese immigrants and barred Chinese laborers already in the country from bringing their wives and families. Limited largely to celibacy or prostitutes--which furthered their immoral image--the Chinese remained not only a heavily male-oriented immigrant community, but one which was growing older and dying off. Even the Chinatowns of the county were slowly being obliterated by the ravages of time and nature.

During the heyday of Chinese immigration, Mokelumne Hill had the

largest Chinatown between Placerville and Angels Camp. Like most of the Chinatowns of the Southern Mines, it consisted largely of wooden structures and was frequently destroyed by fire. By 1930, all that remained of that previously flourishing quarter "consisted of several adobe houses in a state of ruin." Whereas in Angels Camp, once the center of all Chinese activity for southern Calaveras, "there is one Chinese house . . . still standing Surrounding it are heaps of rubbish"104

The 1909 flood which destroyed most of the Chinatown of Angels Camp takes on symbolic importance considering that the following year the federal census would record only 49 Chinese in Calaveras County. By 1910, that population had declined to the point of insignificance and its role in the development of Calaveras had come to an end.

Section VIII

For the bulk of the other immigrant groups in the county, 1910 was also a watershed year. By that time the newly-arrived were mainly southern Europeans, primarily Slavs and Italians, seeking employment in the mines. However, by then the quartz industry was entering a permanent course of decline and one mining operation after another began laying off workers, eventually closing down permanently. With few employment opportunities available to them in the foothills, the new immigrants headed elsewhere, thereby depriving local ethnic communities of a continued infusion of new blood necessary to perpetuate Old World cultures. The acculturation process was speeded still further

first by the outbreak of World War I, which stopped the overall flow of immigration to America, and subsequently by the postwar immigration quota laws of 1921 and 1924. With the immigration gates shut tight, Calaveras County's chapter in immigration history was over, but the recognition of its importance to our collective heritage had yet to arrive.

Footnotes

¹San Andreas Register, Sept. 15, 1866, 2.

²Calaveras Prospect, Feb. 11, 1893, 2.

³San Andreas Independent, June 23, 1860, 2.

⁴Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide: Immigration and the Last Frontier," Journal of American History LV (June 1968).

⁵J. A. Smith, "Statement of Purpose," Historical Bulletin, Calaveras County Historical Society, I (Oct. 1952), 2.

⁶Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California," California Historical Society Quarterly XIX, Part I (Dec. 1940), 323.

⁷Rodman W. Paul, California Gold (Lincoln, Neb., 1947), 110.

⁸What I call the Northern Mines has been labeled the "central section" by Paul. The Northern Mines included the counties of El Dorado, Placer, Nevada, Butte, Yuba, Sutter, Sierra, Plumas, and Sacramento. I have altered Paul's definition of the Southern Mines by including Amador County. In terms of ethnic composition Amador was more akin to the other five counties of the Southern Mines--Calaveras, Tuolumne, Mariposa, San Joaquin, and Stanislaus--than to those of the North.

⁹Calculations derived from statistical information in J. D. B. DeBow, Statistical View of the United States . . . (Washington, D. C., 1854), 116-18.

¹⁰Warren S. Thompson, Growth and Changes in California's Population (Los Angeles, 1955), 70.

¹¹Paul, California Gold, 110.

¹²Calculations derived from DeBow, Statistical View, 200. In the South only four of the six counties were organized, while in the North five of the nine had achieved that status. In Tuolumne, 51 percent of the population was foreign-born, whereas none of the Northern counties exceeded 18.5 percent.

¹³Calculations based on the Ninth Census. See appendix.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵J. D. Borthwick, 3 Years in California (Oakland, 1948), 250, 257; Richard Coke Wood, Calaveras, the Land of Skulls (Sonora, 1955), 57; Emmett P. Joy, Chronicles of San Andreas (Murphys, 1972), 3.

¹⁶Ninth and Thirteenth U. S. Censuses.

