NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

1. Name of Property

historic name: Chung Wah Cemetery
other name/site number: Sze Yup/Sam Yup Cemetery --

2. Location

street & number: Mormon Street vicinity ☐ not for publication

city/town: Folsom ☐ vicinity

state: California code: CA county: Sacramento code: 067 zip code: 95

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register-criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☒ locally. (☐ see continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official — Date: 6/6/95

California Office of Historic Preservation
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet.)

Signature of commenting or other official — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

☒ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper of Action — Date: 8/21/95

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(check as many boxes as may apply)

- ☒ private
- ☐ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal

Category of Property
(check only one box)

- ☐ building(s)
- ☐ district
- ☒ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
		buildings
1		sites
		structures
		objects
1	0	Total

Number of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

None

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

FUNERARY/cemetery
FUNERARY/graves/burials

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

FUNERARY/cemetery

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

OTHER/shrine
OTHER/vault

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation CONCRETE, BRICK
roof
walls BRICK, STONE/cobbles
other

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply)

- ☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ **B** removed from its original location.
- ☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.
- ☒ **D** a cemetery.
- ☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ **F** a commemorative property.
- ☒ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

ETHNIC HERITAGE/Asian
RELIGION

Period of Significance

1906 - 1946

Significant Dates

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- ☒ State historic preservation office
- ☐ Other state agency
- ☒ Federal agency
- ☒ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☒ Other

Name of Repository:
Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center
Chinese Historical Society, San Francisco,
Folsom Historical Society, Folsom

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 2.616 acres

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	10	657000	4281540	3		
2				4		

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

Name/Title: Mary L. Maniery, Historian/Cindy Baker, Historian

Organization: PAR ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES, INC./City of Folsom Date: February 21, 1995

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NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

SUMMARY

Folsom's Chung Wah cemetery encompasses 2.616 acres of land south and west of Block 70 and on parts of Lots 7, 8, 9, and 10. Located on a bluff near today's Lake Natoma, the cemetery is surrounded by dredge tailings, native oaks, and mature grey pines. Its features include burial mounds, exhumation depressions, brick-lined vaults, a burning pit, and the remains of a shrine. Although subject to vandalism in the 1960s, this site retains a high level of integrity. Its physical separation from the main Folsom cemetery, haphazard arrangement of burial mounds and pits, lack of formal landscaping, and rural setting increases the integrity of setting, feeling, and association that cloaks the site.

DESCRIPTION

The town of Folsom, located in eastern Sacramento County, once housed a flourishing Chinese community. Two cemeteries were associated with the community and were owned and maintained by different associations. The Yeong Wo Association's plot currently is landscaped and partially obscured by a building and retains no surface reminders of its use as a burial ground for members of the Yeong Wo association. The Chung Wah cemetery, used by members of the Sze Yup and Sam Yup associations, is the larger and probably older of the two cemeteries and retains numerous features and burials.

The present 2.616-acre site includes parts of Lots 7, 8, 9, and 10 of Block 70, then extends south and west to the Bureau of Reclamation property line. The larger portion of this cemetery lies outside the original 1855 town limits depicted on Theodore Judah's plat map for the City of Folsom (see Maps 1 and 2). The Chung Wah cemetery is near Folsom's non-Asian cemetery, which dates to the 1850s. Chinese burials in the motherlode region were typically located in segregated sections of non-Asian cemeteries. The Chung Wah is close to the other cemetery, but is a separate, remote site.

The site's irregular shape suggests it was haphazardly planned, perhaps beginning with a few Chinese burials and then spreading out as more Chinese died in Folsom over the years. The lack of historical photographs and maps for the cemetery precludes an accurate description of its early physical appearance. Oral testimony presents an image of the cemetery in the 1920s to the 1940s, allowing for a reconstruction of the cemetery's physical appearance. Physically, the site was located on the outskirts of town. Dredging occurred around the perimeters of the site in 1907 and 1908 (Map 3), but the cemetery plot was left undisturbed. Throughout its period of use it nestled on the bluff near the American River, surrounded by dredge tailings or steep escarpments leading to the American River.

The Chung Wah plot was accessed from the north by passing through a gate. A wagon road led east, then south and west, traversing the perimeter of the cemetery (Map 4). The road exited out the southwest side of the cemetery, allowing mourners to enter at the gate, travel around the cemetery, and leave without backtracking or crossing over their entry path. Graves were dug wherever there was room, with no specific orientation or layout. People were buried in shallow graves about two feet deep and were covered with a mound of earth. The earthen mounds were often touching or at angles to each other and protruded about two to three feet above the ground surface. Occasionally wooden markers or inscribed bricks marked the surface of graves. More often than not, however, graves were unmarked. As one Chinese-American related, it was better to be "unmarked and undisturbed" (G. Chan, Jr. 1994). While the deceased were often not identified by surface grave markers, other markers of bricks, stone, or wood inscribed with name, date, association affiliation, and ancestral village or province were placed in the graves to assist in identification of remains during exhumation.

Scattered in and around the mounds were depressions from the exhumation of bodies. While bodies were carefully exhumed, the pits were not backfilled (and could have been used for future burials) and the pits were interspersed with the mounds. While the majority of exhumed remains were sent to China for reburial, others were placed in urns and reburied at the Chung Wah cemetery. Graves were not well-tended, aside from yearly ancestral ceremonies. The Chung Wah cemetery was not landscaped with lawns, benches, domestic trees or shrubs, or other landscaping elements typical in a non-Chinese burial site. Instead, the cemetery was left in a natural state and its appearance matched that of the surrounding vacant fields, seasonally covered with grasses with occasional scattered native oaks or grey pines. The road was sometimes kept clear by mowing, but the mounds were often overgrown.

Apart from the mounds and pits several burials were placed in brick-lined, rectangular-shaped vaults that were laid into the ground. A large depression was dug just inside and to the south of the entry gate and served as a burning pit where the belongings of the deceased were set afire. A rectangular brick, cobble, and concrete shrine, used during the *Ch'ing Ming* ceremony, was in place on the west side of the cemetery by 1940 and was likely constructed by the 1920s or before. This shrine stood approximately four feet high, and was eight feet wide and 13 feet long.

By the 1930s, the Chung Wah cemetery was still in use, although declining, as only a few families remained in the area to tend to the graves of their deceased relatives and friends. In the early 1940s, brick markers still remained on some of the grave mounds, and some lay scattered around. In addition, the burning pit and shrine were still in use into the 1960s.

In 1967 vandals desecrated the cemetery. The graves of Chin Oak, his wife, Ping Woo Choy, and Chin Lai Shee were uncovered and their coffins smashed. The Chan family discovered bones left scattered on the ground (H. Chan, Sr. 1981). The vandals also destroyed the shrine, believing it to be the grave of a wealthy person (*Sacramento Bee* n.d.). A deep hole extending below the shrine foundation attests to this vandalism. Jewelry stolen from the graves was sold and was later traced to San Francisco pawn shops. Those responsible for the desecration were only charged with public health laws concerning unlawful digging in a cemetery (G. Chan, Jr. 1991). The Chans reburied their family's remains on site and covered the graves with a concrete slab. A brass grave marker was set flush into the concrete at this time and is the only marker currently visible at the cemetery.

Today the cemetery retains much of its original appearance (see Map 4). The wagon road, while overgrown, can still be traced around the perimeter of the site. The cemetery contains between 75 and 100 mounds, many barely discernible due to settling. The mounds vary from only a few inches to about two feet in height. Their location is haphazard, with many perpendicular to each other and arranged in no set pattern. Exhumation pits, ranging in depth from six inches to several feet, are interspersed among the mounds. The entire burial site is overgrown with tall grasses, thistles, and encroaching vegetation and appears hummocky. This untended appearance, however, is in keeping with the historical appearance of the site as related by numerous people in Folsom. The graves of Chin Oak and his kin are clearly marked, covered by a large concrete slab with a flat brass monument.

The burning pit is evident inside the gate, although immature oaks and vegetation are growing inside it. An ash lens attests to its past use. While the shrine was dismantled by the vandals, its foundation and part of its cobble and brick walls are still intact (Map 5). One rectangular brick-lined vault, now empty, is exposed and evident along the west edge of the fenceline. The vault is four feet wide, eight feet long, and about four feet deep. Four courses of brick are present around the top of the vault. In addition to its physical features, the site remains secluded, tucked between dredger tailings and an undeveloped area along Lake Natoma and physically separated from the Folsom cemetery by a vacant lot. Its seclusion, hummocky appearance, and intact features all contribute to the sense of peace and timelessness that pervades the site, adding to the integrity of feeling and association so apparent at the cemetery.

SUMMARY

The Chung Wah cemetery in Folsom is unusual for its strong association ties and ownership, for its continued existence in an area that has been extensively mined, and for the intact associated features. Folsom's Chinese community once contained the homes, businesses, and gardens of hundreds of people. Today, only this cemetery remains as the last visual reminder of a rich heritge and a viable Chinese population that once flourished in town. Acquired in 1906, the cemetery also represents strong district association relationships that were maintained in Folsom well into the twentieth century. It has numerous features associated with historical use, including burial mounds and vaults, exhumation depressions, a burning pit, and a shrine foundation, all attesting to the overall physical integrity of the cemetery and reflecting the spiritual beliefs and practices of the association members. The sense of time and place evident when standing in the cemetery grounds is strong. The historical and ethnic associations of the cemetery, combined with its high level of physical integrity, contribute to its importance under Criterion A, Consideration D and G. The last burial occurred in 1946, ending a 40-year period of use and representing the decline of the Chinese community in Folsom.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Folsom's Chinese Heritage

Chinese men and women have lived in Folsom since the California gold rush. Arriving as miners, laborers and merchants, their numbers gradually climbed through the 1850s and 1860s, sharply rose during the 1870s and peaked in the 1880s. Exclusionary immigration laws, dwindling mining and labor opportunities, and racial tension precipitated a steep population decline during the 1890s and 1900s. By the early twentieth century, only a handful of the original Chinese community remained. Today the Chan family is the last remaining fragment of what was once a large and flourishing community.

