

ABSTRACT An enduring focus on African American chattel slavery, the U.S. Civil War, and sharecropping in the South has failed to collectively address the varieties of unfree labor and their abolitions in the trans-Mississippi western United States. By exploring systems of servitude and their termination in California and the wider Pacific World, this essay reframes the Age of Abolition. It describes the rise and fall of labor regimes that bound California Indians, African Americans, Chileans, and Chinese women. Citing Chinese-, English-, and Spanish-language sources from a variety of archives and libraries, this article expands the chronology, geography, and actors of the Age of Abolition. Finally, it suggests trajectories for rethinking

,..., e,...,,.e, .ee ,...,.e, e,...e,...,e,.e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e,...e

e.e., ____, e. e., e., ... e., ... e. e., ... e. e., ... e. e., e. ... e. | - e. | $\ldots,\ldots,e,e,\dots,\ldots,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,e,\dots,e,e,\dots,$, , e , , e , , e , , e , , e , , , e , , , e , e , , , e , e , , , e , e , , , e , e , , , e , e , , , e , e ,

..., ..., e.e. ., . e.e. ., . e.e. , ., ... , ..., . , ..., . , ..., . , e., ... ,... e. e. e. . ee... ,... ee... _ .. e ,... e_{1.7},....,,.. e ..., ..., eee, ..., ..., e.e. ...e ..., ,...e ...,.,,,, ...,e,,,...e.,,...e.,,...e.,,...,,...,,...,,...,,...,, e. e, e., .e., .e., .e., .e., ..., ..., ..., ..., ...,

- e.ee, ,e, ...,, ,, , ,, e, ..., e,, ,, e,, ,, e,, ,, ,, ,, ,, e,, ,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,, e,

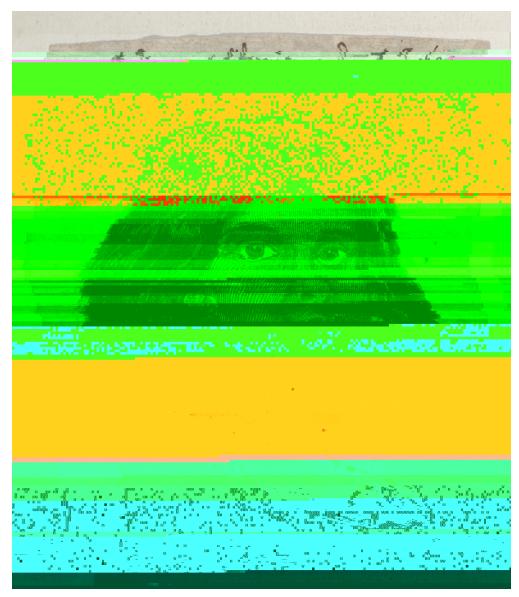


FIGURE 1. Unknown artist, "Indienne Californienne du Sud 16 ans du prix d'une livre de poudre de chasse et une bouteille de brandy [sixteen-year-old Southern California Indian female at the price of a pound of gunpowder and a bottle of brandy]," print on paper: engraving, hand colored, 185?.

Courtesy of Robert B. Honeyman Jr. Collection, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, BANC PIC 1963.002:1305:F-ALB

..., , ,, e, , , ... e , , ... e , ... e , ... e, ... e, ... e , ... e ... e ... e ... e ... e , ... e ...

, , , , , , e.

...e,, ...e e.e., ...e.e.e...e., e.e.,, ...e., e.e., ..., ...e., e.e., ..., e.e., ..., e.e., ..., e.e., e.e.,

-- e -, e, , -----, ', , . , . , e. , . . e -, . , . e -, . . e, . . e e -.., ,.., ,.., e,.. e,.. e,.. ,..., ,.., ,.e,' . ee... ,, e,,. , . e <u>.</u> e, . , . . . e. e , , . , . . , e . . . e e. , . . e_{...} . e_{...} . e_{...} . e_{...} . ____e__, __e___, ____, e_____, ____, ____ master's orders, _ _ ___ , e _ e___ e__ $,e_1,\ldots,e_{r-1}$, e, __e, e, _, _, _, e, _, e, _, _, _, ,, _, e, $e_{\text{part}} \cdot e_{\text{part}} \cdot$ -,..., e. ..., e... The Liberator ..., ..., ..., , ... e. , ... e,, ... ee. ..., ... e $= (1, 1, 1, \dots, 1, 1, \dots, 1, 1, \dots, 1, \dots,$ - e ..., e ...