¹⁷Calaveras Chronicle /Mokelumne Hill/, Sept. 23, 1865, 2; Sept. 21, 1872, 3.

¹⁸In the case of blacks, both the statistical score sheet and the paucity of items--pro or con--about them in the local press suggest that that group was never an important element in Calaveras' history. At its high point in 1850 there were only 131 blacks, 77 in 1890, and 17 in 1910. Ninth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth U. S. Censuses.

¹⁹Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880 (Madison, 1967), 11; see appendices.

²⁰Registration of voters in California commenced in 1866. The 1877 register is the earliest available for Calaveras County. The county's naturalization records do not predate 1869. No Slavs are listed for that year.

²¹St. Sava Serbian Orthodox Church, "Pamphlet" (Jackson? 1974), unpaginated; Ellen H. Ladd, ed., A Brief History of Angels Camp (Murphys, 1973), 12.

²²See appendices.

²³U. S. Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries, Part 25 (Washington, D. C., 1911), 135-35, 139. Stephen N. Sestanovich, ed., Slavs in California (Oakland, 1937), 22.

²⁴See appendices.

²⁵Carlo Dondero, "L'Italia agli Stati Uniti ed in California," L'Italia Coloniale II (June 1901), 15.

²⁶Stephen Williams, "The Chinese in California Mines, 1848-1860," (paper) University of California, 1930, 25-26.

²⁷California Gold, 110.

²⁸Calculations derived from the Calaveras County Register of Voters, 1877 and 1908-09. Immigrants in Industries, 136.

²⁹L'Italia /San Francisco/, Sept. 16, 1897, 8.

³⁰Olivia Barden Harbinson, "The Rollari Family," Las Calaveras XIV (April 1966), 3-4.

³¹Calaveras Prospect /San Andreas/, Dec. 28, 1883, 3; Mountain Echo /Angels Camp/, Jan. 20, 1880, 3; Sherry Hewitt, "Gardella's Station," in . . . Annual Essay Contest on Local Calaveras History (n.p., 1960), 1.

³²San Andreas Independent, Oct. 13, 1860, 1; San Andreas Register, Jan. 7, 1864, 1.

³³Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Farbotnik, "The Canepas of Vallecito," Las Calaveras XIV (April 1966), 1-2.

³⁴Calaveras Chronicle, Nov. 9, 1878, 3.

³⁵Norman Lagomarsino, "The Lagomarsino-Werle Family," Las Calaveras XXVI (Oct. 1977), 1-2.

³⁶Mrs. John P. Lemue, "The John Peirano Family," Las Calaveras XIV (Jan. 1966), 3-4.

³⁷Mountain Echo, Jan. 20, 1880, 3; Joseph Henry Jackson, Anybody's Gold (New York, 1941), 347.

³⁸Copperopolis Courier, Nov. 25, 1865, 3; San Andreas Register, May 30, 1868, 3.

³⁹Louise Greenlaw, Scrapbook; Calaveras Prospect, Dec. 23, 1887, 3; Phil D. Alberts, A History of Mountain Ranch (n.p., 1967), 14; Calaveras Weekly Citizen /San Andreas/, May 13, 1871, 2; Wanda Richards, ed., Vallecito History (n.p., 1973), 8, 38. Mountain Ranch store proprietors Giovanni Rodesino and Luigi Domenghini are not listed in the text because they are of Swiss origin and not Italian.

⁴⁰The Dasso Brothers ran a livery stable in San Andreas in the mid-1880s, while Severino Gobbi and Jack Solari owned saloons in Mokelumne Hill and Vallecito, and B. Pendola a butcher shop in Angels. Joy, Chronicles of San Andreas, 20-21; Mountain Echo, Jan. 20, 1880, 3; Calaveras Prospect, June 13, 1884, 3.

⁴¹Calculations derived from the Great Register of 1877 and 1908-09. San Andreas Register, Sept. 9, 1865, 3; Calaveras Chronicle, April 6, 1867, 3.

⁴²San Andreas Independent, Nov. 10, 1860, 2.

