A HISTORY OF WARREN, IDAHO: MINING, RACE, AND ENVIRONMENT

by

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The following individuals read and discussed the thesis submitted by student Cletus R. Edmunson, and they evaluated his presentation and response to questions during the final oral examination. They found that the student passed the final oral examination.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is the culmination of my own journey back into Warren's past and is dedicated to the man who started me on this journey, my dad, John H. Edmunson.

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This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people. The author wishes to express his deepest gratitude to all of the members of the History Department at Boise State University. The author acknowledges the inherent difficulties in helping someone attain their degree when they choose a rather circuitous route. Members of the author's committee, Dr. Jill Gill and Dr. Lisa Brady, deserve special thanks for providing invaluable assistance, support, and guidance in the thesis process. The author's deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Todd Shallat who has been by the author's side from the very beginning, through all of the difficult times, right through to the very end.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF AUTHOR

My interest in the history of Warren began as a small child, listening to the stories my father told of his own childhood growing up in a log cabin in Warren Meadows. As I grew up, those stories were brought to life through family camping trips to Warren during the summers, fishing in the dredge ponds, climbing all over the abandoned dredge, and peering into the historic buildings that lined the dusty main street.

My dad's stories about the early mining industry, the gold dredges, and the hard living in the mountains of Idaho fueled our excitement as we sat around the campfire where it all happened. You see it was not just the history of a mining town; it was the history of my own family. In the early 1890s, Henry Edmunson, my great-grandfather, made his way from Eastern Oregon into the mountains of central Idaho searching for his own fortune in gold. With him was his young son John, known to everyone as "Jack," who would eventually become my grandfather. They searched throughout the Florence and Warren area, eventually finding the "color" they were looking for on the steep hillside above French Creek, just a few miles below Burgdorf Hot Springs and an hour up the Salmon River from Riggins. There they built a cabin whose solidly built walls still stand today, 120 years later. The Edmunson family stayed on in Idaho, remaining close to their natural resource roots, engaged in the mining, timber or ranching industries but never far from the mountains they called home.

My love of history, particularly history about Idaho and the West, eventually led me away from the logging industry and into the profession of a high school history and

government teacher at New Plymouth High School. From 1994 to 2002, my increasing love of history convinced me that I should establish a path in my life that would allow me to one day teach history at the collegiate level. My first step on that path was to secure a Master's Degree in History; I enrolled at Boise State University in the fall of 2000.

My insistence that my students get involved in the governmental process eventually led me to get involved myself. I ran for and won a seat representing District 9 in the Idaho House of Representatives as a member of the Idaho State Legislature in the fall of 2002. I served three terms in the House, splitting time between a fall semester of school teaching history and function of government, and a spring semester of school spent mostly in a legislative session seeing how government *really* works. The rise of my political career overshadowed my efforts to obtain my master's degree, which I reluctantly put on hold.

My political career rose to another level in the fall of 2007, when I was offered and accepted the job of special assistant to Governor C. L. "Butch" Otter. Accepting this position required that I resign both my teaching job and state legislative positions, which I did immediately. After almost three years in the governor's office, I decided that my love of history and teaching dictated that I reset my goals and priorities for my life. I stepped away from the political arena and re-enrolled full time at BSU in the fall of 2010.

My life has now come full circle, and I am once again peering into Warren's past. The stories of my youth that my father once told me are now finding a place on the page. With final approval of this thesis, I will have reached and overcome the final obstacle toward attaining the goal I had set over a decade ago, and this August I will proudly step forward and accept my M.A. in History from Boise State University.

ABSTRACT

There have been many sources written on western mining concerning race and the environment, but many of those have focused on the negative consequences mining has had on the environment and the racial violence perpetuated against minorities in those mining towns, particularly the Chinese. There is a need to show a more positive focus on the histories of mining towns, like Warren, that can provide good examples of both responsible environmental stewardship and successful racial integration. Since there have been no studies done or books written that document the complete history of Warren, this study will correct that deficiency so that we may learn from Warren's success. This study draws from multiple sources on early Idaho history, western mining history and the role of the Chinese in the West, as well as evidence secured from many newspaper accounts, government documents, census records, archeological facts, and Chinese collections. Stories from local writers, personal narratives, and oral history interviews are also used. This study allows us to gain the understanding of how this combination of economic, political, geographical, and social factors contributed to Warren's successful longevity. This study also reveals the elements that combined to provide a history of positive racial co-existence and wise environmental stewardship that were the hallmarks of Warren's history. By focusing on the positive aspects of a western mining town instead of the negative aspects, this history of Warren will prove to be a valuable contribution to the historiographical record.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

With the discovery of gold by James Marshall at Sutter's Mill on California's American River, January 24, 1848, thousands of miners stampeded across the country looking for their fortunes in gold. News of the gold strike reached around the world to the southern port cities of China and many Chinese also packed up and steamed towards their own *Gum Shan* or "Mountain of Gold."[1] Over 300,000 "forty-niner" gold miners would eventually make their way to California. As soon as those initial claims played out, the miners went searching for the next great gold strike, finding strikes in the future states of Nevada in 1859, Idaho in 1860, and Montana in 1863. Within twenty years after that initial discovery in California, miners had spread throughout the West, digging for gold in just about every territory and state west of the Mississippi. [2]

Gold was discovered in what would be become the town of Warren in the summer of 1862. With this discovery occurring only fourteen short years after the California gold rush, the history of Warren is much more than just a history of a mining town. Warren's history is intertwined with the history of the formation of the Idaho Territory and the political beginnings of the State of Idaho. It is part of the history of mining in the West, including placer mining, hard rock (quartz) mining, hydraulic mining and dredge mining, as well as the effects each of these types of mining had on the environment. Warren also provides a history of race relations, particularly with regards to the Chinese and the Native American tribes in the region. The results of this study into Warren's history are two-fold. On one hand, Warren is like many of the other towns that sprung into existence

during the gold rush era and offers a true snapshot of a typical western mining town. But, on the other hand, Warren offers a unique and valuable perspective demonstrating a history of positive racial co-existence and wise environmental stewardship that was rare in western mining towns and demands further study.

When discussing Western American history the conversation usually starts with Frederick Jackson Turner and his 1893 thesis on the closing of the American frontier.[3] His ground breaking thesis, *The Frontier in American History*, declared that Americans were made into an exceptional breed by their relentless push towards the western frontier. Turner argued that on the edges where "civilization meets savagery," Americans developed their ability to adapt to harsh environmental conditions, be innovative, and acquire their rugged individualism. He argued that the exploration of the West is what led Americans to eventually become world leaders.[4] Others even argued that this helped lead American soldiers to victory in both World War I and World War II. Ray Allen Billington further explained and defended Turner's theory in three books, *The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860, America's Frontier Heritage* and *The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History?* In these books and more, he stated that the existence of free land and the desire for exploration spurred on the westward expansion. Billington dedicated much of his career to defending Turner's thesis, but he also conceded that although the environment was a major factor in shaping Americans out West, there were many other factors to consider as well. Martin Ridge continued the frontier legacy started by Turner, coauthoring a book with Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, as well as several articles such as, "The American West: From Frontier to Region," "Frederick Jackson Turner, Ray Allen

Billington, and American Frontier History," and "The Life of an Idea: The Significance of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis."

It can be argued that the Frontier Thesis explained, to a large degree, those who built Warren. Because of its location high in the Salmon River Mountains and isolation from the major centers of trade and commerce, Warren was not an easy place to live and work. The men and women who built a life there were, as Turner hypothesized, made tougher by their circumstances. There are other parts of Turner's thesis and his followers, including Billington and Ridge, that did not quite fit Warren. Those frontier historians focused much of their attention on a westward movement across the arid mid-west and the free land offered to the homesteaders in that area of the West. Warren was settled from West to East and the "free" land was the land taken from the Nez Perce Tribe with the treaty of 1863.

In response to the praise "Old West" historians heaped upon the miners of the West for conquering the untamed frontier, a "New West" history movement arose during the 1960's and 1970's. Historians associated with this new movement advocated looking more closely at the effect the mining industry had on the environment and the people, particularly the different races affected. Four of these New West historians, including William Cronon, Richard White, Donald Worster, and Patricia Nelson Limerick, have all given a tremendous amount of credibility to this new movement. [5] William Cronon, in his book, *Under An Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past,* argued that much of Turner's thesis understated the obvious, but there remains some value when Turner suggested that invasions, settlement, and community were patterns repeated throughout the West.[6] In his book, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the*

American West, Richard White argued that the West is a distinct region that sets it apart from the East, and the relationships with the federal government as well as a strong Native American and Hispanic presence produced a distinctly "western" feel and aura. White also argued that "Old West" historians had blinders on when it came to the environment and that New West historians have correctly focused on the environment as a foundational belief.[7] In his book, *Under Western Skies*, Donald Worster stated that New West historians succeeded in getting past the traditional consciousness of white conquerors. He explained the four important arguments that New West historians made. The first argument is that the people who were invaded deserve a voice. The second argument is that the drive for economic riches left behind much devastation and ruin. The third argument is that the West was controlled and ruled by a concentrated power. The fourth argument is that this revelation should be expressed regardless of repercussions.[8]

Patricia Limerick is credited for being the leader of the New West movement, so it is important to contrast Limerick directly with Turner. Turner believed that the West was both a process and a place where civilization meets savagery and where the westerner wrestled with nature and became Americanized. Limerick also believed that the West was a process and a place, but she believed the place was the arid region west of the 100th meridian and that the process was a mixture of races, ideas, and environmental factors that came together. She also added that the West has characteristics that made it unique, such as borders with Mexico, large Native American populations, expansive tracts of federal land, and because of its aridity, special concerns for water. In her book, *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, Limerick further clarified New West history with the four C's: conquest, convergence, continuity, and complexity.

Limerick used conquest in place of Turner's "frontier" to more accurately show that this free land and resources were more than likely seized from their previous owners.[9] Convergence better explains how the races came together with whites being the dominant force and the other races offered supporting roles, as determined by the whites. Strongly disagreeing with Turner's determination that the frontier was closed in 1890, New West historians argued that the settlement of the West had been a continuous process and in actuality much more occurred after 1890 than before. Limerick also stressed, with complexity, that the simple black and white myths and perceptions of the West did not even come close to explaining what the West was all about.[10]

Although Turner's frontier thesis did not quite go far enough to explain Warren's history, the New West Historians approach in many cases seemed to go too far. The New West historians were correct to place greater emphasis on both the environment and race relations in the mining communities in the West, both largely ignored by the "Old West" historians. For Warren, though, the New West historians tended to place too much emphasis on environmental destruction and racial intolerance, neglecting both the resource conservation and racial integration that were key factors of Warren's long, successful history.

When the topic turns to the history of mining in the West, the divisiveness of "Old" vs. "New" western historians becomes even more amplified. Historians of mining history usually emphasize not only the various types and methods of mining but also the economic and political struggles the miners had to endure. [11] Rodman W. Paul, in *Mining Frontiers of the Far West*, examined both the technological and economic aspects of mining rushes in several western states. Paul looked closely at the role miners played as

they moved from discovery to discovery and in the process brought with them extractive techniques and social relationships for the creation of new communities. Paul also looked closely at the impact new technology had on the industry in his book, *The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition*. In this book, he examined the rapid changes brought by the machinery and new technology used in the mining rushes including the effective but environmentally destructive hydraulic mining and the massive gold dredges. Mark Wyman, in his book, *Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910,* looked at the effect the economic and technological transformations had on the western miners. Duane Smith has written several books and articles on mining history including, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps – The Urban Frontier* and *Mining America, and The Industry and the Environment, 1800-1980.* The early gold rush era is well chronicled in both William S Greever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900,* and Elliot West, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880*. Although these aforementioned books on mining rarely mention Warren itself, they are an excellent source of information on all of the various methods of mining in the West and the political, economical, social, environmental and racial effects that mining had on the respective communities written about. Because Warren's mining history included all the methods of mining, including; placer, quartz, hydraulic and dredge, this collection of books helps when comparing and contrasting Warren with other western mining towns.

There are many excellent books on the early history of Idaho and the mining industry that helped build the state.[12] Early history books were published around the time of Idaho's statehood, such as the 1884 publication of the *History of Idaho Territory*

showing its Resources and Advantages with Illustrations and the *Illustrated History of North Idaho,* published in 1903. Both books provide some interesting information on the early mining towns such as Pierce, Orofino, and Florence. There are three books on Idaho history written in the early 1900s that also provided some good information: C.J. Brosnan's 1918 book, *History of the State of Idaho,* Hiram T. French's *History of Idaho* published in 1914, and W. J. McConnell's *Early History of Idaho*, published in 1913. Idaho's contribution to the depression-era WPA, the 1937 publication *Idaho: A Guide in Word and Picture,* provides extensive information on Idaho, as do Byron Defenbach's *Idaho: The Place and Its People: A History of the Gem State from Prehistoric to Present Days,* published in 1933, and Thomas Donaldson's *Idaho of Yesterday,* published in 1941. For more recent histories, we turn to Cort Conley, *Idaho for the Curious,* and the most modern history, written in 1994 by Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho, Volumes I & 2.* Merrill D. Beal and Merle W. Wells, *History of Idaho, Volumes I, II & III*, is viewed as the first choice by many historians when researching Idaho history up to 1959, the year that set was published.

Much of what we know about Idaho's mining history is a direct result of the hard work of Merle W. Wells. Wells has produced three excellent sources of information including *Rush to Idaho, History of Mining in Idaho,* and *Gold Camps & Silver Cities*. Another great source is by Vardis Fisher and Opal Laurel Holmes, *Gold Rushes and Mining Camps of the Early American West*. Although these books and many more are great sources of information on Idaho's mining history, particularly Silver City and the Boise Basin area, they offer very little on the mining history of Warren.

For the local history of Warren, there is only one book, *The Warren Times*, by Cheryl Helmers, devoted entirely to Warren. Helmers' book is a collection of actual newspaper articles from the various newspapers that existed at that time, including among others, Grangeville's *Idaho County Free Press,* the *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* out of Boise, and the *Washington Statesman* from Walla Walla, Washington. The book is put together into newspaper format to demonstrate what a newspaper from Warren would look like if it had actually had a newspaper called the *Warren Times*. Although there was a short lived Warren newspaper called the *Guerilla Corkscrew*, there is no information on this paper. Helmer's *Warren Times* is a tremendous accumulation of information on Warren and has proven to be a valuable source of information for this thesis. Sister M. Alfreda Elsenshon of St. Gertrude's Convent in Cottonwood, Idaho, is the one to thank for most of our information on the early history of Florence, Warren, and the rest of Idaho County. In her book, *Pioneer Days in Idaho County, Volume I,* she devotes an entire chapter to the early history of Warren, collected from newspaper sources and many interviews with the early pioneers. Another invaluable source of information is Robert G. Bailey's, *River of No Return*. Other local history books that include Warren and the surrounding area are, Johnny Carrey & Cort Conley's *River of No Return,* Pat Cary Peek's *Cougar Dave: Mountain Man of Idaho,* and Cort Conley's, *Idaho Loners: Hermits, Solitaries and Individualists.*

Ever since the beginnings of the gold rush and the arrival of the first Chinese miners, the history of western mining has included the role of the Chinese in western mining camps. For many years "Old West" historians portrayed the Chinese as passive victims of racial intolerance and violence, who either quietly worked their placer claims

or washed clothes in the laundries. Rarely were they portrayed as valuable members of their communities and important contributors to the era of western mining. As the historic pendulum swung to New West historians, the history of the Chinese in the western mining camps was one of oppression and violence, a mostly negative view. Again, the valuable contributions of the Chinese were not emphasized enough.

There have been many books written on the Chinese in America during this time period that deserve extensive reading. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870*; Susie Cassel, *The Chinese in America: A History from Gold Mountain to the New Millennium*; Roger Daniels, *Anti-Chinese Violence in North America*; Robert McClellan, *Heathen Chinee: A Study of American Attitudes Toward China, 1890-1905;* Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America;* and Cheng-Tsu Wu, *Chink*, all document the anti-Chinese attitudes and violence of the era. For more specific inspections into the anti-Chinese violence that occurred in the mining camps and towns in the West, Isaac H. Bromley writes on the massacre of Chinese in the Wyoming mining town of Rock Springs in *The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs;* Gregory R. Nokes writes of the massacre that occurred on the Snake River in Hells Canyon in *Massacred for Gold: The Chinese in Hells Canyon*; and Layne Gellner Spencer tells the story of the five Chinese who were brutally hanged in the city of Pierce, Idaho in *And Five Were Hanged*.

For a more recent focus on the positive contributions that the Chinese made to their mining communities, Liping Zhu does an excellent job of showing how the Chinese were fully integrated and valuable members of their communities in the Boise Basin in *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Frontier*. Randall E. Rohe is

another author who has advised his other fellow historians to move away from the over-worked theme of anti-Chinese discrimination and concentrate on more positive history. He has written three articles on the topic including, “After the Gold Rush: Chinese Mining in the Far West, 1850-1890,” “Chinese River Mining in the West,” and “The Chinese and Hydraulic Mining in the Far West,” all showing the Chinese miners’ valuable contributions to western mining history.

For the mining town of Warren, the issue of the role of the Chinese is very important because for sixty-four of its 150 years of existence, Warren’s white population was racially integrated with an extensive population of Chinese. From 1870, when the first Chinese were allowed in Warren, until 1934, when the last Warren Chinese resident Ah Kan died, the history of Warren was also a history of the Chinese in Idaho. Sister Elsenshon provides us with much information on the Chinese population of Warren in her books, *Pioneer Days in Idaho County* and *Idaho Chinese Lore.*

More information on the role of the Chinese in Warren and other Idaho mining camps is provided through newspaper accounts along with one Master’s thesis and three dissertations on the subject. Fern C. Trull’s 1946 Master’s thesis, *History of the Chinese in Idaho;* Darby Campbell Stapp’s 1990 dissertation, *The Historic Ethnography of a Chinese Mining Community in Idaho;* Li-hua Yu’s 1991dissertation on *Chinese Immigrants in Idaho;* and Priscilla Spires Wegars’s 1991 dissertation, *The History and Archaeology of the Chinese in Northern Idaho 1880 through 1910,* all provide a wealth of important information on the role of the Chinese in Idaho.

Most of the books and articles that reference Warren are those written about Polly Bemis. Polly’s story from slave girl to Warren’s most famous citizen has proven to be too

enticing for many authors to pass up. Sister Elsenshon wrote *Idaho's Most Romantic Character: Polly Bemis,* and Christopher Corbett added, *The Poker Bride: The First Chinese in the Wild West*. Priscella Wegars wrote an authentic account of Polly in *Polly Bemis: Chinese American Pioneer*, as well as some very good articles on her life. All of these books, along with many more books and articles, go into detail about Polly Bemis but provide only cursory information about Warren's other Chinese residents. The fact that the Chinese in Warren were accepted as valuable members of the community and played an important role in its history has been largely ignored.

The pendulum of Western American historiography has swung from one extreme to the other over the last 120 years. Within western mining history, that pendulum has swung on every issue from environmental concerns and race relations to resource exploitation and vigilante violence. Where the history of the town of Warren fits into this is a matter of speculation that could be argued either way, depending on either an "Old" or "New" western historian perspective. Either race relations with the Chinese can be viewed as racial integration or a product of racial tolerance. The decade of dredging could be viewed as an environmental disaster or an engineering marvel and economic salvation. Warren's longevity can be viewed as a result of wise leadership endowed with the foresight to conserve the natural resources or a result of the fact that Warren was so isolated that the machinery needed to quickly deplete the resources could not be brought into Warren. As historians choose sides in defense of their arguments, the historical landscape of Warren slowly fades away.

It is time that we turn our attention to the landscapes left behind by fifteen decades of mining and look into the long, rich, and colorful history that Warren has to

offer us.[13] For a better understanding of the need to look into these landscapes, the leader of this movement is Richard V. Francaviglia, who has written an excellent book on the subject, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*. Francaviglia also wrote *Mining Town Trolleys: A History of Arizona's Warren-Bisbee Railway* and several key articles including, "Bisbee, Arizona: A Mining Town Survives a Decade of Closure," "Time Exposures: The Evolving Landscape of an Arizona Copper Mining District," "Reading the Landscape and Other Historical Detective Stories," "Mining Town Commercial Vernacular Architecture: The 'Overhanging Porches' of Ohio's Hocking Mining District," and "Copper Mining and Landscape Evolution: A Century of Change in the Warren Mining District, Arizona." Another great source that will help us appreciate mining landscapes is Peter Goin and C. Elizabeth Raymond's, *Changing Mines in America*. This book looks at the landscapes of eight mining sites and provides the reader with both a history of each as well as pictures of the landscape left behind from years of mining.

