

# Camels in Western America

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(With a Bibliography)

SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1930

Printed in the  
QUARTERLY OF THE CALIFORNIA  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
for December, 1930

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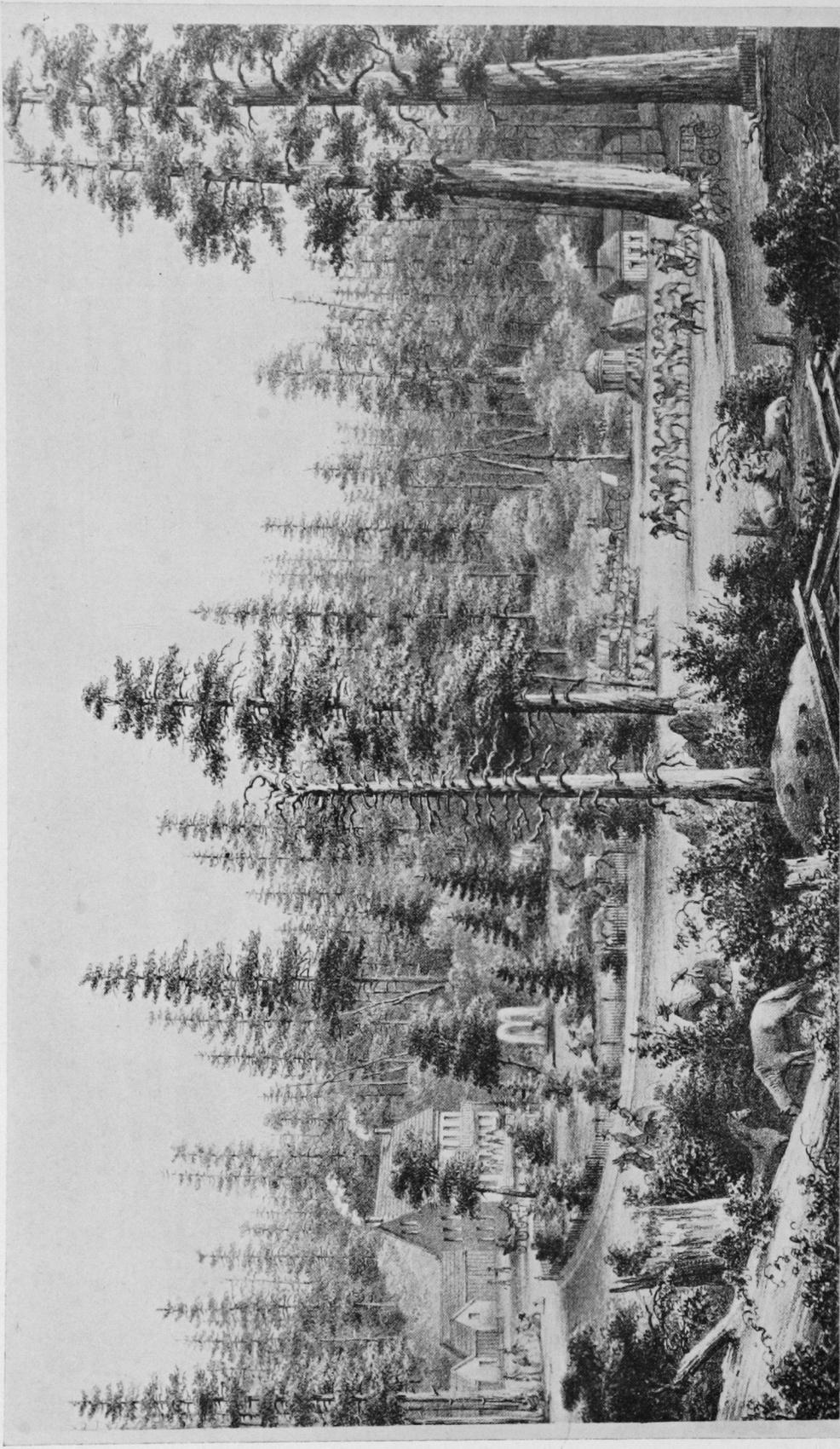
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12. THE MAMMOTH GROVE HOTEL, GROUNDS, AND GENERAL VIEW OF THE FOREST.

*Painted according to Art of Promoters in the year 1852, by Beloved Fletcher, in the Clerk's Office of the U. S. District Court of the Northern District of California.*

PLATE IX OF VISCHER'S MAMMOTH TREE GROVE PORTFOLIO  
(See article, "Camels in the Sketches of Edward Vi-chet," on p. 332.)

## CAMELS IN CALIFORNIA\*

By A. A. GRAY

At the close of the Mexican War in 1848, the United States added 529,000 square miles to its territory. The acquisition of this area created many new and difficult problems for the national government, of which the most important was the establishment and the maintenance of an adequate transportation system. The newly acquired territory contained no railroads, and there was little prospect in 1850 that a railroad would reach California from the East within the next half century. The importance of binding California closer to the East, economically and politically, was early recognized by the federal government, and when Congress was called upon to increase its appropriations to care for the frontier conditions that existed in the new country, great interest was manifested in providing a cheaper and a more rapid communication to the Coast. The Secretary of War complained of the mounting costs of transportation, which he attributed to the "well known dangerous character of the maritime frontier" in the West.<sup>1</sup>

The ever-increasing appropriations needed to provide transportation from the Missouri River to the Coast more than any other consideration probably influenced Congress to import camels. The entire sum expended by the Quartermaster's department of the Army in 1844 was \$871,000; six years later it was five times this amount, though the size of the Army had increased only one-half. This enormous increase was caused "by the vast extension of our territory."<sup>2</sup> The Army used nearly ten times as many mules, horses, and oxen in 1851 as it had in 1845.<sup>3</sup> To maintain a better system of transportation and communication in the Coast country, the Pacific Coast Division of the Army, among the numerous items of equipment requested in 1850, asked for 8,000 horse shoes and 10,000 mule shoes.<sup>4</sup> To support the additional military posts,

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\* Much has been written on the subject of the camel caravans of the early West, but the material on this important subject has remained scattered through many books and more ephemeral publications. It is therefore with particular gratification that we publish the series of articles which follow. Mr. Gray has outlined the story of the camels and their introduction into California, and his researches have brought to light for the first time the records of the importation of Asiatic camels on the Bark *Dollart* in 1861-62, from the records of the District Court of the United States, in whose files they have lain undisturbed for almost seventy years. Mr. Farquhar has added a word respecting Vischer's important contemporary camel sketches and descriptions, and Mr. Lewis has contributed a valuable bibliography, to which Messrs. Gray and Farquhar have added certain items discovered by them during their research on this subject. — Carl I. Wheat.

<sup>1</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 29 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 31 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Secretary of War, Dec. 2, 1850, p. 269.

to protect the emigrant from Indian attacks, to establish new roads, to insure a safe and rapid transit of the mails and to explore and survey the country obtained from Mexico called for a continual outlay of large sums of money to purchase animals and equipment. The Secretary of War said in 1850 that more than 10,000 horses and mules would be required solely for transportation purposes, for mounting guides, for escorts, and for spies in covering the Southwest and California.<sup>5</sup> The cost of hay, grain, and fodder for each animal used in the Army rose from \$3.51 per month in 1845 to nearly ten dollars in 1851, and the total amount spent in caring for all animals that were used for military activities in 1850 was more than twelve times what it was in 1845.<sup>6</sup>

To those heavy expenditures must be added the cost of carrying the mails westward. The government paid \$100,000 in 1852 to send the mail once a month by water from New York to San Francisco.<sup>7</sup> A monthly overland mail service from Independence, Missouri, to Stockton, California, cost \$80,000 for nine months. Considerable money was used also in rescuing stranded emigrants en route to California. In 1850, the government paid \$100,000 to rescue one party, exclusive of the money spent to purchase animals and wagons for the undertaking.<sup>8</sup> In the same year, \$50,000 was spent to save another overland party.

#### PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE QUESTION

These costly and difficult frontier conditions brought many suggestions from various sources that camels should be used on the far western plains for travel, for carrying freight and mail, for protection against the Indians, and for military purposes. Those best acquainted with the camel thought that its use would reduce the high cost of transportation and hasten the settlement of the West. It was believed that much of the country west of Utah and New Mexico would never be developed without the use of camels, and the newspapers of the late forties often mentioned the possibilities of using camels as a means of quick and economical travel in the isolated West.<sup>9</sup> But it was not until the country obtained from Mexico was being rapidly settled that the idea of using camels for commercial and military purposes received any serious consideration from government officials. One of the first suggestions about introducing camels to the West came from Major Henry C. Wayne.<sup>10</sup> He had served as an officer in

<sup>5</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 31 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Doc. 50, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 31 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 258.

<sup>9</sup> Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903, p. 392.

<sup>10</sup> Wayne was a southerner, and was graduated from West Point in 1838. For the next three years, he served as a lieutenant in the United States Army on the northwest frontier. He was assistant quartermaster in the Mexican War, and at the close of the war was appointed to a position in the Quartermaster General's Office in Washington, D. C., where he remained until 1855. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he joined the Southern forces. Wayne said in 1857 that he had never entertained the idea that the benefits to be derived from the introduction of camels in America could be realized in his day. He regarded the military advantages of using camels of little moment as compared to the great gains in using them in trade and commerce throughout the interior of the continent. See Sen. Ex. Doc., 34 Cong., 3 Sess., Doc. 62, p. 196.

the Mexican War and was well acquainted with the frontier conditions of the Southwest. In 1848 he recommended to the War Department that camels be imported to be used in transportation in the West and in the military units of the Southwest, presenting his plan to members of Congress. He continued to study the habits and the nature of the camel, with special reference to its fitness in America, and in a letter to Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, dated November 21, 1853, he discussed the qualities of the camel and urged the Secretary to give the animal a trial in the western section of the United States.<sup>11</sup>

More than two years prior to this time Davis, then a Senator and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, had recommended the appropriation of \$30,000 to purchase and import fifty camels, and while the subject was before Congress, he had been strongly supported in his belief respecting the utility of the camel by several influential government officials and by public discussion of the subject. The Commissioner of Patents, Charles Mason, in writing about the value of domestic animals, under the subject of agriculture, in 1853, gave his approval regarding the importation of camels. In speaking of the possible use of them in the far western portions of the United States, he wrote that the question "has long been viewed as a matter of much national importance, particularly since the establishment of the overland routes, requiring mingled mountain and desert service between the Atlantic States and California or Oregon."<sup>12</sup> He also thought that from the nature of the country and from the necessity of extensive communications with the coast country, the demand for camels would be increased rather than decreased by the construction of a possible transcontinental railroad. John Russell Bartlett, who was commissioned in 1848 by President Polk to survey the boundary between the United States and Mexico, was also convinced, from his wide and varied experience in the Southwest, that satisfactory communication would never be established in that section without the use of camels. After working more than three years in the deserts of New Mexico, Arizona and California, he became an ardent advocate of the introduction of these animals to establish a safe and rapid transit from California to the East, and was sure that horses and mules could never be used to any practical advantage in the desert because foliage was so scarce, and because they would not drink brackish water. Camels would eat any kind of desert vegetation and thrive on brackish water, which was the only kind found in certain portions of the Southwest. Bartlett concluded his remarks relative to using camels in the country so recently acquired from Mexico by saying that, "the entire route from the Mississippi to California, particularly that south of Santa Fe by the Gila, where there are no mountains to cross; and also, the great highways over the tablelands of Mexico, are well adapted to his habits."<sup>13</sup>

A noteworthy lecture, delivered by George P. Marsh in 1854, before the

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<sup>11</sup> Rowland, Dunbar: *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist; His Letters, Papers and Speeches*. Vol. II, p. 288.

<sup>12</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 27, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Bartlett, John Russell: *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, [etc.]* Vol. II, p. 576-584.

Smithsonian Institute, created widespread interest in the possibility of using camels in the country. Marsh discussed fully the breeding and raising of camels and pointed out their use in domestic and commercial life. He explained how they were used in foreign countries, and said that those who knew best their habits and endurance and who were the most familiar with the country beyond the Mississippi were of one mind as to the possible success of working them in the West.<sup>14</sup> All such persons were agreed that this ugly, docile, shambling, sleepy brute would solve all the difficulties of transportation in America.

Public discussion of the question and various reports from officials of the government kept the subject before Congress and the President and stimulated private enterprise to consider the importation of camels. Some capitalists of New York formed a company for the purpose of importing camels and developing trade and travel in the West. They were granted a liberal charter by the state of New York and were incorporated under the name of "The American Camel Company." The continual clamor from the citizens of California for a quicker and cheaper means of transportation, the interest taken by many officers of the Army, the activities of private concerns considering the importation of camels and the renewed efforts of Secretary Davis finally bore fruit in the passage of a bill in Congress in March, 1855, carrying an appropriation of \$30,000 to be used by the War Department for "the purchase and importation of camels and dromedaries to be employed for military purposes."

#### THE ARRIVAL OF THE CAMELS

No time was lost in arranging for the novel experiment. On April 2, Davis appointed Major R. Delafield, Major A. Mordecai and Captain George B. McClellan, who led the Northern Army a few years later against the Confederate forces, to make a study of the military practices as found in European countries. They were instructed to give careful attention to the places where camels were used for transportation, in military activities, and in "cold and mountainous countries." Davis was very careful to select the most competent men to carry out his project. He commissioned Major Wayne, who had been in Egypt, to purchase the animals. The Navy Department furnished Wayne with a ship, under the command of Lieutenant David D. Porter, who also distinguished himself later in the Civil War.