⁴³Calaveras Chronicle, Sept. 16, 1865, 3.

⁴⁴Ibid., Sept. 16, 1865, 2.

⁴⁵Ibid., Sept. 1, 1877, 2.

⁴⁶Carlo Dondero, "Relazione sugl' italiane della Costa del Pacifico," /pamphlet/ (San Francisco, 1897), 23. In 1890 "Nino" Retagliatta served as road overseer of the San Andreas road district. Calaveras Prospect, Aug. 9, 1890, 3.

⁴⁷Robert Levinson, The Jews in the California Gold Rush (New York, 1978), 14.

⁴⁸Ibid., 15.

⁴⁹Calaveras Chronicle, Oct. 7, 1865, 2; Levinson, The Jews in the California Gold Rush, 16; I. Harold Sharfman, Nothing Left to Commemorate: the Story of the Pioneer Jews of Jackson, Amador County, California (Glendale, 1969), 71.

⁵⁰Reprint of Cohen's obituary from the Stockton Mail, Sept. 26, 1892, in Las Calaveras X (Jan. 1962), 5.

⁵¹Levinson, 22.

⁵²Sharfman, Nothing Left to Commemorate, 76.

⁵³Ibid., 39.

⁵⁴Jack Benjamin Goldmann, "A History of Pioneer Jews in California, 1849-1870," (M. A. thesis, University of California, 1939), 26. In 1861 Cohen and Levy's Vallecito store was partly destroyed by fire. Calaveras Chronicle, Oct. 19, 1861, 3.

⁵⁵Goldmann, "A History of Pioneer Jews," 26.

⁵⁶Calaveras Chronicle, June 3, 1865, 3.

⁵⁷Levinson, 31.

⁵⁸San Andreas Independent, Oct. 11, 1856, 3; April 10, 1858, 3; Calaveras Chronicle, April 8, 1865, 2; March 26, 1870, 1; Copperopolis Courier, May 12, 1866, 2; San Andreas Register, May 12, 1866, 3; Mountain Echo, Jan. 1, 1873, 2.

⁵⁹San Andreas Independent, Oct. 11, 1856, 3; Feb. 6, 1858, 3; April 16, 1858, 3; Calaveras Chronicle, April 8, 1865, 2.

⁶⁰Levinson, 38.

- ⁶¹Calaveras Prospect, Feb. 11, 1893, 2.
- ⁶²Calaveras Chronicle, Sept. 30, 1871, 3.
- ⁶³Levinson, 79.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., 88.
- ⁶⁵Sharfman, 72-74, 80.
- ⁶⁶San Andreas Independent, Oct. 4, 1856, 2; Calaveras Chronicle, Oct. 9, 1875, 3.
- ⁶⁷San Andreas Independent, Feb. 6, 1858, 3.
- ⁶⁸San Andreas Register, Jan. 2, 1864, 3; March 28, 1868, 3; Calaveras Chronicle, Aug. 9, 1873, 3.
- ⁶⁹Calaveras Chronicle, Feb. 12, 1869, 3; April 17, 1869, 3; Oct. 23, 1869, 3.
- ⁷⁰See appendices.
- ⁷¹San Andreas Independent, May 29, 1858, 2; Copperopolis Courier, June 9, 1866, 3; Anon., A Memorial and Biographical History . . . (Chicago, 1892), 216, 354.
- ⁷²San Andreas Independent, May 1, 1858, 2; Earnest A. Long, ed., Trips to the Mines: Calaveras County, 1857-1859 (Mokelumne Hill, 1976), 30.
- ⁷³Calaveras Chronicle, July 30, 1870, 3.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., Aug. 13, 1870, 3; Aug. 20, 1870, 3.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., Aug. 20, 1862, 2.
- ⁷⁶Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios (Berkeley, 1966), 62.
- ⁷⁷San Andreas Register, Feb. 27, 1864, 2; San Andreas Independent, Nov. 29, 1856, 3.
- ⁷⁸Wood, Calaveras, 60-61.
- ⁷⁹San Andreas Independent, March 6, 1858, 3.
- ⁸⁰Richards, Vallecito History, 33-35.