The western mining town of Warren, Idaho, began in 1862 with the discovery of gold by James Warren in the high mountain basin above the Salmon River. Originally known as Warren's Diggings, the name evolved to Washington, then Washington at Warren's Camp, shortened to Warrens, and then finally known simply as Warren. The town of Warren has managed to somehow survive through two world wars, numerous economic depressions and recessions, as well as several boom-to-bust cycles of the gold mining industry. Throughout the town's 150 years of existence, there have been several contributing factors that have helped Warren achieve this longevity and avoid some of the pitfalls that drove many other western mining towns into oblivion. What factors

contributed to Warren's avoidance of a similar fate is an important topic that merits further study.

Warren is located in the center of what is now Idaho County, in a rather idyllic setting for a mining town. Two large valleys lie adjoined by Warren Creek, which meanders through on its way down to the mighty Salmon River. Both valleys are covered in grass suitable for livestock, and the surrounding hillsides are thick with the much-needed timber that is used for everything from mine timbers to sluice boxes, cabins, and the stores and saloons for the people of Warren. Wildlife has always been abundant; streams are still full of trout, and the Salmon River supplies an annual migration of salmon and steelhead for the smoker. The most important resource for every mining town, next to the gold itself, is water, and the Warren area offers plenty of it. Water is diverted from the many streams flowing down from the surrounding hillsides and used for public drinking and watering livestock. In the early days of Warren, it also was essential for placer mining methods such as rocker boxes, sluices and hydraulic canons.[14] Water was also used to power the ore crushing mills and arrastas used by those engaged in quartz lode mining.

Warren was, and still is, a rich mining ground. Unlike some mining towns, such as Florence, Warren not only had large meadows suitable for placer mining, it also had wealth deep inside the mountains surrounding the town, available for quartz mining. This provided for stable and non-competitive workforce opportunities. This was one of the main reasons for Warren's uniquely non-confrontational relationship between the white miners and the Chinese immigrants who lived and worked in Warren after 1870. While many of the white miners were focusing on quartz mining possibilities in the hillsides,

most of the Chinese miners were working the placer claims in the valleys, so there appeared to be plenty of work for everyone.

Warren also has the distinction of being one of the few western mining towns that was able to mostly avoid the violence and vigilantism associated with other historic mining towns, such as was seen in neighboring Florence. Much of this is attributed to the type of people who made Warren their home. Miners could get wealthy in Warren, but they had to work hard for it. There was no "easy" gold in Warren, so in 1863, when news broke of gold discoveries in Montana and the Boise Basin, those miners who had been the cause of so much violence in Florence and other mining towns decided to look elsewhere. One possible explanation is that the timing of those discoveries, coming so soon upon the heels of the discovery of gold in Warren, caused those "unsavory types" to bypass Warren, looking for an easy payday somewhere else. Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that very little violence and vigilantism surfaced in this isolated mining town.

There is no denying that Warren is geographically isolated. Today, the town is eighteen miles of dirt road from the nearest pavement, another forty-four long winding miles to the nearest town of McCall, and 170 miles from the capitol city of Boise. For much of its history, there was no road into Warren, only trails. Before the Warren Wagon Road was built, it was 500 miles to Boise via Walla Walla, Washington. Even today, during the winter months, Warren is only accessible by ski planes or snow machines. Although this geographic isolation helped produce a close-knit community that had to rely on one another to make it through the long winters, it also had a debilitating effect on the quartz mining industry. This type of mining required large stamp mills, arrastas,

boilers, and steam engines. Machinery of this size and magnitude could not be brought in on horseback or by pack string. This, in turn, kept the industry's progress to a slow pace and kept those intent on quickly exploiting and exhausting the natural resources out of Warren.

Warren has an interesting history of interaction with both Native Americans and the large population of Chinese who made Warren their home for many years. Relations with the Native Americans, particularly the Nez Perce and Mountain Shoshone, (most commonly known as the Sheepeaters) were strained for obvious reasons, considering the tribes were being forced off their native lands and onto the Lapwai, Fort Hall or Lemhi Reservations through a series of treaties, particularly the Treaty of 1863. Both the Nez Perce War of 1877 and the Sheepeater War two years later involved many residents of Warren and the surrounding area. The relationship with the Chinese was quite different because they lived and worked in close proximity to each other, often shared in celebrations, and in many instances, helped each other in times of need. The Chinese came into Warren about the time that most of the white miners had exhausted their placer claims and were looking to sell off their claims so they could invest in the quartz mining industry. The Chinese offered a solution when they came in and purchased the placer claims. Without the direct competition for jobs and claims, the whites and Chinese in Warren were able to maintain a cordial interracial relationship that was rare in western mining towns.

Throughout its long history, Warren has experienced the ups and downs of several classic boom-to-bust mining cycles and has seen just about every type of mining known in the industry. In the beginning, individual miners used pans, sluice boxes, or rocker

panels to separate the gold from the gravel in their claims. In some areas where they were able to bring down large amounts of pressurized water, they resorted to hydraulic mining, using giant water cannons to erode the hillsides down into their sluice boxes. When the large quartz veins were discovered, many turned their attention to quartz mining, sometimes called lode mining. This required a larger investment of both capital and manpower to blast and dig the tunnels underground and haul out the ore. Once the ore was piled outside, either rock crushing stamp mills or large rock grinding wheels, called arrastras, were used to crush the ore down in order to secure the gold from within. Warren even experienced the gold mining method of dredging on a large scale. When the gravel-bearing meadows around and under the town of Warren were suspected of holding vast amounts of gold, massive floating gold dredges were brought in, and the valleys of Warren during the 1930s were literally turned upside down. Millions of dollars in gold was brought to the surface and excavated from the gravel, leaving behind mountains of dredge tailings.

Warren's long, colorful history has left behind an amazing and varied mining landscape for us to consider. At first glance, all that can be seen are the miles and miles of the rounded-off mounds of rock left behind by the dredges as they turned the valleys upside down. But upon closer inspection there is so much more. Down one road are the remains of an old miner's cabin, and down another is an old placer mine. The town of Warren remains much like one would expect. A dusty main street winds between mostly boarded up old saloons, general stores, and hotels. A trail climbs up a hill above town leading the way to Warren's cemetery, the final resting place for the white citizens of Warren, although two Chinese were given the honor of being buried there. Another trail

on the outskirts of town leads to Warren's Chinese cemetery. Quartz mines and their tailings are visible above town telling their story. Old mining machinery sits rusting in nearby fields, and a hydraulic cannon, erected on a pedestal, has its nozzle fittingly pointing to the hillside above town. And down an old rocky road that winds through the dredge piles lays the decaying hulk of the dredge itself. The massive machine that wreaked havoc on the valley, a master of destruction, lays helplessly stuck in the rock pile it made. Year by year, the mighty dredge crumbles a little more, slowly fading into the landscape and out of history, taking its stories of past glory to its rocky grave.

CHAPTER 2: FABULOUS FLORENCE AND THE DISCOVERY OF WARREN

After the initial discovery of gold at Pierce, Idaho, in 1860, miners began to spread throughout the region looking for more big strikes. Nearby Oro Fino was the first new gold strike, and then prospectors discovered gold along the South Fork of the Clearwater River near what would become Elk City. However the strikes at Florence turned out to be the big bonanza all the miners had been trying to find.[15]

The prospectors who came to Florence in 1861 had done so over the objections of the Nez Perce Indians, who had been trying to limit the miners from coming onto their lands. But a twenty-three-man party was strong enough to force its way through to a high basin above the Salmon River, and before long, news began to spread of the incredibly rich placers. By late fall, a frantic rush to Florence was on. The lust for riches was so strong that some miners even attempted to get to Florence during that winter, one of the worst on record. With limited supplies in the area, many of the miners faced near-starvation conditions. But by the end of April, another prosperous mining season was well under way.

The summer of 1862 turned out to be the richest mining season Florence would ever see. It was estimated that as many as 10,000 people passed through the remote camp that year. While only a few thousand were mining, others came as carpenters, merchants, hotelkeepers, or bartenders. Historian Merle Wells writes that production in Florence during the height of the 1862 season very likely reached $50,000 a day and that the total for the year probably exceeded $6 million.[16]

The richest single claim in Florence was that of Jacob Weiser and his partners. The gold was reportedly two inches thick on the bedrock, and that claim yielded $20,000 in just eight days of cleanup. One pan from the claim yielded $151.50, and two men with a rocker acquired $1,800 in just three hours. Weiser sold his interest in the claim for $10,000 and left Florence with a mule-load of gold dust worth about $30,000.[17]

By the end of 1863 most of the placers had been "played out" and many of the miners moved on to the new discoveries in Warren and the Boise Basin. Placer mining continued in Florence for the next twenty to thirty years, although the district was pretty much given over to the Chinese after the richest workings were depleted. A quartz revival in 1896 gave the district another dose of excitement, but it did not come anywhere close to matching the big season of 1862 when this remote gold camp earned its nickname "Fabulous Florence." While Florence is a ghost town now, it was a rip-roaring place at one time. P.W. Gillete, in his diary dated June 15, 1862, describes Florence as a “vast horde of gamblers, roughs and desperadoes from California. There is no law here, or none that sees, abates, retards or punishes crime. Scarcely a day passes that someone is not killed or wounded. There has been strong talk of establishing a vigilance committee, but as yet nothing has been done. The decent people of Florence endure these outrages with remarkable fortitude.”[18] Alonzo Brown, who owned a general store in Florence at the time, reminisced that, “men had a habit of getting drunk at the saloons and shooting into stores and tents as they went by. I slept in the store on the floor, and to protect myself from stray bullets fired by drunken men I piled up a stack of flour as wide as my bed and about four feet high and made my bed behind the flour…the town was filled with the worst element of the Pacific Coast, and thieves and gamblers from the East. The

saloons and gambling houses were wide open night and day and a man was killed nearly every night."[19]

Following a moderately inactive period at Florence in the 1880s, modern technology for quartz mining revived the area in 1895. People once again converged on Florence, and the population rose to about 1,000 in 1897. Disorder between the owners of the Old Florence town site and new gold-seekers led to the founding of New Florence, a quarter-mile south. The old town site was torn down for salvage wood and was mined for scraps of gold that might have fallen through the floorboards. By 1897, only a few buildings were standing in Old Florence, and by 1900, the mining boom had faded away, and Fabulous Florence faded into a ghost town.[20]

CHAPTER 3: THE ERA OF PLACER MINING IN WARREN

In the summer of 1862, eight months after the discovery of the rich gold fields in Florence, eighteen restless men set out from there to prospect for more gold. Among them were James Warren, Matthew Bledsoe, and a man named Reynolds. They headed due east across the Salmon River mountains, down and across the mighty Salmon River and up the other side. They struck gold in a high mountain valley along what would become Warren Creek. Legend has it that James Warren was an enthusiastic marksman, and while not engaged in the work of prospecting, he would spend hours practicing with his brace of pistols. After breakfast one morning, while camped on the aforementioned creek, Warren took his pet pistols from their holsters and began shooting at the roots of a fallen tree. After firing several shots, Warren walked over to see the effects of his marksmanship. A wild shot had struck a gravel bank near the root of the tree. Intrigued, Warren investigated the bank and his experienced eye noted that the gravel was the right kind. A few minutes of panning satisfied him that he had found a bonanza, and a few days made him rich.[21] When the mining laws of the newly formed Warren's District were published in the Walla Walla, Washington, newspaper on August 16, 1862, the rush was on.

Two towns quickly sprang up: Washington and Richmond. The names revealed that Civil War sympathies were alive and well in the West. Less than a month later, more than 200 men were in the basin staking claims and seeking their fortunes in gold. The

town of Washington, built by Union sympathizers, was located on Warren's Creek downstream from the town of Richmond. Richmond was located up on Slaughter Creek and, as the name suggests, was built by Confederate sympathizers. Richmond sealed its fate when it was built directly on rich placer ground, which eventually gave way to the miner's pick and pan, finally disappearing altogether. It looked like the north had won a victory for the Union in Warren's Basin, with the town of Washington surviving.[22]

Unlike Florence, it is important to note that the strikes in Warren's Diggings were deep as well as rich, with the mining ground extending sixteen miles north and south along the creek, assaying from $12 to $17 an ounce.[23] Washington, sometimes called Warren's Diggins at Washington or Warren's Camp at Washington, would take over from Florence as the county seat of Idaho County in July of 1869. The town would eventually become known as Warrens and then shortened to simply Warren, the name it is known by today.

The firsthand accounts being sent back from the new discovery at Warren reported that the "gold was heavy in character, about the size of a pin head solid and rounded and from its deep colour, superior in quality to the gold of Florence, and that any ordinary man can make from $15-$20 per day with a rocker, that hydraulics could be worked to good advantage, sluices could pay from $40-$50 per day, and the valley could easily support a population of 20,000."[24] All this great news helped fuel the rush to Warren. While one of the first prospectors, Joseph Haines, left to bring back a pack train of supplies for camp, James "Judge" Poe staked claims for himself, Three Fingered Smith, and Haines near the mouth of Slaughter Creek, appropriately named after the

miners killed and butchered a beef there for food. The claims were paying well and in one day Three Fingered Smith took $1,600 out of his claim with three rockers.[25]

By the first of September, more than 200 men were engaged in mining and prospecting, and a great many more were coming in every day. The richest diggings of some claims were yielding as high as seventy-five ounces per day to the rocker. The average yield of the mines was estimated at between $16 and $20 per day. With a higher altitude than Florence, mining operations were suspended very early in the season, with cold frosts and ice forming on the water by the middle of September. By the end of September, the miners had built some log structures to serve their needs. Their stores were well supplied with provisions for the winter and spring in an attempt to avoid repeating another winter's starvation, such as the winter of 1861 in Florence. Many prospectors arrived daily carrying as much bacon and flour as possible. Most of their energy was spent constructing buildings. They had received mail and newspapers and had enough supplies to guarantee a better winter than those cheerless miners' camps without books, lights, or papers.

Captain R. Bledsoe, who took a scouting trip to Warren, reported back to the people of Walla Walla the following: "I got back last night from the new mines and after prospecting six days I am satisfied that they are as good as the Florence mines. Enclosed find one ounce of gold, which I panned out on Warren's creek, washing only 13 pans of average dirt. From what I saw, I am of the opinion that the mines are extensive, as new creeks and gulches are to be found every day. They are on the east fork of Meadow creek, about 45 miles from Florence, and nearly due east."[26]

By December of 1862, the weather was quite cold but with little snow, and the miners anxiously awaited spring. It is estimated that the number who wintered over in the Warren mines that first winter did not exceed 500, while the supply was sufficient to supply 4,000. Those who contemplated going to the Salmon mines early in the spring of 1863 did not have to run the gauntlet of starvation as they did the previous season in Florence.[27]

By April of 1863, the snow around the camp in Warren was "1 to 1 ½ feet deep in the meadows and on the mountains 3-4 feet deep. The weather was reported to be warm and pleasant. Bacon was selling at $1 per pound; flour, sugar and coffee, 75 cents. It was an uncommonly civil mining camp considering the large stock of whiskey on hand. The trail between this Warren and Florence was in fair traveling condition." [28] With an abundance of water that spring, it promised to be a busy year of serious mining. Mining began on the gulch claims that spring, and new discoveries were made daily. Activity was brisk all season, with several ditches put in place for use in the coming season. The best claims lay where Stratton, Steamboat, and Warren's creeks come together, a short distance below the town and not far from Meadow Creek, which flows north through a long meadow and on about twenty miles into the main Salmon.[29] As proof of productive claims, two men left Warren for Lewiston in August carrying 150 pounds of dust. From the estimates, Warren produced about $2 million in gold by August, about half that amount was taken out the year before.[30]

The miners always took time out to celebrate Independence Day, and July 4, 1863 was no different. Between 400-500 men gathered in the camp to honor the day with pistol shot salutes and patriotic speeches. The introductory remarks were followed by a visiting

preacher who spoke with burning eloquence, implored God to speedily restore the union, and appealed to the young men in camp to avoid gambling and drink. Frank Coffin read the *Declaration of Independence* while they raised a flag made of pieces of a red shirt, blue shirt and a white shirt, which was greeted with cheers from the throats of all. Three-Fingered Smith opened up a ten gallon keg of whiskey, and the celebration continued on into the night.[31]

The winter of 1863 closed down another successful mining season in Warren. With news of strikes in the Boise Basin and Montana, very few of the miners with good claims were willing to leave the rich gold fields of Warren for the possibility of riches elsewhere. It was assumed by many that the rougher types who were just looking to get rich quick (such as was seen in Florence) either left Warren or bypassed it completely on their way to Boise Basin or the Montana mines. Whether or not this is the case, there was very little violent crime reported in Warren at this time, and it would remain as non-violent a mining town as could be found in the West.

That winter was spent preparing tools for the upcoming mining season and waiting for the mail, which arrived by way of an express man who carried about fifty pounds on his back over the trail in snowshoes. The news from the East was liberally shared and many debates were truly inspired. Practical jokes were played on each other with enthusiasm, and the weekly stag dances were well attended.[32] By the summer of 1864, several stores and saloons had sprung up, and a mining town was evident. Supplies, including a load of cats and chickens, along with beef, were all brought in good numbers. Provisions came in regularly, and merchants kept a substantial stock of goods. Gold dust

continued to go out in large quantities, although it was but an infinitesimal portion of what would eventually be exhumed. [33]

Although Warren enjoyed a relatively crime-free existence, the amount of gold on hand proved to be just too much for some to resist. While a miner named Mike Reynolds was at work on his creek claim, someone went into his cabin and carried off $400 to $500 worth of gold dust. Two men were arrested. James Poe was appointed to defend one and Charles McKay the other, with the trial set for the next day. A miners' meeting was called at Smith's Saloon that night and the option of hanging one of them was eagerly discussed. Three-Fingered Smith went across the street to wake Poe to defend his client, which he did with such an impassioned plea that the rope was laid aside and the man held for civil trial. He was then taken to Florence to await the next session of court.[34] This was Warren's closest brush with vigilantism of a white man.

To pass the time during the long winters, the miners of Warren would gather together to celebrate any occasion. That winter, Peter Beamer of Warren had individuals hum, whistle, or sing their favorite tunes so he could write arrangements for musicians to play for the dances. Beamer played flute and conducted, Charles Bemis and Rube Besse played violins, Nate Jenkins played his handmade banjo, and Charles Brown played his accordion. They practiced during the evenings in the Bemis saloon, where the weekly dances were held. At closing time, the bar was covered with a canvas, the pictures turned towards the walls, the tables and chairs stacked out of the way, and the ladies admitted to the dance hall. There was no smoking or drinking allowed in the hall during the dances. Approximately 75-100 people attended, with the ratio of about five men to one woman. There was music for schottisches, quadrilles, polkas, mazurkas, varsouverians, minuettes,

and waltzes. Sometimes the dances lasted until daylight Sunday mornings. An intermission at midnight gave the musicians a break while the ladies served supper buffet style.[35]

The mining camp that was Warren was now a well established mining town. By the start of the 1865 mining season, most of the good placer claims were being worked hard and were producing great results. The continuously producing placers, along with a growing buzz that there were rich quartz veins yet to be explored in the hillsides surrounding Warren, created a constant level of excitement.

For the miners of Warren to survive the long winters in the rugged Salmon River Mountains, supplies were needed and the only ways to get them in was either on their backs or by pack trains. Joseph Haines brought the very first pack train into Warren just weeks after the discovery of gold that summer of 1862. Most of the miners in Warren that summer had experienced near starvation due to a lack of supplies the winter before in Florence, and they were not too excited about going through that again. So they placed a priority on pack trains bringing in ample supplies for the winter. Throughout the long history of Warren, the first pack trains of the year were looked forward to with great anticipation. In some years the first pack trains were not able to get back into Warren until June. In 1872, the first pack train didn't come into Warren until June 15, and it was said that most supplies had run out, and even whiskey, that necessity of a miner, was scarce; only by diluting it to the most extreme limit had the fountain kept up.[36] And even though whiskey was a valuable commodity, what the miners craved most after a long winter was fresh vegetables. Every spring, the miners were happy to see those pack trains loaded down with fruits and vegetables from the gardens along the Salmon River.