, ., e ,,	e.	e	,, <mark>,</mark> -	_, _,_ e	, . e . ,	. , , , e , ,	. , e San
Jose Telegraph	e ,	. , e . , ,	c				

 $,,\ldots,e_{-r_1},e_{-r_2},\ldots,\ldots,c_{r_1},\ldots,c_{r_2},\ldots,e_{r_2},$...e, e ,...e, ...e, ...e, ...e, ...e ,...e ,...e ,...e ,..., _, e, _,,...,,...,..., e. ...e, _ peonaje , _e, _,, , ..., , _ e__, _ ee Californian e.... e e ...e..., e e, ...e e, ...e e, ...e .. ¢, .., ... ¢, ... ¢ ... c, e, e, ... e e e e, ,, ... e ..., ... $,\dots\dots, \dots, \dots \in e_1,\dots \in e_n,\dots \in$ - , , ... **e**. , . **e**. , **e**, , ... , , , . . . **e e**. . . . **e**. **e**. . **e**. , . . . **e**. , , ₁= ...e, ...e, e - ,..e ,..

. e ...e .ee .e. e e e ...

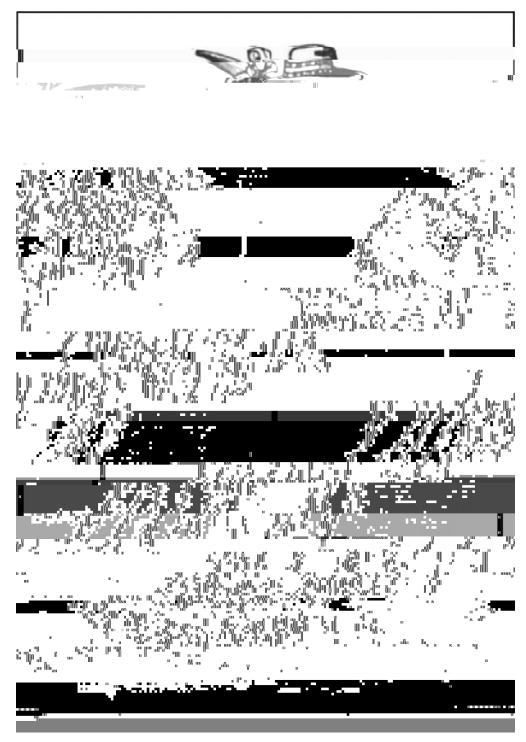


FIGURE 4. A Chilean couple in James Mason Hutchings, "The World in California," Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine 1 (March 1857): 387.

Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

ح ، € ، برا از ایر و از فی از کار و از خاط کا برای و از فی برای از می در این و افغاز کا از می از می رمازد $\ldots \quad e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptscriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptscriptstyle{\cdot}$}} \ldots \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptscriptstyle{\cdot}$}} e \mathrel{\raisebox{0.1em}{$\scriptscriptstyle{$.., e_.., ...ee ,...e, ,,..e. ..., ,...., ... e,e .e .e ..., ,..., peones, ..., e, . e , , ..., . e , e.e, ..., ee ... e, ... e, ... e ..., ... e ..., ... e ...,,, , e., ..., e. ... e, ... e, ... e. peonaje

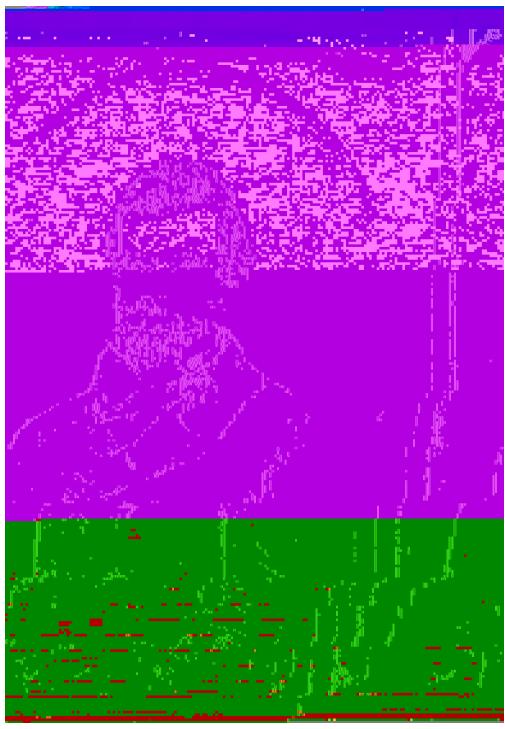


FIGURE 5. Robert H. Vance, "[James King of William (1822–1856)]," ca. 1855. James King of William brought nine Chilean debt peons from Valpara´