⁸¹See appendices; Elmer Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Urbana, 1973), 12.

⁸²San Andreas Independent, Nov. 29, 1856, 3; April 25, 1857, 2; June 20, 1857, 2.

⁸³Ibid., Oct. 2, 1858, 2.

⁸⁴Alexander Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy (Berkeley, 1971), 55.

⁸⁵San Andreas Independent, Sept. 8, 1860, 2; see also Nov. 21, 1857, 2; Nov. 28, 1857, 2.

⁸⁶Ibid., Dec. 5, 1857, 2; Nov. 28, 1857, 2; Nov. 21, 1857, 2.

⁸⁷Ibid., Nov. 21, 1857, 2; San Andreas Register, Jan. 20, 1866, 2.

⁸⁸San Andreas Independent, Nov. 21, 1857, 2; Charles Schwoerer, "Chinese in Douglas Flat," Las Calaveras XII (Jan. 1961), 2.

⁸⁹Mary Jane Garamendi, "The Chinese in Mokelumne Hill," Las Calaveras XII (Oct. 1963), 4.

⁹⁰Calaveras Prospect, Nov. 9, 1883, 3; Nov. 2, 1883, 3.

⁹¹Oliver Wyllie, "The Chinese in San Andreas," Las Calaveras XI (April 1963), unpaginated; Effie E. Johnston, "The 'Chinamen'--My Earliest Memories," Las Calaveras XI (April 1963), unpaginated. Anon., "The Chinese in Calaveras County," 11-22; Calaveras Prospect, Aug. 1, 1891, 2.

⁹²Calaveras Prospect, Feb. 19, 1886, 2.

⁹³Ibid., April 16, 1886, 2.

⁹⁴Stuart C. Miller, The Unwelcome Immigrant (Berkeley, 1969).

⁹⁵San Andreas Independent, Oct. 4, 1856, 3; Oct. 18, 1856, 2; Oct. 24, 1857, 2.

⁹⁶San Andreas Independent, Oct. 3, 1857, 2.

⁹⁷Ibid., Sept. 8, 1860, 2.

⁹⁸Calaveras Prospect, Aug. 15, 1884, 3.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ed Leonard, "John Chinaman in Angels Camp," Las Calaveras XII (Oct. 1963), 6.

¹⁰¹Calaveras Prospect, Aug. 10, 1883, 3.

¹⁰²Wyllie, "The Chinese in San Andreas," unpaginated.

¹⁰³Calaveras Prospect, Nov. 9, 1883, 3; June 18, 1886, 3; Leonard, "John Chinaman," 3.

¹⁰⁴Stephen Williams, "The Chinese in the California Mines," paper, U.C. Berkeley, June 1930, 45.

TABLE 1
 PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN, FOREIGN-BORN, AND TOTAL POPULATION BY COUNTIES
 1850

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born of Total Population	% Foreign-born of Total Population
El Dorado	20,057	79.8	18.3
Placer	--	--	--
Nevada	--	--	--
Butte	3,574	74.7	8.5
Yuba	9,673	92.0	7.8
Sutter	3,444	67.7	16.1
Sierra			
Plumas			
Sacramento	9,087	80.2	16.1
Nine County Average		78.8	15.3

TABLE 1 (Continued)
1850

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born of Total Population	% Foreign-born of Total Population
Amador	--	--	--
Calaveras	16,884	64.3	34.6
San Joaquin	3,647	57.1	37.2
Tuolumne	8,351	47.0	51.9
Mariposa	4,379	85.2	14.4
Stanislaus	--	--	--
Six County Average		63.4	34.5

Source: J. D. B. DeBow, Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census . . . (Washington, D.C., 1854), 200-201.