The pack trains coming into Warren were not small affairs. On May 28, 1881, the Grostein & Binnard pack train packed in 18,000 pounds on 56 mules. On June 18, 1886, Grostein & Binnard arrived with 22,500 pounds of freight, including a "demi-john" of whiskey that weighed 500 pounds.[37] Flour was always a necessity, and on several occasions the pack trains arrived with more than 20,000 pounds of full flour sacks. But it was the whiskey that brought the most excitement. When the Benson pack train of 1887 was heard to be loaded down with whiskey, the town anxiously waited for the expected evening arrival. When Benson was held up a few hours and didn't arrive until 7 a.m. he found that the camp had been sitting up all night awaiting its arrival, and it was greeted with joyous acclamations. Before the cargo was unloaded, the boys had filled themselves and their demi-johns and went home rejoicing. It was indeed a close call for the camp, and the miners trembled at the dreadful consequences that might have ensued if the train had been delayed by a snow storm, or had neglected the whiskey for a later trip. But Warren always was a lucky camp, and this last striking exemplification of it shows that her good luck had not deserted her.[38]The pack trains, besides bringing in eating and drinking supplies, also brought in valuable machinery and took out many thousands of pounds of gold-laden ore. Warren's pack trains continued to provide a valuable service to the miners and businessmen of Warren for many years, and it was not until the Warren Wagon Road was finally completed enough to allow wagons to be brought into town in the late 1890s that the pack trains became a thing of the past.

The man known as "Judge" James W. Poe was a member of the original group of miners, headed by James Warren, who are credited with the discovery of gold on Warren Creek. James Poe was an important leader in the first years of Warren's existence and

then went on to a distinguished career as a lawyer in the Idaho Territory and then the State of Idaho. Poe, who was born in Jackson County, Missouri, served his country as a soldier in the Mexican War and then in 1853 crossed the plains to Oregon with his family. He received his education at Forest Grove and in the Portland Academy, and in 1861 came eastward to Idaho. He engaged in mining in Oro Fino and Florence before coming to the Warren area. Poe conducted a mercantile establishment for a time in Warren, but wishing to enter the legal profession, he took up the study of law in the office of the law firm of Williams & Gibbs. The senior partner, George L. Williams, later became United States attorney general, and Mr. Gibbs held the office of Governor of Oregon.[39]

In 1869, Poe was admitted to practice in the district court, was elected the first district recorder of Warren's mining district, and then practiced law at Warrens and Mount Idaho until 1876, at which time he was elected attorney for the district comprising all of northern Idaho. Poe then established a law office in Lewiston, where he served as deputy district attorney for ten years. James Poe was elected and served in the territorial legislature in 1879-80, taking an active part in shaping the destiny of the territory during that period. He was a leading member of the state constitutional convention, his knowledge of constitutional law rendering him an important factor in framing the organic law of Idaho. He also had the honor of presiding over the first mass meeting, which was called for the purpose of adopting measures to secure statehood for Idaho. By 1900, Poe had become the city attorney of Lewiston, as well as the attorney for the board of education of the independent school district of Lewiston, and began a private law practice that continued on for many years.[40]

Amasa “Pony” Smead was another colorful character in the early days of Warren. Born in New York, he crossed the Oregon Trail in 1850 and came to Idaho to work the mines in 1863. He received his nickname “Pony” when he, along with George Woodward, James Raines, and George Dyer, were mining on one of the big bars on the South Fork of the Salmon River. On one of their trips into Warren to get supplies, Amasa traded a horse and some flour for an Indian girl named Molly of about ten years of age to stay and cook for them. The fellows started calling him “Pony” after that, and the name stuck for the rest of this life. He would marry Molly “Indian” five years later on July 12, 1876. The ceremony was conducted by A.H. Sanderson, Justice of the Peace. The couple returned to their ranch down on the South Fork of the Salmon.[41]

Pony Smead spent the next thirty years in and around Warren, elected as the Justice of the Peace in 1891, serving in that capacity for several years. One comical story was told by John Long. A young couple came to Smead with a wedding license to ask him to perform the ceremony. Smead put the license in his coat pocket, and when he pulled it back out to begin the ceremony, he began to read “one plug of tobacco, 50 cents, one gallon of whiskey, $81 dollars…..,” realizing too late that the boys had taken the license from his jacket and replaced it with a bill for liquor and camp supplies.[42] Pony Smead died at his home on January 18, 1899, with Molly and their seven children at his side. He is buried on his South Fork Ranch.[43]

Born in Virginia in 1829, Sylvester “Three-Fingered” Smith was a miner and mountain man who earned his nickname after talking with his friend one afternoon and leaning up against a fence with both hands resting over the top of his muzzle-loading shotgun. When his foot slipped off the railing, it hit both hammers, causing both barrels

to go off and leaving Smith with only three fingers on each hand.[44]Smith joined the westward migration to Oregon and then followed the lure of gold to Florence in 1861. He was one of the first merchants to set up a store in the area. With a huge influx of miners that first winter and heavy snows shutting off supply trains early, there were widespread fears of starvation. Smith kept his supplies protected from the mobs and even kept three rockers working on his claims all winter, with each rocker averaging a thousand dollars per day. In 1862, Smith's partners, Judge Poe and John Haines, were with the group of miners who discovered the rich ground that became Warren's Diggins. They filed claims for themselves and one for Smith, who was in Oregon at the time. Smith brought his new bride to Warren, along with his son, Sam. Before long, another son, the first white child born in Warrens, joined them and fittingly they named the boy Warren.

In 1872, Smith and his family moved to a ranch on the confluence of Elk Creek and the South Fork of the Salmon River. Smith was involved in both the Nez Perce War and Sheepeater campaign. In 1874, he was one of the signers of the petition to Territorial Governor T.W. Bennet asking for "arms and ammunition with which to defend ourselves and our families against the tomahawk and scalping knife."[45] Although the Nez Perce were defeated in 1877, in August of 1878, Smith found himself and three companions in Indian Valley on the trail of a band of Indians and what was believed to be stolen horses. The Indians ambushed Smith and his group, killing his three friends and wounding Smith through the thigh and the arm. Smith barely escaped on a wounded mule, and when it died, he crawled to the safety of Calvin R. White's mail station on the Little Salmon Meadow in Meadows Valley. Smith survived his wounds and legend has it that he eventually hunted down the Indians responsible and killed two of them. In 1878, more

Indian troubles erupted right on his doorstep. Smith's neighbors Hugh Johnson and Peter Dorsey hired some Indians to work for them. The Indians were treated badly, and the two white men refused to pay them. The Indians became angry and killed Johnson and Dorsey.[46]

Smith spent the rest of his life ranching and mining. He located a new ranch on the Payette and filed a mining claim in Pioneer gulch near Florence. He bought out Sam Willey's interest in the South Fork bridge and when that was swept away, he and one of his sons operated a ferry boat. In 1889, Smith was still searching for gold and was one of the discoverers of a new placer thirty miles above the Alton District in the Upper Big Creek drainage. He and his wife faced tragedy when their son, Robert "Bobby" Smith, age 14, decided to deliver the mail from Warren to the Alton district when the regular mail carrier could not. He was trapped in a blizzard and his body was not found until spring. Sylvester "Three-Fingered" Smith died on April 28, 1892. Per his final wishes, he was wrapped in a buffalo robe and laid to rest in a coffin built from sluice boxes. Although Smith probably made more money in the mines than most, he shared his wealth with his many friends and was always ready to offer a helping hand to anyone in need. It was said that the needy and the prospector were always welcome to half of his house and all of his larder. His funeral was well attended by the miners in the area. Many stated that Smith was one of the most noble, true-hearted pioneers of Idaho County and would be mourned by all who ever knew him.[47]

For the miners of Warren, other than waiting on their supplies of food and whiskey to come in on the pack trains, waiting on the mail to be delivered was the greatest source of both excitement (when it arrived) or frustration (when it did not).

Delivering the mail was not an easy task. Whether the mail came the 125 miles from Lewiston or the 150 miles from Indian Valley, the distances, terrain, weather and the inevitable accidents resulted in delays. During the winter months, the mail carrier would strap the 70-pound mail sack on his back and snowshoe or ski over the mountains.[48]

Those men brought the mail at considerable risk to their lives. On March 14, 1890, W. D. Yandell reported that he got buried in a snow slide 14 feet deep and had to crawl to a cabin where he lay ten days before he was able to travel on to Grangeville.[49] In 1896, the horse that was carrying the mail from Warren to the outside got frightened crossing the stream, went out into the main Payette River, and lost the mail bag that was known to contain $500 in gold dust and checks, among the other items.[50] Another time, a horse lay down in Fisher creek, and when the mail got to Warren it was frozen together in one solid mass and had to be thawed out before it could be distributed.[51]

It was not only weather hazards that the mail carrier had to worry about. On November 2, 1897, the mail was robbed on Steamboat Creek by a man with a grain sack over his face holding a Winchester rifle. It was estimated that he got away with $4,000 in cash.[52] With the arrival of airmail in the 1930s, Warren was finally able to receive mail delivered from an airplane and avoid the problems that arose crossing the treacherous overland route.

CHAPTER 4: WARREN'S QUARTZ MINING BOOM BEGINS

With most effort focused on placer mining in the first few years of Warren's existence, there was little attention paid to quartz mining. However, some prospecting for quartz produced some good indications that further exploration was warranted, and during the fall of 1864, a discovery of a main vein of immense width, passing to the east of Warren in a northwest and southeast direction, was found. This was traced over fifteen miles by outcroppings, which in many places on the surface showed several spars shooting off in various directions. Some twenty-five to thirty men located claims for themselves upon this lead, and one company of eight men sunk a shaft about twelve feet and found both gold and silver in small quantities all through the vein. They sent some of the rock to Victoria for assay and received a certificate showing $63 in gold and $40 in silver to the ton of rock. The opinion of most of the miners was that this vein was the parent of all the spurs that spread throughout the district; its decomposition had left extensive deposits of gold in the valleys below and was the same vein that crossed the Salmon River leaving rich deposits in the Florence Basin.[53]

The 1865-1866 season saw a tremendous jump in the filing of quartz claims, with more than 100 quartz claims recorded. Major Sanderson and his partner, Alfred Bemis, went to Lewiston with more than $40,000 in dust and bars from their quartz claim. One afternoon in 1866, the Hic Jacet ledge, with cropping from 4-5 inches wide, was discovered and by 10:00 a.m. the next day, 45 claims of 200 feet each were located one

direction from the discovery stake and 50 in the opposite direction. All of these discoveries spurred talk of bringing in a quartz mill in the spring of 1867 and of building a road from the Camas Prairie into Warren, which would be needed to haul in the machinery required for successful quartz mining. In the spring of 1867, the resident miners of Warren formed a joint stock company with a capital of $10,000 for the purpose of erecting a quartz mill. The mill would test quartz for the benefit of different ledge owners in and about the camp. The Miners Quartz Mill Co. ordered machinery from San Francisco and hoped to have it in operation by the end of September. During that summer, further openings had been made upon the Hic Jacet vein, and the ore still grew rich, with a new discovery on the divide between Warren and Slaughter creeks, christened the Black Hawk.[54]

For the next few years, work in the quartz mines continued at a feverish pitch. An arrastra was started on Smiths Gulch, and three tons of ore from the Hic Jacet ledge yielded $52.85 per ton. Another lode was struck above the Hic Jacet and a vein of singular red and yellow quartz about four feet wide was found near Summit Flat. Quartz mining around Warren continued steadily, progressing in importance. The quartz mills were able to run all winter, something placer miners could not do. The mills produced more work, and everyone who was looking for work could find it in Warren. Many of the quartz mills were running night and day and producing better returns all the time, and some mines such as the Rescue and Charity were producing more wealth than ever.

By 1875, nine different veins had been discovered, claimed, and were being worked. Among the first to be discovered was the Rescue Mine, probably the most well known of Warren's mines and at one time believed to be the deepest mine in Idaho. The

Rescue also was known not only for producing tons of high grade ore, but for producing more litigation and legal fights than any other mine in Warren. One of the highest producing mines was the Little Giant, discovered by George Riebold. Other mines included the W.B. Knott, owned by Governor Norman B. Willey, the Hic Jacet, Keystone, W. Scott, Alert, Charity, Samson, and the Uncle Sam.[55]

By 1900, several of the mines had changed owners, and many changed names as well. New veins were discovered and others were worked out. The Rescue mine continued to produce when there was sufficient investment capital to keep it open. The Charity veins were also valuable contributors over the years. But the Little Giant was the top mine in the camp and had been in continuous operation for 17 years by 1900, providing more than $250,000 in gold. That year, George Riebold and his partner Harry Schieler sold the Little Giant to a group of investors known as the Idaho Little Giant Mining Company for $100,000.[56] They soon began work on a long tunnel one and one-half miles in length to tap all of the mines in the immediate vicinity of Warren, among them the Banner, Little Giant, Rescue, Mammoth and the Charity mines. They intended to bring all the ore out to this main entrance and treat it all in one mill, utilizing electric power. Jay A. Czizek, late state mine inspector, was the promoter of that colossal enterprise and the principal owner of the stock.[57] The company merged with the Junior Consolidated Tunnel Company and later changed its name to the Unity Gold Mining Company. By 1918, the company had driven its tunnel 1,850 feet, cutting three ledges, and by 1919 had finally tapped the famous Little Giant ledge.[58]

In 1875, Rossiter W. Raymond, a geological expert connected with the U.S. Government, visited Warren and reported the following information: The Warren

District, worked by placer miners since 1862, had yielded up an amount of gold equal to any camp of its size in Idaho Territory. The placers were nearly exhausted, except those worked by the Chinese, who would continue to make $1 to $3 per day for years to come. A few men of faith and energy had persevered and with their own labor, in defiance of the obstacles which beset them, had made progress in the development of a few ledges. Shafts varying in depth from 50 to 250 feet were sunk, the average yield for gold from $12 to $90, and from silver ores from $40 to as high as $10,000 per ton. Raymond further reported that the reduction works constructed in the Warren area were entirely inadequate to saving a large percentage of the valuable metals from the ore and that a wagon road was drastically needed to allow for transportation of the heavy machinery required in the quartz mining industry.[59]

By the late 1860s, the miners of Warren realized that the most profitable future was in quartz mining, not the placer mines. In addition, most of the placer mine claims were starting to get “played out,” with returns decreasing each year. Their only two options were to abandon the claims or find someone who would be willing to buy them out. The solution to their dilemma lay with the Chinese.

CHAPTER 5: THE CHINESE COME TO FLORENCE AND WARREN

When the original mining laws were written in the summer of 1861 in Florence and 1862 in Warren, the miners who had discovered the gold fields made it clear that they did not want the Chinese anywhere near their discoveries. Article 11 of Warren's bylaws explicitly stated that "All Chinamen are prohibited from holding claims or working in this district as hired men."[60] But seven years later, by the fall of 1869, the Chinese question was not quite as clear. The issue of whether or not to let the Chinese into Florence and Warren had been debated for quite some time. Mining camps throughout the West had debated the "Chinese Question" considerably; some favored letting them in, while others voted to keep them out. By 1869, the miners of the two mining towns were in a welcoming mood. Their placer claims had been worked over for several years, and it was getting more difficult to procure a desirable wage from those claims. Also, the quartz claims were becoming more numerous and producing earnings per ton of ore that exceeded many expectations. In the debate over the Chinese, there were two sides. The claim owners were nearly all in favor of admitting them, while the laboring men, or those who worked for wages, were concerned that the price of labor would be reduced. Claim owners were excited at the prospect of selling some of their poor ground to the Chinese. In the end, the vote was affirmative, and the camps opened up for the Chinese in the spring of 1869 in Florence and one year later in the spring of 1870 in Warren. The newspaper reported that the Chinese received permission to come

into Florence with enthusiasm and came into camp in one body, protected against those who were hostile to them by an adequate guard of white people. [61] The suspected hostility didn't materialize and a year later the Chinese came into Warren without fear or need of a guard.

As expected, the Chinese bought up many of the placer claims from the whites and began to diligently work them, most of the time able to achieve more earnings per day than the previous owners. By the middle of the summer, the Chinese had settled peaceably into the community of Warren. They seemed to infuse new life into the mining district. It was generally believed that the Chinese lived on a few cents a day and sent the rest of their earnings back to China, but the Chinese who settled in the area spent their money freely in Warren. Chinese stores were established in the meadow along Warren Creek, and in the town of Warren itself where they established a washhouse and worked diligently. Their dwellings went up along the hillsides above town. They procured their own pack trains, and several groups went back and forth into the South Fork country.[62]

Many of the placer miners were quick to sell their worked-over claims to the Chinese, and the U.S. Census taken just a few months after the Chinese were let into Warren showed the Chinese had already established themselves as a majority. When Frank K. Sabin finished taking the 1870 census of Warren precinct, he counted 144 dwellings, 213 white men, 12 white women, 16 children (nine families with children), 343 Chinese men, one Chinese woman, three Indians, and two black men. He also noted 20 places of business, including the Chinese stores.[63]

The mining report by the end of 1871 showed that the mines at Warren were having a better-than-average year, and the miners were feeling greatly encouraged. About

200 white men and 300 Chinese stayed in Warren during the winter of 1871. The Chinese also contributed more to the community than just mining. The county commissioners at their last meeting in 1871 received a bill from Ah Foo for $12 for services rendered as interpreter and cut it to $6, which would be paid from the county fund.[64] Another Chinese saloon owner received with his pack train two Chinese women. It caused much curiosity and amusement to have Chinese women in the camp; many remarked on their small stature.[65]

The Chinese also brought large amounts of quicksilver to camp from a secret source on Ruby Mountain south of Warren. They recognized the red cinnabar and built rock ovens to retort the mercury, filling 70-pound casks with the silvery liquid and packing the heavy loads over the mountains to Warren. It was a major convenience to have the amalgram so near and not have to bring it in on pack trains.[66]

The Chinese made an immediate impact not only with their work ethic in the gold fields, but with their gardening skills. Because many of them immigrated from the rich agricultural regions of Southern China, they were proficient in growing the fresh vegetables that were in high demand, especially after a long Idaho winter. Many of the Chinese would winter down along the Salmon River where the growing seasons were much longer than in Warren, and vegetables were ready for consumption long before those grown in Warren. On May 8, 1875, the Chinese arrived in Warren, selling the early harvest of onions, lettuce, radishes and greens. It was reported that “anything green, after the long winter, was devoured with avidity!”[67]

Another positive aspect that the Chinese brought with them to Warren was their Chinese New Year’s celebrations, held annually at the end of each January. With their

dragon costumes and abundance of firecrackers and joss sticks, the Chinese brought much excitement at a time when any sort of stimulation was desperately needed in a mining camp. There were reports of cheerful pops of firecrackers and the exotic smell of the joss-sticks arising from Chinatown, indicating the arrival of the "Celestial" citizen's New Year. For the Chinese, it was customary to settle all their outstanding liabilities on this anniversary. Within a few years of their arrival in Warren, the whites began to take note and looked forward to the festivities with great anticipation. They would pay their respects to the Chinese by making calls and in turn were saluted by the Chinese with the sound of firecrackers. An editorial in the 1888 *Idaho County Free Press* stated, with obvious tongue in cheek, that "the Chinese seem to attribute most all things to luck, good or bad. Perhaps they are about right, since it is evident their survival of a week's indulging in China whiskey, opium, salted watermelon seeds, dried cabbage leaves done in coal tar, and other delicacies that make up their bill of fare, is a streak of good luck."[68]