- 1 - 1 - 1

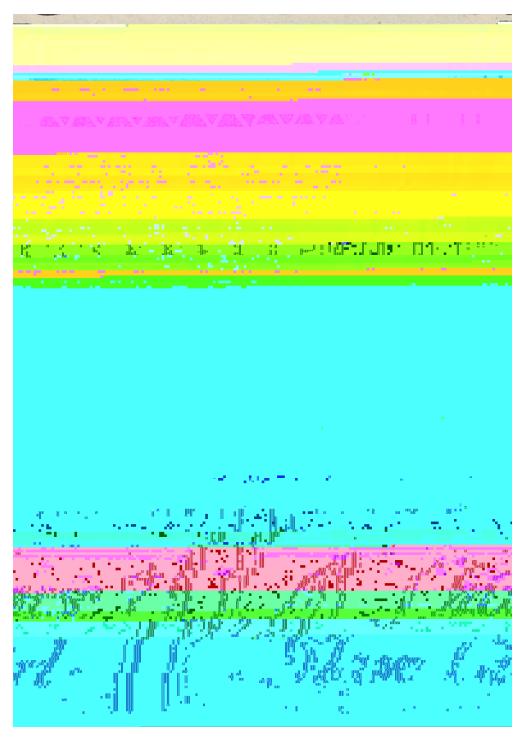


FIGURE 6. Unknown artist, "A Chinese Slave Girl," photograph, Jackson Street, San Francisco Chinatown (?), in Unknown author, "Highbinders & Tong Wars," The Wave 20 (July–December 1899), 4. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, xffF850.W186 v. 20:no.30:04

..... , e, e... , e.e. _e, , ..e. e.e, , ..e. e, ', , _ ... e, e ... ,ee . e ... e .. ee ..., e , e , e ..., .,..,.,.,e.e.,e.,.e.,.e.,.e.,.e.,.e.,..e.,..e.,..e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e.,...e.e. K., .e.,..e.,..e.,...,...ee.,..ee.,..eee.,..e,e.e.

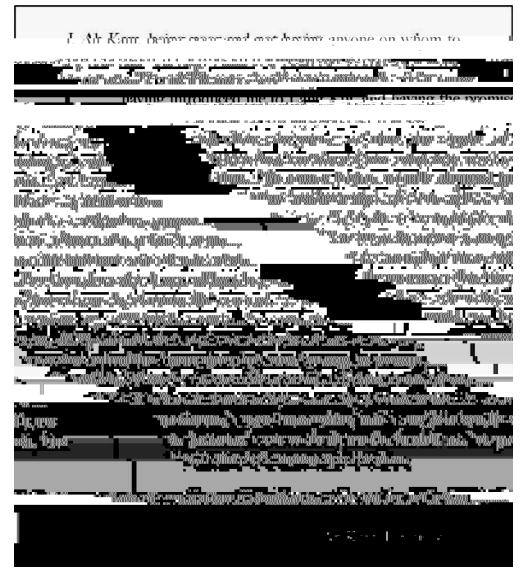


FIGURE 7. John Endicott Gardner, "Translation of a Bill of Sale Drawn Up in the Guise of a Promissory Note" (October 1, 1899), in United States Industrial Commission, Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration: Including Testimony, with Review and Digest, and Special Reports ... (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), vol. 15: 771–772.

Courtesy of U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC

1 / 2 / 1-1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -

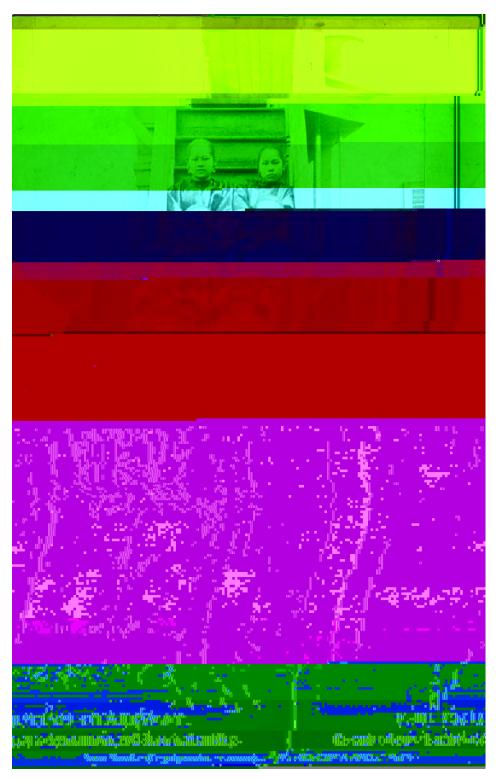


FIGURE 8. Thomas Houseworth, "The Christian Stairway," featuring "rescued" women at the Chinese Girl's Presbyterian Mission Home at 933 Sacramento Street in San Francisco, ca. 1885.