TABLE 2
 PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY
 1852

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
El Dorado	40,008	--	--	--
Placer	11,417	60.8	5.5	26.4
Nevada	21,365	62.5	3.6	18.1
Butte	8,572	74.4	25.0	9.2
Yuba	22,813	75.8	13.3	14.5
Sutter	1,210	55.7	.8	--
Sierra	4,808	76.7	22.1	--
Plumas				
Sacramento	13,680	81.8	9.2	2.9
Nine County Average		69.6	11.3	14.2

TABLE 2 (Continued)
1852

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	--	--	--	.4
Calaveras	30,918	58.3	34.7	--
San Joaquin	5,978	76.6	16.0	--
Tuolumne	26,267	64.4	32.7	--
Mariposa	8,764	31.8	15.5	--
Stanislaus				--
Six County Average		57.7	24.7	--

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census: "Statistics" (Washington, D.C., 1853), 982.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1860

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	%		
		Native-born White of Total Population	Foreign-born White of Total Population	Chinese of Total Population
El Dorado	20,562	48.5	26.3	23.1 ✓
Placer	13,270	52.7	21.2	18.0 ✓
Nevada	16,446	53.8	32.1	13.0 ✓
Butte	12,106	60.4	19.9	17.9 ✓
Yuba	13,668	54.5	30.1	13.0 ✓
Sutter	3,390	78.8	19.9	--
Sierra	11,387	44.3	35.7	19.3 ✓
Plumas	4,363	63.0	25.2	9.1
Sacramento	24,142	61.1	28.6	7.1
Nine County Average		57.4	26.5	13.3

TABLE 3 (Continued)
1860

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White		% Foreign-born White		% Chinese of Total Population
		of Total Population	of Total Population	of Total Population	of Total Population	
Amador	10,930	48.1	26.5	23.4	✓	
Calaveras	16,299	42.0	34.9	22.4	✓	
San Joaquin	9,435	74.7	22.4	1.4		
Tuolumne	16,299	47.3	39.4	12.1	✓	
Mariposa	6,243	36.9	31.9	29.5	✓	
Stanislaus	2,245	64.2	24.9	8.5		
Six County Average		52.2	30.0	16.2		

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1864), 28, 33.

87.4 ÷ 4 = 21.85

MAL

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY
1870

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% White		% Chinese of Total Population
		% Native-born of Total Population	% Foreign-born of Total Population	
El Dorado	10,309	59.3	23.9	15.3 ✓
Placer	11,357	53.3	24.5	21.2 ✓
Nevada	19,134	53.7	32.6	13.7 ✓
Butte	11,403	63.9	16.7	18.2 ✓
Yuba	10,851	55.0	21.9	21.0 ✓
Sutter	5,030	77.8	17.3	4.1
Sierra	5,619	49.5	35.4	14.4 ✓
Plumas	4,489	53.5	25.9	20.2 ✓
Sacramento	26,830	58.4	26.2	13.3
Nine County Average		58.2	24.9	15.7

124
17
= 17.7

TABLE 4 (Continued)
1870

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	9,582	56.0	26.2	17.0
Calaveras	8,895	51.9	31.3	16.2
San Joaquin	21,050	69.3	21.3	7.7
Tuolumne	8,150	50.4	29.9	18.6
Mariposa	4,572	44.9	28.1	23.7
Stanislaus	6,499	79.1	16.1	4.7
Six County Average		58.6	25.4	14.6

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, I: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1872), 15, 16, 89, 346-47.

mL
17.0
16.2
18.6
23.7
18.69

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH FOREIGN-BORN GROUP COMPRISES OF THE TOTAL
WHITE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY
1870

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
El Dorado	2.7	16.9	16.4	--	5.1	22.8	--
Placer	.5	29.2	19.6	--	3.7	20.4	--
Nevada	.7	29.9	38.5	--	2.6	9.6	--
Butte	.8	25.8	19.2	--	5.1	22.5	--
Yuba	1.0	38.8	11.8	--	3.0	18.2	--
Sutter	.3	31.6	13.0	--	5.7	28.6	--
Sierra	2.4	24.8	24.7	--	3.4	17.2	--
Plumas	.7	20.3	21.2	--	3.9	13.6	--
Sacramento	1.6	34.5	12.8	--	2.6	23.2	--
Nine County Average	1.1	27.9	19.6	--	3.9	19.7	--