Gold Rush Era

The start of large-scale Chinese immigration to California dates to the early months of the gold rush. News of the discovery of gold drew thousands of Chinese to California from throughout the Pearl River delta in South China, particularly the City of Canton. Given the political unrest, worsening economic conditions, and the repressive Manchu rule in China in the mid-nineteenth century, reports of the fabulous *Gum Shan* (Mountain of Gold) became even more appealing, resulting in a mass immigration to California, primarily by people from the Kwangtung Province (cf. Chinn 1969; Chiu 1967; Hoexter 1976; Lai and Choy 1972; Sung 1967). Immigration records from the Customs House in San Francisco attest to this migration: 325 immigrants recorded in 1849, 450 in 1850, and 2,716 in 1851. This number jumped to 20,000 in 1852 (Chiu 1967:12; Hoexter 1976:10; Lai and Choy 1972:45).

Some scholars estimate that one in ten newly arriving Chinese remained in San Francisco, while the others headed out to either the northern or southern mining regions (Chinn 1969; Chiu 1967; Williams 1930). In the first few years of the gold rush, mining in the northern region focused on the American River because of its proximity to Sacramento (Williams 1930). It is probable that by late 1849 Chinese arrived at Negro Bar, predecessor to the town of Folsom, where they either stopped to mine or continued up the river.

Typically, a Chinese merchant would set up shop in a central location in a mining region to sell food, supplies, and clothing to both his countrymen and Anglo miners. Often the store owner would start serving tea to his kinsmen in the back of the store and, if interest was high, might expand into a restaurant business, selling Chinese delicacies as well as beef steaks to American miners (Hoexter 1976:61-62). If business was steady and profitable, a back room might have housed a few fan-tan or domino tables, or other diversions. Sometimes, a woman might be brought in to entertain the miners. As one merchant thrived, others might join him and a Chinatown would grow. In larger mining towns, one or more temples would be erected by local Chinese leaders or benevolent associations to allow immigrants to offer prayers to the gods (Hoexter 1976:62).

From such humble beginnings a Chinatown would emerge, as was probably the case at Folsom. While there is some indication that at least one Chinese merchant was operating at Negro Bar in 1852, the location of this center is uncertain (J. Chan 1992; *The Telegraph* 1966). It is probable that the Chinese center of Negro Bar in 1852 was situated upstream and separated from the Anglo camp, at or near the area known as Chinatown today. The first evidence of a Chinese presence centered in Folsom is found in the first assessment plat of the newly formed town of Folsom, completed in 1855. According to the 1855 Folsom Map Book, Chinese owned lots or owned improvements on lots on Blocks 8, 9, 10, and 19. In addition, they had a church located in Block 11 (Sacramento County 1855).

In the late 1850s, as the initial gold rush ended and claims were abandoned, many Chinese miners arrived in the region to rework old claims or work as laborers for the Natoma Company. While usually residing at their mining claims, these men contributed to the growth of the local Chinatown, frequenting it on their day of rest. The local benevolent association hall (You See Tong) probably served as a social center for the men, providing mail from home, news of friends, gambling diversions, and tea or food. Barbers and doctors took care of personal hygiene and health needs, while the many stores offered a variety of supplies (United States Bureau of the Census 1860).

A Flourishing Community - 1860 to 1900

Folsom's Chinatown continued to expand rapidly in the 1860s, fed in part by miners retreating to the town to escape escalating racial violence. Trouble continued in the region in the 1860s, but Chinese miners found other ways to earn a living. While independent miners and companies were driven off their claims and harassed, hundreds of others were being employed to work on Anglo-owned claims, particularly in hydraulic and ground sluicing operations. The Natoma Company also hired Asian laborers to work their property, especially after 1864 when they acquired legal title to the eastern half of the historic Rancho de los Americanos (Castaneda et al. 1984:83).

As gold deposits dwindled and Anglo miners left the region, independent Chinese miners and companies once again began working old tailings and claims and the population increased in number. This general pattern is evident in the census records. In 1860, 94 miners were enumerated within the Chinese district of Folsom. In 1870 this number increased to 187. In addition, at least 370 miners were living in camps outside Folsom, but likely visited town occasionally to obtain supplies (United States Bureau of the Census 1860, 1870). By 1879 some 3,000 Chinese were said to be mining in the Folsom area (Askin et al. 1980:11; Plimpton n.d.). It is probable that many of these miners lived at least seasonally in Folsom and used it as a residential base.

During the 1880s, Chinatown continued to grow. This growth was related to anti-Chinese sentiment throughout the region in the late 1870s. As racial violence forced miners and laborers out of the countryside and surrounding communities, they often retreated to Folsom. The San Francisco *Alta* reported trouble in the region in 1878, noting that

Chinese expelled from Rocklin, Roseville, and Penryn had gone to Folsom "where a camp of several hundred strong has been formed" (*Alta* 20 September 1878; Bancroft n.d.:37). This pattern continued for years.

In the midst of this period of economic prosperity and peak population, two Chinese associations purchased land for Chinese cemeteries. Yeong Wo & Company purchased Lots 3 through 8 of Block 40 from James and Mary Harris for their cemetery in 1883 (Sacramento County 1883). Two years later, Chung Wah Company purchased Lots 6 through 11 of Block 71 from James S. Meredith for $190 (Sacramento County 1885b).

The Chinese living in town who did not own stores typically formed small companies to mine claims, or went to work for others. The Natoma Company continued to be the major source of employment during the 1880s. The company hired Chinese as employees and paid them $1.00 a day, or rented land to them for mining. Company records note several mining companies buying water from the Natoma Company in 1882 (Plimpton n.d.). As employees, Chinese worked building, maintaining and clearing water ditches, as well as on company agricultural operations.

While manuscript census records are not available for 1890, Folsom's Chinatown appears to have continued to flourish during the late 1880s and 1890s, despite tepid local efforts to eliminate the Chinese from the city. In fact, Chinese advertisements in the local paper indicate a growing interaction with the non-Asian community. Three companies placed business ads in the *Folsom Telegraph* beginning in 1889: Fong Lee Lung, whose store carried groceries and miners' supplies; Cop Kee, a grocer; and Wing Sing Wah, a grocery store owned by merchant Chin Oak.

In 1893 an undetermined epidemic killed many Chinese in Folsom. The local paper reported that "Chinatown is full of sick heathens . . . and the number of deaths is greater than ever before known in history" (*Folsom Telegraph* 4 November 1893). Perhaps this epidemic, striking near the peak of Chinatown's population, marked the beginning of the community's gradual decline. The decline was also aided by the development of dredging in the region, an activity that effectively ended mining by small, independent companies around Folsom (Askin et al. 1980:13).

Decline - 1900 to 1946

As a new century dawned, Chinatown was holding its own. The 1900 census records depict a decrease in population within Chinatown since 1880, but only by 30 people. The district still had 13 merchants or grocers (three less than 1880), shoemakers, barbers, clerks, gardeners, cooks, butchers, launderers, restaurant owners, and gamblers (United States Bureau of the Census 1900). The main difference in 20 years is the numbers of Chinese within Granite Township but living outside of Folsom. This number fell from about 300 in 1880 to only 27 in 1900. Without the hundreds of miners and laborers frequenting Chinatown on days off, the economy within the district began to fail (Castaneda et al. 1984).

Ideally the decline of Chinatown would have occurred gradually, but was unfortunately hurried by fire. In August 1901 a big fire broke out in Chinatown at 3:00 a.m. According to the *Folsom Telegraph*, the fire started near the Tong Hing store (southwest corner of Block 9) and ended up consuming half of Chinatown. Firecrackers, bombs, and an oil tank helped spread the fire (*Folsom Telegraph* 17 August 1901).

By 1910, census records indicate only five merchants remained in town, compared to the 13 listed in 1900 (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). A few Chinese-operated laundries, some of whom had relocated on Sutter Street after a major fire, were still open (Sanborn Company 1899, 1910) and several Chinese cooks were privately employed (United States Bureau of the Census 1910).

Over the next ten years Chinatown declined rapidly. In 1913 the old Chinese temple located on a knoll in Block 11 burned down. This building had stood on the same spot since the early 1850s and was a fixture in the district. By the time it burned, however, the paper noted that it was "little used of late due to the small number of Chinese remaining in this community" (*Folsom Telegraph* 20 June 1913; Plimpton n.d.a). By 1920 two Asian merchants remained in town, among them Chin Oak and his family store on Sutter Street, along with the three laundries and a few cooks. Only 26 Chinese were enumerated in Granite Township that year, most of whom lived on Block 10 in Folsom or on Sutter Street (Sacramento County 1921; United States Bureau of the Census 1920).

When Chin Oak died in 1924, the last pioneer Chinese in Folsom was laid to rest, signaling the end of the original gold rush Chinese community. His family continued to live and work in town, although the other few remaining Chinese families moved away looking for opportunity elsewhere over the next two decades. By 1925, non-Chinese residents were building new residences on abandoned sections of Folsom's historic Chinese district (Sanborn 1925). Chinatown dwindled to a couple of old stores, which were all gone by the late 1930s (Fong 1994). Some Chinese bachelors remained in Folsom until their death.

During the 1920s and 1930s, other Chinese families who had left Folsom occasionally returned to bury family members and to perform the annual ceremonies at their family grave sites. The shrine was intact and in use during the early 1940s (Puffer 1994). After her death in 1946, Chin Lai Shee became the last Chinese person interred in the cemetery (G. Chan, Jr. 1991).

After Chin Oak's death, his eldest son, George, Sr., ran the family store, the Chan and Chan Market on Sutter Street. Until his death in 1959, George, Sr., led his family as they observed the annual cemetery ceremonies. These rituals were modified during the 1930s and 1940s when food became precious during the Great Depression, followed by World War II rationing (G. Chan, Jr., 1994). All of Chin Oak's children in Folsom continued to observe these ceremonies, although more sporadically as the decades slipped by.

Today, only Chin Oak's grandchildren remain in town as active representatives of Folsom's early Chinese heritage. His grandson, George, Jr., continues to run the family store on Sutter Street and is the guardian of the Chung Wah Cemetery. His granddaughter, June Chan, continues her parents' efforts to honor and preserve the Chinese legacy in Folsom.