Another Chinese custom and ritual brought to Warren was the feeding of the dead. In the September 1887 *Free Press,* one observer described the grand festival of the feeding of the dead, where several hogs and chickens were barbecued and taken to the burying ground and were then brought back as a feast for the living. He went on to say how the streets were "full of drunken Chinamen where they burned a whole lot of joss sticks and colored paper and spilled lots of indifferent whiskey on the ground as an oblation to the evil spirits, the heathens meanwhile prostrating themselves and genuflecting like an East Indian dancing dervish outfit."[69]It should be notes that newspaper editors were in the business of selling newspapers and tended to use a more ethnocentric tone in their editorials. The sentiments of many of Warren's residents were

similar to those of long time resident Herb McDowell who said “we considered them (the Chinese) good friends and many a time stayed with them. There wre down to earth and we liked their way of doing things. Since they were good cooks we enjoyed eating with them.” [70]

The 1880 U.S. Census of Warren recorded 62 white men, three white women, one Indian woman, 11 children (three of them “half-breeds”), 388 Chinese men, and two Chinese women, with 105 dwellings numbered and visited. The passage of many national anti-Chinese laws during this time makes the accuracy of this census count highly questionable; a great many Chinese were likely avoiding the government census taker.[71]

By 1882, most placers were in the hands of Chinese companies. Five companies owned more than a mile of the creek bottom and employed about 200 men. A few hill claims and gulches were still being worked by whites, but most of the whites had sold their placer claims to the Chinese and had either left or were concentrating their efforts on the quartz mines above the town of Warren. Most of the meadows below town were in the hands of the Chinese who had purchased eleven claims; and what was thought to be worked-over claims produced more than $40,000 for the Chinese. By 1887, the Chinese had increased both in population and production. Nine companies had control of more than two miles of creek bottom property. They kept in excess of 300 men at work for seven months of the year and reported over $96,700 in production of gold.[72]

In the Warren area, there was very little racial violence perpetrated against the Chinese but that doesn’t mean it was non-existent. Two major incidents took place in retribution for crimes reportedly committed by the Chinese in question. One incident was related by the late A.W. Talkington who at the time lived in Warren. A Chinese man had

robbed a home and stolen a pair of boots. The man was arrested and told he would be hung if he didn't give up the boots. Mr. Talkington, in company with some other young men, went down to see an old man by the name of Skinner, who was the jailer, and posed the following question: "Uncle John, is your Chinamen all right?" Mr. Skinner went with them to the jail and found that the Chinese man had been taken to the creek and hanged. The rope used was taken from the butcher shop in which Mr. Talkington worked.[73] The other major incident was reported by mail carrier Theodore Swartz, who brought the news of a Chinese man who was hanged from the wire bridge at French creek. He reported that August Berg was attacked by his Chinese cook. After the cattle roundup, the cook was no longer needed and let go and he then reportedly attacked Berg from behind with a hatchet. Word went out about the attack, and a party was quickly formed to start on the trail to Warren and when the suspect was caught he was hung from the bridge at French Creek. [74]

Except for these instances of retaliation for suspected crimes, the Chinese in Warren were able to avoid the large scale persecutions that occurred throughout the West during this time period. With the passage of several anti-Chinese immigration acts in the 1870s and 1880s, culminating with the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the Chinese in many areas around the West retreated to the cities, hoping for safety in numbers within Chinatowns. By the turn of the century, Warren was home to only a handful of Chinese. The 1900 Census showed 22 Chinese living in Warren and by 1910 there were only six left. The last three; Ah Kan, Ah Sam, and Polly Bemis continued living in Warren and the surrounding area for several more years. In late 1933, both Polly Bemis (who was preceded in death by her husband Charlie) and Ah Sam died just a few weeks apart, and

the following March, Ah Kan passed on. A colorful part of Warren's history was gone forever.[75]

No other couple typifies Warren's interracial relationship between its white citizens and Chinese citizens like the story of Polly and Charlie Bemis.[76] It is a love story unique to Warren. A saloon owner befriends and protects a young Chinese girl, who then fights to save his life when he gets shot in the face. How they eventually fell in love, married, and spent their days together on a ranch on the mighty Salmon River is a tale that needs to be told. Charlie was already a solid fixture in Warren when Polly arrived on July 8, 1872, on a pack train from Portland. He had arrived in 1865 just a couple of years after the strike of 1862 and found that he enjoyed running a saloon more than digging for gold. Bemis's Saloon was a focal point for the town, hosting many late-night stag dances and other events for the town. Charlie was still doing good business when a young Chinese girl by the name of Polly Nathoy arrived on a pack train. When she was lifted off the horse, a man said, "Here's Polly," and the name stuck.[77] Although Polly was brought in to work as a prostitute, there is no definitive record that this occurred. Most said she worked in the neighboring saloon, but when she felt threatened by customers, she always ran next door for Charlie's help. They developed a friendship that grew into a tight bond and when Charlie was shot in the face in September of 1890 by Johnny Cox, that friendship blossomed into something more.

The story told is that one evening during a poker game in the Bemis Saloon, Cox lost all his money to Charlie. He went back later and demanded the return of his money. He told Bemis he would give him time to think while he rolled a cigarette. If he did not give the $150 back by that time, he would shoot his right eye out. Bemis did not return

the money so the shot was fired.[78] The shot entered below his eye, and a doctor was summoned who removed half the bullet along with 14 pieces of bone, but he could not find the other half of the bullet. He left Charlie in the care of Polly, assuming that he would not make it much longer. Polly took it upon herself to care for Charlie and using her crochet hook was able to finally remove the other half of the bullet and several more fragments of bone. Polly slowly nursed him back to good health, and in the process their friendship grew into a love for each other. They married on August 13, 1894, and moved down to a ranch on the River of No Return. Charlie and Polly lived out the remainder of their lives very contented on their mountain ranch. There they raised a garden and chickens, fished for their dinner and hunted game in the surrounding mountains. Charlie passed away on October 29, 1922 and was buried that same evening across the river on the Shepp Ranch.

Polly's story begins with her birth as Polly Nathoy on September 11, 1853, in China. Her parents were very poor farmers, and to prevent starvation for the rest of the family during the famine, they sold her in exchange for seed to produce another crop. Polly later related that she was smuggled into Portland and was purchased by a Chinese man for $2,500 and brought by pack train to Warren. After her marriage to Charlie, she was eventually given her certificate of residence on August 10, 1896.[79]

In August of 1922, Charlie and Polly's house caught fire and burned to the ground. Charlie was saved by their cross river neighbors, Charles Shepp and Peter Klinkhammer. Those two would eventually help Polly move back to Warren after the death of Charlie and then rebuild her house for her, moving her back in 1924. Polly was brought out to Grangeville in 1923 where she saw her first motion-picture show and her

first train. She visited Boise the following year and saw her first street car and her second picture show and rode in her first elevator.[80] When Polly became ill in 1933, Shepp and Klinkhammer again brought her out to Grangeville, and she passed away on November 6, 1933. Warren had lost its most colorful character and most famous citizen.

Ah Sam was born in China and immigrated to the United States in 1881 where he worked as a gold miner and laborer and eventually in his later life became Warren's honorary mayor for many years. He was able to read and write English and lived with fellow Chinese Lee Dick and Ah Goon for some time. Like his friend Ah Kan, Ah Sam spent his first few years in Warren running a pack string into town delivering supplies. He later sold his pack string and moved to Grangeville, where he operated a restaurant. He eventually sold that and moved back to Warren. Most of his time in Warren was spent working his small gold claim and doing odd jobs around town for his friends. Ah Sam was well-known for his deeds of kindness and charity. He often took care of the homes and gardens of those friends who had to go out of town, earning him a warm spot in their hearts.[81] This unofficial role as the town caretaker earned him the title of "Honorary Mayor," a title he cherished. During the winter months of the 1920s and 1930s, Ah Sam was employed as the night watchman at the Unity Mine. He would rise early and go from house to house, building the fires back up in the stoves for the sleeping residents of Warren. In return, the night before, the residents put out pastries, breads, cold cuts and other delicious treats for him. For fun, they would sometimes leave a piece of wood too big for their stoves, just to annoy him.[82] They even wrote a poem about his kindness.

Ah Sam, Warren's second-to-last Chinese resident, died in 1933 at the age of 70. It was said by many that he always had a cheery laugh and a kind word for everyone, and

no child was ever denied a treat. He was laid to rest in American soil on Warren's Boot Hill. He was one of only two Chinese men to be buried in the Pioneer Cemetery, which is a tribute to how his community felt about him. [83]

Ah Kan came to Warren in the 1870s and immediately found his niche in the community as a packer. He brought in supplies on his pack train for L.P. Brown's general store, but his popularity with the vegetable-starved people of Warren rose greatly when he brought in a load of fresh vegetables from the Chinese gardens on the South Fork of the Salmon. In June of 1883, his load of fresh strawberries, green peas, rhubarb, and new potatoes was very much welcome. In 1908, Ah Kan sold his pack train and returned to China as a wealthy man. He tried to settle down with his wife, but he longed for the freedom of his life in Warren and eventually returned to Idaho. He never did regain his former station in life and lived out his days in Warren as a pauper. In January of 1928, the Idaho County Commissioners voted to give Ah Kan an allowance of $10 per month from the county fund. [84]

Ah Kan died on March 15, 1934, just less than three months after the death of his friend and fellow "Chinaman" Ah Sam. He was the last of Warren's Chinese. Ah Kan was always remembered for his daily walks around Warren with his walking stick and for his hatred of airplanes. He was often heard saying to the planes as he walked by, "Son of a bitchy, pretty soon you fall down!"[85]

CHAPTER 6: CONFLICTS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS

The relationships with Warren's other sizeable non-white population, the Native Americans, was quite different from that of the Chinese. With the treaty of 1863, the size of the Nez Perce reservation was reduced considerably. For the white miners of Warren, this meant that they now were free to own the land that they had originally trespassed on. For the Nez Perce Tribe it was a time of great sorrow. Their ancestral homeland that had once stretched from the Wallowa Valley to the Bitterroot Mountains was now a small reservation centered at Lapwai. Within the tribe, there arose a division between those who had accepted the reduction of their reservation and those who had not agreed to this, called "non-treaty" Indians, mostly comprised of Chief Joseph's band in the Wallowa Valley.

By the mid-1870s, the conflicts between the non-treaty Indians and white settlers were growing and it was decided by the U.S. government to force all tribal members onto the reservation. With reluctance, Chief Joseph finally agreed and began the journey to Lapwai. As they left their sacred homeland there was anger in the hearts of many; tensions were high, and conflicts were bound to happen. On June 13, 1877, reports started coming into Warren of the deaths of their friends in the outlying regions. It was reported by James Poe that three Indians of Joseph's band came into the house of Richard Devine above Slate Creek, killing him. The next morning they killed Henry J. Elfers, Robert Bland, and Harry "Burn" Becktoge at John Day. A band of 18-20 Indians near Slate

Creek killed George Baker, Jack Manuel, and a baby boy. At the Osborne cabin, William Osborne was killed along with French Frank and Harry Mason. Except for the baby boy, the women and children were left unharmed and were allowed to escape. Up and down the Salmon River were similar tales of horror. Many houses were burned, stock animals killed, and people shot, killed, or wounded.[86]

With the arrival of General Oliver O. Howard of the U.S. Army, the conflict turned into a full-scale war. As Chief Joseph and his band fled towards a new home in Canada, with General Howard in pursuit, the people of Warren were left to pick up the pieces and take stock of their losses. The conflict not only caused the loss of friends, loved ones, and homes, they lost most of the 1877 mining season. Both mail delivery and pack trains were disrupted during the conflict, and mines were left alone while everyone rushed to the aid of their friends down along the river. By October, the Nez Perce War was over. General Howard, along with General Miles, caught and defeated Chief Joseph's tribe in the Bear Paw Mountains just 35 miles from Canada. Chief Joseph surrendered, promising to "fight no more forever." [87]

The end of the Nez Perce War didn't necessarily signify the end of troubles with Idaho's Indian tribes. On August 17, 1878, several horses were stolen from citizens living in Indian Valley. Tom Healy, Jake Grosclose, William Munday, and Sylvester "Three Fingered" Smith pursued the Indians to get the horses back. The Indians ambushed the four and killed Munday, Grosclose, and Healy. Smith was shot in the thigh and left shoulder but managed to crawl to the river to escape. Calvin White found Smith unconscious and hauled him into the doctor. Smith would eventually recover from his wounds.

Those living along the South Fork of the Salmon below Warren were in the most danger from “marauding bands of Indians.” In May of 1879, Hugh Johnson and fellow rancher Pete Dorsey were found dead near their ranch home. Another South Fork rancher James P. Rains, fearing for his family’s safety, took his wife and two sons into Warren, but he returned with three other men to put up the hay. On the evening of August 17, 1879, Rains and his fellow workers were attacked, and Rains was shot dead. The other three men managed to escape back to Warren under the cover of darkness. When the party of men returned the next day, they found and buried the charred remains of James P. Rains on his ranch.

In response to continued depredations, the U.S. Army was once again brought in. Colonel Bernard and Lieutenant Farrow pursued the Sheepeater Indians, finally capturing the majority of the band of 51 Indians September 30, 1880. The end of the Sheepeater War signified the end of conflicts with Indians and allowed the people of Warren to return to their ranches and mines.

Dave Lewis, a packer during the Nez Perce and Sheepeater Wars, was a unique character in the Warren region. He was born Elijah David Lewis in Yoncalla, Oregon to Sarah Harer Lewis and Stephen M. Lewis in 1855 and found his way to the Idaho Territory in the early1870s. Lewis was involved as a packer in both the Nez Perce Indian War of 1877 and what became known as the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. His main job during the war, was packing the mules for Lieutenant Henry Catley. The pack train mainly consisted of a couple of mules. Lewis was with the pack train when the Sheepeater Indians, weary of the three-month pursuit, ambushed the soldiers, killing Private Harry Eagan. [88]

With the end of the Sheepeater Campaign, Lewis settled on the Jewett Ranch at Slate Creek, just north of Riggins, Idaho. From 1881 to 1894, Lewis raised horses and then one day decided that he wanted a little more privacy in life. He loaded up and headed into the untamed mountains, found a patch of land to settle on at the Goat Creek, and built himself a small log cabin. In 1909 he moved three miles up the creek, settling on Big Creek at the head of Pioneer Creek. At the age of 65, he hosted his first housewarming party in his new cabin.[89]

Lewis supported himself by trapping furbearing animals and hunting cougars, which at that time had a sizable bounty of $35 per cat, offered by the state. He used dogs to track and tree cougars throughout the Salmon River Mountains. In 1922, the *Idaho Statesman* reported that Lewis had collected $1,400 in bounties for the year. “Mr. Lewis brought to Boise the pelts of 14 cougars, 15 coyotes, 2 bobcats, 2 foxes, and 4 mink, all of which were caught last winter.” Over the course of his life, Lewis claimed to have killed more than 500 cougars, a skill which eventually earned him the nickname “Cougar” Dave.[90]

CHAPTER 7: FEDERAL LANDS, FIRES AND THE FIGHT FOR A ROAD

With the end of the conflicts with the Native Americans tribes and as the number of Chinese dwindled, the people of Warren said goodbye to its placer mining history and focused all of their attention on quartz mining. Unlike placer mining, quartz mining depended on the use of heavy machinery to not only extract the ore but also to crush it down and extract the precious metals. This machinery was not only difficult and costly to purchase; it necessitated a road to haul it into Warren. This fight to get a road built was helped tremendously when Idaho achieved statehood in 1890 and the first "working" Governor on the job was Warren's very own, Norman B. Willey.

Norman B Willey, who was a native of Guilford New York, came west to become a California miner in 1858 and then found his way to Warrens in 1864. Willey settled into a great life at Warren and eventually became superintendent of a quartz mine. During his extended activity there, he also embarked upon a political career commencing with his election as the Idaho County superintendent of school. He was elected to Idaho's legislative assembly in 1872 (serving as council president in 1879) and eventually taking over as Governor when Governor Shoup was appointed to the U.S. Senate.

When Willey became involved in the political arena, he also became an *Idaho Statesman* correspondent and gained a wide audience for his reports on Warren and the mining industry in Idaho County. He brought much needed attention to the mines of Warren, and his continual pleas for a road into Warren helped that goal to finally

come to fruition. As a member of the Territorial Legislative Assembly, Willey developed a great reputation. In the January 8, 1873, *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman,* he was praised as one of the "ablest men in the Legislative Assembly, and if Idaho County wishes to be well represented, they will always elect such men as Willey, who understands the wants of their constituents and being good speakers, can make themselves understood."[91]

His time as Idaho's first "working" governor was not an easy one. Not only did his administration have to deal with the aftereffects of the senatorial appointments, they also had to successfully transfer Idaho from a territory to a state. Governor Willey also was heavily involved in the 1892 Coeur d' Alene mining war. Although, as a miner, he felt more comfortable intervening in north Idaho mining disputes rather than south Idaho irrigation disputes, it still was a difficult time for him as governor. Willey was prepared, as an experienced mine superintendent, to help company managers in a battle against their miners. When a mill near Wallace was dynamited during a clash there on July 11, 1892, Willey signed a declaration of martial law that lasted four months. The conflict led to the incarceration of some 600 miners who were detained in two infamous Coeur d'Alene bull pens that housed as many as 350 at its height.[92]

In many less spectacular ways, though, his administration succeeded in transitioning Idaho into statehood, and Willey left the governorship satisfied with that accomplishment. He returned to mining in Warren, putting a lot of his efforts into seeing the completion of the Warren Wagon Road. He went on to California as a mine superintendent, but his fortunes eventually failed him, and he ended up in 1917, at the age of 77, in a California poor house, destitute and penniless.[93] With his health failing, he went back to Kansas to live with his sister. When she died, he was taken to a poorhouse

near Topeka, Kansas, where he finally got a modest Idaho appropriation as an informal sort of old age pension. He died on October 22, 1921, at the age of 83. [94]

Willey's many years in Warren and Idaho's political arena were a great benefit for the miners in Warren. It didn't take long for them to realize that they would need some political clout to help them build a road to the "outside world" which they needed to reap the highest profits from mining enterprises in their geographically isolated mining town. As early as 1872, they began expressing the need for a road in the newspapers, saying that "parties going now from Warren's Diggins to Boise are compelled to go around by way of Walla Walla, a distance of 500 miles, while the direct route is only about 140 miles. Quartz mining was an expensive proposition and required large amounts of capital. Finding the veins of gold was only the first step. Those who found those veins had to then find the capital necessary to extract the gold. This required outside capital and a good deal of convincing that the mines of Warren were a good investment. Because of the town's isolation and lack of a good road, this proved to be very difficult. This frustration was expressed in the *Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman* of January 9, 1872, which read "this district is so isolated from the great thoroughfares of travel along which men of capital pass in making their tours of observation, that none visit here except upon a special mission for the purpose, and these kind of missions are fewer than angel's visits!"[95]

There was much discussion and debate over the best route for the road. The Indian trail that James Warren and his group used to find and discover Warren was grossly inadequate for bringing in heavy pieces of equipment. The Milner Trail that connected the Grangeville area with Florence was talked of as suitable for expansion, but

the trail from Florence to Warren had to descend, cross, and ascend the rugged Salmon River Canyon, which negated any possibility of transporting heavy equipment. It also soon became apparent that most of that equipment would be coming from the new capital city of Boise, thus the talks centered on the best route from that city to Warren.

One editorial in the *Idaho County Free Press* posed the question on the minds of many by asking, "Why not rather go in for making a road through Weiser valley, which would nullify the necessity of so much roundabout travel, while it would also cheapen to us the articles we consume?"[96] Because of northern Idaho's isolation from Boise, there was much discussion of the northern counties severing ties with Idaho Territory to join with Washington Territory. It was believed by many that a north-south road linking those northern counties with Boise would unite all of Idaho and its citizens. C.A. Sears, Postmaster at Warren, proposed organizing a joint stock company to build a toll road to the head of Weiser Valley and asked aloud if the people of Boise would do anything to help build it.[97]

Idaho Territory's congressional leaders got involved, with the Honorable S.S. Fenn leading the way in urging passage of a bill to establish a military road connecting Fort Boise and Fort Lapwai. The bill passed the U.S. House and Senate in the spring of 1890, appropriating $50,000 for the purpose of building the road from Mt. Idaho (near Grangeville) to Florence, across the Salmon River to Warm Springs (Burgdorf Hot Springs), and on down to Salmon Meadows (Meadows Valley), a distance of 121 miles. Although this plan was celebrated throughout Idaho and Warren, it still left twenty miles from Warren to the intersection of the proposed road, which would have to be built with local funds. Those feelings were expressed in the *Free Press* on May 8, 1891: "it is

unfortunate that there is no authority in the law for the appropriation of a road from the State Road at the Warm Springs to Warren. The distance is twenty miles, and the cost of building the road is estimated at $7,000. It is not right, nor just, that the citizens of Warren should be saddled with the entire cost of this improvement."[98]

Josh Fockler offered to build the proposed road between Warrens and the Warm Springs for $2,000. Many in Warren thought it highly probable that even though it was a lot of money for so small a number of people in so isolated a country to raise, a true emergency existed, and the citizens of the small town would raise the amount at once.[99] By 1895 the road, although not in the greatest shape, was good enough to allow for the delivery of a big boiler for the Warrens Dredge.