TABLE 5 (Continued)
1870

Southern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
Amador	18.8	19.4	16.2	--	1.6	12.9	--
Calaveras	16.0	16.3	10.2	--	1.8	14.6	--
San Joaquin	3.1	34.3	11.6	--	2.6	23.5	--
Tuolumne	11.0	22.7	15.7	--	3.3	15.8	--
Mariposa	13.4	16.9	16.7	--	2.8	11.3	--
Stanislaus	1.1	30.2	14.2	--	3.3	17.0	--
Six County Average	10.5	23.3	14.1	--	2.5	15.8	--

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census, I: "Population"
(Washington, D.C.) 89, 346-47.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1880

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% White		% Chinese of Total Population
		Native-born of Total Population	Foreign-born of Total Population	
El Dorado	10,683	61.8	21.2	13.9
Placer	14,232	62.1	21.3	15.3
Nevada	20,823	58.0	26.3	14.4
Butte	18,721	62.9	13.2	20.2
Yuba	11,284	59.3	19.6	19.0
Sutter	5,159	74.6	13.4	5.1
Sierra	6,623	51.4	29.1	18.9
Plumas	6,180	50.9	26.1	14.1
Sacramento	34,390	61.8	22.2	14.2
Nine County Average		60.3	21.3	16.0

TABLE 6 (Continued)

1880

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	11,384	62.4	24.7	8.1
Calaveras	9,904	62.9	25.6	11.4
San Joaquin	24,349	68.9	21.3	8.2
Tuolumne	7,848	57.5	26.7	10.2
Mariposa	4,339	51.7	26.5	16.0
Stanislaus	8,751	76.2	17.3	5.9
Six County Average		63.2	23.6	9.9

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1883), 382, 498, 722.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH FOREIGN-BORN GROUP COMPRISES OF THE TOTAL
WHITE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1880

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
El Dorado	--	14.9	18.9	--	4.4	23.0	--
Placer	--	23.3	20.7	--	3.7	18.1	--
Nevada	--	23.4	40.6	--	2.2	10.0	--
Butte	--	21.6	15.2	--	4.9	19.6	--
Yuba	--	39.1	10.9	--	2.8	17.3	--
Sutter	--	21.4	11.8	--	5.4	32.9	--
Sierra	--	17.8	26.3	--	3.2	13.6	--
Plumas	--	14.4	25.1	--	2.6	9.1	--
Sacramento	--	29.2	13.2	--	2.7	24.0	--
Nine County Average	--	22.7	20.0	--	3.5	18.6	--

TABLE 7 (Continued)

1880

Southern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
Amador	--	14.7	22.4	--	1.9	11.0	--
Calaveras	--	12.1	10.9	--	2.5	12.6	--
San Joaquin	--	29.3	10.6	--	2.9	22.5	--
Tuolumne	--	19.3	21.1	--	3.3	14.1	--
Mariposa	--	14.5	18.4	--	1.6	10.7	--
Stanislaus	--	22.4	12.4	--	2.9	19.1	--
Six County Average	--	18.7	15.9	--	2.5	15.0	--

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1883), 382, 498, 722.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1890

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
El Dorado	9,232	71.0	19.8	5.6
Placer	15,101	68.4	21.3	9.4
Nevada	17,369	65.7	26.6	6.0
Butte	17,939	75.7	12.6	8.5
Yuba	9,636	69.7	17.5	10.1
Sutter	5,469	81.7	11.4	5.9
Sierra	5,051	60.9	28.9	9.6
Plumas	4,933	58.5	27.4	6.2
Sacramento	40,339	65.8	21.7	10.8
Nine County Average		68.6	20.8	8.0