District Associations in Folsom

The Chinese who came to California during the mid-1800s came from 24 districts in Kwangtung Province (Map 6). The overwhelming majority was comprised of three major dialect groups: the Sam Yup (a.k.a. Sam Yip), Sze Yup (a.k.a. See Yup, Sze Yap), and Heungshan (a.k.a. Chungshan) people (Chinn 1969:4; Leung 1984:15, 28; Minnick 1988:6-7). Sam Yup-speaking people came from the districts of Namhoi, Punyu, and Shuntak. Sze Yup-speakers arrived from Sunwui, Hoiping, Yanping, and Toishan districts. Heungshan people immigrated from the district of Chungshan. The Hakka, a fourth smaller dialect group, came from a scattering of districts throughout Kwangtung Province (Chinn 1969:4).

The Sam Yup, Sze Yup, and Heungshan formed separate district associations to assist their members during their time abroad. All three associations offered temporary housing for their new arrivals disembarking in San Francisco, as well as in smaller Chinese communities near mining and agricultural centers. The Heungshan people named their association Yeong Wo (a.k.a. Young Wah, Yong Wa), while the Sam Yup and Sze Yup used their district name. These

associations provided employment and legal assistance, recreational and spiritual considerations, advice on dealing with non-Asians, and access to familiar foods, medicines, and clothing (Minnick 1988:9-10).

Chinese usually maintained their distance from other Chinese from different districts or associations. According to Chinese-American historian Sylvia Minnick, "Those from Toishan encamped away from the Heungshan diggings, and both kept their distance from the Hakkas" (Minnick 1988:13). This was due to personal preference as well as distinct dialectic differences; people from one district often could not understand those from another district. In addition, Chinese from these two districts felt a great deal of animosity towards each other and brought their long-standing feud with them to America (Leung 1984:7).

The feuding between the districts, especially the Sze Yup and/or Sam Yup versus the Yeong Wos, resulted in "wars" or small-scale battles that occurred in the 1850s in several of the mining camps in California. In Weaverville, disputes over mining claims led to a full scale battle between the "See-Yups" and the "Yong Wahs" that culminated in a series of fights and numerous deaths between 1853 and 1859 (Brott 1982:13-17; Minke 1960:14-15). Chinese Camp, in Tuolumne County, was the site of another physical battle between numerous "Sam Yups" and "Yan Wos" over mining claim disputes. This battle took place in 1856 and ended in four dead and four wounded (Minke 1960:18-19; Paden and Schlichtmann 1959:71-72]). While no known battles occurred at Folsom, these incidents point to the level of antagonism that existed between the various factions.

The Sam Yup Association quickly established branches in Sacramento and Stockton to meet the needs of the large number of Sam Yup immigrants heading for the gold fields. During the 1860s Chinese from some non-Sze Yup districts previously under the jurisdiction of the Sze Yup applied to the Sam Yup for membership (Lai n.d.:16). By 1878 Sam Yup membership peaked at 12,000 members statewide (Lai n.d.:17). Unfortunately a feud, climaxing in the 1890s, created tension between Sam Yup and Sze Yup people (Lai n.d.:18), although there is no evidence to indicate how this affected the Chinese community in Folsom.

The separation between the Yeong Wo and Sze Yup/Sam Yup lasted in Folsom into the 1920s. The Yeong Wo Association members, while doing business with other Chinese, socialized separately from members of other district associations in Folsom's Chinese community. Yeong Wo members traveled into Sacramento to visit other Yeong Wo rather than socialize with the Folsom Sze Yup or Sam Yup (G. Chan, Jr. 1994). This, in part, explains why two different groups of Chinese in Folsom bought land for cemeteries instead of sharing one cemetery.

Members of all three major district associations resided in Folsom. Their association buildings were prominent fixtures in Folsom's Chinatown (Minnick 1988:22). The Sam Yup Association established their Folsom branch during the 1850s (Lai n.d.:15). The association rented land on Block 19 for their operations into the twentieth century, including a store, social hall, and housing for the sick and aging (Minnick 1988:22; Sacramento County, 1893a, 1893b, 1895a, 1895b, 1900). In the 1880s, the branch corresponded with their headquarters in San Francisco regarding funding for repairs to their association hall building (Lai 1994). This perhaps indicates the vitality of the association and its positive outlook for continued membership in Folsom.

The Yeong Wo Association, comprised of Heungshan people, owned property for its operations by 1883, although it probably rented for many years before buying (Map 7). The association built their benevolent hall and shrine on their property on Lots 1 through 4 of Block 17, on the southwest corner of the intersection of Leidesdorff and Burnett Streets (Sacramento County 1883, 1885a, 1912). Their shrine remained in the 1930s, although the structure, with its black doors and peeling red paint, was almost abandoned (G. Chan, Jr. 1994). All that remained of their benevolent hall at that

time was a small "shack" where a Chinese caretaker tended the gardens and fruit trees surrounding the site (Fong 1994). Yeong Wo also owned and maintained a cemetery on Lots 3 through 8 on Block 40, several blocks from the Chung Wah burial site (see Maps 3 and 7). No evidence of the Yeong Wo cemetery remains today.

Spiritual Life

Associations provided for the spiritual and religious needs of their members. As early as 1855 Folsom Chinatown had two "churches," one on Block 10 and one on Block 11 (Sacramento County 1855). In December, 1865 the *Folsom Telegraph* reported:

> The Celestial portion of our community, dedicated their new temple on last Thursday -- Many strange looking images were placed upon their altars. On one side of the altar, there was a picture representing a dragon, on the other side was a tiger. At the entrance there was a representation of his Plutonic Majesty leading a tiger. Goats, pigs, chickens and numerous other edibles were placed upon the altar for their hungry gods to feast upon.

Despite frequent fires, the Chinese rebuilt and maintained their churches, or joss houses, into the twentieth century.

Concern for the Spirit After Death

Receiving proper care after death was a major concern to Chinese sojourners living far from their native land and family. Accounts in miners' diaries and newspapers detailing Chinese funerals, care of the dead, and burial practices began appearing as early as 1849. For example, one Euroamerican miner working in the Folsom region observed that after a Chinese miner drowned on the North Fork of the American River in 1850, his countrymen put gold dust in his mouth and hands and buried him. Four weeks after the burial the remaining members of the dead man's company came down to the grave, bringing boiled beef, pork, a dozen oranges, raisins and some brandy. They placed the food on the grave, burned cakes beside it, and shared the brandy with the Euroamerican on-lookers (Forbes 1850).

This attention and respect for the dead is deeply rooted in Chinese culture. Two traditional Chinese ceremonies annually honor and tend to relatives' spiritual afterlife. During the Pure Brightness Festival (*Ch'ing Ming* or Chinese Memorial Day) the family elder ritually sweeps the graves of relatives with a willow branch, believed to repel evil spirits. Once the grave is swept, the family cleans and removes weeds growing on the grave mound. Dishes of cooked food, such as roast pork, are placed before the grave, then wine is poured over the grave. As incense sticks, red candles, paper money and paper clothing are burned to send to the deceased in the spirit world, exploding firecrackers create confusion to hopefully stop evil spirits from pursuing the deceased. Following the ceremony the food is removed and eaten at home. This festival usually occurs during the spring, in the third month of the Chinese calendar (Chinn 1969:76; Culin 1887:195).

The second festival is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh moon as relatives make their second visit to their family graves. This Spirits' Festival (*Shao'I* or "burning paper clothing") is described by Chinese historian, Thomas Chinn as:

> the day the dead were believed to return to roam at will, or to visit living relatives. And since the spirits must have money to travel, more paper money and paper clothing was transmitted by burnt offerings than at the *Ch'ing Ming* festival [Chinn 1969:77].

Associations usually provided for the burial and later return of their members' remains to China, where their families would attend to their needs in the afterlife. Associations also frequently erected shrines within their cemeteries in America to meet the spiritual needs of the deceased before their remains were hopefully one day returned to China. These shrines were used extensively during *Ch'ing Ming* for burning incense and other offerings (Chinn 1969:77).

The patriarch of Folsom's Chan family, Chin Tock Oak, came from Toishan district in China, a member of the Sze Yup Association, and therefore he and his descendants used the Chung Wah cemetery. The Chan family celebrated *Haung Tien*, loosely translated as "Climb to Heaven" in the spring and autumn of each year. In this ceremony, the family would boil a whole chicken, with head and feet still attached, and take the chicken with boiled eggs, Chinese whisky and beer to the cemetery. Occasionally the family would travel into Sacramento or San Francisco to buy special Chinese foods, like leechee nuts, unavailable in Folsom. In later years, they also brought non-Chinese foods. The elder male would put the food near the head of the grave mounds of family members, pour whisky or beer over the grave, and talk to the deceased. He would also burn paper money and punks, lighting them three at a time, to send as offerings to the deceased. Some punks were thick, some thin, some red and some waxy, each conveying a different kind of message (G. Chan, Jr. 1994).

By custom, the deceased was buried in a wooden coffin in a shallow grave, about two feet deep. An identification marker was often placed in the coffin, and sometimes on the grave mound itself. This marker provided verification of the identity of the remains when the body was exhumed after a period of five or more years for return to China. Identification markers consisted of either a brick painted or etched with the deceased's name, a marked slip of paper in a bottle, or an above-ground wooden marker (Askin et al. 1980:11-12; Minnick 1988:291-292, 1994).

Professional exhumers from association headquarters in San Francisco periodically traveled to outlying Chinese communities to conduct exhumations. After ensuring all the deceased's bones had been properly cleaned and accounted for, the skeleton was reassembled in a crouching position and placed in an urn or small box. Sometime after the turn of the century, remains were only returned to China if relatives existed to pay the high costs of exhumation permits, shipping, and reburial (H. Chan, Sr. 1981; Minnick 1988:291-292). Otherwise, the urns were reburied in the cemetery.