These young officers set sail for their curious cargo in May, 1855.<sup>15</sup> They left Egypt on February 15, 1856, with thirty-five camels, having purchased them at an average price of \$250 each. The storeship *Supply* landed at Indianola, Texas, on May 14, with the animals as strong and healthy as when they left Egypt. Another trip was made, and this time forty-one camels were safely landed in Texas on February 10, 1857, after a stormy voyage of eighty-eight days from Egypt. The animals were kept near San Antonio, Texas, and for a while were used in carrying supplies and equipment between army posts, in

<sup>14</sup>Ninth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1855, p. 116.

<sup>15</sup>Sen. Ex. Doc., 34 Cong., 3 Sess., Doc. 62, p. 148-163, gives the official correspondence concerning the purchase and importation of the camels.

making short scouting trips about the country and in doing some heavy hauling in the construction of roads. After the camels had become accustomed to the climate and after the Army officers had learned how to pack and to manage them, the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, commissioned Edward Fitzgerald Beale to open up a wagon road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to southern California and to use camels in the expedition.<sup>16</sup> Floyd selected the time of year when there is least moisture and vegetation in the arid regions and when the heat is most intense and the streams driest. He wanted the camels put through the most gruelling test.

Beale left San Antonio June 25, 1857, with twenty-eight camels. He arrived at the Colorado River, by way of El Paso, October 14. The animals were in as good condition as when they left. The trip to the Colorado had been a very testing one, but Beale's greatest trial was ahead of him — how to get the camels across the Colorado. He followed the bank of the turbulent river for several days until he came to the Mohave Indian villages, where he decided to attempt a crossing. He had worried about this during his entire trip. All his reading about the camel told him that the animal was no swimmer. He carried in his pocket a book by Father Huc, describing his travels in the Orient, in which he explains his frequent delays while crossing China by the fact that camels refused to swim rivers.<sup>17</sup> How to get beyond this treacherous stream taxed all of Beale's ingenuity. Being a man of wide practical experience, he first tried the easiest and simplest way. He led one of the animals to the edge of the muddy stream. It refused to go further, gazing stupidly into the water. Beale then tried a second camel, "one of the largest and finest." With a little coaxing, it took to

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<sup>16</sup> Beale deserves to be classed with Kit Carson and others as a pathfinder of the West. He went to sea at fourteen and later joined the Navy. He resigned from the Navy in 1851 with a splendid record. In 1852, he was appointed by President Buchanan as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and Nevada. From 1853 to 1861, he was conducting expeditions across the Southwest to California and opening up wagon roads through New Mexico, Arizona and California. President Lincoln appointed him in 1861 Surveyor-General of California and Nevada, which position he resigned in 1865. He then lived in retirement, spending much of his time on his rancho in the Tejon Mountains near Bakersfield, California. President Grant made him Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria-Hungary. He died January 20, 1893, in Washington, D. C. Beale was a man of unquestionable courage and deep convictions. When the draft proclamation from President Lincoln reached California during the Civil War, Beale took full responsibility for suppressing it. He dispatched a forcible message to Lincoln, explaining why he had taken such unauthorized and extraordinary action. President Lincoln returned the letter, writing upon the back of it, "Draft suspended in California until General Beale shall indicate that the times are more auspicious." Stephen Bonsal: *Edward Fitzgerald Beale*, p. 258.

<sup>17</sup> Huc, E. R. M.: *Recollections of a Journey through Tartary, Thibet and China 1844-46*. Huc was a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic missionary priest of St. Lazarus. He made a long journey through China into Thibet and returned to Peking. In describing graphically a camel market which he saw, he wrote, "to the cries of the buyers and the sellers who are quarrelling or talking, as people talk when a revolt is at its height, are joined the long groans of the poor camels whose noses are incessantly tweaked to try their address in kneeling or rising." Vol. I, p. 113. When approaching the Yellow River, he said, "We loaded our camels and repaired to the bank, foreseeing a day full of trouble and difficulties of all kinds. Camels have such a terror for water, that it is sometimes found impossible to get them into a boat. They are beaten till they are quite bruised — their noses torn — to no purpose. You might kill them without inducing them to advance a step." Vol. I, p. 143. A new edition of this interesting work was published in 1925, edited by H. D'Ardenne de Tizac, Paris.

the water quickly and swam "boldly across the rapidly flowing river." One can imagine Beale's great delight. He then tied the others together in gangs of five and swam them all across without any trouble.<sup>18</sup>

Thus to Beale belongs the credit of bringing to California the first camels. His expedition was a most successful one. He had driven his camels more than twelve hundred miles, in the heat of the summer, through a barren country where feed and water were scarce, and over high mountains where roads had to be made in the most dangerous places. No accident had occurred to them, and he had proved that camels could swim. He had accomplished what most of his closest associates said could not be done. His assistants believed that the camels would drop by the wayside before Fort Davis could be reached.<sup>19</sup> Beale was told "by the highest authority" on leaving San Antonio that not even one of the animals would ever see El Paso.<sup>20</sup> The endurance of the camels, their great strength and speed and their ability to take care of themselves on the rough trails and to grow fat on "grease-wood and other worthless shrubs," elicited from Beale his greatest praise and admiration. After passing down a fork of the Bill Williams River where mules could not go until the camels made a road, he wrote "they are the salt of the party and the noblest brute alive."<sup>21</sup> He was so impressed by their achievement that he said, "I look forward to the day when every mail route across the continent will be conducted and worked together with this economical and noble brute."<sup>22</sup>

The time required to make the trip to California was nearly five months. It could have been made in considerably less time if the imported camel drivers had been efficient and if Beale's men had known more about the care and the management of camels. Few persons had any faith in their endurance. Some of the men did not like to work with camels. They had heard that the "kick of the camel was soft," but "it took away the life."<sup>23</sup> The men had always been accustomed to working mules in the army, and they were not familiar with the nature and the habits of the camel. The treatment given mules did not apply to camels. Much time was lost because no one knew how to pack them securely. Beale apologized to the Secretary of War in one communication for remarking so frequently that it was necessary to stop the train and pick up the supplies that had been scattered along the way by the constant swaying of the animals.

After crossing the Colorado the camels were driven directly to Fort Tejon, an army post situated in the mountains near the site of the present city of

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<sup>18</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 43, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> This was a frontier army post located 420 miles northwest of San Antonio, Texas, and about 200 miles east of El Paso.

<sup>20</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 11, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> H. Ex. Doc., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 124, p. 67.

<sup>22</sup> For an account of this journey see the recently published volume, *Uncle Sam's Camels*, which contains the Journal of May Humphreys Stacey, edited by Lewis Burt Lesley, and supplemented by the report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.

<sup>23</sup> Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903, p. 401.

Bakersfield. Near San Bernardino the caravan was divided, and two camels were sent to Los Angeles, arriving there January 9, 1857.<sup>24</sup> They left San Bernardino at seven o'clock in the morning and reach Los Angeles at three in the afternoon, the distance traveled being sixty-five miles. Great excitement prevailed when the two camels entered the small village. On the largest one was mounted the Turkish attendant, Higaller [Hadji Ali?], dressed in his native costume, rich in color and decorated with small bells to attract the people. The two camels "created great curiosity, and scared all the horses, mules and children. When the docility of the animals was proved to the wonder-stricken senses of the natives, they were all anxious to take a ride upon the humps of those awkward locomotives, and as long as they remained in town, throngs of boys and men followed their motions."<sup>25</sup> The animals were first placed in the Circus Pavillion on the Plaza of the village, but the "tremendous rush" to see them was so great that it became necessary to move them from the street to insure safety to the people and to the animals. They were housed in a small stable owned by George Allen.<sup>26</sup> They were kept only two days in Los Angeles, and were then taken north to join the others at Fort Tejon.

A week later, General Beale arrived in Los Angeles from Fort Tejon on his way to the Colorado, with fourteen camels carrying supplies and equipment for a surveying party at work in Arizona.<sup>27</sup> His caravan created more curiosity than the appearance of the first two camels a week before. His coming was announced, and those who had failed to see the first camels were on hand to welcome Beale and his party. The following description of the event was widely copied in the newspapers throughout the state, giving the impression that these were the first camels to enter Los Angeles:

General Beale and about fourteen camels stalked into town last Friday week and gave our streets quite an Oriental aspect. It looked oddly enough to see outside of a menagerie, a herd of huge, ungainly awkward but docile animals move about in our midst with people riding them like horses and bringing up weird and far-off associations to the Eastern traveler, whether by book or otherwise of the land of the mosque, crescent or turban, of the pilgrim mufti and dervish with visions of the great shrines of the world, Mecca and Jerusalem, and the toiling throngs that have for centuries wended thither, of the burning sands of Arabia and Sahara where the desert is boundless as the ocean and the camel is the ship thereof.

These camels under the charge of General Beale are all grown and serviceable and most of them are well broken to the saddle and are very gentle. All belong to the one hump species, except one which is a cross between the one and two hump. This fellow is much larger and more powerful than either sire or dam. He is a grizzly-looking hybrid, a camel of colossal proportions. These animals are admirably adapted to travel across our continent and their introduction was a brilliant idea, the result of which is beginning most happily. At first General Beale thought the animals were going to fail; they appeared likely to give out; their backs got sore, but he resolved to know whether they would or not. He loaded them heavily with provisions, which they were soon able to carry with ease, and hence came through to Fort Tejon, living upon bushes, prickly pears and whatever they could pick up on the route. They went without water from six to ten days and even packed it a long distance for mules. When crossing the desert, they were found capable of packing one thousand pounds weight apiece and of travelling with their loads from thirty to forty miles per day all the while finding their own feed over

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<sup>24</sup> *Alta California*, Nov. 26, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 25, 1857, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1858, p. 3.

an almost barren country. Their drivers say they will get fat where a jackass would starve to death. The "mule," as they called the cross between the camel and the dromedary, will pack twenty-two hundred pounds.<sup>28</sup>

#### FAILURE OF THE EXPERIMENT

For more than a year the camels were kept at Fort Tejon and at other places in the southern part of the state. They were used by the army officers to carry supplies from one army post to another and for messenger work. Experiments were made in trying to establish express lines connecting with points in Arizona and New Mexico. In March, 1859, S. A. Bishop of Los Angeles conducted a camel train, loaded with supplies, to the Colorado River. Some of the goods were sent to a party of men who were constructing a road from Arizona to California. The camels carried from 600 to 1,000 pounds each.<sup>29</sup> Captain Hancock of the Army arranged, in 1860, to establish a camel express from Los Angeles to Fort Mohave, a distance of nearly three hundred miles. It took about sixteen or eighteen days for mules and wagons to make the trip one way. At that time, goods, sent from San Francisco to Fort Mohave, went down to the Gulf of California, up the Gulf to the mouth of the Colorado, hence up the river by steamer to Fort Yuma. Hancock thought that he could deliver goods from Los Angeles to points eastward much cheaper by means of camels, and thus save the government money. He had conducted a mule train between Los Angeles and Fort Mohave during 1859.<sup>30</sup> He dispatched to Fort Mohave, October 21, 1859, ten eight mule teams and wagons with freight under the charge of one named I. Winston.<sup>31</sup> From his experience, Hancock thought that camels would prove very superior to mules for this work. His camel express was known as the "Dromedary Line." It was started September 21, 1860, and soon was well advertised.<sup>32</sup> The first trip was made by a Greek and a lone camel,<sup>33</sup> but after a few trips the line was discontinued.

Sketches can be found in the newspapers of this time reporting the failure of using camels in the desert. A driver of a mule express, arriving in Los Angeles from the Colorado in October, 1860, spoke of seeing a camel "craft" at Lane Crossing in the Mohave, one hundred miles out from Los Angeles. It had been on the road two and one-half days, and was making no better time than the

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1858, p. 3.