Roads weren't the only concerns expressed by the people in Warren. There was a lot of concern that the same devastating fires that had engulfed cities like Chicago could happen in Warren if precautions were not taken. At that time, Warren was made up of all log and lumber buildings with wood shake roofs and since everyone used wood to heat their homes, there was always a threat of a major fire. On the morning of September 8, 1904, those fears were realized when the entire business portion of the town was wiped out in a devastating fire. The fire started between 2 and 3 a.m. in the back end of one of the saloons and spread rapidly. The losses were staggering, including two general merchandise stores, three saloons, two hotels, a butcher shop, a livery stable, several buildings belonging to Charlie Bemis, along with the old courthouse and jail. [100]

With practically no insurance and losses mounting to $100,000, the town was devastated. What made matters even worse was the time of year. With the onset of winter only weeks away and with mining booming recently, all the merchants and business

owners had recently stocked up on an unusually large supply of goods for the long winter months. With winter coming on, the people of Warren had to decide whether to abandon, or rebuild their town. With a renewed energy and perseverance, the people of Warren decided to rebuild their town and thanks to a mild fall and late winter, they were able to do so rather quickly. Supplies were restocked, and by mid-December the town was back in business. [101]

The establishment of the town of Warren not only predated the formation of the Idaho Territory and the admission of Idaho as the 43rd state in the union, it also predated the establishment of the United States Federal Forest Reserves that would later become known as National Forests. The approximately 100 acres of the original town site was detached from the National Forest several years prior to 1931, with title reverting to the Interior Department. The people of Warren originally only had the option of "squatter's rights," in acquiring ownership of their homes located on the town site, but by 1931 it became necessary to acquire legal titles to own their homes and businesses. To accomplish this transition, it was decided to hold a public auction. On June 30, 1931, a public auction was held, and the 35 residents of Warren were given the opportunity to purchase the title to their permanent homes.[102]

There were a number of people from Boise and other outside places present at the auction, and Bill Cooper stood before the gathering with his hand on his gun on his hip and said to the crowd that he knew he was considered a "bad" man, and he had done some bad things, and on that day, if any outsider dared to bid against a Warren resident, he was liable to do bad things again.[103] With that said, the auction proceeded with no competitive bidding, each householder taking only that on which he lived. Most property

was sold to the residents for sums ranging from $15-$42, with the entire sale of the million dollar gold town totaling $900.[104]

CHAPTER 9: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE ERA OF DREDGE MINING

At the turn of the century, the Warren Wagon Road was finally improved enough to bring in more heavy equipment needed to work the quartz mines, but then the American economy drifted helplessly into the Great Depression, and the capital needed to operate the quartz mines dried up. After three decades with very little mining activity, the people of this isolated mining community were in desperate need of some good news. Thankfully, that good news came to them in the spring of 1931, when a new company known as the Idaho Gold Dredging Company announced that they were coming to revitalize the mining industry of Warren and the rest of Idaho County. The gravel-bearing meadows around and under the town of Warren were always suspected of holding vast amounts of gold, and this new company planned to extract that gold with the help of massive floating gold dredges that had proven so successful in the state of California. With the stock market crash still a recent memory and the country in the beginnings of a major depression, the news that jobs were coming was received with tremendous enthusiasm. The company, owned by E.T. Fisher and A.F. Baumhoff, had purchased a dredge at Granite Creek, Oregon, dismantled it, and transported it by motor truck along the newly constructed road into Warren. They were actively preparing to exploit the placer fields along the meadow below the town, in addition to the old placer grounds that had been worked and reworked by white men and Chinese alike. It was decided that the dredge would begin its work in the upper end of Warren Meadows, and by the summer of

1931, it had already started employing some local men to cut cords of the local "jack pine" to be used to fuel the plant. The dredge was scheduled to begin work by October 1, 1931, but the company began its operations sooner than expected and was scooping up the gravel by the 11th of September.[105] The dredge was a steam-driven, wooden-hull boat, with four cubic foot buckets closely connected and a daily capacity of 3,500 yards. The residents of Warren went to watch in amazement as the "boat" seemed to float in the middle of the valley floor, while it gobbled up large amounts of rock. Fifteen men were employed to run the dredge, but more importantly fifteen families from Warren were able to eat and live during the Depression, something that all the people of this tight knit community were glad to see.[106]

A report of Idaho mine inspector, Stewart Campbell, showed the immediate impact of the dredge. The production of metals in Idaho County was valued at $95,278 in 1931, which was an increase over the previous year due largely to gold produced at the new dredge. In the Warren District, five placers and two lode mines produced 30 tons of ore, $56,013 in gold and 885 ounces of silver, valued together at $56,269. The placer output valued at $55,916 came chiefly from operation of the new dredge of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company; it became the second largest producer of gold in Idaho in 1931.[107] Because of the success of the first dredge, the Idaho Gold Dredging Company made plans for the installation of a second dredge at Warren, which they hurriedly began the process of shipping in parts to build the dredge.

Another group of investors, headed by W.W. Johnson of San Francisco, including Andy Anderson, Charles Dankert, and Ray Humphrey, acquired a block of ground on Warren Creek, which adjoined that of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company. It

was their intention to install a dredge on this property, which they hoped to have in operation that fall. The boat would be electrically operated, and the company came to be known as the Warren Creek Dredging Company.[108]

In order to keep up with this new competitor, the Idaho Gold Dredging Company decided to install new machinery on their original dredge to speed up their gold recovery efforts. The company closed down their operations for a week or so, after which they intended for work to go on in a larger way.[109] Locals were still working hard to supply the steam dredges with firewood for their boilers. The dredges used about five cords of wood per day, and much of the wood was taken out by horse.

Mine production for the year 1932 showed the output of gold at $936,434, which was the largest since 1916 and more than double the output in 1931. Dredge activity at Warren, with the continuous dredging operation of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company, along with the construction of a new dredge by the Warren Creek Dredging Company, and the rebuilding of the electric transmission of the Unity Gold Mines Company, made Warren one of the most prosperous communities in the state. The Idaho Gold Dredging Company installed a new bucket line and sluice on its dredge, and its production soared to second in the state.[110]

The Warren dredging ground was living up to its expectations in every way. Regardless of winter conditions, one of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company dredges was digging gold bearing-gravel day and night, while the Warren Creek dredge electrically driven from the hydro-electric plant on Elk creek lost some time on account of extreme cold weather. During the month of February 1933, gold bullion valued at $44,000 was sent from Warren to the mint in San Francisco. The mining company cast the precious

metal in bricks and shipped it by parcel post. A $10,000 brick was eight inches long, four inches wide and one and one-half inches thick, with a postal rate of $11.50 - not including insurance.[111]

The locked United States mail sack from Warren to McCall was reported to be so heavy that the stage coach driver could barely lift it. The sack, containing gold bars from Warren, was shipped to the assay office at Boise and then to the mint at San Francisco. Shipments of like size were sent at regularly intervals of about two weeks, starting in September 1931 by the Idaho Gold Dredging Company and since October 23 by the Warren Creek Dredging Company.[112]

A mine production report for the year 1933 showed the output of gold at 63,228 ounces, largely due to the increase of gold output from dredging operations near Warren.[113] Under the headline "Gold Flows Freely in Warren," the *Idaho Free Press* reported on June 21, 1934, that Warren was seeing a "real revival as a mining town with estimates of approximately $1 million in gold taken from the valley in dredging operations in the last three years." [114]

With the success of the previous three years translating into thousands of dollars of profit, both the Warren Creek Dredging Company and the Idaho Gold Dredging Company kicked their operations into high gear. Both were working twenty four hours a day transforming Warren Meadows into a vast wasteland of gravel piles, and the Idaho Gold Dredging Company added a third dredge in 1934. This new dredge was of all-steel construction with steel pontoons, which can be taken apart and moved. The new dredge was intended for use in the area above the town of Warren and would then be moved to the Elk City district. The dredge was launched on July 19, 1934.[115]

The mining report for 1934 showed the output of gold at 83,600 ounces, a 29 % increase over the previous year, with the production from placers increasing 13%. The Idaho Gold Dredging Company recovered approximately 8,500 ounces of gold, and the Warren Creek Dredging Company recovered approximately 7,900 ounces of gold worth $574,000.[116] The dredges were so productive because they were steam driven and worked year round so their ponds would not freeze over. They ran three shifts; the 4:00 p.m. and graveyard shifts had three men per shift, while the day shift that began at 7:00 a.m. had a crew of five men - one operator, two oilers, and two shore men - who changed the wire-line tie downs as the dredge moved forward. The dredges averaged from ten to fifteen feet forward per day.

In 1935, the Idaho Gold Dredging Company turned its dredge toward the town of Warren itself. The gravel under the town site had never been fully worked and contained untold wealth for the gravel-eating dredges to recover. By August, the Fisher & Baumhoff steel dredge was working its way toward town, after dredging the valley below town, including the airport. The dredge was affectionately known as “Mickey Mouse,” named by E.T. Fisher’s two-year old daughter Carole. Mickey Mouse worked its way through town, turning back yards into rock piles, while bulldozers came behind to once again level off the town lots. In an effort to situate the large dredges as close as possible to the gravel that lay close to the buildings of Warren, accidents were bound to happen. One such accident was related by Ruby McDowell, who lived in Warren at the time and remembered how the dredge went up through town one day and “broke through into my cellar where I had all the canned goods and all my supplies, like they were mining for food! They took the biggest pay streak and the biggest clean up, right behind my house

and the hotel."[117] The mining industry report for 1935 had the output of gold at 83,872 fine ounces, and the heaviest producers in Idaho County were the dredges at Warren, with $515,054.70. Idaho County had forged to the front by producing 35% of the total gold in the state, a first place ranking.[118] In just four short years, Warren had risen to the top of the mining industry in Idaho, but this would prove to be the peak of the production during this last era of the gold rush.

The problem with three dredges working 24 hours a day was simple: they would eventually run out of room. The valleys were only so big and after almost five years of continuous dredging, there was talk of looking elsewhere. In the minerals report for 1936, the output of gold from the Warren mining district decreased from 16,143.06 ounces in 1935 to 10,239.40 in 1936, due to the closing of the Warren Creek Dredging Company's dredge and the moving of the Mickey Mouse dredge to Granite Creek in the Boise Basin.[119] The Anderson dredge worked the summer on Steamboat Creek below Warren, and was the first dredge that the *National Geographic* Salmon River Expedition team saw, commenting that it looked like a "Mississippi River steamboat lost in the mountains."[120] The dredge worked for 57 days, taking $54,000 in gold before it ran out of room and had to be turned around.[121]

Even with this decrease, the camp of Warren continued to be one of the largest producers of gold in Idaho County. With two dredges still working, there was an estimated four years of dredging ground left.[122] The mining report for 1938 showed that the value of the metal output in the Warren District increased to $300,889, with the two bucket dredges recovering 2,022 fine ounces of gold and 722 ounces of silver. [123]

With the demise of the Warren Creek Dredging Company, a new company called the Warren Dredging Company, E.T. Fisher, manager, operated throughout the year in Warren Meadows. This dredge had about five years of work left that would give employment to a crew of about twelve to fifteen men. The Baumhoff, Fisher & McDowell boat, formerly known as the Anderson dredge, worked during 1938 on hi-bar gravel below the town, which presented many problems.[124]

Some outside of Warren were concerned that the dredging operations were harmful to the environment, including the wildlife and fish making their homes there. The Mining Industry tried to alleviate those concerns in the following article in the March 31, 1938, issue of the *Idaho Free Press*, titled "Placer Harmless to Fish," that stated how "small fish thrive as well or better in very muddy mining water than they do in clear water, referencing experiments at Reed College in Portland conducted by Dr. L. E. Griffin, a biologist at the institution, where fingerling cutthroat trout were placed half in one tank in which clear water circulated and the other half in a similar tank containing water from the same source, to which had been added quantities of heavy mud obtained from placer mines. In three weeks' time, it was found that the mortality rate was about six times higher in the tank containing fish in the clear water."[125]

Even though it was in decline, the dredging of the meadows continued throughout 1939, with the Mining Report showing 8,293 ounces of gold recovered from the two dredges. Later that year, the Fisher & Baumhoff dredge was moved to Moose Creek near Salmon City, and only one dredge was left in Warren.[126] The mining report for 1940 showed that the production from that dredge, owned by the Warren Dredging Company, was once again the most important gold producer in the district.[127]

The beginning of the 1940s signified the end of the Warren's dredge mining boom. The mining report for 1941 shows the decline of gold in the Warren District to 6,690 fine ounces. The Warren Dredging Company sold its placer ground and one dredge to W.W. Prather, who operated the dredge the remainder of the year.[128] The mining report for 1942 showed the dredge operated by Prather treated about 215,000 yards and recovered 1,090 ounces of gold and 358 ounces of silver, just a fraction of what was recovered only five short years before.[129]

Just as quickly as this last boom had started, it was over. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the U.S. was thrust into World War II. A few months later came the order by the War Production Board for the suspension of all gold-mining activity. In just over a decade, the valleys had been overturned with close to $4 million in gold recovered. This last gold rush, that had started just a little more than ten years before, was done, and with the mass exodus of people, many wondered if Warren was headed for a ghost town grave.

CHAPTER 10: STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: THE POST WWII ERA

When the War Production Board issued Limitation Order L-208 in October of 1942, effectively closing the nation's gold mines altogether, gold and silver mining in Warren came to an abrupt end. The government's intent in shutting down gold mines was to focus mining on strategic metals and minerals such as lead, zinc, copper and tungsten, which were needed for the war effort. Gold and other precious metals such as silver were deemed "non-strategic." While many individual miners managed to find employment in strategic-metal mines, the closing of gold and silver operations had a significant impact on the communities that relied on them for jobs as well as for support of local businesses. Overnight, Warren was deserted. Most of the miners left for places like the mining town of Stibnite, that had produced gold, silver, copper, lead, antimony, and tungsten since the early 1900s. The first recorded claims in Stibnite were from 1914, staked by Albert Hennessy. The United Mercury Mining Company purchased the claims from Hennessy, and the F. W. Bradley Mining Company obtained them in 1927. The Bradley Mining Company began mining and milling gold in the 1930s. Two years prior to the American involvement in World War II, an act of Congress listed antimony and tungsten as strategic metals essential to national defense. Bradley Mining Company turned Stibnite into a major producer of antimony and tungsten from 1941 through 1945. During this time period, the town of Stibnite, which was located onsite, experienced a tremendous boom with a population of 1,500, a staffed hospital, and a recreation center.[130]

A few old timers, three to be exact, stayed in Warren during the late 1940s. After the war, with the United States experiencing a post war economic boom during the fifties, no one was looking to get rich quick in the gold fields. Also, with the gold mines shut down and lying dormant for several years, most were either flooded, damaged, or in need of serious repair. There were also a number of economic restraints put on gold mining, particularly with the price of gold being controlled by the U.S. government. Gold prices were controlled by a gold standard of $20 per ounce from 1792 until the depression of the 1930s. President Franklin D. Roosevelt stopped the run on the banks and hording of gold in 1934, for the first time raising the price of gold to $35 per ounce. In 1971, President Nixon tried to stop the flow of gold out of the U.S. and raised the price to $42 per ounce, but that proved to offer little help to the industry. Several other approaches were tried with the same negative result. Finally, in 1972, the government gave up controlling the price of gold in the U.S., and it became a commodity item on the New York Stock Exchange. This resulted in the price of gold rising rapidly over the next ten years, reaching $850 per ounce in 1980. The gold mining industry was then seen as a good investment, and large corporations started revitalizing old mines, developing modern open pit mines and using cyanide concentration and other costly techniques to recover gold. There was resistance in the 1990s when environmental laws were created to protect against these techniques poisoning the ground water and creating air pollution. These restrictions and the costs associated with more government regulations resulted in fewer numbers of new mines, but those that were invested in became even larger and more environmentally controlled at major capital expense.[131]

With this rising price for gold, there developed a renewed interest in Warren's quartz mines. Both the Rescue Mine and the Unity Mine had not been opened since they were closed in 1942. With an ounce of gold in excess of $850 and rising, it was again economically feasible to reopen the mines. The Rescue Mine was acquired by Shoshone Silver Mining Company (headquartered in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho) in 2006, and they immediately began investing large amounts of time and money in reclamation and improvements. The owners wanted to make the Rescue Gold Mine exploration their first priority as this property had the greatest potential to yield significant resources. The mine, discovered more than 140 years prior, was still cause for excitement at the possibilities for its potential in gold.

The Unity Mine has also been a source of renewed excitement in Warren in recent times. The Unity Mine was named for the effort to unite all the gold veins that had historically produced gold in the hillside above Warren. When George Riebold sold his rights to the Little Giant Vein in 1900, the new owners immediately began constructing a long tunnel over one and one-half miles long to connect the numerous veins such as the Banner, Little Giant, Rescue, Mammoth, and Charity veins. Jay A. Czizek, former state mine inspector, was the man in charge of this colossal effort. In 1923, a $200,000 hydro-electric power plant was constructed to provide power to the mill and the town of Warren. The tunnel could be seen on the hillside across from town, and the tailings from the mine still can be seen today. In 2001, the company known as the Unity GoldSilver Mines purchased all ownership rights to the historic properties of the Unity Mine. The properties were valued at $3,500,000 by Unity's directors and were purchased in exchange for Unity stock. The deed was recorded October 22, 2002. From 2002 to 2011,

the main portal was rehabilitated and all crosscut tunnels improved. To date, more than 41 different gold-bearing quartz veins have been identified on the property, of which the Rescue, Little Giant, and Charity are three of the 18 better known veins that supplied most of the reported historic gold production. When Unity GoldSilver Mines, Inc. teamed up with Maximus Ventures, Ltd. in 2007, the news release stated that the future potential of the Unity Mine is "outstanding…and the high grade gold mineralization, and good access, to both the area and the existing underground workings provided excellent potential to develop mineable resources both in previously mined veins and in veins that are as-yet unexplored."[132] Warren is once again experiencing the excitement of a modern-day gold rush, and the rebirth of the gold mining industry has reinvigorated the town. The people of Warren can all breathe a collective sigh of relief. They survived the long drought of the post WWII years. As they prepare for their 150th year, they can rest assured that Warren will live on. [133]

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

From the time of discovery in 1862, through the placer mining era and the discovery of the quartz mines, to the gravel gobbling dredges of the 1930s, Warren never strayed far from its identity as a western mining town. The town itself, with its numerous general stores, saloons, gambling halls, and long list of colorful characters, was not much different than many of the other mining towns scattered throughout the West. What sets Warren apart from those other towns is its commendable history concerning both race and the environment. While many other western mining towns quickly exhausted their resources and left behind an environmental disaster before fading into ghost towns, Warren's resources were not depleted, and its environment was not destroyed. These factors have both contributed to Warren's successful longevity and are the main reasons mining for gold and other precious metals continue to this day.