One account of a nineteenth-century exhumation at Chinese Camp in Tuolumne County serves to illustrate the ceremony that surrounded this procedure. Paden and Schlichtmann (1959:137-138) quote Mr. Edwin Harper's story as follows:

> I remember when a boy, that a group of us used to watch a certain Chinaman when he came here from San Francisco. He was a priest or some important official. We would hide in the bushes to watch the priest with several others as they walked slowly, in single file, to the graveyard. They wore fine Chinese clothing and hung bright-colored banners on the shrubs around the grave they had come to open. Then they chanted and gestured for a time. The officials brought Chinese laborers to do the actual digging but they were most particular to see that every tiny bone was gathered. A piece of silk was spread at one side of the grave and bones placed on that. When every single one was found and accounted for they were placed in a small wooden box which was given to the Chinese priest with a good deal of ceremony and they all went back to Chinatown.

Paden and Schlicktmann continue to relate that the box was always the length of a human thigh bone and that the bones were scraped clean and sealed, with the queue carefully placed on top of the bones.

The Sam Yup Association began exhuming and returning remains from California to China in 1858, again in 1863, and then every ten years thereafter until the 1910s (Lai n.d.). No records exist for exhumations in Folsom, although apparently they did occur until the late 1910s (Askin et al. 1980:12; G. Chan, Jr. 1994; H. Chan, Sr. 1981; Lai 1994). By periodically removing remains, hundreds of Chinese could be buried in a relatively small cemetery without running out of space.

Accounts of Funerals in Folsom

Accounts of Chinese funerals in Folsom offer a vivid image of the spiritual vitality of the Chinese community. Limited funds made most funerals simple affairs. A few friends of a miner or laborer would follow his coffin to the grave, scattering paper money along the way in the hopes of distracting evil spirits from bothering the dead. The noise from firecrackers, a fiddle or a gong would fill the air to scare away those spirits (Minnick 1988:288). Such was probably the case with Ah Tan, a miner who died in Folsom after a brief illness in 1889. He was buried "with the characteristic ceremonies of his race" in a fine coffin purchased from the Folsom undertaker, Jacob Miller. The coffin had been purchased by a Chinese merchant, presumably acting on behalf of the deceased's association (*Folsom Telegraph* 30 November 1889).

The elaborate funeral of Ah Chung, a merchant with Num Sing and Company, was described in the *Folsom Telegraph* on September 23, 1871 as follows:

> His remains were followed to the grave by a large number of his countrymen in carriages and on foot. A son of the deceased who seemed almost overwhelmed with grief, was dressed in white, with a white cloth over his head, and carried a pan of ashes in front of him, and was supported in a bent position by a Chinaman on each side of him and presented a singular appearance.

The Chinese community conducted traditional funerals at least as late as 1910. The coffin was transported in a horse-drawn hearse from the 900 block of Sutter Street to one of the Chinese cemeteries. Some mourners walked along with the wagon, while others rode with the coffin. As the procession moved west down Sutter Street, the Chinese tossed food, small change, and red paper with holes in it along the way (F. Hill 1994). Strewing perforated strips of red paper was a common element of Chinese funerals (Minke 1960:10).

When Chin Oak, a well-known merchant and resident of Folsom for 65 years, died in 1924, his eldest son, George, washed his body and placed him in a coffin. The ceremony and casket were both simple. A Chinese priest, who tended the local joss house, conducted the ceremony dressed in a black gown and black hat. Presiding over Chinese funerals provided the priest's sole income, amounting to two or three dollars for Chin Oak's service in 1924. Many local residents, Asian and non-Asian alike, came to pay their last respects to this pioneer of Folsom's Chinese community (G. Chan, Jr. 1994; H. Chan, Sr. 1981; J. Chan 1994).

The Chinese used two locations in Folsom for burning the deceased's belongings needed for their journey in the afterlife, such as their clothes, shoes, and blankets. A finely-built brick oven with steel doors stood near the temple on the Yeong Wo property on Block 17. As the belongings burned, smoke rose out of a large exhaust pipe to accompany

the deceased's spirit (H. Chan, Sr. 1981). At the Chung Wah Cemetery, relatives or friends of the dead person burned their belongings in a large depression located just inside the main entrance (G. Chan, Jr. 1994).

Identification of Chinese Burials

It is unlikely that the names and number of all Chinese and Chinese-Americans buried in Folsom can ever be discovered. The community of Folsom kept no death records, unlike Sacramento where city officials and cemetery owners maintained comprehensive records of deaths and burials dating back to 1849.

Jacob Miller, the founder of Folsom's sole funeral business from the 1860s to the present, retrieved those Chinese discovered dead or those who died from unnatural causes. He also signed most coroner's inquest reports. The Miller family funeral business sold coffins from their store on Sutter Street to the Chinese and let their hearse for conveyance to the cemetery. Unfortunately the Miller family kept no written business records (Askin et al. 1980:10; Claney 1994).

The *Folsom Telegraph* published notices of Chinese deaths, but rarely included given names prior to the 1890s, unless the deceased was well-known by the non-Asian community. The *Folsom Telegraph* notices indicate that burials were occurring in the Chinese cemeteries at least by 1871, although interment probably began in the 1850s. The Sacramento County Recorder only began issuing death certificates for Folsom after the Chinese community had dwindled to a mere handful. Three death certificates for Chinese burials in Folsom cited in Askin et al.'s report on Folsom's Chinese cemeteries are for Chin Him, 9-11-1916, Wing Sing Wo, 11-20-1923, and Charlie Heoung, 2-28-1935 (Askin et al. 1980:10). The death certificate of Wing Sing Wo, also known as Chin Oak, gives the date of death as November, 1923, his grave marker notes that he passed away in 1924. The majority of deaths in the Chinese community after 1893 were the result of old age.

As Chinese immigration and population in California declined, the original Chinese Six Companies (a composite of district associations and guilds) were succeeded by the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association or *Chung Wah Wui Kun* in Chinese (Minnick 1988:273). While the Chung Wah Association remained strong in California until the 1950s, no membership records have been found for Folsom. The Sam Yup Association does not know when its membership in Folsom ended, although Sam Yup historian, Him Mark Lai, believes it likely ended in the 1920s as the aging bachelor community died off or moved away (Lai 1994).

Chung Wah Cemetery

Records of property tax assessments and deeds usually provide concrete evidence of land ownership and use, but this is not the case with the Chinese. Due to prevailing prejudice, the transient nature of the Chinese sojourner in California, and lack of funds, among other reasons, it was common for Chinese associations and business people to rent property from non-Asians rather than purchase it themselves, or to rent for a while and then purchase the property. It is reasonable to assume that lots purchased for cemeteries were already being rented for that purpose prior to acquisition of title. After passage of the Alien Land Acts in 1913 and 1921, Chinese were no longer able to purchase land, but retained title to land acquired before 1913.

The first recorded Chinese burial in 1871 occurred 14 years before the Chung Wah Association acquired their land. There were certainly Chinese deaths in or near Folsom as early as 1850 (Forbes 1850). While some deceased may have

been transported by their association to burial sites in the New Helvetia or City cemeteries in Sacramento, the majority were likely buried in Folsom. Considering the intensive mining occurring in this area, as well as the great importance Chinese spirituality places on the afterlife, it is unlikely that Chinese were buried in isolated graves.

Comparative analysis of other Chinese burial sites further supports the use of the plot as a cemetery long before its purchase for that use. Throughout Sacramento County, Chinese were buried in segregated sections of non-Asian cemeteries. This did not occur in Folsom. The Chinese who died in Folsom before 1883 were not buried in other Folsom cemeteries, were probably not interred in isolated locations, and most likely were buried in devalued land already mined out well above seasonal river flooding levels, precisely the location of the Chung Wah site.

The Chung Wah cemetery is the larger and probably older of Folsom's Chinese cemeteries. Evidence suggests the present cemetery, along with another adjoining six lots, comprised a large Chinese cemetery dating from the gold rush. Initially, the Natoma Water and Mining Company, and its descendant, the Natoma Vineyard Company, owned the land, a tiny segment of the company's tens of thousands of acres of property. Although there appear to be no records of the Natoma Company leasing the land to the Chinese for a cemetery, several factors suggest that this may have been the case. First, the Natoma Company relied heavily on Chinese labor for its canal and ditch operations, as well as its ranch and vineyard businesses. Chinese use of two acres for burials, out of the company's more than 32,000 acres, would probably have been ignored, especially on land mined out early during the gold rush. Secondly, the Chung Wah cemetery is near Folsom's non-Asian cemeteries, which date to the 1850s. Chinese burials in the motherlode region were typically located in a segregated remote section of non-Asian cemeteries. The Chung Wah is close to the other cemeteries, but more remote.

The site's irregular shape suggests it was haphazardly planned, perhaps beginning with a few Chinese burials and then spreading out as more Chinese died in Folsom over the years. When the Folsom Development Company deeded the present site to the Chung Wah Company in 1906, the site was referred to on the deed as the China Mission cemetery, suggesting its pre-existence as a cemetery. When fire consumed the last Chinese temple, located on Block 11, in Folsom in 1913, the *Folsom Telegraph* referred to the structure as the "China Mission #1," stating it had stood since the 1850s (*Folsom Telegraph* 20 June 1913; Plimpton n.d.). The similarities in their names suggests they may have been related.

Concrete evidence for Chung Wah Company ownership of a cemetery begins in 1885. On October 6th, James S. Meredith deeded Lots 6 through 11 of Block 71 to Chung Wah for $190 (Sacramento County 1885b). Previously, the only recorded owner was Charles G. W. French, an attorney who left Folsom to set up a practice in Sacramento after the death of his wife, Abby Hewes (Sacramento County 1875). French owned numerous lots in Folsom as investment property until his death in 1892 (Sacramento County 1892).

The Chung Wah Company owned no other land in Folsom. During this period the Sam Yup Company rented property for a store and possibly a hall, while other buildings identified as tongs (or associations) were prominent fixtures in Chinatown (Sacramento County 1893a, 1893b, 1900). It is probable the Sam Yup and other associations, such as the Sze Yup, combined resources to purchase the Chung Wah site as a cemetery for joint use.

In 1906 the Chung Wah Company exchanged Lots 6 through 11 of Block 71 for the present 2.616-acre site, then owned by the Folsom Development Company. C. G. Lang, listed as president of Chung Wah Company, acted as agent for the association. Presumably provisions were made for the removal of any remains in Lots 6 through 11 before the company dredged Block 71 in 1907 and 1908 (Sacramento County 1906a, 1906b).