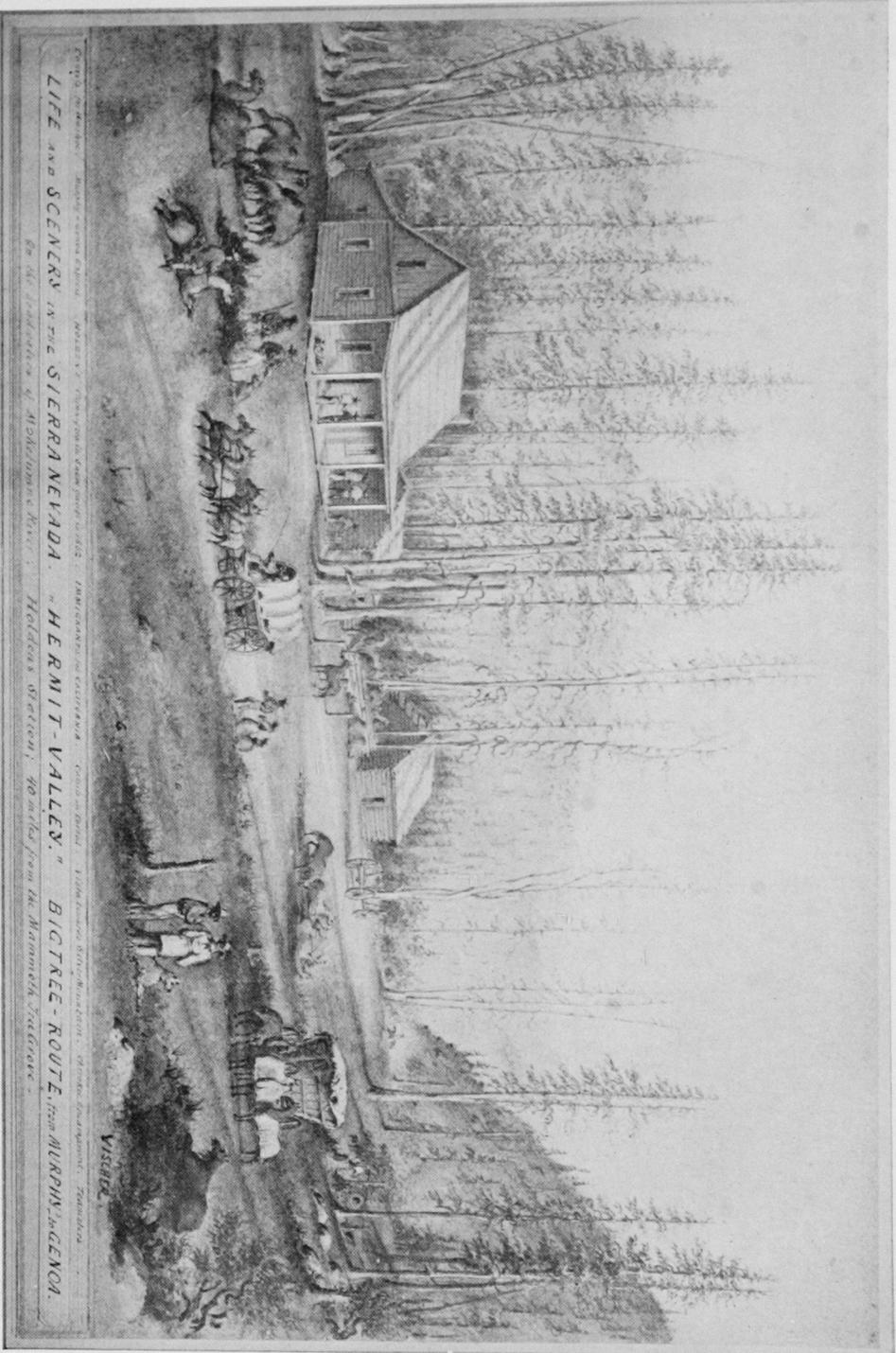
<sup>29</sup> *Los Angeles Star*, March 5, 1859. Three months later Bishop took another pack train from Los Angeles into Arizona. It was reported in the *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly Vineyard* for June 14, 1859, that: "S. A. Bishop, Esq., left here yesterday for the Central wagon road. He takes a party of men, which, with the men now on the road, will be engaged in working the road from the Colorado river. He will be joined by Lieut. Beale on the Mojave river. It is anticipated by Mr. Bishop that they will be able to complete the work on the road and reach Albuquerque by the 1st of August. Mr. Bishop took a pack train of twenty mules and ten camels loaded with supplies. He also has in his train nine camels native of California. These native camels are of much less size than the Asiatic camel, but it is believed that by care and attention in breeding and raising, they will become equal to the imported." (Hayes Collection, Los Angeles, Vol. 59, Doc. 82.)

<sup>30</sup> *Los Angeles Star*, Sept. 17, 1859.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1859.

<sup>32</sup> Hayes Collection, Los Angeles, 1857-60. Interesting advertisements of the Dromedary Line may be found in Ford's *Legal Exchange*, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> *Sacramento Daily Union*, Sept. 29, 1860, p. 1.



LIFE AND SCENERY IN THE SIERRA NEVADA. HERMIT-VALLEY. BIGHTREE-ROUTE, from MURPHY'S GLENCA.  
 Heldens Station, 70 miles from the Mammoth Tugboat.

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mules employed for such service.<sup>34</sup> Another report, in referring to a freight line from Los Angeles eastward, said: "We regret to say that the camel experiment so far has proved a failure. This 'ship of the desert' foundered 'at sea' last week, going down all hands." Comment is made on the death of a camel, used in the express service, from mere exhaustion in the heart of the Mohave. The writer adds, after remarking that the "great experiment" came to "an unexpected end," that "the old mules still keep in favor."<sup>35</sup>

Other tests were made of the camels in trying to establish and maintain freight and passenger lines into Arizona, but all ended in failure. A few animals were sent from the California camps to Fort Yuma to be used in carrying supplies to the army posts in Arizona and New Mexico. The acquisition of the territory from Mexico brought under the War Department twenty-three new army posts. They were widely scattered in a country where communication was slow and uncertain. It was the hope of the officers assigned to the various forts that the camel would greatly reduce the time required to pass from one fort to another and that the many difficulties of such trips would be largely overcome.

However, within a year after the coming of the camels to the state, it became clear that the experiment was doomed to failure. The *Los Angeles Star* for June 22, 1861, stated that the camp at Fort Tejon, where the camels had been stationed since their arrival in the state, had been broken up, and all the animals, thirty-one in number, taken to Los Angeles. They were scattered about the southern part of the state and were often mismanaged and neglected. General Beale recognized the situation in 1861 and, as United States Surveyor-General for California and Nevada, he asked the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, to turn over all the camels to him, as he wished to use them in his surveying work. Stanton did not care to do this, and the camels continued to remain at the army posts. They were idle; the cost of keeping them was increasing, and some of the army officers had no sympathy with them, preferring to work with mules. Later Beale wrote to Stanton that the camels "were of no earthly use either to the Government or any one else," and that the cost to keep them amounted to \$500 a month.<sup>36</sup> Wide differences of opinion arose among the army officers relative to the value of the animals. Some officers reported that the efforts to use them had ended in complete failure; others

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1860, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1860, p. 1. Some of the experiments were not failures. Three camels were taken from Fort Tejon in February, 1860, by Lieutenant Mowry of the Army, who was in charge of the California Boundary Survey, and sent to Dr. J. R. N. Owen stationed at Fort Mohave. Owen, with fourteen men, was to establish a number of depots in which to store supplies for his surveying parties, from Fort Mohave to Lake Bigler (Tahoe), in "the terrific desert country between the 35th and the 37th parallels." These camels, as well as the mules, were used to carry water, forage, food, and supplies for the first surveying parties going through this desolate land. On leaving Mohave, the three camels were loaded with fourteen hundred pounds. Haga [Hadji?] Ali, who came over with the camels when the first shipment was brought from Egypt, was taken along by Dr. Owen to load the camels and to take proper care of them. (Hayes Collection, Southern California, 1860-63, Vol. VIII, Doc. 159. See also Southern California and San Diego County, Vol. II, Doc. 161.)

<sup>36</sup> Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903, p. 406.

maintained that camels could be successfully used to establish mail routes in the most remote sections of the country, and that any failure was due to the men, who did not know how to handle them, and not to the camels themselves.

At the very time that Beale and others were urging the War Department to sell the camels, plans were worked out to use the animals extensively in conjunction with the Post Office Department, in conducting mail routes from California to eastern points. E. B. Babbitt, a quartermaster in the army, stationed at San Francisco, tried to obtain enough camels to carry the mail regularly from San Pedro to Fort Mohave. He did not succeed in convincing the Secretary of War that this could be done. At the same time, Clarence Bennett, Major of the First Cavalry, California Volunteers, stationed at Camp Drum, California, wrote to Colonel R. C. Drum, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Pacific Coast Division, in San Francisco, May 21, 1863, and reported that thirty-six camels had been kept for a long time at Camp Drum. They were not used for anything. They had been subsisting on forage, which increased the expense of the camp, while good pasture was available within one hundred miles. Bennett recommended that the camels be sent to Fort Mohave to be used in transportation of goods to and from Tucson, Arizona. He wished to establish a through line between these settlements, sending out groups of camels each way several days apart.<sup>37</sup> Permission was not given by the War Department to start such a service. Secretary Stanton had little time, in the throes of the Civil War, to consider the conflicting reports submitted concerning the success of using camels in distant California. He issued an order to Quartermaster Babbitt September 9, 1863, to sell, at public auction, all the government camels in California. At that time there were thirty-five camels in the different army camps in the southern part of the state.

#### THE DISPOSAL OF THE CAMELS

The order to sell the camels was immediately carried out. Captain Dempfill was assigned the task of driving them from Benicia where they were to be sold. With six men, he first drove the herd to Santa Barbara, arriving December 30, 1863.<sup>38</sup> From there, he followed up the coast route. As the queer caravan ambled its way up the coast, the wildest excitement prevailed among the rancheros and the townfolk. The natives often ran from the villages when they saw the camels appearing. As these oriental strangers passed through the towns, the streets were filled with confusion; the horses of the vaqueros, scenting and sighting these strange creatures, bucked; the cattle stampeded. The herd reached Benicia in February, 1864. All the animals were in splendid condition, and for several weeks before the date of sale the newspapers carried an advertisement to the effect that they would be sold for "Cash in Legal Tender Notes."

The entire herd was sold on February 28, 1864, to Samuel McLenaghan who had helped to care for them for several years.<sup>39</sup> McLenaghan later sold

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<sup>37</sup> *Official Record of the Rebellion*, Series I, Part II, Vol. 50, p. 453.

<sup>38</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 8, 1864.

<sup>39</sup> *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 2, 1864, p. 3.

three to a rancher, named Riley, who kept them for a while on his ranch near Sacramento. The remaining animals were taken by McLenaghan to a large ranch in Sonoma County where some of them were sold within a few weeks to different parties. Ten of the best animals were selected by McLenaghan to constitute a train to carry freight from Sacramento to the Nevada territory.<sup>40</sup> On March 31, these ten arrived in Sacramento en route to Nevada. The state fair was to open within a few days, and McLenaghan thought that he might collect some money to pay his expenses on the way by exhibiting them to the public and by arranging to race them on the racetrack at the state fair grounds. Of the ten animals, seven were native born, from two to four years old. "Old Tule" was thirty-five years old, and had been used by General Beale to carry water and supplies to his surveying parties in Arizona, sometimes for a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Another of the older ones, named "Mary," was said to be one of those presented to the government by the Sultan of Turkey when the first shipment was brought over.

The camels were prepared for the racetrack after being exhibited for a few days to the curious public. The day before the race took place, an advertisement, "Great Dromedary Race," appeared in a newspaper, announcing that ten dromedaries would take part in a fast race, and that O. W. Dealing, the beneficiary, would ride the fastest animal.<sup>41</sup> The race took place April 7. One of the dromedaries, "Old Tule," was first placed upon the track, being led by the owner, who rode a horse, followed by Dealing also on horseback. They decided to run Tule around the track once to measure his gait and to incite the other camels which were soon to enter the race. They started off, McLenaghan ahead on his horse, and Dealing in the rear applying a huge whip to Tule "with great vigor." The trio raced around the half mile track before a delighted crowd, Tule coming in "with mouth and nose covered with white foam." Then six of the camels were driven by some horsemen once around the track, preparatory to the race. Satisfied that the performance would be a success, McLenaghan now placed all the ten animals on the track. He kept to his horse, but Dealing rode a camel, which was the "striking feature of the exhibition." When the animals were going at full speed, and one-half around the track, McLenaghan became alarmed, fearing that Dealing would fall off, and rushed ahead and stopped the race. Dealing dismounted and "came in on the homestretch on a mule."<sup>42</sup>

About one thousand people attended the race, the price of admission being fifty cents. McLenaghan and Dealing helped to collect the money at the gate, but turned it over to some one to count. The receipts were only \$180, which would indicate that about two-thirds of the people paid no admittance or that some one levied a heavy commission for collecting and caring for the gate receipts, while the two men were trying to entertain the restless crowd.

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1864, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, April 8, 1864, p. 3.

The next day, greatly disappointed over the lack of financial gains from the race, McLenehan started on. He drove his camels up the west side of the Sacramento River to Red Bluff, and from there, across the mountains into Nevada. He never established a freight or passenger line from Sacramento to Nevada, as he planned originally, but sold his camels when he reached his destination. They were used for several years to carry supplies to the mines, and to take salt from central Nevada to the silver mines near Austin. Edwin Franklin Morse, who spent many years in the mining sections, said, "I have often seen trains of half a dozen camels coming into Austin with their loads."<sup>43</sup>

Those camels which remained in California after the auction at Benicia were disposed of to different persons. Some were sold to circuses, some to zoological parks, and others to General Beale, who still retained his great admiration for them. Beale took his camels to his large rancho ("El Tejon") in the mountains near Bakersfield, and kept them there until they died. He used them to construct roads and to make trips about the country. For years one might have seen Beale working camels about his rancho, and making pleasure trips with them, accompanied by his family. He would drive from his rancho to Los Angeles, a distance of more than one hundred miles, "in a sulky behind a tandem of camels," to whom he enjoyed talking "in Syrian which he had with characteristic energy taught himself for this purpose."<sup>44</sup>

#### CAMELS IMPORTED FROM CHINA

The early experiments of the government in testing out camels in California stimulated the organization of private companies to import camels. They looked to China as a source of supply rather than to Egypt. In the spring of 1860, Otto Esche, a merchant of San Francisco, went to China to purchase a shipment of camels to be used in California. He believed that they would be in great demand in the mining sections of the Sierra Nevada once they were introduced. If the camels proved to be satisfactory in this work, Esche planned to establish a through express route from San Bernardino to El Paso. It was his immediate intention to organize a camel express between San Francisco and Salt Lake City. If this were patronized, he expected to extend the express to Missouri.

Esche thought that camels coming from the interior of the Orient would be better fitted for travel in all parts of California than those from Egypt. He penetrated into the heart of China and bought thirty-two camels in the Amur country at Nicolaesky, Mongolia. He went into the mountains to purchase them because they were to be used first in crossing the Sierra, and later, on the plateaus of Nevada and Utah. In driving the camels through the Mongolian desert to the seaport, seventeen of them died from the scarcity of food.

On July 25, 1860, the schooner, *Caroline E. Foote*, landed fifteen full grown camels at San Francisco.<sup>45</sup> They were consigned to M. Frisius and Company

<sup>43</sup> *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 347.

<sup>44</sup> Bonsal, Stephen: *Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a Pioneer in the Path of Empire 1822-1903*, p. 207. S. A. Bishop was part owner of this ranch. It was splendidly located and consisted of eleven leagues. Upon it ranged several thousand head of cattle in 1856. It was known as the Liebre grant. (*Los Angeles Star*, June 28, 1856.)