The issue of race relations, particularly with the Chinese, is truly the hallmark of Warren's history. From 1870, when the first Chinese were allowed to come into Warren, to 1934, when the last Chinese resident died, the white and Chinese populations of the town managed to peacefully coexist. At first this interracial relationship was accepted because it was economically viable for both. The white placer claim owners were looking to sell their worked-over claims, and the Chinese were looking for opportunities to earn a living in America. That arrangement grew to one of mutual respect and a reliance on each other. The stores and shops owned by the whites were open to the Chinese while the

Chinese offered medical knowledge, fresh vegetables, laundry services, and other needs for the white population of Warren. The Chinese participated in the American Fourth of July celebrations, while the whites looked forward to the Chinese New Year's celebrations with great anticipation. Even though there were many cases of racial violence perpetuated against the Chinese in other mining towns throughout the West during this time, Warren remained a shining example of a positive and peaceful racial co-existence. How they managed to accomplish this remarkable achievement provides a lesson for us all. As we dig down deep into Warren's long and colorful past, we find many more valuable lessons from a history just as precious and rich as its fabled mining grounds.

END NOTES:

[1] Betty Lee Sung. Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967).

[2]Leonard J. Arrington. History of Idaho. Vol. 1. (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1994).Gold was first discovered in Idaho by E. D. Pierce in the summer of 1860 followed by discoveries in Oro Fino, and Elk City a few months later. Gold was discovered a year later in 1861 in Florence, in 1862 in Warren and 1863 in the Boise Basin. The rush to what would become the Idaho Territory and later the State of Idaho was in full swing.

[3] The "Old West" historians were labeled "Old" when the "New West" historians rose to prominence after the decades of the 1960's and 1970's. Frederick Jackson Turner originated the "Old West" with his The Frontier in American History (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), and following in his footsteps was Ray Allen Billington who wrote and edited several books and articles on the subject including, The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1956), America's Frontier Heritage (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History? (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1977), Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981). Billington also coauthored with Martin Ridge, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier, 5th ed, (New York: Macmillan, 1982). Martin Ridge has continued in the frontier legacy of Turner and Billington with several books and articles including, "The American West: From Frontier to Region," *New Mexico Historical Quarterly* 64 (April, 1989): 138, "Frederick Jackson Turner, Ray Allen Billington, and American Frontier History," *The Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 19, No. 1 (January, 1988): 4-20, and "The Life of an Idea: The Significance of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Winter, 1991): 2-13.

[4]Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986)

[5] The New West Historians rose to prominence partially in response to the platform adopted by the Old West historians and partially in response to the time and environment of the Cold War and turbulent 1960's, the era in which many grew to adulthood. Four of these New West historians dominate the scene including, Richard White, William Cronon, Donald Worster and Patricia Nelson Limerick. Each of the four, in their own way, worked to refute the frontier thesis through their books and articles including Donald Worster, Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), Richard White, 'It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own': A New History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), William Cronon, George Miles & Jay Gitlin, Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992), and Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken past of the American West (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988) and Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000). Articles written by the New West historians include William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April, 1987): 157-176, Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (1986): 396-416, Donald Worster, "New West, True West: Interpreting the Region's History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April, 1987): 141-156, and Patricia Nelson Limerick, "What on Earth Is the New Western History?" *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Summer, 1990): 61-64, and "The Gold Rush and the Shaping of the American West," *California History* Vol. 77, No. 1, National Gold Rush Symposium (Spring, 1998): 30-41.

[6]William Cronon, George Miles & Jay Gitlin, Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992): 6-9.

[7]Richard White, 'It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own': A New History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)

[8]William Cronon, George Miles & Jay Gitlin, Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past

[9]Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken past of the American West (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988)

[10]Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken past of the American West

[11] There are many excellent books and articles on the history of mining in the West. Duane A. Smith has done exhaustive research on this issue and has written several books on the subject including, Rocky Mountain Mining Camps – The Urban Frontier (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), Mining America, The Industry and the Environment, 1800-1980 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987) and a great article, "A Mother Lode for the West: California Mining Men and Methods," *California History* Vol. 77, No. 4, A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California (Winter, 1998/1999): 149-173. I also relied heavily on William S. Greever, The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), and T.A. Rickard, A History of American Mining (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932). Rodman W. Paul has written several great books on mining including, California Gold – The Beginning of Mining in the Far West (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900 (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) and with Elliot West, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

[12] There are several excellent books on the early history of Idaho that were published either before statehood in 1890 or soon after, including William S. Schiach, John M. Henderson & Harry B. Averill, An Illustrated History of North Idaho: Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai and Shoshone Counties, State of Idaho (San Francisco: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1903), 52-53; Byron Defenbach, Idaho: The Place and Its People: a History of the Gem State from Prehistoric to Present Days, Vol. 1 (Chicago & New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), 271-273; W.W. Elliott, ed., History of Idaho Territory, Showing its Resources and Advantages: With Illustrations Descriptive Of Its Scenery, Residences, Farms, Mines, Mills, And Hotels, Business Houses, Schools, Churches, & From Original Drawings (San Francisco: Wallace W. Elliot and Co., 1873), 68-69; Cornelius J. Brosnan, History of the State of Idaho (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 88-116; John Hailey, The History of Idaho (Boise, Idaho: Syms-York Co, 1910), 34-35, and William John McConnell, Early History of Idaho (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1913), 62-77, and Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890). Books on Idaho History written more recently include Merrill D. Beal and Merle W. Wells, History of Idaho, Volumes I, II, II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1959), Leonard J. Arrington, History of Idaho, Vol. I & II (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1994) and Cort Conley, Idaho For the Curious (Cambridge, Idaho: Backeddy Books, 1982).

[13] Setting aside the differences and arguments on what was perceived as "good" or "bad" about the history of mining in the West, we can concentrate on what we can learn from the landscapes left behind in these old mining towns such as Warren. For information on mining landscapes I relied heavily on Richard V. Francaviglia, Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991). Francaviglia has also written another important book on the subject, Mining Town Trolleys: A History of Arizona's Warren-Bisbee Railway (Bisbee: Copper Queen Publishing, 1983), as well as several other articles including, "Bisbee, Arizona: A Mining Town Survives a Decade of Closure," *Small Town* 13/4 (January-February, 1983): 4-8, "Time Exposures: The Evolving Landscape of an Arizona Copper Mining District," *Mineral Resource Development: Geopolitics, Economics, and Policy*, eds. Harley Johansen, Olen P. Mathews, and Gundars Rudzitis. Boulder: Westview Press (1987), "Reading the Landscape and Other Historical Detective Stories," *Local Historian* (September-October 1988): 7-9, "Mining Town Commercial Vernacular Architecture: The 'Overhanging Porches' of Ohio's Hocking Mining District," *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 13 (1990): 45-51, "Copper Mining and Landscape Evolution: A Century of Change in the Warren Mining District, Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History*, Vo.

23 (Autumn, 1982): 267-98. Another author who has recently emphasized the need to look into these landscapes, Michael P. Conzen, The Making of the American Landscape (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990). Another great book is Peter Goin and C. Elizabeth Raymond, Changing Mines in America (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2004), that combines photographs with the historical descriptions of the mining sites selected.

[14]There were a variety of placer mining methods used in Warren. All of the methods followed the basic pattern of mixing water with gold bearing gravel in a manner that would allow the heavier gold to be sorted out. Miners initially used gold pans to insure there was suitable gold available to file a claim. Once a claim was filed then they would usually use a rocker box or panel or a large sluice box that would allow for larger scale placer mining to take place.

[15] The events leading to the discovery of Florence is well detailed in several books on the early history of Idaho, including William S. Schiach, John M. Henderson & Harry B. Averill, Illustrated History of North Idaho, Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai and Shoshone Counties, State of Idaho (San Francisco: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1903), 52-53; Byron Defenbach, Idaho: The Place and Its People: a History of the Gem State from Prehistoric to Present Days, Vol. 1 (Chicago & New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), 271-273; W.W. Elliott, ed., History of Idaho Territory Showing its Resources and Advantages with Illustrations (San Francisco: Wallace W. Elliot and Co., 1973), 68-69; Cornelius J. Brosnan, History of the State of Idaho (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 88-116; John Hailey, The History of Idaho (Boise, Idaho: Syms-York Co, 1910), 34-35, and William John McConnell, Early History of Idaho (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1913), 62-77. Books on local history that also describe life in Florence include Robert G. Bailey, River of No Return (Lewiston, Idaho: Bailey-Blake Printing Co., 1935), 99-100, Sister M. Alfreda Elsensohn, Pioneer Days in Idaho County, Volume 1 (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1947), 37-78, and Aaron F. Parker, Forgotten Tragedies of Indian Warfare in Idaho (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1925), 5. There are also some autobiographical publications from pioneers of Florence including Colonel George Hunter, Reminiscences of an Old Timer…Adventures, Perils and Escapes of a Pioneer, Hunter, Miner and Scout of the Pacific Northwest (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker and Company,1887), 384-385; and W.A. Goulder, Reminiscences: Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer in Oregon and Idaho (Boise, Idaho: Timothy Regan, 1909), 241-242, both offer excellent first-hand accounts of "Fabulous" Florence.

[16]Merle W. Wells. Rush to Idaho. Bulletin No. 19. (Moscow Idaho: Bureau of Mines and Geology, 1961), 10-11

[17] Ibid. Wells also offers two other well researched publications, History of Mining in Idaho (Bureau of Mines and Geology Bulletin No. 18, 1961), which gives an overview of Idaho's mining history, and Gold Camps and Silver Cities, (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1983), which gives the history of mining activity in the Boise Basin and Owyhee County in the 1860's.

[18] William S. Schiach, John M. Henderson & Harry B. Averill. An Illustrated History of North Idaho, 305.

[19] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 56.

[20] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 74.

[21] William S. Schiach, John M. Henderson & Harry B. Averill. An Illustrated History of North Idaho, 6.

[22] Elliot, History of Idaho Territory, 240.

[23] "Why They Call It Warren," Lewiston Morning Tribune, November 26, 1933.

[24]Washington Statesman, July 24, 1862.

[25] Washington Statesman, August 2, 1862.

[26] Mining & Scientific Press, September 11, 1862.

[27] Washington Statesman, December 6, 1862.

[28] Washington Statesman, May 3, 1863.

[29] Washington Statesman, May 2, 1863.

[30] Golden Age, August 8, 1863.

[31] "Frank Coffin Papers," Idaho County Free Press, July 10, 1913.

[32] Washington Statesman, November 21, 1864.

[33] Washington Statesman, July 8, 1864.

[34] Elsensohn, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 81.

[35] Peter Beamer, The Peter Beamer Manuscript: Dance Music Collected in the Gold Mining Camp of Warren's Diggins, Idaho in the 1860's. Vivian Williams ed. (Seattle: Voyager Recordings & Publications, 2008), 45.

[36] Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, July 2, 1872.

[37] "Pack Trains Arrive in Warren," Idaho County Free Press, June 18, 1886.

[38]"Our Warren Letter," Idaho County Free Press, July 1, 1887.

[39] William S. Schiach, John M. Henderson & Harry B. Averill. An Illustrated History of North Idaho, 200.

[40] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 80-82.

[41] Aaron F. Parker, George M. Shearer & W. C. Brown, Sheepeater Indian Campaign: Chamberlin Basin Country (Grangeville, ID: Idaho County Free Press, 1968): 38-39.

[42] "Pony Smead's Famous Wedding," Idaho County Free Press, November 27, 1902.

[43] "Pony Smead," Idaho County Free Press, February 17, 1899.

[44] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 90.

[45] Idaho Territorial Records, Box 1: file 89, 1874.

[46] "Sylvester S. Smith," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, August 27, 1878.

[47] "Death of Sylvester S. Smith," Idaho County Free Press, May 18, 1892.

[48] "Delivering the Mail," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, October 14, 1873.

[49] "Our Warren Letter," Idaho County Free Press, February 11, 1887.

[50] "Our Warren Letter," Idaho County Free Press, February 11, 1896.

[51] "Our Warren Letter," Idaho County Free Press, January 19, 1900.

[52] "Mail Robbed," Idaho County Free Press, November 12, 1897.

[53] North Idaho Radiator, March 4, 1865.

[54] With the shift to quartz mining, sometimes called hard rock or lode mining, the miners in Warren realized that they would need much more capital to invest in the large machinery required to profit from the gold filled ore underneath the ground. They would need large ore crushing machines called stamp mills or arrastras, which was a large cement or iron wheel that ground down the ore. For information on quartz mining I relied on Ronald C. Brown's book, Hard Rock Miners: The Intermountain West, 1860-1920 (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1979) and Mark Wyman's excellent book, Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1960-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Richard E. Lingenfelter's book The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) also does an excellent job of showing the increased need for machinery and labor with quartz mining.

[55] "Expert Visits," Payette Lakes Star, June 13, 1875.

[56] "Little Giant Sold," Idaho County Free Press, July 6, 1900.

[57] "Tunnel," Idaho County Free Press, June 13, 1901.

[58] Payette Lakes Star, February 8, 1918.

[59] "Expert Visits," Payette Lakes Star, "June 13, 1919."

[60] Sister M. Alfreda Elsensohn, Idaho Chinese Lore. Idaho Corporation of Benedictine Sisters, Cottonwood, Idaho. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1970.

[61] For information on the history of the Chinese in Warren, I relied heavily on Sister M. Alfreda Elsenshon, Idaho Chinese Lore. Idaho Corporation of Benedictine Sisters, Cottonwood, Idaho (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1970), Cheryl Helmers, Warren Times, (Wolfe City, Texas: Henington Publishing Company, 1988), and newspaper accounts particularly from Grangeville's Idaho County Free Press. Information on the role of the Chinese in Warren and other Idaho mining camps is covered extensively in one Master's thesis and three dissertations on the subject. Fern C. Trull, History of the Chinese in Idaho from 1864 to 1910, (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1946); Darby Campbell Stapp, The Historic Ethnography of a Chinese Mining Community in Idaho (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990); Li-hua Yu Chinese Immigrants in Idaho (PhD diss., Bowling Green University, 1991); and Priscilla Spires Wegars, The History and Archaeology of the Chinese in Northern Idaho 1880 through 1910. (PhD diss., University of Idaho, 1991). Several books focused on the racial intoleration and violence that many Chinese miners endured and although this was mostly nonexistent in Warren, it is important for comparison purposes. Books such as Gunther Paul Barth, Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964); Roger Daniels, Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Gregory R. Nokes, Massacred for Gold: The Chinese in Hells Canyon (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2009); Isaac H. Bromley, The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs (Boston: Franklin Press, Rand, Avery& Co., 1885). Most of the history has either overstated the racism and intolerance or understated the contributions of the Chinese. The book that most closely correlates with the role the Chinese played in Warren is Liping Zhu, A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier (Niwot, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1997), which shows the interrelation of the Chinese in the mining camps of the Boise Basin.

[62] Elsensohn, Chinese Lore, 78.

[63] "1870 Census," Idaho County Free Press, August 10, 1870.

[64] Elsensohn, Chinese Lore, 78-79.

[65] Elsensohn, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 93.

[66] Lewiston Teller, July 12, 1872.

[67] The Northern, May 8, 1875.

[68] "Editorial," Idaho County Free Press, March 16, 1888.

[69] "Editorial," Idaho County Free Press, Sept 2, 1887.

[70]Herb McDowell interview, Payette National Forest, August 1987.

[71]"1880 Census," Idaho County Free Press, December 30, 1880.

[72] Idaho County Free Press, February 25, 1887.

[73] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 92.

[74] "Hanging," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, July 11, 1874.

[75]Sheila D. Reddy, The Chinese Pioneer in Idaho: An Overview (Heritage Program, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Intermountain Region, Payette National Forest, March, 1993).

[76] The story of Polly Bemis and her relationship and eventual marriage to Charlie Bemis has drawn more interest and produced more articles and books than all the other citizens of Warren combined. To begin with, Sister M. Alfreda Elsenshon, Pioneer Days in Idaho County (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941)

is an invaluable source of information on Polly. She devotes an entire chapter to Polly, and also includes her to a great extent in Idaho Chinese Lore (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1970); and her book, Idaho's Most Romantic Character: Polly Bemis (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1979) is another great source. Elsenshon was able to not only interview Polly herself, but also many of those pioneers who lived in Warren during her time there. Cheryl Helmers collection of newspaper articles in her Warren Times (Wolfe City, Texas: Henington Publishing Co., 1988) also provides first hand newspaper accounts on Polly. Priscella Wegars has devoted much of her research to Polly's story as well in her book, Polly Bemis: A Chinese American Pioneer (Cambridge, Idaho: Backeddy Books, 2007) and two articles, "Researching Polly Bemis," *PNLA Quarterly* 68.2 (Winter, 2004): 4, 17-20, and "Charlie Bemis: Idaho's Most 'Significant Other,'" *Idaho Yesterdays* 44-3, (Fall, 2000): 3-18. Ruthanne Lum McCunn provides further information in her article, "Reclaiming Polly Bemis: China's Daughter, Idaho's Legendary Pioneer," *Frontiers* 24.1 (20003): 76-100, and Grace Roffey Pratt, adds another story in her article, "Charlie Bemis' Highest Prize," *Frontier Times* (Winter, 1961): 26-38. Countess Eleanor Gizycka interviewed Polly when she stopped at their ranch on the Salmon River, and wrote about the interview in her article, "Diary on the Salmon River," *Field & Stream* (May, 1923): 18-20, 113-115, (June, 1923): 187-188, 276-280. Christopher Corbett recently reexamines not only Polly but the history of the Chinese coming to America at the time, particularly the females, in his book, The Poker Bride: The First Chinese in the Wild West (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2010).

[77] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 93-94.

[78] Elsensohn, Chinese Lore, 82.

[79] Elsenshon, Pioneer Days, Vol. 1, 94-95.

[80] Elsensohn, Chinese Lore, 86-87.

[81] Elsensohn, Chinese Lore, 80.

[82] Helmers, *Personal Correspondence*, Warren Times (Wolfe City, Texas: Henington Publishing Company, 1988), 1923.

[83] "Ah Sam," Idaho County Free Press, December 28, 1933.

[84] Idaho County Commission Meeting Notes, Idaho County Free Press, January 26, 1928.

[85] Cheryl Helmers, *Personal Correspondence*, Warren Times, 1934.

[86] "Hostile Indians: Twenty-Nine Setters Murdered," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, June 19-20, 1877.

[87] The two conflicts that involved those in Warren and the surrounding area was the Nez Perce War of 1877 and what was called the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. Several books were written on the Indian Wars including R. Ross Arnold, Indian Wars of Idaho (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1932); Norman B. Adkinson, Indian Braves and Battles with More Nez Perce Lore (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1967); W.C. Brown, The Sheepeater Campaign (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1968); John Carrey, Moccasin Tracks of the Sheepeaters (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1968); John Carrey and Cort Conley, The Middle Fork and the Sheepeater War (Cambridge, Idaho: Backeddy Books, 1980); Aaron F. Parker, Forgotten Tragedies of Indian Warfare in Idaho (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1925); and an article by the staff at the Idaho Historical Society, "Idaho's Indian Wars" (Idaho Yesterdays 5 (Summer, 1961): 22-25. Merrill D. Beal does an excellent job on the Nez Perce War in his book, "I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963); as does Mark Brown, The Flight of the Nez Perce (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967). Articles on the Nez Perce include Duncan MacDonald, "The Nez Perces: The History of Their Troubles and the Campaign of 1877," *Idaho Yesterdays* 21 (Spring, 1977): 2-15, 26-30, (Winter, 1978): 2-10, 18-26; Merle W. Wells, "The Nez Perce and Their War," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (January, 1964): 35-37; and Robert H. Ruby, "Return of the Nez Perce," *Idaho Yesterdays* 12 (Spring, 1968): 12-15.

[88] "Noted Cougar Killer Dead," Idaho County Free Press, June 25, 1936.

[89] Cort Conley, Idaho Loners: Hermits, Solitaries, and Individualists, (Cambridge, Idaho: Backeddy Books, 1994), 49-55.

[90] "Pioneer Leaves Forest Retreat to Visit Boise," Idaho Sunday Statesman, July 9, 1922.

[91] "Editorial," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, January 18, 1873.

[92] Idaho Historical Society Reference Series, Norman B. Willey, March 25, 1838-October 20, 1921. No. 400 Sept. 1993.

[93] Ibid.

[94] "Poor House Final Home for N. B. Willey," Wallace Press Times, November 2, 1921.

[95] "Letter to the Editor," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, January 9, 1872.

[96] "Editorial," Idaho County Free Press, December 28, 1872.

[97] "Wagon Road," Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, November 30, 1872.

[98] "Warren's Wagon Road," Idaho County Free Press, May 8, 1891.

[99] Ibid.