As association membership was eclipsed by family and community identification, Chinese-American families in Folsom continued to bury and honor their relatives in the Chung Wah Cemetery. The last known burial in the site occurred in 1946 when Chin Lai Shee was interred there. The mother of Marie Chan, George Chan, Sr.'s wife, had lived for years in San Francisco. After she died there, the Chan family brought her to Folsom for burial (G. Chan, Jr. 1994; H. Chan, Sr. 1981).

For decades the Chan family and other families with friends or relatives buried in the Chung Wah Cemetery have celebrated holidays that honor and tend to the needs of the dead; each generation learning from the last, passing on and adapting the rituals to their times. Today, George Chan, Jr. is the trustee and guardian for the cemetery, a natural extension of the family association passed down through the Chung Wah Company lineage.

Comparative Analysis

Folsom's Chinese cemetery is unique in Sacramento County. All other known Chinese burial sites lie within community cemeteries shared by Asian and non-Asian alike. There appear to be no other separately owned and operated Chinese cemeteries in the county. Of particular note is the proximity of two Chinese cemeteries in Folsom, indicating the strong identification with district associations from China, as well as the vitality of the associations.

In Sacramento, the New Helvetia and City cemeteries both contained Chinese sections dating back to the gold rush. The Record of Deaths book for Sacramento City, 1850 to 1870, lists the first Chinese death in Sacramento occurring on September 25, 1851. This entry lists this individual as "Chinaman," native of China, no age, no former residence, no cause of death, no attending physician, and cites a burial location in either the New Helvetia or City Cemetery that can no longer be traced due to plot renumbering.

Chinese district and family associations bought large "family" lots for their member interment. For example, in 1891, Sow Yuen Tong & Co. purchased a 24-foot by 60-foot lot for $270. Burial registers list Chinese burials in the City Cemetery as early as 1865. Chinese associations that purchased lots between 1867 and 1874 alone include Ming Yueng Co., See Yup Co., Sam Yup Co., Foulk Hing Tong Co., Hop Wo Co., Coy Chew Co., Chong Chaw Co., Hong Chew Co., Young Chow Co., and Quong Chew Co. (Sacramento, City of 1847-1955, 1850-1870, 1871-1874).

District associations periodically exhumed remains for return to China beginning in the 1850s. In 1955, Chinese remains were disinterred from the New Helvetia Cemetery when that cemetery was de-activated. Those remains were either returned to China or reburied in East Lawn Cemetery and marked with wooden markers. (A. Lee 1994).

The earliest Chinese burial sites in the City Cemetery, the "tiers," have been modified and the bodies moved to the southern corner of the cemetery. The Chinese association lot purchase records indicate that the Southside section of the City Cemetery became the Chinese section of the City Cemetery after 1900. No monument, altar or shrine was ever erected in this section. The Odd Fellows purchased the adjacent land from the City Cemetery in 1905 and retain its ownership to the present day. The Masonic Order bought more adjacent land in 1906. Together they presently maintain the appearance of the Chinese section (Bettencourt 1994).

In communities outside Sacramento, this pattern of burial in a section of the larger community cemetery continued. Elsewhere in the foothills, communities actively excluded the Chinese from the main cemeteries. Chinese can be found in separate areas set aside outside the main confines of the cemeteries (Bettencourt 1994).

The Elder Creek District Cemetery, between 65th Street and Power Inn road on Elder Creek Road, contained a Chinese section (Hayse 1994). Franklin had a Chinese section in their larger cemetery (L. Chan 1994; Hayse 1994; P. Lee 1994). The large Chinese community of Locke never had its own Chinese cemetery (P. Lee 1994). There are also no Chinese/Chinese-American burials in Courtland (L. Chan 1994).

In the nearby communities of Rio Vista, Franklin, and Stockton, all outside of Sacramento County, most Chinese burials exist only in the regular cemetery, not in exclusively Chinese cemeteries (P. Lee 1994). However, at least two exclusively-Chinese cemeteries outside of Sacramento County are known to exist. One is located on Matthews Road in French Camp. This private cemetery was founded in the late 1920s by Stockton's Chung Wah group and is still in use. The leaders of Chung Wah in that area conduct "tomb sweeping" rites twice every year (Minnick 1988:290). Another is located in Auburn. This cemetery, located in behind a gravel plant off Highway 49, still contains the oven used for burning belongs and offerings for the deceased (Costello 1994; Minnick 1994). In addition, there were three small Chinese cemetery sites at Virginiatown in Placer County. Two were exclusively Chinese and are on two separate hills. The third is smaller and an oral history map refers to this third cemetery as "the woman's Chinese cemetery" and also notes that the Sickles, a Euro-American family, were buried there. Apparently, all bodies were removed from all three cemeteries (exhumation pits are evident) and no associated features remain (Farnscomb 1994).

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

While it is likely that the cemetery was in use in the nineteenth century, there are no documents to support this supposition. Therefore, the period of signficiance begins in 1906 when Chung Wah Company acquired legal ownership of the plot in a trade with the Folsom Development Company. The last burial occurred in 1946 with the interment of Chin Lai Shee, ending the period of significance. Annual ceremonies, like *Ch'ing Ming*, continued long after 1946, but no burials or planned exhumations (other than those associated with the 1967 vandalism) occurred after this date.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Chung Wah Cemetery in the City of Folsom is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A, Consideration D and G. As the last visible reminder of the viable Chinese population that once inhabited Folsom, the cemetery acts as a link to the rich ethnic heritage of the town. The burning pit, shrine remains, and other features also attest to the spiritual value Chinese place on the afterlife and the permeation of religious beliefs into all aspects of their culture. One of two district cemeteries in town, the Chung Wah is unusual for its strong association ties and actual Chinese ownership. Elsewhere, Chinese shared a portion of Anglo cemeteries and other cemeteries in the county no longer contain traditional elements like the Chung Wah, increasing its importance on a local level.

Folsom's Chinese community consisted of stores, restaurants, barber shops, gaming houses, gardens, homes, churches, and association halls that serviced the hundreds of miners working around Folsom. As a commercial transportation center for a vast mining area, Folsom played an important role in the life of Chinese minerss or laborers from the 1850s until around 1910, when the population rapidly declined. District associations were extremely important, providing a link to the traditional culture and to relatives back home in China, a social center for workers far from home, and a guarantee that one's remains would be properly taken care of after death. Regular exhumations, with remains sent home for burial and care by relatives, was an important role fulfilled by the association.

The last burial occurred 49 years ago, in 1946, marking the end of the period of significance and qualifying the cemetery under Consideration G. The significance placed on the burial place of relatives in Chinese culture is seen in the observation of yearly *Ch'ing Ming* ceremonies by Folsom's Chinese-American residents for many years after the termination of the Chinatown. The cemetery remains in the care of the Chan family, the last of Folsom's original Chinese families still residing in town. Its natural setting, its location in a remote area on the outskirts of town, the intact features, and the sense of time and place that pervade the site mark a high level of integrity and increase the historical value of the site.

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1994	Bettencourt, James	Cemetery historian, Sacramento
	Chace, Paul	Historical archaeologist/Chinese historian
	Chan, George, Jr.	Folsom resident and Chung Way cemetery trustee and guardian
	Chan, June	Folsom resident
	Chan, Lincoln	Courtland resident
	Claney, Robert	Folsom resident
	Costello, Julia	Historical archaeologist/Chinese sites specialist
	Farnscomb, Melissa	Historical archaeologist working at Virginiatown
	Fong, Robert	Former Folsom resident
	Hayes, John	Cemetery historian, Sacramento County
	Hill, Fern	Folsom resident
	Lai, Him Mark	Chinese-American historian, Chinese Historical Society, Sam Yup Association
	Lee, Anna	Chinese-American historian, Sacramento
	Lee, Ping	Locke/Walnut Grove resident

Minnick, Sylvia Sun	Chinese-American historian
Wegars, Priscilla	Director, Asian Collection Center, University of Idaho, Moscow

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section number 10 Page # 1 Property Name Chung Wah Cemetery