<sup>45</sup> *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, July 26, 1860, p. 3.

of San Francisco. The camels were in very bad condition when they arrived. Some were sick when they were loaded on the boat in China, and the accommodations for them on the ship were inadequate. Esche did not return with them, and those in charge did not know how to care for them or how to feed them. They arrived "lean, meagre and with their double humps shrivelled down to mere skinny sacks, which hung in flabby ugliness over their sides."<sup>46</sup> In order that they might quickly regain their strength they were turned loose on the fine pasture near Mission Dolores.

Advertisements appeared in the newspapers shortly after these camels arrived, informing the public that these remarkable animals were to be seen on exhibition.<sup>47</sup> A few days later, as soon as the camels had recuperated, it was announced through an attractive advertisement that they would be placed on display to raise money for the benefit of the German Benevolent Society of San Francisco.<sup>48</sup> They were to be seen in all colors, gray, tawny, yellowish and even black. A native camel trainer, who accompanied the camels from "The Great Desert of Cobi," was to manage the exhibition. It was advertised that under his direction "these intelligent animals will be made to kneel, rise or move at the word of command, and go through their interesting performances."<sup>49</sup> The exhibition of the camels took place in a large tent erected on the floor of the old Music Hall on Bush street. They could be seen from 11 A.M. until 10 P.M., and the place was open for almost two weeks, the price of admission being fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children. The public was reminded on the last day that after August 11 there would be no opportunity to see the camels, and that the price of admission had been reduced to twenty-five cents.<sup>50</sup>

A peremptory sale of the thirteen Bactrian camels was announced in the newspapers of September 11. They were to be sold on October 10 at auction for cash and in lots to suit the purchaser. The advertisement ran until the day of the sale, and emphasized that all the animals were "from a cold and mountainous country," and that they were "in fine condition and health."<sup>51</sup> When the day arrived for the sale of the animals, only a small crowd appeared. The auction was delayed in the hope that more people would attend the sale. Only two camels were sold the first day. One of them sold for \$425, and the other brought \$475.<sup>52</sup> The sale continued the next day, but the bidding was so low

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<sup>46</sup> Hutchings *California Magazine*, Nov. 2, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 27, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, August 2, 1860, p. 1. This Society was organized January 7, 1854, with 105 members. It was located at Third and Brannan streets. The membership had grown to 1,030 by 1860, two-thirds of whom resided in and around San Francisco; the remainder came from the interior of the state. Dues were one dollar per month. Only Germans and those speaking the German language could become members. Each member could demand sick benefits and medical attention from the Society. It also gave aid regularly to Germans who were not members, if they were in need or in distress. In 1860 the hospital was a two story structure 50 by 70 feet. When the United States entered the World War, the institution changed its name to Franklin Hospital. (San Francisco Directory, 1860, p. 441.)

<sup>49</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 27, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, August 11, 1860, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1860, p. 3.

that the animals were withdrawn from sale. The auctioneer was instructed by the agents to sell none for less than \$1,200.<sup>53</sup> It was not until a year later that all the camels were sold. Failing to get what he thought the camels were worth, Mr. Frisius finally sold the whole lot — four males and six females — to Julius Bandmann.<sup>54</sup> They were by this time in perfect condition. During July, 1861, the ten animals were kept in the pasture fields of an old resident, named McDonald, "on Pacific street, beyond Larkin." They grazed over the vacant lands and were driven regularly over the sand hills to the Presidio to feed upon the thistle, their favorite food. Bandmann studied carefully their habits and disposition and tested them at work in various ways. He would load them with as much as 650 pounds of sand each and drive them over the sand hills and down the cliffs to test their strength and agility. He thought this would be good training for the difficult travel which they were expected to do in the mountain country.

These camels and some of those purchased from the government by McLeneghan were taken to Nevada and used by mining companies for several years. They were used to carry salt and other supplies to the mines in the Washoe country.<sup>55</sup> In 1876, the Board of Aldermen of Virginia City, Nevada, was asked to give \$1,000 to aid the Horrible Club<sup>56</sup> in obtaining and decorating camels which were to be used in the parade in that city in commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Permission was given to use the camels, but it was decided that their appearance on the streets would be too dangerous because "these animals frighten horses and mules terribly."<sup>57</sup> Eight camels were used by a mining company in Nevada for several days to carry wood to the top of Mount Davidson, near Virginia City, at an altitude of over 9,000 feet. A huge bonfire was made from the wood for the celebration on July 4, 1876. Each animal carried one-third of a cord of wood each trip. Enough wood was taken up to the top of the mountain to make a pile sixteen feet high, and at night the fire was "plainly seen from all parts of the Washoe Valley and other places within a radius of many miles."<sup>58</sup>

As the camels in Nevada became old and worn out, they were often allowed to run loose about the country. The farmers became aroused because the ugly creatures scared their horses and caused delay and much trouble on the roads.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1860, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Alta California*, July 25, 1861. Bandmann was a commission merchant. He was the agent for the two shipments of camels sent over by Esche.

<sup>55</sup> An interesting picture of camels being driven to Nevada, September, 1861, may be found in Edward Vischer's *Pictorial of California* (No. 6). They are resting in the Mammoth Grove of Big Trees in Calaveras County. The *Daily Territorial Enterprise* of Virginia City, Nevada, for May 10, 1862, notes the arrival in that town of two tons of salt by camel train for the Central Mill, about 150 miles away. The camels were driven by Mexicans "who seem not to know the difference between a mule and a camel." Each animal carried 550 pounds of salt.

<sup>56</sup> A local organization which prided itself in patriotic pageantry and in grotesque performances. It was interested chiefly in preserving the early traditions of the pioneer days of Nevada.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, June 29, 1876, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, 1876, p. 3.



VIEW NO. 47 OF VISCHER'S PICTORIAL OF CALIFORNIA



VIEW NO. 6 OF VISCHER'S PICTORIAL OF CALIFORNIA

Hugh Carling of Lyon County introduced a bill in the Nevada legislature January 19, 1875, to prohibit camels and dromedaries from traveling upon the highways of the state.<sup>59</sup> The bill was modified to apply only to camels running at large, and it became a law February 9, 1875.<sup>60</sup> Anyone found guilty of allowing his camels to go astray was to be fined not less than \$25 or more than \$100, or he was to be put in jail for not less than thirty days.

Encouraged by his successful importation of camels in 1860, Otto Esche sent over two more shipments from the Amur. One shipment of ten Bactrian camels was landed at San Francisco November 15, 1861, by the *Caroline E. Foote*, under the command of Captain Andrew I. Worth, who brought over the cargo of camels in July, 1860.<sup>61</sup> This second voyage was made in thirty-three days, with the loss of four camels, one having died before Worth left Siberia. The other shipment of camels was landed in San Francisco by the bark *Dollart* January 26, 1862. The circumstances and incidents pertaining to this last and largest importation of camels into California from the Orient are described elsewhere.

Most of the camels brought in by the *Caroline E. Foote* in November, 1861, and by the *Dollart* were shipped to British Columbia. The Cariboo country was experiencing a gold rush at that time, and it was believed that camels would be of great assistance in providing a rapid means of communication between the seaports and the mines. In the spring of 1862 Mr. Callbreath of Victoria came to San Francisco to inquire into the usefulness of the camels and to see how they might be worked. He purchased twenty-three camels from Julius Bandmann and Company for \$6,000. (See Exhibit "F." Statement by Bandmann.) The San Francisco newspapers noted that in April, 1862, this company shipped to Esquimaux, Canada, twenty-two camels by the steamer *Hermann* bound for Hailey, Victoria, with George S. Wright as captain.<sup>62</sup> A correspondent from Victoria, writing to the *Alta California* on May 7, 1862, says: "The Bactrian camels have left for British Columbia. Many are anxious to know whether the experiment of using them will succeed or not in that climate."<sup>63</sup> Their service in the distant north was disappointing; they were soon disbanded and widely scattered.<sup>64</sup>

#### THE CAMEL CONDUCTORS

Perhaps the most amusing feature of the camel fiasco was the importation of the "expert" camel drivers. When Wayne and Porter brought over the first camels, three Arabs and two Turks were employed to act as interpreters and assistants in caring for the animals. Porter wrote, concerning the selection of

<sup>59</sup> Journal of the Assembly, Nevada Legislature, 1875, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Statutes of Nevada, 1875, Chapter XII.

<sup>61</sup> San Francisco *Herald*, Nov. 16, 1861, p. 1. Later, this schooner was used as a whaling vessel for several years.

<sup>62</sup> *Alta California*, April 8, 1862, p. 1. Also San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, April 10, 1862, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Alta California*, May 13, 1862, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> For an account of the camels in the Northwest see an article by W. S. Lewis, in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Oct., 1929.

the camel conductors: "They were well recommended, and are represented as skillful in the management of camels and in making and in repairing the pack saddles and other apparatus."<sup>65</sup> The drivers had not been in Texas very long until it was discovered that five were not sufficient and that greater care should have been exercised in selecting them. When the second cargo of camels arrived, ten Turks, one of whom was a boy, were brought over. All these drivers decided to remain in Texas when Beale was ready to start for California with his twenty-eight camels. Two Turks, Hassan and Siuliman, who "knew all about camels," refused to accompany the expedition.<sup>66</sup> The others, having great faith in the judgment of their competent countrymen, also refused to start. They thought the trip to California would be too long and too dangerous, and they alleged that they had not been paid anything by the government since arriving in the country.<sup>67</sup> Beale was forced to start on his long trip without the assistance of the imported drivers. But sometime after the caravan left San Antonio, some of them overtook the party. They hindered more than they promoted the progress of the expedition. In his disgust and disappointment over the failure of the drivers, Beale wrote to the Secretary of War from El Paso, July 24, 1857, saying, "The Greeks and Turks who are with us know no more of camels than any American in New York knows of buffalo."<sup>68</sup>

These drivers were a source of constant trouble. Beale had difficulty in keeping them sober. They also quarrelled with the mule drivers. When the expedition reached Albuquerque, the natives gave the party a royal welcome. They gathered "at a convenient rancho, and amused themselves by dancing, music and drinking a miserable liquor."<sup>69</sup> To induce some of his men to abstain from imbibing the "Spanish wine," Beale said, when at Albuquerque, that he was "obliged to administer a copious supply of the oil of boots to several, especially to my Turks and Greeks, with the camels."<sup>70</sup> Billy Considine, a member of the party, testified that to move a stubborn, half-drunk Turk, one needed to use on him "a good tough piece of wagon spoke, aimed tolerably high."<sup>71</sup> The camel conductors were imported to teach Americans how to manage camels and how to restore confidence in those trying to work them when they displayed their teeth "with a roar rivalling that of the royal Bengal tiger."<sup>72</sup> The drivers often created dissention among the members of the party, and destroyed confidence rather than restored it. From the reports written by Beale and others, it would appear that Major Wayne selected the right kind of camels, but not the most competent drivers.

It is difficult to determine how many of the drivers came to California with the government camels. It seems that not more than a half dozen ever reached

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<sup>65</sup> Sen. Ex. Doc., 34 Cong., 3 Sess., Doc. 62, p. 47.

<sup>66</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 11, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> H. Ex. Doc., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 124, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 11, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> From a diary of a member of the party. *Alta California*, Nov. 26, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> H. Ex. Doc., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 124, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>72</sup> San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 11, 1857, p. 1.

California. After the camels passed from government ownership, some of the drivers went into Nevada, and later drifted down into Arizona and Texas. One of them, Hiogo Alli, remained in the employment of the government until 1870.<sup>73</sup> Another driver, Greek George, killed a white man in New Mexico some ten years after coming to America, and was later found dead on the plains. Some said that he committed suicide rather than be captured, while others reported that he was killed by the Apaches.<sup>74</sup> Probably the best known of all the camel drivers was Hadji Ali, or Hi Jolly, as he was commonly called. As a boy, he had served in the French army in Algiers. As an employee of the government and later as a conductor of camel trains in the Southwest, he endeared himself to those who knew him by his quiet, unassuming manner. Most of his time in this country was spent in Arizona. He died December 18, 1902, at Tyson's Wells, Arizona, in the heart of the desert that he loved so well, about one hundred miles west of Wickenburg.

#### STATE INTEREST ON THE QUESTION

During the time that the question of the importation of camels was before Congress, little interest in the subject was taken by the newspapers of California or by the state legislature. The San Francisco Herald in its issue of October 3, 1852, devotes a column to the debate then in Congress as to whether camels or elephants should be imported to establish transportation lines in the Far West. In 1856, the Stockton *Argus* advocated the introduction of camels into the state. It said: "The next move in our progress of improvement should be the introduction of camels in California. Its introduction into our state would produce a revolution in our mineral development and internal trade. It is capable of traveling over one hundred miles per day — is known to live to a green old age, as long as seventy or eighty years — to go without eating or drinking for four or five days — to be able to carry twice the load of our largest and most hardy mules."<sup>75</sup> The editor continues by pointing out the value of the camel in a state like California. He thought the animal's ability to climb "rocky slopes of forty-five degrees," while carrying five or six hundred pounds, would change quickly the inconveniences and dangers attending mountain travel. But this attitude was exceptional, for even after camels were brought to the state, few editors showed any enthusiasm for them.

The state legislature did nothing to encourage the use of camels within the state. It considered their possibilities but once. Shortly after the bill providing for the importation of camels was passed by Congress, Senator Flint presented in the state legislature a memorial from William E. Walton to encourage overland immigration to California and to facilitate inter-ocean communication.<sup>76</sup> In his memorial, Walton asked the state to donate to him in fee simple five quarter sections of land from the eastern boundary of the state to the Pacific

<sup>73</sup> Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903, p. 403.

<sup>74</sup> *Out West*, Vol. 26, p. 311.