[100] "Disastrous Conflagration, The Town of Warren Completely Wiped out, Losses Will Reach Near $100,000," Idaho County Free Press, September 15, 1904.

[101] "Our Warren Letter," Idaho County Free Press, December 15, 1904.

[102] "Famed Mining Camp on Block," Idaho Daily Statesman, May 22, 1931.

[103] Helmers, *Personal Correspondence*, Warren Times

[104] "Million Dollar Gold Camp Sold for $900," Idaho Daily Statesman, July 1, 1931.

[105] "Pioneer Town Enjoying Mining Revival," Washington Statesman, July 30, 1931.

[106] State of Idaho, Mining Report for 1931, Boise, Idaho.

[107] State of Idaho, Mining Report for 1931, Boise, Idaho.

[108] "Alaskans at Work," Idaho County Free Press, June 23, 1932.

[109] Idaho Daily Statesman, July 17, 1932.

[110] U.S. Geological Survey Reports to the Department of the Interior for 1932.

[111] Idaho County Free Press, March 3, 1933.

[112] Idaho County Free Press, April 13, 1933.

[113] U.S. Geological Survey Report to Department of the Interior for 1933.

[114] "Gold Flows Freely at Warren," Idaho County Free Press, June 21, 1934.

[115] "New Steel Dredge Operates in Warren," Idaho County Free Press, August 9, 1934.

[116] U.S. Geological Survey Report to the Department of the Interior for 1934.

[117] Ruby McDowell, interview. Boise: Idaho Oral History Center, March 29, 1981.

[118] U.S. Geological Survey to the Department of the Interior for 1935.

[119] U.S. Geological Survey to the Department of the Interior for 1936.

[120] Philip J. Shendon and John C. Reed, "Down Idaho's River of No Return," *National Geographic*, (July, 1936): 95-136.

[121] Idaho Daily Statesman, July 22, 1965.

[122] "Warren Top Producer," Idaho County Free Press, January 13, 1938.

[123] U.S. Geological Survey to the Department of the Interior for 1938.

[124] U.S. Geological Survey to the Department of the Interior for 1938.

[125] "Placer Operations Harmless to Fish," Idaho County Free Press, March 1938.

[126] U. S. Geological Survey to the Department of the Interior of 1939.

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[128] U.S. Geological Survey Report to the Department of the Interior for 1941.

[129] U.S. Geological Survey Report to Department of the Interior of 1942.

[130] "Stibnite," Idaho State Historical Society Reference Series Number 1084, September 1996.

[131] Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw. The Commanding Heights. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 60-64.

[132] Unity GoldSilver Mines, Inc., <www.unitygoldsilvermines.com> (5 June 2012)

[133] United States Geological Survey, Annual Mining Production Reports 1908-1942.

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APPENDIX A

1862 Mining Laws of Warren

1862 MINING LAWS OF WARREN

At a meeting held by the miners of Warren's District, Tuesday, July 22, 1862, the following laws were adopted for governing said district, when Mr. J.A. Starks was appointed chairman and S.C. Franklin secretary:

Article 1. This district shall be known by the name of Warren's Discovery.

Article 2. This district shall contain an area of ten miles square, to be governed by the laws enacted by the miners of said district, and bounded as follows:

Article 3. On the east by a chain of mountains running northeast and southwest, on the west by a stream of water called Secesh creek, on the north by a range of foothills running east and west, on the south by a stream of water supposed to be the head waters of Buorase River.

Article 4. Any person or persons shall be entitled to hold the following amount of claims: One creek and one gulch claim, which shall be 150 feet in length and 200 feet in width; also, one hill claim, which shall be 150 feet in length and running back to the summit of the hill: also, one quartz claim, which shall be 300 feet in length, with all dips, spurs and angles, and 100 feet in width.

Article 5. The discoverer of these mines shall be entitled to hold one claim extra as a discovery claim, in addition to the number mentioned in Article 4.

Article 6. Any persons holding a claim or claims shall work one day on each claim, recorded in his or their name when work can be done to advantage.

Article 7. The working season shall be from the tenth of May to the tenth of November.

Article 8. All persons holding claims and having improved the same, is not bound to stop them during the season provided or as not workable season in Article 7, and the claimant or claimants shall hold said claims up to the time prescribed in Article 7.

Article 9. All disputes arising relative to mining interest shall be settled by arbitrators which the parties in dispute may choose – their arbitrators to be three or more, and not to exceed seven.

Article 10. The decision of any arbitration shall be considered final.

Article 11. All Chinamen are prohibited from holding claims or working in this district as hired men.

Article 12. All claims shall have a right of way to cut a trail race or drain their claims through the claims below.

Article 13. No party shall run tailings upon the claims below to damage the working of the claim or claims without the consent of the owner or owners of such claim or claims.

Article 14. Any person or persons willfully and maliciously interfering with ditches, dams or water to the damage of mining interests shall be tried by a party consisting of six men, who shall fix the penalty for the party or parties doing such damage, according to evidence against them.

Article 15. A creek claim shall be understood to run thirty inches of water at its lowest stage.

Article 16. There shall be a recorder elected once a year by the miners of the district, whose duties shall be to go upon each claim and measure the correct amount of ground belonging to the party or parties, and put notices thereon defining whether gulch, hill or creek claim, and recorded the same on the record book of the district.

Article 17. The Recorder shall furnish his own book and record each claim, and for his services shall be allowed two dollars for each record, and is to keep the record book open for the examination of any miner at all times, and the book shall be considered evidence in all mining litigations.

Article 18. Any party locating a claim or claims shall have five days after notices are put upon the claims to prospect and record, and if done, may be considered as forfeited.

Article 19. We the miners of Warren District have enlisted the above laws to govern the mining district and to regulate our claims accordingly; and we do each of us let our names to the above laws and request them to be published in the Washington Statesman.

J. H. Warren
J. S. Caviness
D. C. Macy
J. A. Starks
H. L. Stone
Lee Davidson
H. N. Macy
S. C. Franklin
Andrew Jenkins
H. Definberger
O. L. Whiting
F. Osgood
George Andrews
Wm. Smith
Thomas W. Anderson
Wm. Greer
J.D. Cusenbury
Milton Aldrich

APPENDIX B

Warren Mining Reports (1886-1942)

WARREN MINING REPORTS (1886-1942)

1886: The seven Chinese placer claims totaled $96,700, plus the claim of one single Chinese claim owner produced another $12,500, the leading hydraulic claims totaled $26,800 and the 5 major quartz mines produced another $9,643 for a grand total of $133,143 for the Warren District.[133]

1888: Governor Stevenson's report to the Secretary of the Interior says that the production of Warrens for the season just past was $225,000 in gold and silver.

1890: The five Chinese companies in Warren along with four quartz mines totaled $127,472 for the year.[133]

1907: One quartz property was productive of gold bullion, but most of the gold and silver came from the Golden Rule Placer claim.

1908: Production amounted to 58 tons of ore, carrying $16,453 in gold, 2,038 ounces of silver and a little copper valued in all at $17,564. The principal placers were the Golden Rule, the Gott and Shissler Creek.

1909: The production was $8,728 in gold and 116 ounces of silver. The Gott, Golden Rule, Rigdon and Shissler Creek miners were the producing placers. The White Monument, Little Giant, Skylark and Waln mines were the quartz producers.

1910: Two deep mines and 9 placers produced $9,159 ounces of gold and 120 ounces of silver. The Gott and Golden Rule mines supplied placer gold and the White Monument produced from the quartz mines.

1911: From 6 deep mines and 8 placers the production was $11,891 in gold and 359 ounces of silver. Most of the placer was from the Golden Rule with the Confidence and White Monument supplying most of the bullion from the quartz mines.

1912: Four deep mines and 9 placers produced $8,088 in gold, 166 ounces of silver and 82 pounds of lead having a total value of $8,8194.

1913: Seven deep mines and 5 placers produced 125 tons of ore, $10,161 in gold, 267 ounces of silver, valued in at $10,323. Most came from the Golden Rule, Humboldt and Buck Diggings placers. Ore came from the Lucky Ben, White Monument, Universal and Skylark claims.

1914: Two deep mines and 9 placers produced $3,362 in gold and 38 ounces of silver.

1915: Three deep mines and10 placers produced 2,347 tons of ore valued at $45,248 in gold and 807 ounces of silver valued at $45,657. Most came from the Golden Rule, Gold Dollar, Lucky Strike and Buck Diggings placer claims. Nearly all of the quartz production came from the Recue Mine.

1916: Two deep mines and 12 placers produced 1,860 tons of ore, $34,304 in gold and 677 ounces of silver valued in all at $34,749.

1918: Two deep mines and 4 placers produced 1,907 tons of ore, $21,154 in gold and 351 ounces of silver, valued all in at $21,505.

1919: Five placers and one deep mine produced 102 tons of ore, $3,205 in gold and 53 ounces of silver, valued in all at $3,365. The Little Giant Mine was operated by Unity Gold Mines Company which did 1,000 feet of work in drifts and cross-cut tunnel. Placer output was from the Blue Bird, Buck Diggings, Golden Rule and Relief claims. Warren's gold production to date is $15 million.

1921: Nine placers and one deep mine produced $12,855 in gold and 250 ounces of silver valued together at $12,855. Most of the production came from the Unity Mine and Golden Rule Placer.

1922: Four deep mines and five placers in the Warren district produced 437 tons of ore, $16,403 in gold and 410 ounces of silver, valued together at $16,813. Most of the increase was due to the Unity Gold Mines Company which treated several tons of ore by amalgamation. The mine is opened to a depth of 600 feet by a tunnel 4,000 feet long and a new hydroelectric plant is planned. Most of the placer bullion came from the Golden Rule, Buck Diggings and Lucky Strike properties.

1923: Three deep mines and seven placers in the Warren District produced 439 tons of ore, $18,820 in gold and 509 ounces of silver, valued together at $19,237. This slight increase was due to the Unity Gold Mines Company, the largest producer of gold in the county. With the addition of a 10 stamp mill and completion of a hydroelectric plant, the Unity Mine was primed for greater production.

1924: Four deep mines and 5 placers yielded 2,068 tons of ore, $26,758 in gold and 879 ounces of silver, valued together at $27,347. Most of the placer came from the Golden Rule and Buck Diggings.

1925: Three placers and two lode mines produced 1,581 tons of ore, $26,301 in gold and 737 ounces of silver, valued together at $26,813. A 30 ton amalgamation mill was operated by the Unity Gold Mines Company and the Golden Rule placer which runs 5 giants, produced the most from the placer claims.

1926: Three placers and two lode mines produced 324 tons of ore, $11,796 in gold and 205 ounces of silver, valued together at $11,923.

1928: Four placers and one lode vein in the district produced 1,241 tons of ore, $16,734 in gold and 542 ounces of silver valued together at $17,051. Most of the placer gold again came from the Golden Rule Placer claim and most of the bullion from the lode mines came from the Little Giant mine owned by the Unity Gold Mines Company.

1929: Two placers and one lode mine in Warren District produced 2,113 tons of ore, $26,290 in gold, 2,886 ounces of silver, 75 pounds of copper and 584 pounds of lead, all valued at $27,879. Most of the gold again came from the Little Giant property owned by the Unity Gold Mines Company.

1930: Six placers and 3 lode mines produced 327 tons of ore, $9,379 in gold, 1,084 ounces of silver, 25 pounds of copper and 227 pounds of lead all totaling $9,810. The large decrease from the year before was due to the closing of the mine and mill of the Unity Gold Mining Company.

1931: Five placers and two lode mines produced 30 tons of ore, $56,013 in gold and 885 ounces of silver, valued together at $56,269. The placer output valued at $55,916, came chiefly from operation of the new dredge of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company. Other producing placers were the Golden Rule, laughing Water, Idaho and Schissler Creek. The two lode mines producing were the Lucky Ben and the Delaware properties.

1932: The continuous dredging operations of the Idaho Gold Dredging Company, along with a new dredge from the Warren Creek Dredging Company and the rebuilding of the electric transmission of the Unity Gold Mining Company made Warren one of the most prosperous communities in the state.

1933: Gold production increased over the year before largely due to the dredges at Warren.

1934: The Idaho Gold Dredging Company recovered approximately 8,500 ounces of gold and the Warren Creek Dredging Company recovered approximately 7,900 ounces of gold worth $574,000.

1936: The output of gold from Warren mining district decreased from 16,143.06 ounces in 1935 to 10,239.40 ounces in 1936, due to the closing of the Warren Creek Dredge in December of 1935. The three floating bucket dredges operated with a combined output of 9,300 ounces compared with 15,565 ounces in 1935. The production of gold from lode mines in the district increased owing to the large increase in output of gold ore from the Little Giant property operated by the Unity Gold Production Company.

1937: The largest decrease in production of gold was due to the decline from dredging operations. Two floating bucket dredges were operated in 1937, one by the Warren Dredging Company with a crew of 10 men. The Baumhoff, Fisher and McDowell boat was formerly known as the Anderson Dredge. The output of gold from lode mines was nearly as large as in 1936, owing chiefly to the output of gold ore from the Little Giant, Bear Track, Arliese, Gold King and Rescue properties. The Unity, with a crew of 15 men, was the largest lode property in the district.

1938: The value of the metal output from this district increased to $300,889, the chief production was placer gold recovered by two bucket dredges. There were 13 lode mines and 11 placers reporting which recovered gold (lode) 645 ounces, (placer) 7,889 ounces;

lode and placer silver 3,380 ounces and 304 pounds of lead. Production of gold from lode mines came chiefly from the Rescue and Little Giant properties.

1939: There were 14 lode and 12 placer mines producing in the district, 341 ounces of gold from lode, 3,739 ounces silver and 127 pounds of lead. There were 8,293 ounces of gold from placer operations. Most of the gold produced was from the bucket dredge operations again.

1940: There was a large decrease in production from the Warren District although the Warren Dredging Company still managed to produce $224,226.59 in gold for the year.

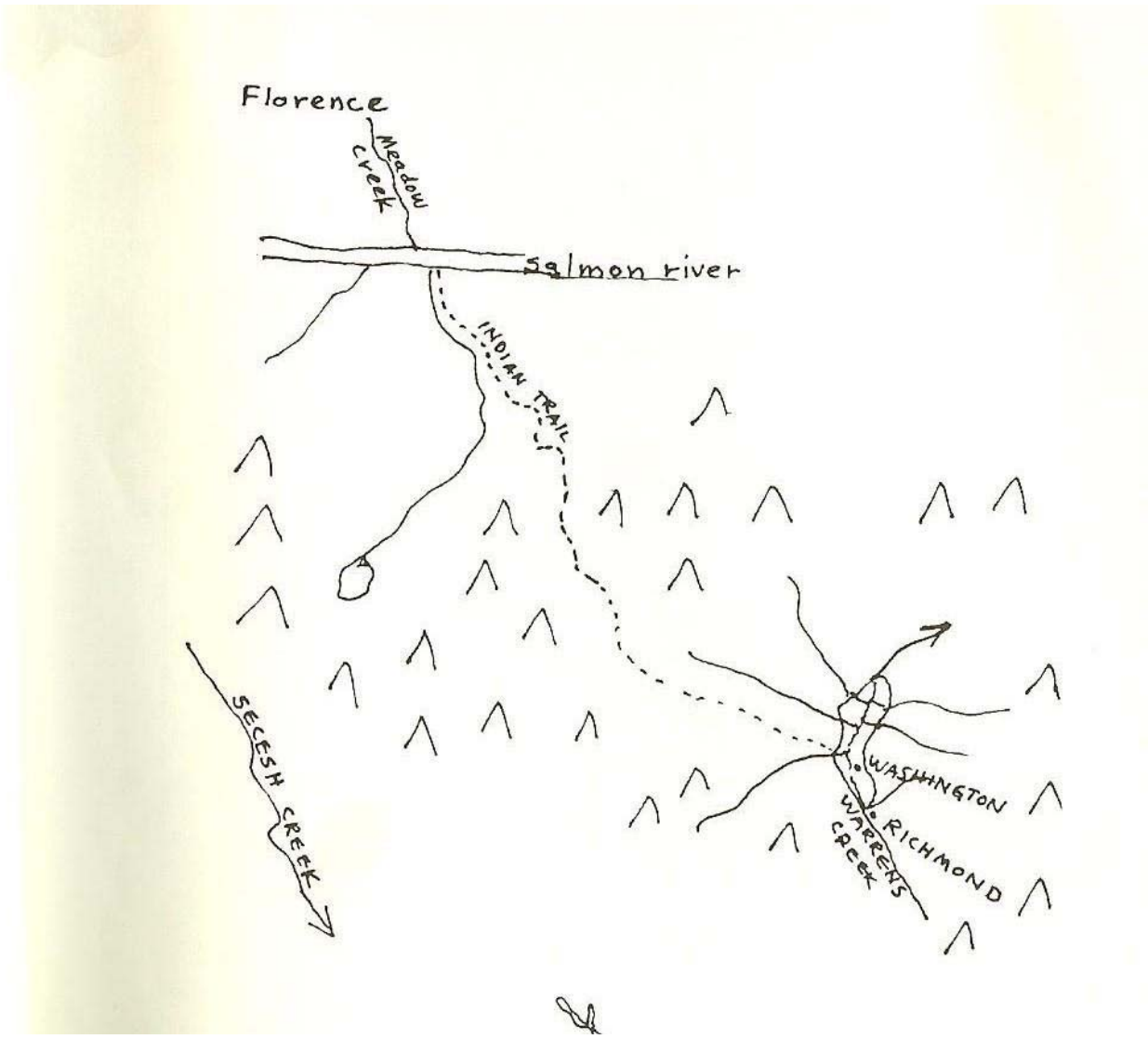
1941: Gold output for the district declined to 6,690 fine ounces owing largely to the decrease in dredging activity. Production from the lode mines came almost entirely from the Rescue Mine.

1942: The Prather dredge still managed to produce 1,090 ounces of gold and 358 ounces of silver.

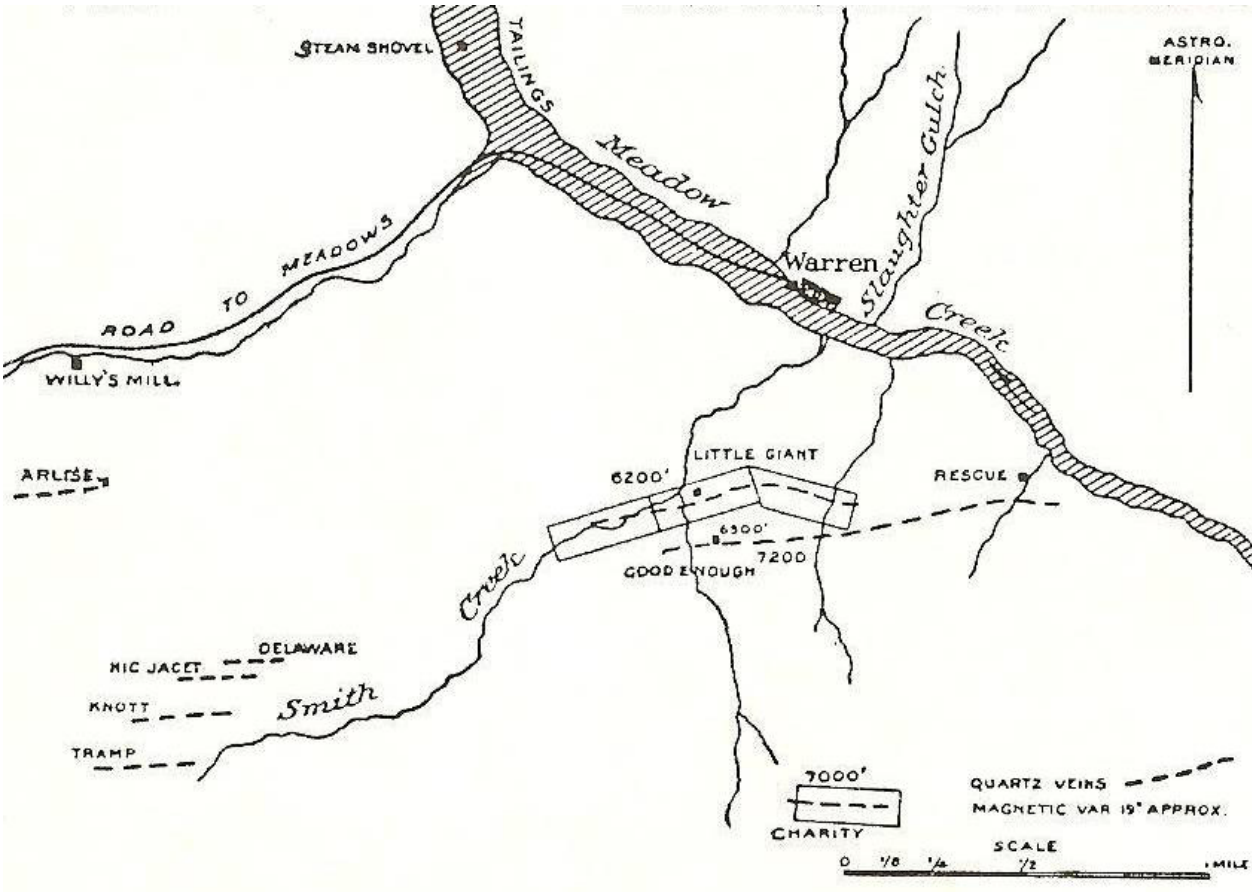
APPENDIX C

Maps

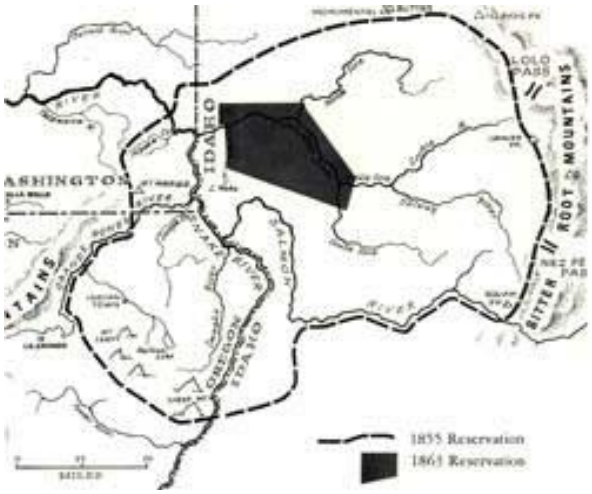
Map 1: Warren, Idaho, where gold was discovered in 1862 by James Warren.