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

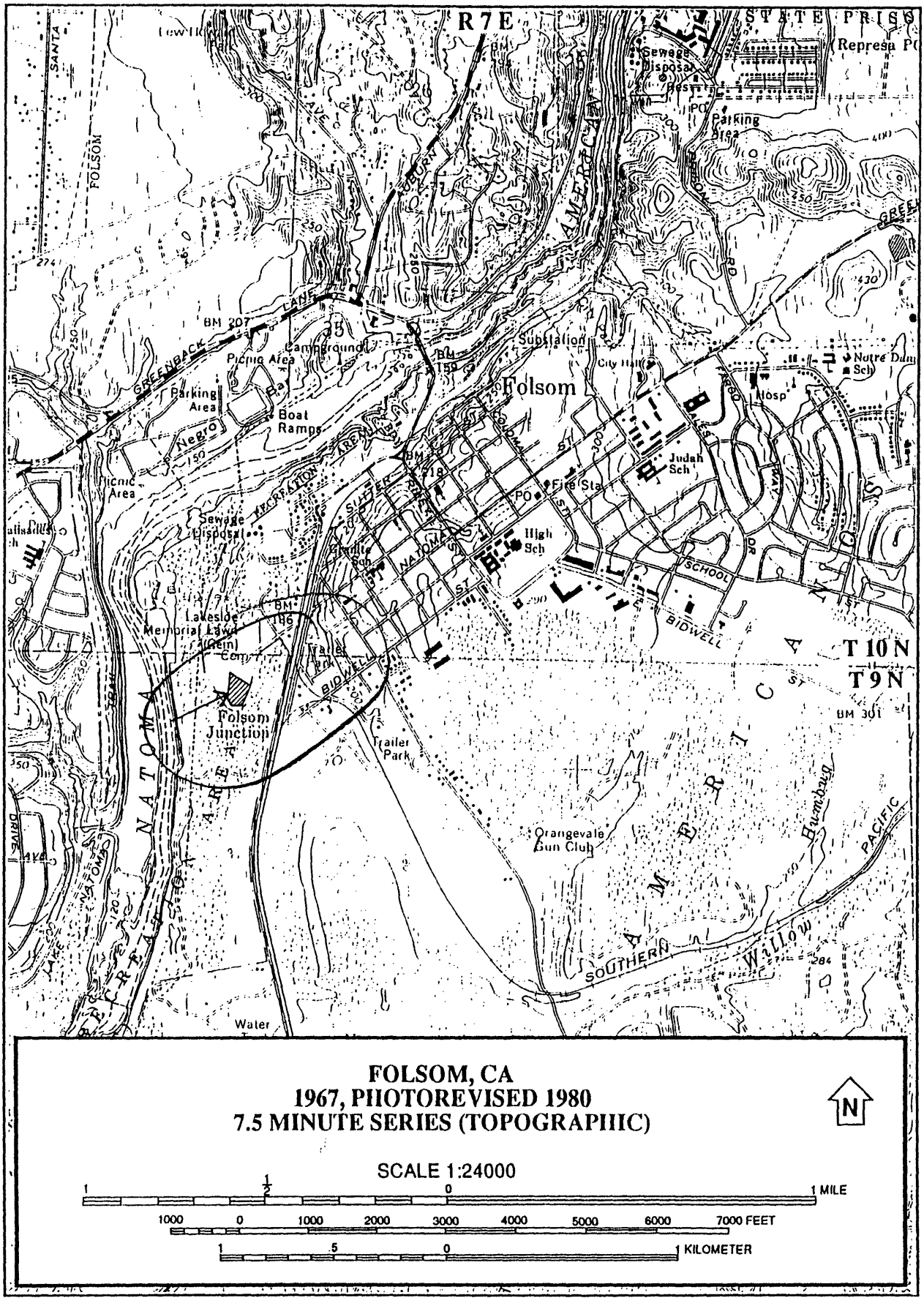
The cemetery encompasses 2.616 acres contained within an irregularly-shaped parcel. The parcel includes a portion of Lots 7 and 8 in Block 70 and continues south and west on unparceled land to the boundary of the Bureau of Reclamation's Lake Natoma holdings. The boundaries are depicted on attached Map 8, labeled "Chung Wah Cemetery Boundaries."

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION

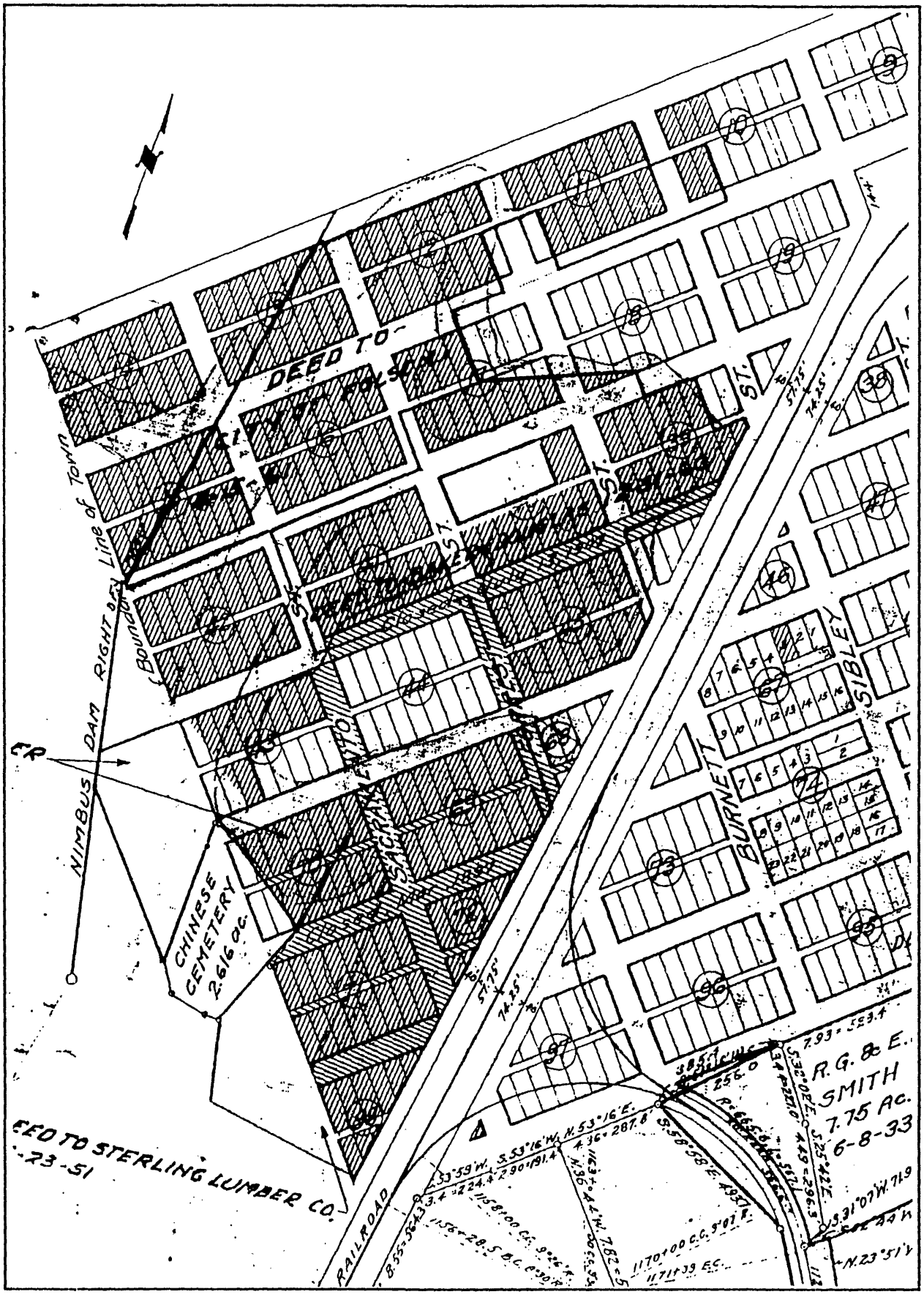
The boundaries delineated for the Chung Wah cemetery include the area outlined on the 1906 land deed transferring this property to the Chung Wah company for use as a cemetery. The boundaries encompass the area currently held in trust under the guardianship of George Chan. All related cemetery features are contained within the fenced boundaries.