Courtesy of the Oakland Museum of California, Oakland, California

..., e, ...e e..., ...e e., ..., ...e e.,e., ...e e.,e. e., ...e. e...e. e...e...e. e...e. e.

ee, ... ee, ..

- e, ... e e ... e

...,...,...,...e,,...e,,e,...e,,....e,,....,...ee,,...,e,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,,...ee,...ee,,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,.....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,.....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,.....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,.....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,.....ee,....ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,....ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,...ee,....ee,

NOTES
e,,, ee, e, ,, (,, e,,,,, e, (,, e (.,,,
e , The American Reader: Words That Moved a Nation (e e ,), _ ,
the Helm of American Foreign Policy (, , , ee , , , , , ee , , , , , , , ,
1492, 1830 (e , . e , e , e ₁ ,) , . e , e ₁ , e , e , e , e , e ,
e, , , e , , , , , , , , , e . , , , . e . , , , . e . , , , . e . , , , . e . , . e
e e , Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West,
1880, 1930 (ee,e,e,e,e,e,
Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures (e _ e e _ e e _ e e _ e e _ e e _ e e _ e
e,, e

. , ,
e, e.,, e.,, e.,, e.,.,, e.,.,, e.,.,, e.e.,,, e.e.,,, e, e,, e,
System of the control
Explorations in Economic History _ , () e
100 cg (200 cg
e e, (e, e e) K'., (e, (e,) e,,)
,, e., e., ,,,,, e, ,,,,, e, e, e, coolie .,, , e ., ,
ر با
K, e, , Keywords for Asian American Studies (e e,), - , -
Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874, 1939 (e.g., Relations of Rescue: The
Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Croshy Reminiscences of California and
),, Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby, Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864, e e, e, e,),
e , The Madams of San Francisco: An Irreverent History of the City by the Golden Gate (, , , e
), e _ e _ ,, , Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love,
e. (, , , , . &, e.e., , .), , , Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial
History (e_1 , e_2 ,, e_{j_1} ,, e_{j_1} ,),
SDU,ee,,, Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francsico (ee,,,,
. ,
• e ₁ , -),
DAC, e , , e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e
e e e, e , , Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian
Workers in the United States before World War II (e e e , e , ,
eeeeeeee
e, Journal of Social History () _
L
ا الله الله الله الله الله الله الله ال
$DAC_{p}(C,C) = C_{p}(C,C) = C_{p}(C,$
Jurnal of
Historical Geography () SDU, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e
e (,) (, . , e , , e , .), , , Unbound Feet, , _ e ,
Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law (e
e ₋₁ ,
e , e , Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882
1943 (e_, e_, e_, e_, e_, e_, e_, e_, e_,
(,) (, e, ,), (, e , , e e , Driven Out: The Forgotten War
against Chinese Americans (e e e e e), e
ee, At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882, 1943 (, , , e , , , , e , , , , e
e e, Driven Out, e e e , SDU, e , , , e
e., Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border (e,
e, e, e .e, , .e, , , Law & Society Review
() _ , _ SDU, , _ , _ , _ , _ , _ , _ , _ , _ , _ ,
() SDU, , , , e , e , e , e , e , e , , e , e , e
()
, Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (, , , , , e, , , ,),
DAC, , . , , .
DAC, e , , ,
, Reminiscences: of California Life, Being an Abridged Description of Scenes (e . ,
California: As Amended and in Force at the Close of the Thirty-Fourth Session of the Legislature, 1901
California A. A. Anno del and in France at the Class of the Thirty Franch Control of the Levislation 1001

e,
Daughters: The Women Who Fought Slavery in San Francisco's Chinatown (e K , , ,),
e, ,,', , e, ,, ,, The Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes Passed at the
Fortieth Session of the Legislature, 1913 (, , , , e ,
e e, Driven Out, e, e, e, e, e,, Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History
of Chinese American Women and Their Lives (,, e_e_,,),, e_e_e_e
e, The Hatchet Men: The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco's Chinatown (e
, N , ,) • , . , ,