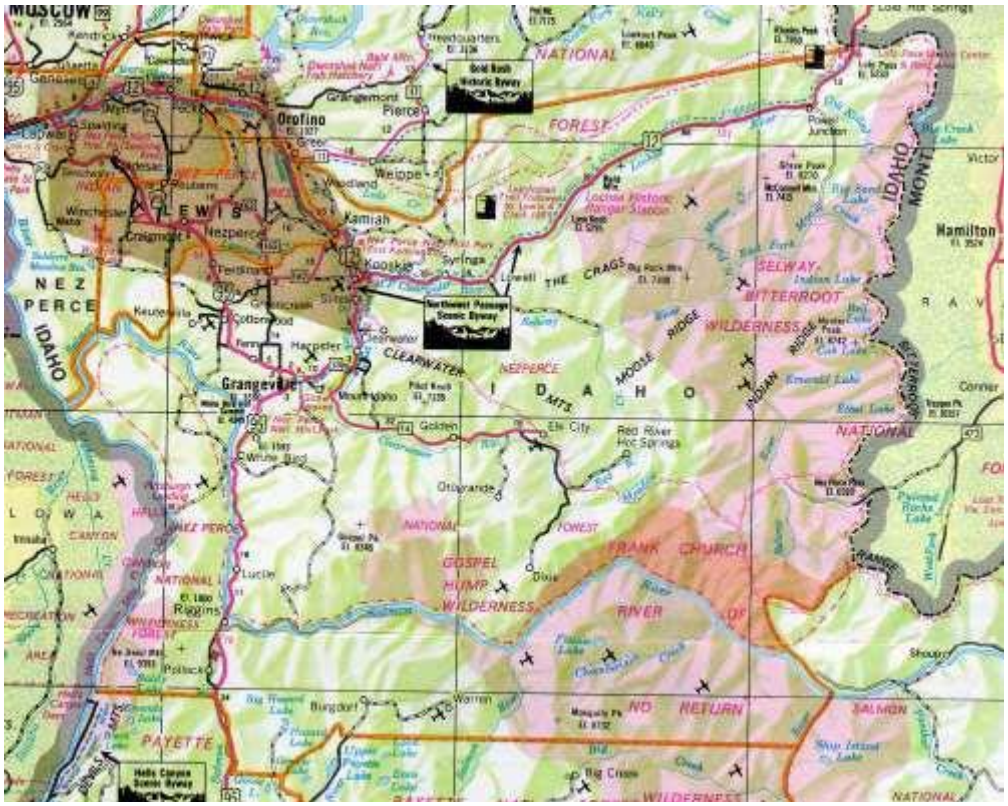
Map 2: Hand drawn map showing the path that James Warren took from Florence when he discovered gold along Warren Creek. (Cheryl Helmers, Warren Times, "1862")



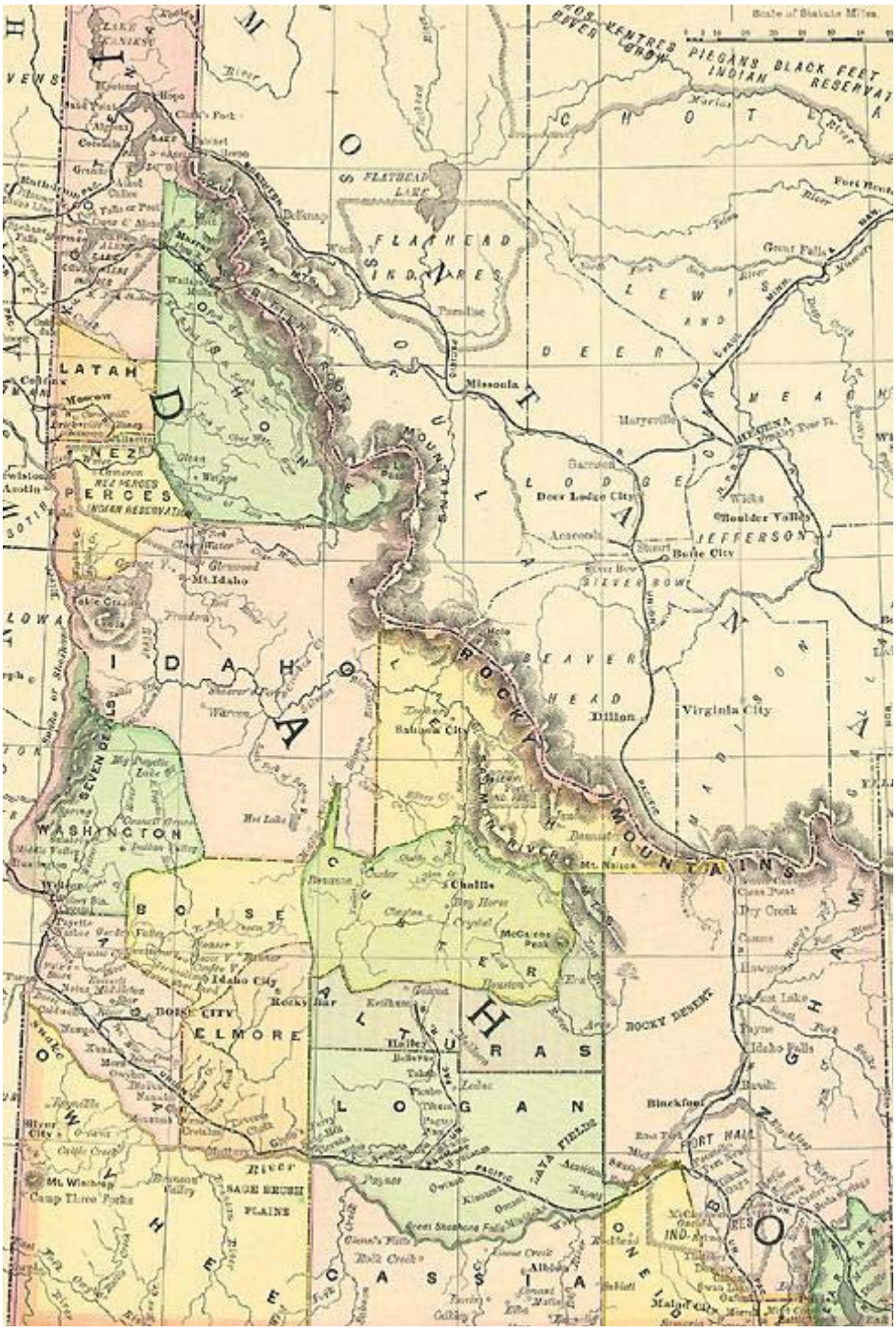
Map 3: Gold veins discovered during the quartz mining era on the hillside across from the town of Warren. (Cheryl Helmers, Warren Times, "1897")



Map 4: Nez Perce Reservation as a result of the 1863 Treaty in comparison to the larger area in the Treaty of 1855. (Rootsweb-URL: http://www.rootsweb.com/~idreserv/npmap.html)



Map 5: Map of Central Idaho (State of Idaho Highway map)



Map 6: Idaho in 1888 (Idagenweb.org)

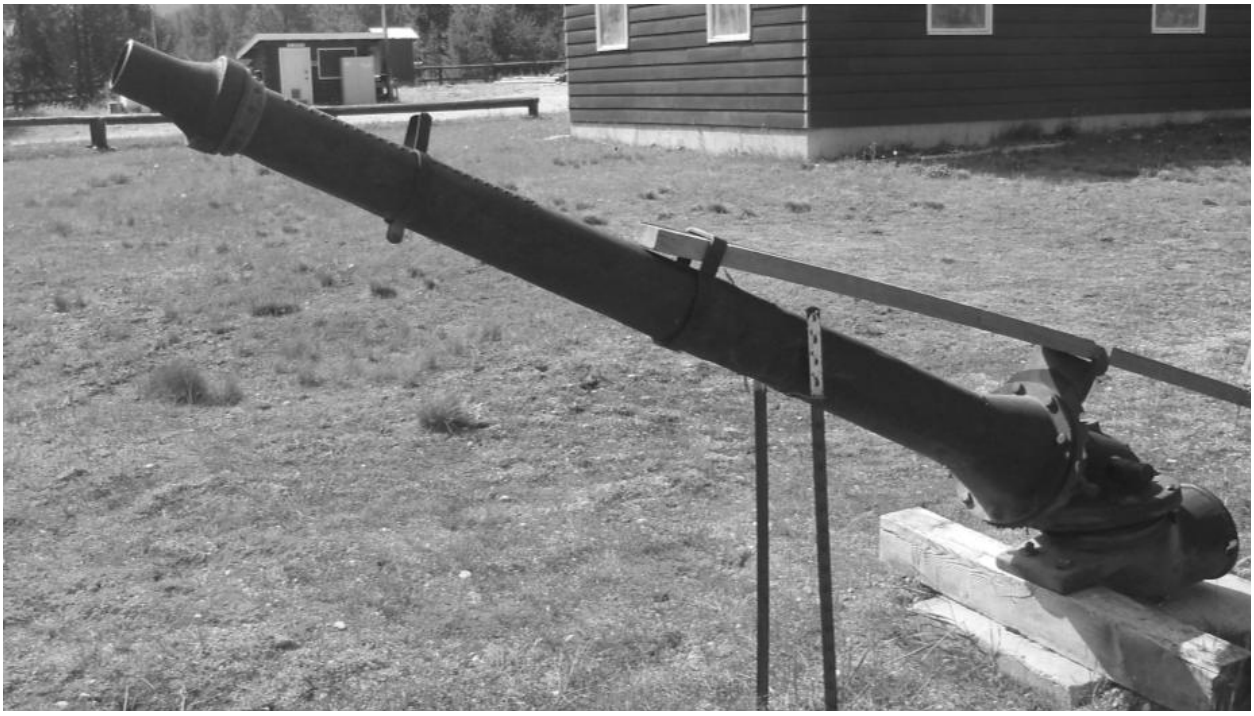
APPENDIX D

Landmarks & Landscapes

Picture 1: Abandoned Dredge in Warren Meadows, one of three floating dredges that worked over the gravel in the meadows around Warren from 1931-1942. (Photo by the Author, 2010)

Picture 2: Piece of road machinery from the early days of the Warren Wagon Road, left to rust away in a field on the outskirts of Warren. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 3: The Warren Dance Hall, once the scene of lively "stag" dances and community celebrations is now a private residence, shut down to the public. (Photo by the Author, 2011)



Picture 4: A nozzle from a hydraulic giant, a leftover from the era of hydraulic mining, where high pressured water was used to erode the gold bearing gravel from the hillside, a mining method that was used mostly in lower Warren Meadows. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 5: An ore cart and other pieces of heavy machinery, relics of the quartz mining era in Warren, when several gold veins were discovered on the hillside above the town. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 6: A well worn trail above Warren leads to the town cemetery where many of Warren's white citizens were buried. The final resting place for Ah Sam, a well respected Chinese resident, known as the "Honorary Mayor of Warren," is in the Warren Cemetery, one of only two Chinese buried there. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

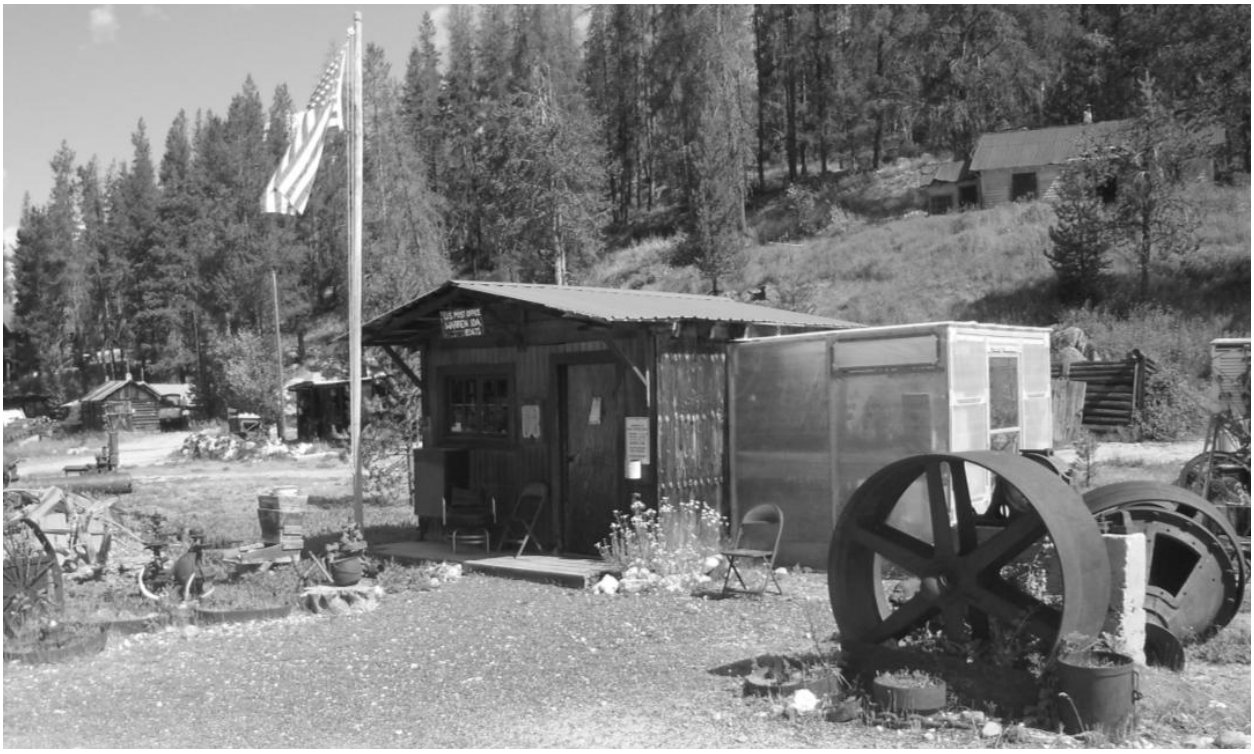
Picture 7: The Baum Shelter, once known as the Winter Inn, is the only bar and restaurant still open to the public. It is also a major destination point for those who ride snow machines in from McCall during the long winter months when the road to Warren is closed. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 8: Tailings from the famous Unity Mine form one of Warren's most recognizable landmarks. The Unity Mine was named when a long tunnel united most of Warren's historic gold veins including the Charity, Rescue and Little Giant veins. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 9: The "Green House" was the office and residence of the Justice of the Peace for the community of Warren. Andy Kavanaugh was the most well known JOP who assumed his office in 1895 but was known to throw out all cases on the basis of "hearsay evidence" because it made "a lot smoother living in the community." (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 10: With the old Warren Hotel destroyed in the fire of 1904, The "New" Warren Hotel was built about 1912, offering room and board for many visitors passing through as well as offering a home for many of the dredge workers during the 1930s. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 11: Public school was offered in Warren starting in 1868, and in 1887 a new one room school house was built that still stands today as the front part of existing Warren Schoolhouse. The back half was built to accommodate all of the new students during the dredge mining boom of the 1930s. There is record of a debate in town about correcting the backwards "N" on the sign over the entrance to the school, but it was decided that since "that was the way it had always been, there was no reason to change it now." (Photo by the Author, 2011)



Picture 12: On January 28, 1868 the U.S. Postmaster allowed for the creation of a U.S. Post Office at Warren (then called Washington). This allowed for regular mail routes to be set up and also made it a federal offense to those who dared rob the gold shipments sent through the federal mail system. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 13: During the Indian Wars of the 1870s, many residents of Warren feared an attack from members of the warring tribes. This old barn was built in the 1880s by Warren merchants Kelly and Patterson, with gun ports still visible in the side of the barn. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 14: The view of Warren remains largely unchanged since the 1940s. Most downtown buildings were built after the fire of 1904. Some of those that survived the fire date back to the 1870s and 1880s. Warren Creek, although altered by the dredging of the valley in the 1930s still runs through the valley on the right. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 15: Another historic building in Warren succumbs to age and the elements in Warren. Fearing for the safety of local children being injured in the old building, it is torn down during the summer of 2011. It was believed that this building once served as a place of room and board for resident miners and rumor has it that it also served for a time as the town brothel. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 16: The Warren Tavern and Last Chance Saloon, now both private residences, were the sites of Warren's historic watering holes. In 1890 Charlie Bemis owned the Warren Saloon (no longer standing) that offered "Pure Whiskeys, Wines, Liquors and Cigars." The Warren Tavern carried on that tradition and gambling and cards were offered next door in the Last Chance Saloon. Originally the building, like many others in town, straddled Warren Creek to make use of Mother Nature's sewage system, but was moved to its current location during the dredging era of the 1930s. In the early 1900s the bars were temporarily closed when a law was passed that didn't allow liquor on U.S. Forest Service land, but was overruled when Idaho County voted to "go wet" in 1911. The bars also couldn't legally serve liquor during the Prohibition Era of the 1920s although strict compliance with that law was debatable. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 17: Amalgamation/Assay Office - The front portion of this building was built in the 1890s. The back portion, with the unusual chimney, was added to the structure in 1931 by the Baumhoff and Fisher Dredge Company, the largest producer in the district during the 1930s. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 18: From 1931-1942 Warren Meadows was literally turned upside down by three different floating dredges that scooped up the gravel with large iron buckets, sifted out the gold and then deposited what was left in large rock piles. The once desolate landscape left behind has slowly reverted back to nature. Native pines and fir trees now cover much of the valley floor and Warren Creek meanders between dredge ponds full of brook trout on its way down to the mighty Salmon River. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 19: Two signs stand at the entrance to Warren. The top sign good naturedly warns newcomers to Warren to slow down when traveling through town on the dusty main street. The bottom sign, installed in 1987 celebrates Warren's 125 years of existence. With the arrival of 2012, plans are under way to update the sign to celebrate 150 years. (Photo by the Author, 2011)

Picture 20: Sixty years later, John Edmunson returns to his boyhood home, a cabin along Thomas Creek in Warren Meadows, to relive the memories of growing up in Warren during the Great Depression. (Photo by the Author, 2000)