CHUNG WAH CEMETERY

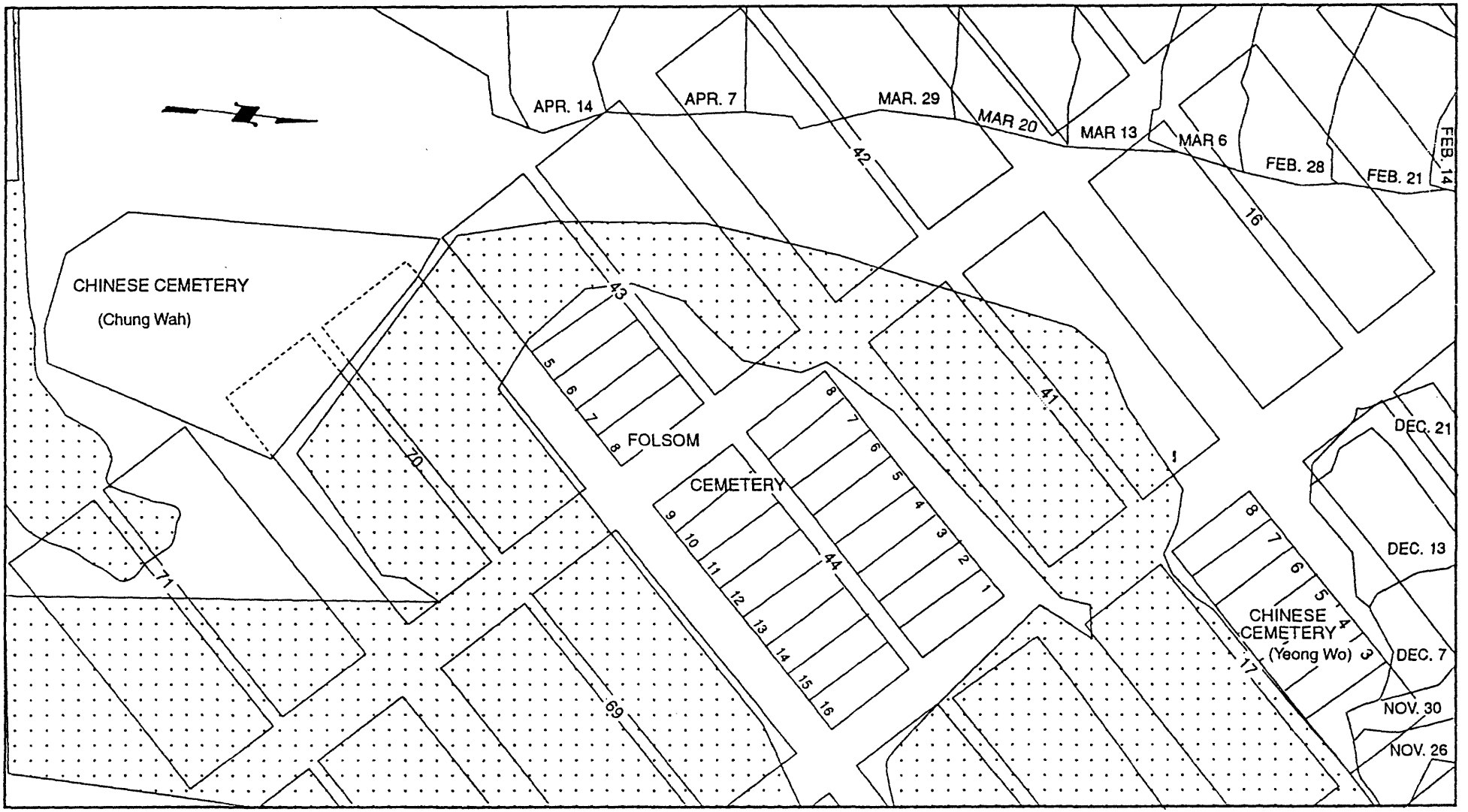
MAPS



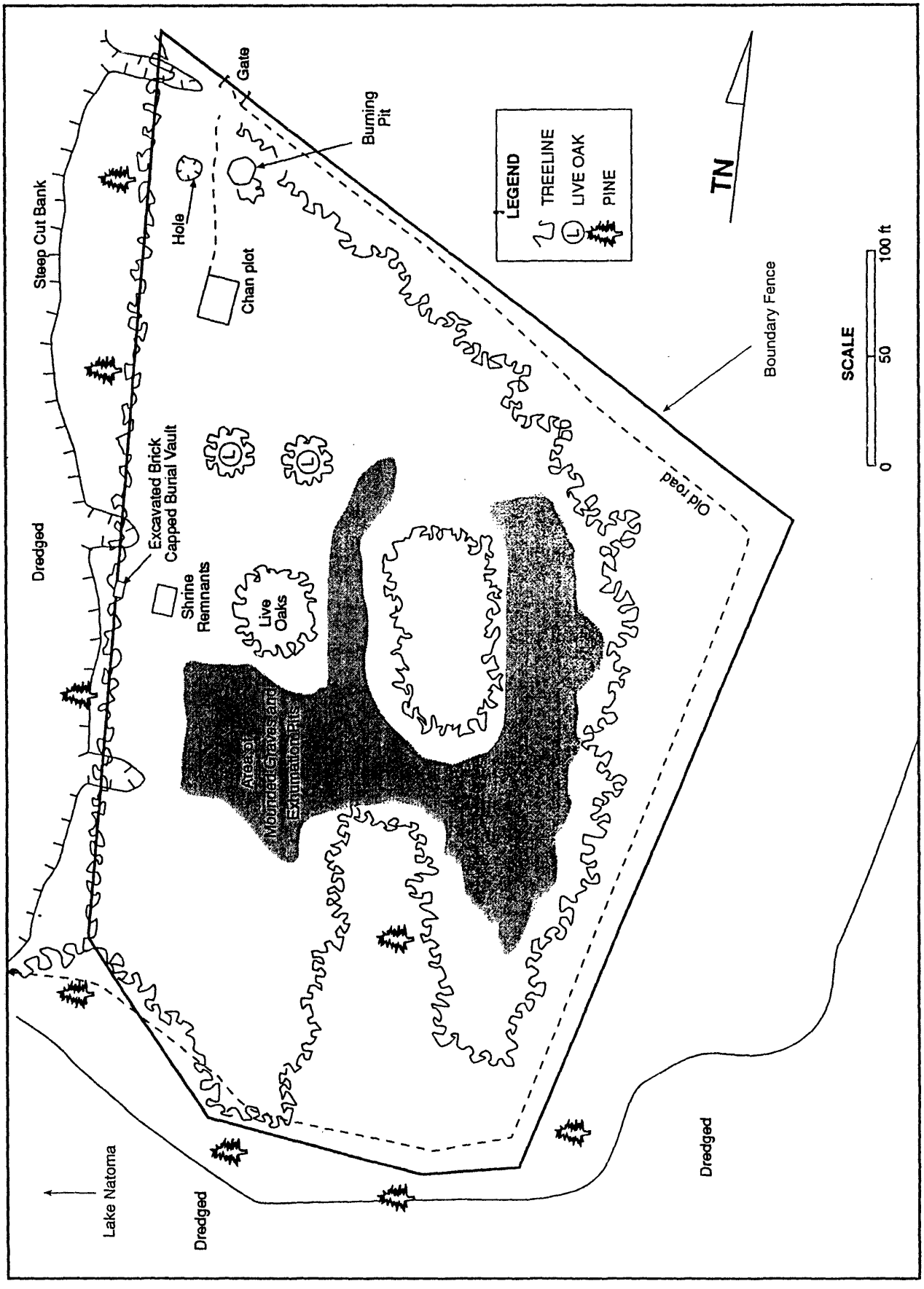
Map 1. Chung Wah Cemetery



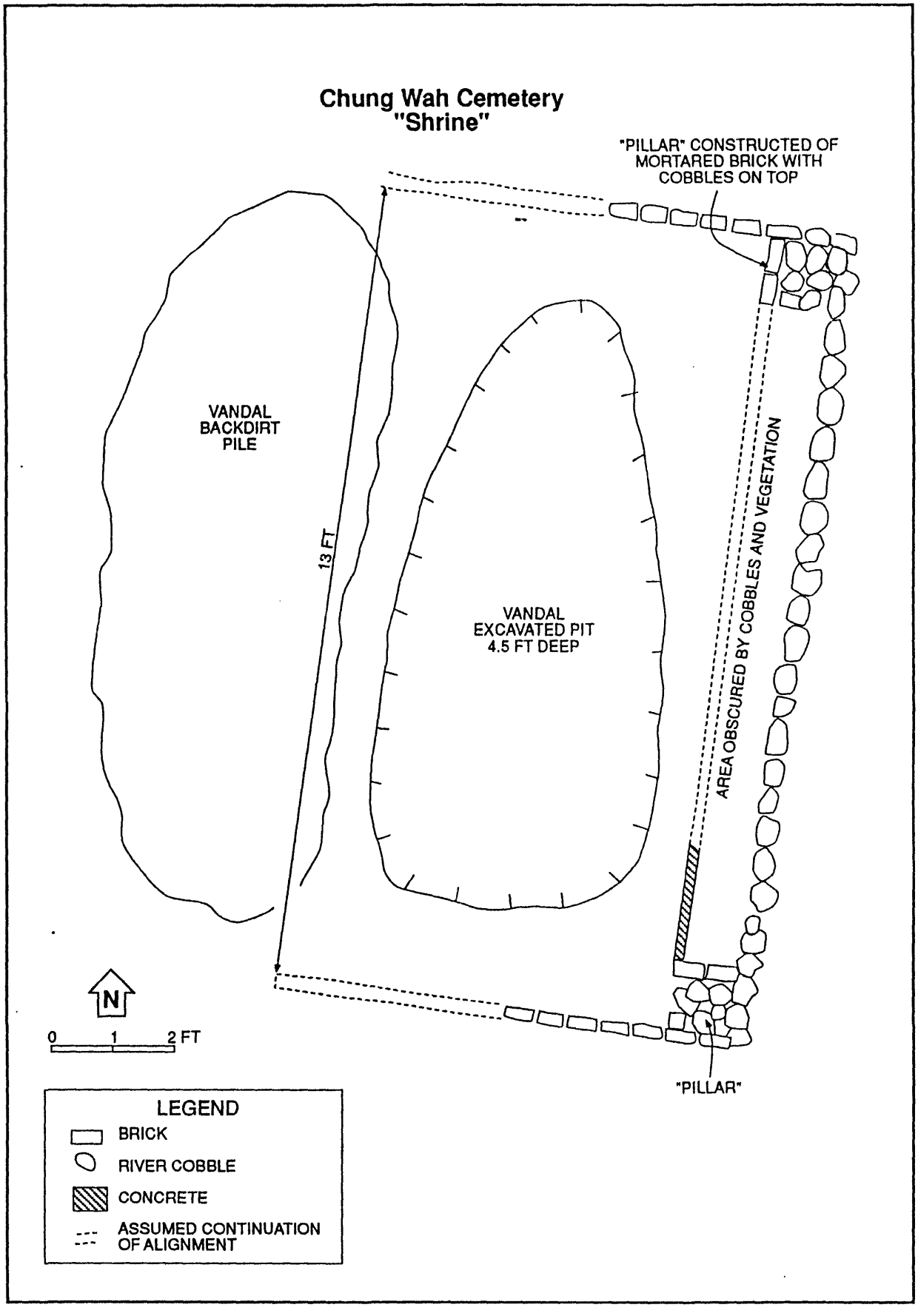
Map 2. Location of the Chung Wah Cemetery within the City of Folsom



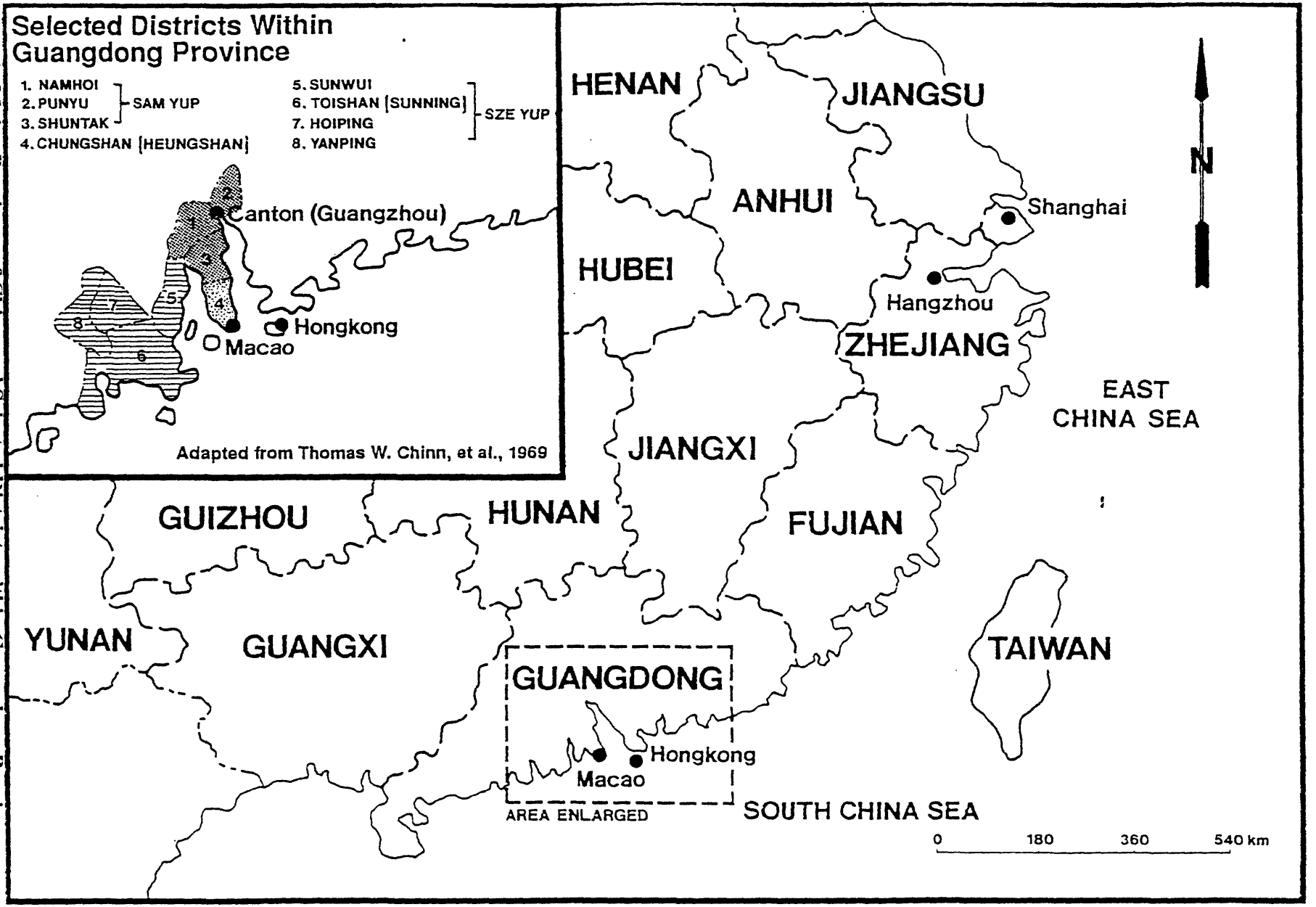
Map 3. Map of Dredged Land Depicting Chinese Cemeteries (Adapted from Natomas Company 1907-1909; Screened Areas and Dates Represent Dredged Lands)