<sup>75</sup> San Francisco *Herald*, Dec. 13, 1856, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Senate Journal, California Legislature, 1855, p. 678, 704.

Ocean, to be used as stations where camels could be kept and used in maintaining a regular passenger and express route. He promised that within twelve months after obtaining the land, he would "place trains of camels and dromedaries on a route from a point or station on the Atlantic coast to a point or station on the Pacific coast for the purpose of expediting inter-oceanic communication in a speedy and secure manner."<sup>77</sup> Walton also promised, with the aid of ample capital which he claimed was at his disposal for the prosecution of the project, to place another train of animals, within a few months after getting the land, "on the southern route, that will make the distance from Texas or New Orleans to the Gila River, thence to San Diego or Los Angeles, *in from eight to ten days*, an almost incredible short time, but nevertheless true."<sup>78</sup>

Walton's memorial and bill introduced in the state senate by Senator Flint on April 27, to establish a camel train, were sent to the Committee on Internal Improvements. The Committee reported on the subject May 3. It approved the memorial, and said that "the bill is one which eminently merits the fostering care of the Legislature."<sup>79</sup> But the Committee submitted to the Senate a substitute bill. It provided for granting five quarter sections of state land to establish a dromedary line to carry letters, express matter and passengers from the Pacific to the Atlantic seaboard.<sup>80</sup> The legislature adjourned three days later without considering the bill. Thus ended the first and only attempt to obtain legislative aid in promoting transportation by means of camels.

The prospect of using camels in transportation throughout the state also seems to have made little appeal to private concerns. About a year after the first camels were brought to the state, a company was formed at Downieville, Sierra County, for the purpose of importing and using camels on the Pacific Coast. The company was organized and incorporated on May 13, 1859. It was known as the "California and Utah Camel Association." Its charter, as filed with the Secretary of State in Sacramento, May 23, was as follows:<sup>81</sup>

We the undersigned Citizens of the United States of America, do hereby certify that we have formed ourselves into a Corporation under the name and style of "The California and Utah Camel Association," which is to be the corporate name of the company, and that the object for which the corporation is formed is the introduction, and employment of the Camel on the Pacific Coast:

The amount of the Capital Stock of the Corporation is twelve thousand /12,000/ dollars, divided into one hundred and twenty shares of one hundred dollars each.

The duration of the Corporation shall be twenty /20/ years.

The number of Trustees of the Corporation /and those who shall manage its concern for the first three months/ is three, and their names are John E. Ager, Edmund G. Bryant and John I. Cooper, all of whom are citizens of the United

<sup>77</sup> Appendix to Senate Journal, California Legislature, 1855, Doc. 24, Appendix "A," p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. Walton had been a resident of California for five years prior to this time. He was an enthusiastic promoter of such schemes. To influence the legislature to consider favorably his memorial, he said that he was sure to obtain "the necessary quarter sections" of land in New Mexico from the national government to establish a camel train there, and that a "most liberal appropriation from the National Treasury" would have been made to convey mails across the continent by camels, had not the Post Office laws prevented it. He informed the legislature that a similar memorial to obtain land for camel stations was to be presented to the legislature of Texas.

<sup>79</sup> Senate Journal, California Legislature, 1855, p. 807.

<sup>80</sup> San Francisco *Herald*, May 4, 1855, p. 2.

<sup>81</sup> State Archives, office of Secretary of State, Sacramento, California.

States of America, and residents of California; and the principal place of business of the Corporation is

Downieville in Sierra County

Dated at Downieville in Sierra County

May 13th A D 1859

This charter was signed by ten men, including the three who were named as trustees, the others being Q. A. Clements, William R. Tennent, C. L. Shales, James Kane, Samuel W. Langton and E. M. Gates. The writer has failed to find any account that the Association ever imported camels. The charter was forfeited December 13, 1905, for failure to pay the state license tax for the year ending June, 1906, the state, in 1905, having levied a license tax of ten dollars on all corporations within the state, the charters of those corporations which had become defunct being cancelled when this tax was not paid.

#### CONCLUSION

No attempt has been made in this study other than to sketch briefly some of the more interesting features of the camel episode. The experiment of using camels was a complete failure, except Beale's trip to California. But the undertaking in the state would certainly have been more successful if the Civil War had not opened in 1861. The army officers entrusted with the camels had little inclination or time during the war to train them for war duty or to use them in the place of mules. Lincoln signed the bill, in 1862, to construct a trans-continental railroad, and the people of California were assured then, for the first time, that the state would be connected with the East by rail. By this time, telegraph lines had been set up in many parts of the state, some excellent roads had been built, and the overland stage and express service had become safer and more dependable. Several short railroads had also been built. These changes in communication came so rapidly that the former faith in camel transportation was soon destroyed. The only physical evidence remaining today of the camels brought to California, is the skeleton of one of the animals in the Smithsonian Institution. When the camels were stationed at Fort Tejon, two of them engaged, one night, in a deadly combat, and clubbed each other so fiercely with their ponderous forefeet that one of them was killed before the soldiers could get them under control. Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, wishing to preserve the evidence that these noble brutes were once domiciled in California, sent the skeleton to Washington, D.C.

## THE DOLLART CASE

By A. A. GRAY

[The material here presented and the exhibits on the following pages are from the records filed in the United States District Court, San Francisco, in the case of *Otto Esche vs. Bark "Dollart,"* No. 1467. These records and the testimony taken in the Court undoubtedly represent the most authentic and complete documentary evidence in existence dealing with the last importation of camels into California. Valuable documents, used in the case but not filed with the Court, were the Captain's log book and the record book kept by Esche.]

The third and last shipment of camels from Siberia to California proved to be a most disastrous failure. The German bark *Dollart*, a schooner of about four hundred tons, on her way home from a long cruise in the southern Pacific, docked at Castries Bay, Siberia, in September, 1861. She was chartered by Otto Esche to carry a cargo of forty-four camels to San Francisco. The camels were loaded successfully, by the aid of the Russians, and the *Dollart* set sail October 25. The vessel was three months crossing the Pacific. It encountered some heavy storms and lost several sails, but the loss was due to the poor equipment of the schooner rather than to the storms.

In crossing the ocean, twenty-four of the animals died. This was due to the lack of stalls in which to place them, to the scarcity of feed, and to the cruel treatment given them. Seven died between the port of departure, Castries Bay, and Hakodadi, Japan, within twelve days. When Esche arrived at the Japanese port, he was so concerned over the loss of the camels that he communicated with C. A. Fletcher, the United States Consul at Hakodadi. Fletcher's agents testified, after a careful investigation of the care given the animals, that they were not properly quartered for safe transportation, and that they should have adequate stalls. The *Dollart* sailed from Hokadadi on November 18, and after a stormy voyage arrived at San Francisco January 26, 1862, with only twenty camels.

The next day after the vessel docked, Esche entered suit for \$7,300 against the schooner and her master, J. H. C. Muggenborg, for the loss of his camels. The case was brought to trial before Judge Ogden Hoffman in the United States District Court. Hall McAllister, the outstanding attorney in San Francisco in his day, was the lawyer for Esche, and J. B. Manchester represented Muggenborg. The evidence presented to the Court left no doubt that the *Dollart* was not seaworthy when she left Siberia and that the camels had been neglected and inhumanly treated. Esche was awarded damages to the amount of \$6,240, or \$260 for each animal lost. In his decision Judge Hoffman said: "It is impossible to read the proofs without the conviction that the grossest neglect, and even inhumanity, has been practiced by some one toward these unhappy beasts. It is not pretended that any disease prevailed among them. Their supply of food, at least from Hakodadi to this port, was abundant. They were in good condition when shipped. The voyage, though long, was not extraordinarily tempestuous."

Esche also sued the *Dollart* and Muggenborg for a violation of contract

which was made when the ship was chartered. In the agreement to bring camels to California, Muggenborg promised to provide passage, fare and accommodations for Esche and several others. Muggenborg was to be paid \$4,500 as freight for his cargo of camels. At the time of departure from Nicolaesski, Esche paid him \$2,500; the remainder was to be paid on landing at San Francisco. Esche brought suit for: (1) \$2,000 for a breach of contract for his own food and accommodations; (2) for \$75 which he had paid as passage money for W. R. Pitts; (3) \$2,000 for the passage fare of Mr. and Mrs. Herman Müller, and (4) for \$4,000 for an injury which he received when he fell through a hatchway coming over. The total damages asked by Esche, including the loss of the camels, was \$15,375.

#### CLAIMS FOR WAGES

The crew presented bills against the *Dollart*. They sued for \$1,092 back pay. One of them, Pono, the Serang, demanded \$140. He got \$20 per month. Four of the others received each \$16 per month, and the remaining six, \$12 a month each. Muggenborg claimed that he paid the crew \$312 when they left with the camels and that he paid them an additional \$100 at Hakodadi. Under the leadership of Pono and Ram Sammy, the interpreter, the crew assigned and transferred all claims for back pay to Attorney J. B. Manchester for \$250.

Eleven men constituted the crew. Muggenborg said that five of them were Malays, two were Arabs, and four came from Singapore. It will be noted from the statement submitted by the crew that twelve of them made their mark in assigning their claims for wages to Manchester. The name of the seaman Aisso does not appear in the official list of the crew as certified to by Muggenborg and the German Consul at Nicolaesski. Perhaps this extra man was picked up on the streets of San Francisco to increase the wage claim. The two Arabs were named Assan and Alli, and they helped to care for the camels for a time after they were landed at San Francisco.

In the scramble to obtain pay for services, Muggenborg decided that he could not be left out, so he sued for back pay. He held a contract signed by the owners of the *Dollart* in May, 1857, which was to give him 100 gilders a month. His claim was for \$1,420. After the bark docked, he purchased material and employed men to repair the disabled ship. He bought a new cabin door, a new skylight, several sail masts, canvas, two bales of oakum, etc. Two calkers were employed for ten days at six dollars per day each. His total bill was \$554.50, but the Court did not allow it.

Several others brought in bills against the ship. William McPlum, a carpenter, said that he had been employed by Muggenborg "to take off and put on a new top on Cabin house of pine two inches thick and a half inch wide," to repair the galley and to put a brick floor in it. He also repaired some sails, and for his material and labor, he asked \$230. The firm of Edgerly and Wickman, dealers in ship stores, wanted \$54.31 for supplies furnished. John F. Taylor, a blacksmith, sued for \$38 worth of material. John Brown, Richard Terboy and Lutze Duis said that they had worked for thirty days on the ship;

they asked for \$180 as their pay at the rate of two dollars each per day. And finally, the cook, John Schmidt, put in a bill for \$61.30, contending that he had not been paid for forty-six days. All these claims were disallowed.

#### SALE OF THE SHIP

Muggenborg did not expect any such trouble as he experienced when he landed at San Francisco. As soon as the ship was fully repaired, the *Alta California* carried an advertisement to the public that the bark was ready to be chartered again. But Muggenborg realized his serious predicament when Judge Hoffman issued a decree that the ship be taken into custody. William Rabe, United States Marshal, took possession of the *Dollart* on February 6, 1862, on which date she was advertised for sale at public auction. On March 28 the sale was postponed, but three days later, the vessel, with her furniture and full equipment, was sold for \$6,500.

Certain claims were ordered paid by the Court before Esche was to get his money. From the proceeds of the sale there was to be paid first, \$601.28 to the United States Marshal; secondly, to the Clerk and Commissioner of the Court, \$451; thirdly, to F. P. Lauterwasser, a merchant who had sold provisions to Muggenborg when the ship arrived, \$73.28; and lastly, \$6,240, with court costs of \$187.50, to Esche. The proceeds of the sale were not sufficient to satisfy the judgment of Esche, and later he was given judgment for \$500 against Muggenborg and his stipulators, Otto H. Frank, the Hanoverian Consul at San Francisco, and C. F. Mebius, a merchant and at that time President of the German Benevolent Society. Frank paid the amount September 18. Muggenborg claimed that he had forwarded to Frank from Nicolaesski the \$2,500 paid to him by Esche, and in addition the 300 Russian rubles which he had received as passage money. Of this there was no proof.

The following exhibits disclose some of the more interesting features of this important litigation.

EXHIBIT "A" — Protest of Otto Esche, before the Acting Consul of the United States at Hakodadi, Japan, respecting the failure of the Captain of the Bark *Dollart* to carry out the terms of the Charter Party. (See facsimile.)

EXHIBIT "B" — Assignment of wage claims of the crew of the *Dollart* to J. B. Manchester, attorney. (See facsimile.)

EXHIBIT "C" — Advertisement of U. S. Marshal's sale of the *Dollart*. (See cut.)

## EXHIBIT "A"

## Consulate of the United States of America,



AT HAKODADI, JAPAN.

Hakodadi, Japan, November 6<sup>th</sup> 1861.

On this sixth day of November in the year of our Lord eight hundred and sixty one before me, C. A. Fletcher acting consul of the United States of America for Hakodadi, personally appeared Otto Esche, a citizen of the United States, and charterer of the ship or vessel called the "Dollart" of Emden, Kingdom of Hannover, of the burden of three hundred and seven tons, or thereabouts, and declared, that on the twenty fifth day of October last past the said ship sailed from the Bay of de Castrics laden with a cargo of forty four live Camels and other merchandise, and that the said ship arrived at Hakodadi Japan, on the fifth day of November last past, and that as no proper stalls for these Camels had been constructed by the captain of said vessel, as provided for in the charter party dated at Nikolaeffsk Amoor, 6<sup>th</sup> Sept. September 1861, and as no command, discipline and order as customary and necessary on board a ship did exist on board this said ship "Dollart", and therefore no proper care and attention was taken for the necessary comfort and welfare of the live cargo, and as the stipulations about Cabin passengers in the charter party have totally been neglected by the captain of the said ship, he the above named Otto Esche hereby enters this note of protest accordingly, to serve and avail him hereafter, if found necessary

Attested C. A. Fletcher  
 Actg Consul

Otto Esche

Charterer of the "Dollart"

Know all Men by these Presents, that We the undersigned, *late seamen on board the Barge "G. Holland"* whereof *J. H. C. Poggendorf* is Master, do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint *J. H. C. Poggendorf* Attorney and Counselor at Law, and Proctor in Admiralty, residing in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, *our* true and lawful Attorney and Proctor, irrevocable, in *our* name, place, and stead to ask, demand, receive, sue for, prosecute, collect, settle, or compromise all claims for wages, and all claims for damages for all assaults, batteries, false imprisonments, torts, trespasses and claims of every description, which *we* have against said *Barge* her master, officers or owners, or either, or any of them; and to give receipts, acquittances, discharges and satisfaction therefor; and to do and perform all acts and things, proper to be done and performed in the premises, as fully, to all intents and purposes, as *we* could *ourselves* do if personally present.