TABLE 8 (Continued)

1890

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	10,320	71.7	24.2	3.1
Calaveras	8,882	72.1	22.4	3.6
San Joaquin	28,629	71.0	21.5	5.8
Tuolumne	6,082	67.1	24.2	4.2
Mariposa	3,787	68.7	20.6	4.7
Stanislaus	10,040	77.3	17.7	4.1
Six County Average		71.3	20.1	4.2

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Eleventh Census, I: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1892), 586-587; United States, Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1895), 404, 437.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH FOREIGN-BORN GROUP COMPRISES OF THE TOTAL
WHITE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1890

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
El Dorado	4.7	12.4	19.0	2.6	3.5	22.3	1.4
Placer	4.9	17.9	13.4	2.9	3.5	17.5	1.5
Nevada	4.0	19.3	43.1	1.2	1.9	8.9	.5
Butte	1.0	17.7	11.3	2.9	3.5	23.0	1.5
Yuba	2.3	33.8	11.0	1.0	3.0	20.8	.4
Sutter	--	16.3	14.2	.6	5.1	41.1	--
Sierra	9.7	14.2	16.2	5.4	2.8	16.9	3.0
Plumas	12.9	9.5	25.5	.5	2.1	9.8	6.2
Sacramento	5.9	22.5	12.1	.5	2.5	24.8	.7
Nine County Average	5.0	18.1	18.4	1.9	3.1	20.5	1.6

Table 9 (Continued)

1890

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
Amador	24.7	10.5	23.2	1.7	1.9	10.1	8.9
Calaveras	18.2	14.3	12.5	1.0	2.7	15.7	1.8
San Joaquin	9.1	23.6	11.1	.5	3.2	22.1	1.7
Tuolumne	15.1	18.9	20.3	.4	3.1	12.8	2.5
Mariposa	14.4	13.9	12.9	.2	2.1	11.6	1.7
Stanislaus	3.1	17.7	9.0	.7	3.3	22.5	.2
Six County Average	14.1	16.4	14.8	.7	2.7	15.8	2.8

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census: "Population"
(Washington, D.C., 1895), 612-13.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1900

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
El Dorado	8,986	79.0	15.7	2.2
Placer	15,786	75.2	16.6	6.6
Nevada	17,789	74.2	21.5	3.5
Butte	17,117	81.2	10.7	4.1
Yuba	8,620	76.5	12.3	8.3
Sutter	5,886	82.6	10.0	3.8
Sierra	4,017	69.0	22.3	7.6
Plumas	4,657	67.7	18.6	4.1
Sacramento	45,915	70.5	18.6	7.0
Nine County Average		72.8	16.2	5.2

TABLE 10 (Continued)

1900

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	11,116	74.0	23.1	1.3
Calaveras	11,200	77.4	19.8	1.3
San Joaquin	35,452	74.0	18.9	5.2
Tuolumne	11,166	75.4	21.3	2.1
Mariposa	4,720	76.4	16.9	2.1
Stanislaus	9,550	81.4	15.2	2.4
Six County Average		76.4	19.2	2.2

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, I: "Population"
 pt. I (Washington, D.C., 1901) 738-39; II, pt. II (Washington, D.C., 1902), 176.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH FOREIGN-BORN GROUP COMPRISES OF THE
TOTAL WHITE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1900

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
El Dorado	6.3	10.2	16.6	2.2	3.7	24.4	.8
Placer	5.8	14.9	17.2	1.8	3.7	16.9	.9
Nevada	6.5	15.5	44.2	1.6	2.0	9.1	1.8
Butte	2.1	14.9	15.5	2.1	3.5	21.9	1.4
Yuba	2.2	28.7	8.2	1.9	3.2	23.2	.4
Sutter	1.8	13.7	10.9	.5	4.5	36.4	--
Sierra	15.7	14.0	13.2	6.1	2.3	16.4	1.5
Plumas	13.2	9.6	13.6	.6	2.0	10.8	2.1
Sacramento	9.1	19.2	11.2	.1	2.5	22.9	1.2
Nine County Average	6.9	15.6	16.7	1.8	3.0	20.0	1.1