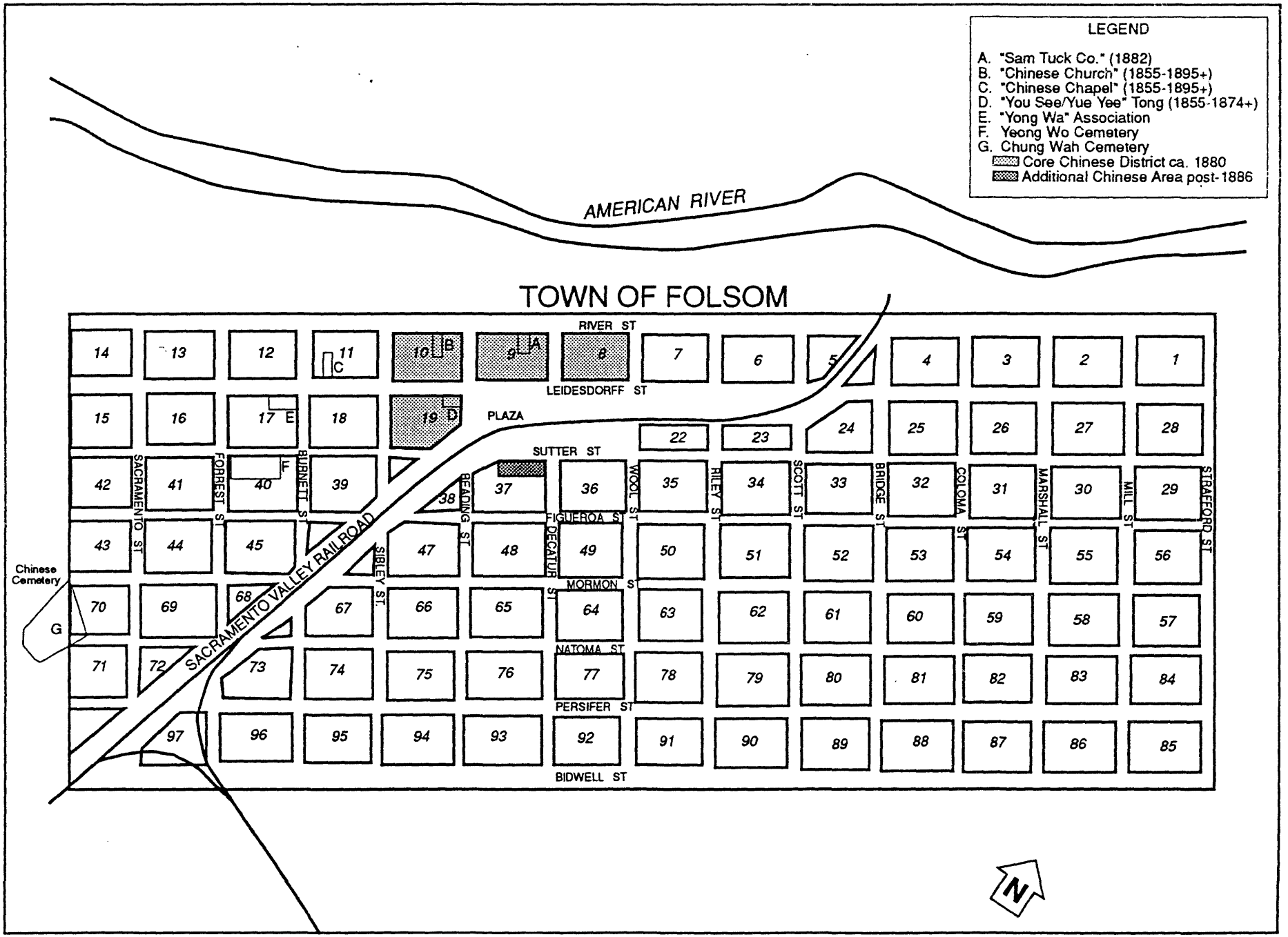
Map 4. Map of Chung Wah Cemetery Site, 1994



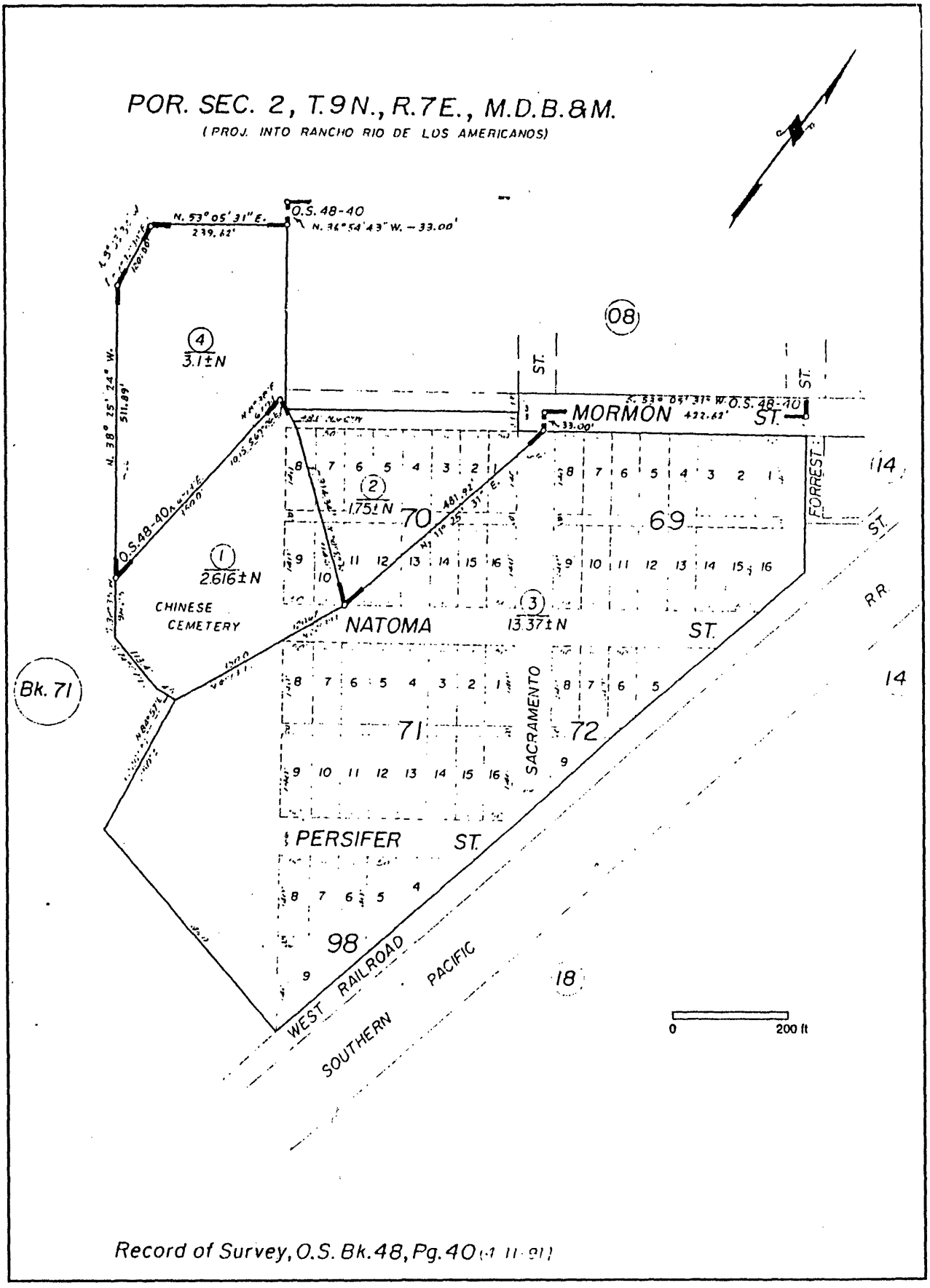
Map 5. Sketch of Chung Wah Cemetery Shrine, 1994



Map 6. Major Provinces of China and Selected Districts within Guangdong Province (after Minnick 1988:3)



Map 7. Areas of Chinese Use in Folsom and Association-Owned Property



Map 8. Chung Wah Cemetery Boundaries

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 95000999 **Date Listed:** 8/21/95

Chung Wah Cemetery	Sacramento	CA
Property Name	County	State

N/A
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action: 8/21/95

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Amended Items in Nomination:

Significance:

The areas of significance are revised to read: Ethnic Heritage-Asian and Social History in order to correspond with the site's well-documented traditional cultural use by local Chinese residents over an extended period.

This information was confirmed with Marilyn Lortie of the California SHPO.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)