Witness, *our* hands and seals this *fourth* day of *February* 18*62*

Executed in the Presence of

<i>W. Hastings</i>	<i>Dono</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Commedill</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Urean</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Wingo</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Admir</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Alti</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Accoon</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Selvin</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Ugin Aib</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
	<i>Chi</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>
<i>Wiss</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>	
<i>Sally</i>	<i>his</i> <i>mark</i>	



# U. S. MARSHAL'S SALE

## Bark "Dollart."

**B**Y VIRTUE OF a writ of *Vendition Exponas*, to me directed, issued from the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, at the suit of Otto Esche against the bark "Dollart," her tackle, apparel and furniture, I hereby give public notice that on WEDNESDAY, the 26th day of March, A. D. 1862, at 12 o'clock, M., in front of the United States Court House, on Montgomery street, corner of Jackson, I will sell the said bark "Dollart," her tackle, apparel and furniture to the highest bidder for CASH, payable at the time of sale.

WM. RABE, U. S. Marshal.

The "Dollart" lays off Vallejo street Wharf, and can be inspected from sunrise to sundown daily. mar21-td

By order of the Hon. U. S. District Court, the above sale is hereby postponed until SATURDAY, March 29th, 1862, at 12 M.  
mar27

WM. RABE,  
U. S. Marshal.

### EXHIBIT "D"

#### CHARTER PARTY

It is this day mutually agreed between Cptn J. H. C. Muggenborg, Master of the Hanoverian Bark "Dollart,"<sup>1</sup> for and on behalf of himself and Owners of the said Vessel of 311 Tons register, now lying in the Bay of de Castries,<sup>2</sup> and Mr Otto Esche,<sup>3</sup> Merchant at Nicolaefsk, that the said Ship being tight, staunch and strong and every way fitted for the voyage from Castries Bay via Saugar Strait to San Francisco, California, shall load at Castries Bay a Cargo of Camels and or other merchandise the Charterer may ship, not exceeding what she can reasonably stow and carry over and above her tackle, apparel and provisions from bulkhead to bulkhead, and being so loaded shall therewith proceed immediately — wind and weather permitting to San Francisco, Upper California, via the Strait of Saugar to refresh and to take food, water and provisions at Hokodadi<sup>4</sup> if necessary; and on delivery of the cargo according to the bills of lading signed by the Captain shall receive

<sup>1</sup> The *Dollart* shipped her first crew on June 12, 1856, at Emden, Hanover, Germany, bound for New Castle. She was owned by Albert Fahlen and S. H. Muggenborg, citizens of Hanover, and was under the Hanoverian flag. From London she went to Melbourne, Australia, and carried cargo between the Dutch East Indies. She discharged a cargo at Nicolaeski, Siberia, in September, 1861, while returning homeward.

<sup>2</sup> On the northwestern coast of the Gulf of Tartary. It was an important military and naval base in the Crimean War, and a chief commercial point in the northern Pacific trade in 1860. Boats plied regularly between San Francisco and this port during the summer.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear that Esche had been in Nicolaeski since he went there in the spring of 1860 to purchase the first camels. He was a leading importer and commission merchant in San Francisco during the sixties, and conducted his business at 159 Jackson Street. Esche was naturalized on August 11, 1856, and his name appears in the Great Register of Alameda County for April 19, 1879.

<sup>4</sup> Hakodadi (now spelled Hokodate) is the chief sea port on the southern coast of the island of Hokkaido, Japan. It became an open port by a treaty negotiated between the United States and Japan in 1854.

freight for the whole cargo the sum of Four thousand, five hundred Dollars U. S. Currency in full; of this freight money Two thousand Rubles to be prepaid before the sailing of the vessel from Castris Bay in gold coin or Russian money at Charterers option — the Ruble for seventy five cents American currency; and the remainder in Cash before delivery of the Cargo at San Francisco. For loading and discharging thirty five lay days are allowed.<sup>5</sup> These Lay days to commence at Castris Bay the following day after the vessel is reported by the Captain to Charterer or Agent to be at her berth and ready for loading, and again at the port of destination when ready to discharge; the Ship to be detained at de Castris not longer than up to the 8th (eighth) of October, new style; if the vessel be detained by Charterer at Hakodadi and San Francisco above the stipulated lay days, demurrage to be paid at the rate of Fifty Dollars for every day so detained. The Vessel to haul at San Francisco so near as she can safely get to any wharf or place required by Charterer, the half of the Wharfage and of all inward expenses to be paid by Charterer. The Ship's water-casks and tanks so far as they are not wanted for the Crew to be for the use of the Camels, other means for carrying water to be furnished by Charterer, as well as the materials for constructing proper stalls for the Camels, this work to be done by the vessel.

The Cargo to be received and delivered at Ship's tackles. Three passengers to have free passage in the Cabin with regular Cabin fare for Three hundred Rubles in full, and no other passengers to be taken without consent of Charterer.

The Captain to pay three per cent for insurance of the amount of freight money to be paid before the sailing from de Castris.

The Ship to be consigned, at the port of discharging to Charterer or Agent free of Commission under this Charter.

Penalty for non-performance of the Charter Five thousand dollars.

And for the true performance of all the above stipulations and agreements both parties have hereunto set their hands at Nicolaessk of Amoor, this 6th/18th day of September 1861.

The Cargo to be delivered and taken from alongside the Ship at Charterers risk.

J. H. C. MUGGENBORG  
OTTO ESCHE

Witness:  
GUSTAV BRODROSER

#### EXHIBIT "E"

#### CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AT HAKODADI, JAPAN

No. 3

*Hakodadi November 8th 1861.*

Pursuant to this accompanying warrant of survey, to us directed, by *C. A. Fletcher Esqre Acting U. S. Consul* at this Port, we, the undersigned, repaired alongside and on board of the *Han: Barque "Dollart"* of *Emden* of the burden of [blank] Tons, or thereabouts, recently arrived in this port from *de Castris bay* (in a damaged condition, by reason of) [Part in parentheses crossed out] laden with *Camels* and after a careful and minute examination of (every part of her hull, spars, sails and rigging, do report as follows:) [Part in parentheses crossed out] *said Camels, do report as follows: The Stalls made for the Camels to be totally insufficient for the proper transportation of the animals, We recommend therefore proper Stalls to be built; Judging from what we the Undersigned saw last year on board the Caroline E. Foote. And we further report that, in our opinion, the expense of necessary (repairs to the) [Crossed out] said Stalls will be about Two dollars per Stall In confirmation of which we are willing, if required, to attest.*

Given under our hands at *Hakodadi Jap*: this *8th Eight day of November* — A. D. 1861

[Signed] FRED WILKIE  
TH<sup>S</sup>. S. STEPHENSON.

I, the undersigned, Consul of the United States of America, at Hakodadi, do hereby certify that the foregoing are the true and genuine signatures of *Fredrick Wilkie* — and *Thos S Stephenson* — Surveyors appointed by me, of the *Camels, on board Bark Dollart of Emden* and as such are entitled to full faith and credit.

Given under my hand and Consular Seal, on the day and year above written.

[Signed] C. A. FLETCHER  
U. S. Consul.

<sup>5</sup> Muggenborg claimed nine extra days — five at Castris Bay and four at Hakodadi.

## EXHIBIT "F"

### A PORTION OF THE TESTIMONY TAKEN IN THE FEDERAL COURT

*Jesse S. Hall*

I was Mate of the Dollart I shipped at Nicolais about the middle of September 1861 — I was cast away in the American bark Mongol in August.<sup>1</sup> I made the voyage to this port left here in February '62 — I was on board was not on wages all the time — She had come from Batavia to Castris bay I was there when she arrived — she brought a cargo — There were 44 camels shipped at Castris bay — She has beams on her between decks but no deck — laid on them about 15 or 16 ft on top between them. They let 4 camels in between them. Had ballast in them — stones large & small — It was levelled as near as we could get it. It was about 3 feet from the ballast to the beams — beams were about 1 foot or 14 inches wide — We had two rows of camels with heads amid ships — There were 2, 3 or 4 camels between the beams. The distance between the beams was about the same. We put large poles fore and aft fastened to the stanchions which went from the beams to the keelson — The halters of the camels were fastened to these poles except two small ones which were allowed to move around. A lot of lumber was put on board by Mr Esche sufficient to make stalls.

The stalls were made at De Castris bay after the fashion recommended by Capt Worth of the Caroline E Foote They were taken down to put the camels in their place — After we had been out 5 days when we had lost 3 camels the stalls were partly put up. But we tried to put them up as they were at first — We put up some 20 or 25 stalls — We ought to have put up 44 stalls one for each camel — They did not prove sufficient — they were broken down.

The ship lay at Castris 4 or 5 days after the camels were all on board from the 21 to 25th Oct<sup>2</sup> We could have put up these stalls during these days — I don't know why they were not put up. The poles for stalls were sent on board before we took in the first camel.

The want of stalls caused the animals to be thrown agn'st each other and bruised — One night nearly all on the starboard were over on the port side found one dead one amongst them — There was a light in the hold after leaving Hakodadi — After leaving Hakodadi 2 of the Malay crew slept in the hold<sup>3</sup> Previous to that there was no watch there.

6 or 7 died between Castris and Hakodadi — I think it was 6 One of the small camels was hung by the halter of a large one I found it dead myself This occurred at night — When I attempted to put up stalls I tried to give stalls to each one — The camels got under the poles as they lay down they slipped from one side to the other — We were 12 days from Castris to Hakodadi<sup>4</sup> — The hold was not cleaned during that time. The camels were not groomed or rubbed or cleaned during this time — The only other cargo was 2 or 3 bales of wool — The Captain gave me to understand that Mr Esche wanted him to get 3 men to take care of camels — He thought of taking 3 of the crew of our wrecked vessel — We went to see these men — Saw 2 of them the Capt went with me He told them he would give them \$5 a month that when we got down to De Castris or out to sea he would make the Malays take care of the camels and they would do ship's duty — No arrangement was finally made in my hearing — They came on board of us at Castris bay — Came down in a boat They did not take charge of the camels —

When the mate turned them to they refused unless they got \$15 — finally some arrangement was made & they did seamans duty — They did not look after the Camels — Between Castris Bay and Hakodadi I looked after the camels so far as they were looked after at all fed them — Sometimes the Capt called me from the hold and told me my duty was on deck We had 3 or 4 days rough weather out of the 12 — perhaps half the voyage to Hakodadi was squally & stormy.

As a general thing the camels died during the night<sup>5</sup> — found them dead in the morning. I was not able to pay as much attention to the camels as I wished on the voyage to Hakodadi The Captain ordered me on deck twice then I stopped going down there —

I put all the stalls I could amidships 25 to 30 — They prevented the camels from getting together as long as they stood All those from the pump wells aft had no stalls. About ½ of these 25 stalls proved insufficient After the Captain spoke to me I paid no attention to the stalls. I continued to send men to feed them — sometimes once — sometimes twice — no regularity about it — Two died the day we went to Hakodadi

<sup>1</sup> This vessel had been wrecked in Castries Bay.

<sup>2</sup> In the testimony there is no explanation made by anyone as to why the ship remained so long after the camels were loaded. Efforts were made to get carpenters to build the stalls, but they refused to work among the camels.

<sup>3</sup> There were five Malay seamen of a crew of eleven men.

<sup>4</sup> The distance is about 800 miles.

<sup>5</sup> No explanation given why they died at night. There was usually no light in the hold, and no one to keep the animals clear. They must have crowded each other to suffocation.

We arrived at Hakodadi the 6th left the 18th We were detained making stalls for the Camels The first 3 or 4 days Carpenters did not go to work — They came on board and went ashore again for some reason didn't like to work among the Camels I believe — The Hold was not cleaned out at Hakodadi I remember some men coming on board and looking at the stalls — Some 18 or 20 died between Hakodadi and San Francisco — One died in the port of Hakodadi — He died at night I think — I heard Mr Esche say he was going to have stalls made at Hakodadi that what we had were not sufficient — The stalls built at Hakodadi proved sufficient for the balance of the voyage — I heard the Captain say at Hakodadi that if the camels died he couldn't help it.