TABLE 11 (Continued)

1900

Southern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
Amador	27.6	9.1	23.0	.7	1.0	8.1	11.3
Calaveras	23.1	9.1	10.6	1.3	2.6	14.5	10.5
San Joaquin	16.5	17.7	9.3	.3	2.4	21.7	2.3
Tuolumne	12.5	13.3	20.9	.4	4.7	12.1	4.1
Mariposa	12.6	10.3	24.8	.5	1.8	13.0	2.0
Stanislaus	6.8	14.0	7.5	.4	3.2	22.8	.4
Six County Average	16.5	12.2	16.0	.6	2.6	15.3	5.1

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, I: "Population"
pt. I (Washington, D.C., 1901), 738-39.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE NATIVE-BORN WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND CHINESE
OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY
1910

Northern Mining Counties	Total County Population	%			Chinese of Total Population
		Native-born White of Total Population	Foreign-born White of Total Population		
El Dorado	7,492	81.8	14.3	.7	
Placer	18,237	70.5	20.4	3.3	
Nevada	14,955	74.2	23.2	2.0	
Butte	27,301	82.5	11.5	2.0	
Yuba	10,042	75.7	13.1	4.9	
Sutter	6,328	84.2	10.8	1.2	
Sierra	4,098	71.6	23.8	2.8	
Plumas	5,259	68.0	20.0	1.9	
Sacramento	67,806	70.8	19.2	3.1	
Nine County Average		75.4	17.3	2.4	

TABLE 12 (Continued)

1910

Southern Mining Counties	Total County Population	% Native-born White of Total Population	% Foreign-born White of Total Population	% Chinese of Total Population
Amador	9,086	69.9	27.3	1.1
Calaveras	9,171	77.8	19.8	.5
San Joaquin	50,731	71.8	19.6	3.8
Tuolumne	9,979	74.3	22.9	.7
Mariposa	3,956	75.0	17.9	1.7
Stanislaus	22,522	81.2	17.0	.7
Six County Average		75.0	20.7	1.4

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, II: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1913), 168-78.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH FOREIGN-BORN GROUP COMPRISES OF THE TOTAL
WHITE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF EACH COUNTY

1910

Northern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
El Dorado	15.9	7.1	13.0	--	3.2	20.1	.9
Placer	16.6	9.3	10.7	--	2.7	9.7	3.4
Nevada	20.0	9.5	35.5	--	1.8	6.9	5.5
Butte	7.9	7.2	11.8	--	3.2	16.2	1.4
Yuba	2.6	15.5	9.4	--	3.1	15.4	1.4
Sutter	1.3	7.7	10.3	--	3.0	25.0	1.0
Sierra	29.8	5.9	8.4	--	1.9	9.1	6.1
Plumas	17.4	6.0	6.6	--	2.0	8.1	3.5
Sacramento	13.9	10.9	10.8	--	2.2	16.6	4.6
Nine County Average	13.9	9.9	12.9	--	2.5	14.1	3.0

TABLE 13 (Continued)

1910

Southern Mining Counties	Italian	Irish	English	Welsh	Scotch	German	Austrian
Amador	39.5	3.5	15.6	--	.8	4.8	21.9
Calaveras	34.9	4.7	7.8	--	1.7	9.8	11.0
San Joaquin	24.5	9.8	6.2	--	2.3	16.6	2.6
Tuolumne	24.7	7.2	13.2	--	2.5	9.4	7.1
Mariposa	15.5	7.2	13.8	--	2.2	10.1	4.9
Stanislaus	7.6	3.9	6.0	--	1.9	12.9	.9
Six County Average	24.4	6.0	10.4	--	1.9	10.6	8.0

Source: United States, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, II: "Population" (Washington, D.C., 1913), 168-78.