Between Hakodadi and San Francisco 3 Malays were appointed slept in the hold and were supposed to take care of them — There were on board the Capt, myself 3 white seamen and the Serang of the Malays The 3 white men were Gordon, King & Charles don't know his other name — There was also a man named Tom<sup>6</sup>

There were 11 Malays in all — Between Hakodadi and San Francisco the stalls were first cleaned out about  $\frac{1}{2}$  passage — The whole passage was 70 days . . . — There was nothing laid over the ballast — Except we scattered some hay where the stones were worst — Where some 8 or 9 camels stood some poles were laid down over the ballast — In some places we scattered hay under them This we did for 5 or 6 — We only scattered hay some two or three times in all. The stalls were cleaned out 3 times — The first and last time by the Captains orders the other time by mine — The 2nd time was about a fortnight before we got in — The third time was a few days before we arrived —

After the first cleaning only one or two died — Only one died after January 1. and it was about that time that the stalls were cleaned — The last death occurred after about the 1st of January. We arrived the 26th During the last part of the voyage the supply of food for them was scarce — We gave them a little every day — for the greater part of the passage we gave them as much as they would eat — a good deal of it was wasted — about 2 weeks before we began to use their food more sparingly — They had as much as they wanted between barley and Hay — The barley is heating — When going to Hakodadi we got short of hay — They didn't seem to do so well on it —

I suppose the Malays were intended to take care of the camels Sometimes they were called up in stormy weather to take in sail &c They did not stand their watch with the others of the crew — They did but very little besides feeding them They assisted to hoist up the camels We generally hoisted them up when they had been lying down more than one day. We would hoist them up & stand them on their legs — Sometimes this was neglected — I found unless they were helped up they got sick — They were never rubbed or groomed to my knowledge — On some of them tar was put on points that were chafed

Those under the main hatch were generally wet. This might have been kept sometimes dry by putting a sail over the main hatch —

. . . We used to hoist camels out between the Combing and the boat The Malays who took care of the camels were not efficient The camels that died looked pretty bad The calluses on their breasts & knees were chafed through looked as if they had had bad usage

The greater part of the camels died in the night — These Malays did not attend to their duties the last part of the voyage. There was not much to do at night except to see that they were clear of their halters and did not get their breasts up against the board that went fore and aft They couldn't work back. We had to get tackles on them and haul them back sometimes We lost some from that cause I think

The tonnage of the Dollart is 310 register carries about 400 tons — The sails of the vessel were very poor. Some of them were carried away — We had 2 new sails on board main topsail fore top mast stay sail — We lost fore sail main sail — 3 top sails fore topmast staysail — 2 top gallast sails —

I think the voyage might have been shortened 15 days with good sails<sup>7</sup> —

I remember when the Cabin was stove in. The roof of the house was broke in, in several places The weather at this time was stormy and rainy — For about a week it was not touched I spoke to the Capt about it He said never mind the passengers Let it go — When it was repaired, it was not sufficiently repaired it let the water down on my berth — It was not battened down properly — There was no obstacle to repairing it properly — The water came down after the repairs nearly as bad as before It didn't leak so much in the state room occupied by Mr Esche — We couldn't occupy our staterooms the Captain and I & the 2 Mates went down in the hold — We slept in the forward part of the hold in the hay near the hatch This accident occurred about  $\frac{1}{2}$  passage between Hakodadi & San Francisco

<sup>6</sup> His name was Thomas Croquet. Muggenborg names two other white seamen in his statement of expenditures: William Welch, the cook, and one named Dundas. They received \$25 per month.

<sup>7</sup> Muggenborg accounted for the great length of the voyage by the loss of sails. He said the *Dollart* "lost a foresail three topsails, two topgallant sails, and a foretop mast-staysail."

The fare furnished to the passengers during just ten days was very good after that it began to grow worse. The last 4 weeks it was very bad indeed poor Japanese rice Russian black bread. I felt the effects of it myself — The Russian bread is very inferior — Salt beef No pork — pork given out

The salt beef was on the whole good enough as good as usual. The Cabin had potatoes about a fortnight from Hakodadi — They then used Mr. Esche's private stock he had 10 sacks. We had tea and coffee — Two bullocks were on board one for the ship & the other bought by the passengers. They also bought a sheep & pig. The bullock of the Captain did not last long — We had about ½ a bbl on board at Hakodadi. Capt said he was going to get some more provisions at Hakodadi — Flour lasted some time because they used it very sparingly — This was not the usual fare of passengers — Whenever I have been passenger

The Cabin was not taken care of — Had a Chinaman for stew[ard] and the cook was a black man<sup>8</sup>. There was considerable high talk on board — Mostly in German. I didn't understand it. I helped Mr Esche up after he fell<sup>9</sup> — The hatchway is situated on the passage way at the bottom of the steps near the Capt's state room — This passage way was used by passenger's during the voyage — The hatchway opens on the stern of the ship — I never saw a hatchway in such a place — It is very unusual to have a hatchway in such a place. It was about 4½ feet wide & perhaps a little longer. It is not very light there — If a person coming down is not looking he would fall right down where Mr Esche fell. It was about 4 oc'k — The hatch was taken off to let the cook down. The Malays sometimes took it off to get at the rice. The Captain was down there at the time seeing about the water

I heard Mr Esche halloo and assisted him up to his stateroom. He fell right across the combings of the hatch. said he slipped — The stairs were short wooden — He was coming down the steps when he fell — didn't say any thing about not knowing the hatch was open — The weather was finer than it had been. The Captain knew this hatchway was used by the cabin passengers —

A lady passenger had fallen part of the way down before — didn't hurt her much — I came near falling into it myself — I recollect the Captain saying he was going to get some bushes and put over the ballast — and afterwards he spoke of getting some shavings — Nothing of the kind was done.

#### *Cross Examined*

I joined the Dollart on Saturday Sept. 27, at De Castris bay — went on board that day. Signed Articles Oct. 21. . . .

I wrote in the log book at the Capt's request  
Logbook produced.

I just saw Mr Esche about the 12 or 15 Oct. We took in camels from the 10 to 21st  
Logbook shows they commenced on 14th. These entries were not made at the time.

As near as I can remember some camels were taken on board before Esche arrived. The poles arrived somewhere between the first and the 10th. The Captain got them from Mr Esche's man on shore — He sent no nails or spikes — The poles were perfectly adequate for the purpose of making stalls — No planks were furnished by Mr. Esche — Planks are better than poles for stalls — Esche was on board for a week or 10 days before we sailed — I did not hear him make any objection to the mode of constructing the stalls

The stalls were made before we took any camels on board or Mr. Esche arrived  
One camel died before we sailed from De Castris bay.<sup>10</sup> (not sued for) After Oct 25 the log book was regularly kept by me

On the 26th one camel died. this was the next morning after leaving. Camel died on 29th Oct — Can't tell what the cause was

Nov. 2d — camel died — don't know the cause

Nov 6th 3 camels died — We were then going into Hakodadi. One died after we got in.

I do not know that they died for want of hay — The Hay did not last to Hakodadi. We were out of hay for 3 or 4 days. gave them plenty while it lasted

Nov. 23d a camel died —

We left Hakodadi Nov. 18th

Nov. 24th camel died. don't know the cause

<sup>8</sup> No other reference is made to a black man in the records. No doubt this person was one of the Malays.

<sup>9</sup> Esche was not the only one aboard who had the distinctive pleasure of tumbling down the hatchway. Mrs. Muller and some of the crew had the same experience. When Esche arrived in San Francisco he went that evening to see Dr. Regensberger, a practicing physician of eleven years' experience. He testified that Esche had his sixth rib on his right side broken and also contusions of the short ribs which irritated the pleura and caused great pain, difficult breathing, and coughing.

<sup>10</sup> Of the twenty-four camels that died during the voyage, seventeen died between Hokodadi and San Francisco.

Nov. 28th camel died — don't know the cause  
 Dec. 2d camel died  
 Dec 6th camel died  
 Dec 9th camel died  
 Dec 14th camel died  
 Dec: 15 camel died  
 Dec: 18th camel died  
 Dec: 19th camel died  
 Dec: 21 camel died — 2 dead ones removed  
 Dec: 22 camel died  
 Dec 25th camel died  
 Jan'y 1. camel died  
 Jan'y 18th camel died

On the 3d November log book shows that one calf camel was choked by another's halter.

Nov. 30. The protest of the Mr Esche entered in the log book is in my handwriting and Mr Esche's signature is written by me

The Captain gave me a protest in two languages — I made a faithful copy of the English translation

I was put off duty from the 5th to the 20th October — The Captain & I did not agree together at all He wanted to be Captain & Mate both There was some talk between me and Mr Esche about his wanting to get vessels to run between De Castris bay & Hakodadi — Nothing about the Dollart The stalls except two were taken down to take camels on board The new stalls were made at Hakodadi of plank — Good stalls could have been made out of these poles but they were not made The plank stalls were made by Esche's orders.

Mr Esche used to go down once every two or 3 days.

I administered oil to the camels that were sick

I heard there would be a lawsuit before I left Hakodadi I live at the Fisher House — Mr Esche pays my board — Mr E. made me a present of \$50 — after my arrival — that's all he has given me — He told me at Hakodadi that if I looked after the camels and took an interest in them he would give me a gratification

I put the protest in at by Captain's orders — he said Mr. Esche suggested it — I did not make the entry then but a few days after —

Mr Esche did not superintend the construction of the stalls at De Castris

He ordered them made at Hakodadi — did not superintend their construction in person I think the American consul sent them on board The same kind of stalls were furnished to the Dollart as to the Caroline E Foote — The original protest which I copied into the logbook was handed to me by the Master — I have the original — I recognize my handwriting in the copy in the log book and I remember the fact of writing it — There was no reference to the bark Dollart in my conversation with Mr Esche — The first of these conversations occurred at De Castris bay —

Proper stalls could have been made of these poles — Both the nails and ropes would be required principally ropes — We had very few nails on board — It is very likely that I omitted to note in the log book all the deaths of camels that occurred. I frequently failed to write up the log on the day — I say what I said before that I think the greater part of them died for want of proper care and attention.

#### *Andrew McFarlan*

I have brought camels from the Amoor River in June 1860. We arrived here in the latter part of July — came in the Caroline E Foote from D C Castris bay.

Brought over 15 camels — none died during the voyage — They were so thin poor when I took them on board — The stalls were made of poles fastened together by ropes — We used ropes principally A piece of plank was nailed fore & aft along the skin — and the poles athwart ships were lashed to this.

We first levelled off the ballast broke the large stones and strewed it over with fine gravel & a little earth —

We cleaned the stalls nearly every day. I and another man attended to them — I was employed by Mr Esche — the other man also — We kept a watch on them day & night. I think two men could have taken care of forty — We always kept a light there — It is necessary to watch them to see that they do not get foul with their halters &c. I cleaned the camels — brushed them off every three or 4 days. We had lashings for these camels — did not find it necessary to use them.

We had strong breezes — our voyage was 56 days from De Castris.

We did not have a stormy passage — I was under Captain's orders — I understood the freight paid was 100 dollars — I don't know whether my passage was paid

I made the lashings myself don't know who furnished the canvas. I never had any especial charge of live stock except on this occasion —

Three of the camels died after I took charge of them before they were put on board

One of them died the 3d or 4th day after we arrived

Another about a month afterwards.

The camels had been at De Castris before they were shipped 5 or 6 months — They were in a very bad condition — The winter was very severe and cold — colder than in the Northern states. They had hay but not quite enough — Their condition when they went on board was poor and feeble,

This camel is called the "Bactrian"

The one that died 3 or 4 days after our arrival died from general debility — We had not more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  allowance of food on the voyage

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#### *J. Bandmann*

We are agents of Mr Esche<sup>11</sup> — We were consignees of these camels. I have received various lots of camels We sold this last lot of 23 camels some from the Dollart and some from the Foote — The 23 sold for \$6000 purchased by Mr Callbreath of Victoria British America — Was present when the last paym't on charter was made —

Receipt \$755.56 produced — "in full as per charter —" Capt M claimed some lay days — They had a conversation about it — Capt M. gave up his claim and I paid the am't due after deducting sums advanced to Capt by Mr Esche — Mr. Franks Hanoverian Consul was present. It took place on the same day the receipt was signed.

This paym't was a settlement of the moneys due under charter party — Nothing was said by Mr Esche respecting any other claim against the Captain — The latter made a claim for lay days which he gave up in order to have a settlement

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#### *Charles Landes.*

I am a seaman — was one of the Dollart's crew — joined the ship at Nicolaski about a week before the camels came on board. Helped make the stalls at De Castris bay — There were poles and nails and pieces of rope finished planks. The stalls were finished 2 or 3 days before the camels came on board. Mr. Esche was then on board.

He said to the Captain that he didn't think the stalls could be any better than they were —

About 3 stalls were taken down to let the camels in — They were put up again the night before we sailed All the camels had stalls from Castris Bay to Hakodadi —

I think about 4 or 5 died on the way to Hakodadi — couldn't say certainly — They gave out when we were 4 da. out Helped to skin 3 or 4 camels — They were all swelled out as hard as a drum — after they had been eating barley — It was strange food to them, They refused to eat it for 2 or 3 days

I was in the hold every day I don't think there could have been better accommodations made for them — At Hakodadi other stalls were put up —

The Captain told me, that Mr Esche wanted 3 men to look after his camels — and afterwards the Captain said E said he didn't care who took care of them and that he the Capt was obliged to furnish 3 men — so he put the 3 Malays because the white men were better to work ship.

I never heard any other reason. I heard at the Consul's office that we were to take care of the camels —

The Captain came to Castris Bay said he wanted 3 men to take care of camels — said the owner had agreed to give 5 dollars a month — When we got down to Castris the Captain told us that he didn't want Americans to look after the camels, they might poison them — He told us he would give us \$12 per month, I didn't hear anything said at the Consul's office about who was to take care of the camels.

Mr. Esche requested that the 3 Malays might attend to the camels for otherwise he could have got 3 Americans to mind them. After leaving Hakodadi used to go down in the hold every day. The crew assisted the Malays in setting up the camels

I did not see any improper treatment of the camels. Everything that could be done was done. Never heard the captain tell the mate not to go down in the hold. Have heard him tell him to go — He would go and walk the deck. I was cook on board in place of the cook was injured.

There was white bread — China bread Russian bread plenty of potatoes — beef pork — butter tea coffee sugar — tongues 2 bbls of flour — one full the other 3 parts full — we

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<sup>11</sup> Julius Bandmann and H. Nielsen were in business in San Francisco for several years as importers and commission merchants. Bandmann took personal charge of the camels shipped by Esche and arranged to exhibit them for the German Benevolent Society of which Nielsen was treasurer.

used it until we got in peas — beans — plenty rice — plenty — 2 kinds of rice — Japanese and another kind — The Captain had some preserves. There was macaroni on board about 10 or 12 lbs — Mr Esche had some private stores — Champagne — porter preserves — potatoes. I never had better living on board of any vessels We had the same living as the Captain and officers The pork and beef were very good.

Mr. Hall did not attend to his duties as first officer Have seen him in liquor on board — on New Year's day Mr E. gave him a bottle of brandy I believe —

#### *Cross Examined*

I attribute the deaths of the camels between De Castris & Hakodadi to the barley — They were swollen out — The Hay gave out about 4 or 5 days after leaving De Castris —

They wouldn't eat barley for 3 or 4 days — About the 8 or 9th day they eat barley — no barley was given them until the hay gave out. I gave one camel some hay and some water this was [all] I did in the way of feeding The camels refused to eat barley for three days after the hay gave out My opinion is that all the camels that died between Castris & Hakodadi died from the effects of the barley — My only business in the hold was to help the camels up when they got down — I went down sometimes for water. We had 2 casks on deck but they gave out after about 9 days.

My passage was paid by the Consul from Nicolaski — paid the Captain \$10 apiece for each of us. Can't say why they refused to let Gordon mind the camels. Gordon said he wanted to mind the animals. He told me so after we left the consul's office — Esche & the Capt had remained in the office.

Heard the Captain tell the Mate to go down and look after the camels. He wouldn't do it at the time — I suppose because he had been down there a short time before — or intended to go down soon —

Can't account for the deaths between Hacodadi & San Fran<sup>co</sup> except they had some sickness.

I thought the bullock, pig & sheep belonged to the ship didn't know they were Mr Esche's —

I cooked about the middle of the voyage

When we first came on board the two barrels of flour were on board — We had about a barrell and a third of a bbl at Hakodadi —

The pork gave out 2 or 3 days before we got in — Beef likewise We had white biscuit the whole voyage There is some on board the ship yet

The Potatoes gave out about 3 weeks before we got in — The tongues were good — They didn't seem old to me. We had a bbl & ½ of beans & about as much peas when we left Hakodadi

#### *Andrew I Worth*

Am Master of the Caroline E Foote. She is a topsail sch<sup>r</sup> Have made 3 voyages in her to De Castris bay & back I arrived here a year ago last July with the camels spoken of —

On my last voyage I sailed Oct 12 Arrived Nov 15 1861 I had 10 camels on board the last time — They were stalled in the same way as on the previous voyage — bedded & Four of the camels died<sup>12</sup>

As soon as they got down I gave them oil — If I had given them barley all the way I should have killed them all —

I had both cargoes groomed. When they got down I had their legs taken out from under them and rubbed with gunny bags &c The lot on the previous voyage required more rubbing because they shed their coats on board —

The poles furnished to the Dollart were the same as I had used — I explained to Captain Mugginsborg how they were to be made and I went in twice to show him how they were made — I delivered to the Dollart or Mr Esche some nails & spikes — some 80 or 100 lbs — I used what I required and gave the ballance to Mr Esche's agent —

I gave orders for the making of the spikes to Mr Rebsker Mr Esche's agent

I cleaned out the stalls twice a week —

When they were ill I had them rubbed — When they were sick I fed them with corn meal and hot water — poured it down with a bottle — There was no special man on board to take charge of these camels My charter was \$2250 — took 50 or 60 tons. The freight for the camels was about ½ —

<sup>12</sup> One died before Worth left Castris Bay. The total number of camels brought into California by Esche in three shipments was forty-five.

There is no difficulty in bringing camels over with proper care and proper food —

None of the camels died before the hay gave out — The first one died about 20 days out.

I had a light in the hold and a man on watch the whole time — On the 2d voyage a man was up and down every  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour — You could stand by the hatch and see all the camels — I put grease on them Whenever they were chafed

I made a kind of pad for the ends of the poles with hay and canvas. I explained this to Capt Muggenbaugh I saw the stalls all put up temporarily with old ropes ends but he had to take them down before he could get the camels

I smoothed off the ballast and covered it over with coarse gravel and put over that some bark and leaves.

They eat barley about 8 or 10 days before I discovered it had a bad effect on them.

I spoke to Capt M. at Mr Esche's request — I told him how I fixed the beds of the camels — I told him he had better get bushes or shavings from on shore he could have got 4 or 5 boat loads — I think he saw my boat's crew getting gravel —

I have brought 2 cargoes of camels I think that by the usage of the trade the precautions and measures I took were such as my duty required — They were necessary for the safe transportation of freight of that description I had no motive or inducement to take special care of these camels —

*Capt Brown*

I have been on board the Dollart to examine the vessel.

The main rigging is  $\frac{2}{3}$ rds worn standing rigging good. The sails I saw were of very good hemp — want repairing —  $\frac{1}{2}$  worn — the sails are fit to repair again —

Didn't see any rot about the sails I have carried elephants — rhinoceroses tigers —

It is customary for the shipper of the animals to send a man to take care of them.

I have carried a Brahminter bull It was washed — and cleaned also the elephants

I saw the foresail and the top sail These were the only sails I saw —

I knew of the arrival of the Dollart Mr Esche spoke to me about attending to his business — He reported her as consigned to us — The usual place of discharge at this port is a wharf She finally came into Clay st on the South side —

On Monday afternoon I went with the Captain to engage a berth I found a berth — The Wharfinger came to me in the evening — I did not engage a berth for I didn't know who was to pay the bill — Muggenbaugh knew of this — She didnt haul in for 3 or 4 days The berth remained vacant & she finally went into it —

The Captain told me he wished to have the balance of freight guaranteed to him before he discharged I dont know what arrangements were made with the wharfinger Had nothing more to do with it

## CAMELS IN THE SKETCHES OF EDWARD VISCHER

By FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR

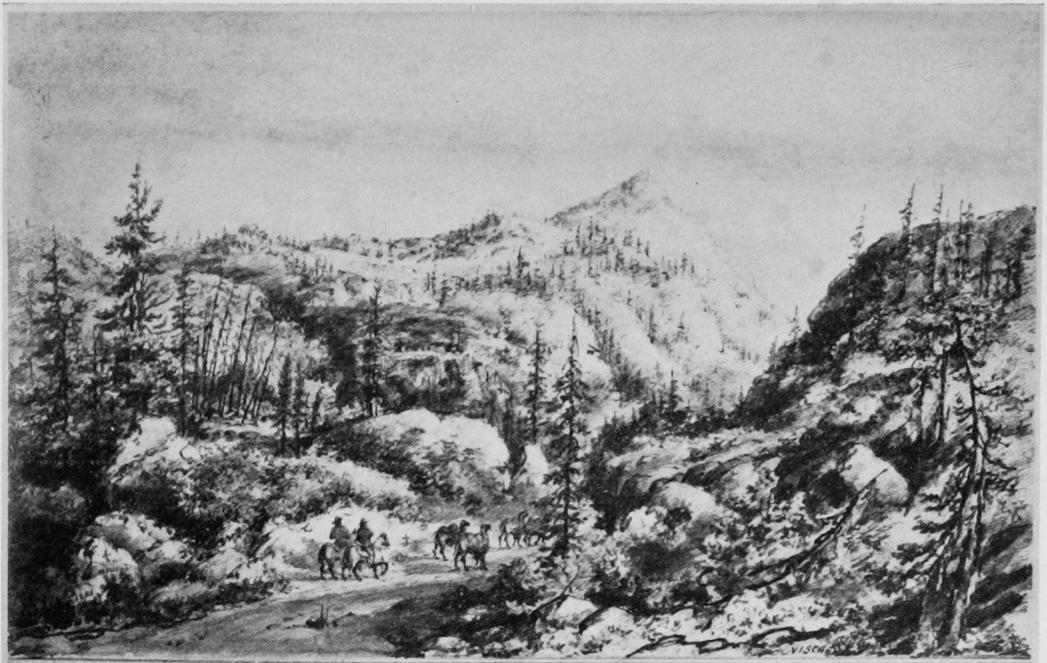
Edward Vischer (1809-1879) was a native of Regensburg (Ratisbon), Bavaria. For many years he was engaged in commercial enterprises on the Pacific Coast, during most of the time with headquarters at Acapulco, Mexico. In 1842 he visited California for the first time and in 1849 returned and settled in San Francisco. Although primarily engaged in business as an agent and commission merchant, a talent for drawing and an appreciative eye for the picturesque led him to make sketches of scenes and objects wherever he went. He was especially attracted by the ruins of the Spanish missions and his drawings of them form a valuable record of their appearance at that time. Trees seem to have been next in his affections, closely followed by mountain and rural scenes; and, being a man of commerce, he did not neglect the novel and significant aspects of an era in which machinery was just beginning to have a world-wide effect. With the accumulation of material and with the broadening scope of his opportunities for sketching, Vischer conceived the idea of publishing a collection of views illustrating the natural characteristics of California, the life and movement of the changes coming over them, and the elements of commerce and industry. His announced aim was to be graphic rather than artistic. Beginning with a series of a dozen lithographed plates of the Mammoth Tree Grove, published in 1862, this endeavor culminated in the *Pictorial of California* of 1870. The latter contains upwards of one hundred and fifty views, a large part of which are photographs of his own sketches. Some, however, are copies of sketches, paintings and photographs by others — contributions which he gratefully acknowledges. The album of views was accompanied by a volume of 132 pages of printed text.<sup>1</sup> Vischer also published in 1862 a separate collection of views of the Calaveras Mammoth Tree Grove, composed of photographs of sketches, most of which appeared later in the *Pictorial*. This album was also accompanied by text, which was reissued in an enlarged pamphlet in 1864.<sup>2</sup> Another group of views was issued in 1862, comprising sketches of the Washoe Mining District. With this, also, there was a descriptive pamphlet.<sup>3</sup>

Several of Vischer's sketches show groups of camels more or less prominent in the scenes. The presence of the camels is explained in the preface to the text of the *Pictorial* as follows:

<sup>1</sup> The title of the volume of text is as follows: *Vischer's Pictorial of California. Landscape, Trees and Forest Scenes. Grand Features of California Scenery, Life, Traffic and Customs. In five series of twelve numbers each, with a supplement, and contributions from reliable sources.* San Francisco, April, 1870. Printed by Joseph Winterburn & Company, No. 417 Clay Street, between Sansome and Battery streets.

<sup>2</sup> *The Forest Trees of California. Sequoia Gigantea. Calaveras Mammoth Tree Grove. Photographs, from the original drawings of Edward Vischer, with contributions from various sources.* Edward Vischer, 515 Jackson Street, above Montgomery, San Francisco. (1864.) Irregular paging.

<sup>3</sup> *Sketches of the Washoe Mining Region: photographs, reduced from originals, twenty-five numbers.* By Edward Vischer. San Francisco: Valentine & Co.: Commercial Steam printing Office, Nos. 517 Clay and 514 Commercial Streets. 1862. 24 pages.



*Eastern Descent of the Sierra Nevada. CARSON CANON. Entrance of the Defile from California.*

VIEW NO. 23 OF VISCHER'S PICTORIAL OF CALIFORNIA



*SIERRA NEVADA SCENERY. LAKE near the SUMMIT of EAST RANGE. on the BIG TREE ROUTE.*

VIEW NO. 43 OF VISCHER'S PICTORIAL OF CALIFORNIA

Human or animal groupings, wherever introduced by us, are either such as we actually sketched on the spot, or so selected as would be most likely to be seen in the peculiar locality and under the circumstances, thus designating the degree and kind of road-travel in the centres of traffic of particular routes. We must, however, account for the recurrence of camels, in sketches relating to the Big Tree Route, by the circumstance of our having traveled over that route, for the sake of studying their habits, with the little caravan of nine Bactrian camels, taken over the Sierra Nevada to Washoe in 1861. (p. 5.)

Further comment is found in explanation of the individual sketches. Six of these appear in the *Pictorial*, being nos. 6, 18, 19, 23, 43, 47. There is one lithograph view of the Mammoth Tree portfolio, Plate IX, which does not appear elsewhere. The views in the Washoe and Big Tree albums showing camels are duplicated in the *Pictorial*. The following quotations are taken from the sources already mentioned. The numbers refer to the plates in the respective albums: The remarks pertaining to view No. 6 in the *Pictorial* are also applicable to Plate IX in the lithograph portfolio.

### *Vischer's Pictorial of California*

#### *No. 6 — Bactrian Camels Entering the Mammoth Grove.*

Here we have before us the principal avenue to the grove, doubtless well impressed on the mind of all who have visited it; with two of the mammoth trees, "the Guardsmen," standing like the sentinels of an outpost, at the southwestern extremity of the grove; a magnificent guard to that Druid's shrine. The height of these trees is about 300 feet, and their circumference at the base respectively 65 and 69 feet.

The remains of the original Big Tree (prostrate on mother earth) are here visible at full length; its stump serves as pedestal to the pavilion; the log, partially hid by the bowling alley erected over it, indicates the direction in which the end-piece of that monstrous tree is seen emerging from its housing. The gap on the right side of it shows the path which, by half an hour's walk through the grove, leads round to the hotel, the building just discernible behind the "guardians," a beacon, welcome alike to the wayworn overland emigrant, the recruiting invalid, the pleasure parties which flock to it from the mining towns and the lower country, and occasionally to visitors from far abroad, bent on scientific research.

A drove of nine Bactrian Camels, imported from the Amoor River, in 1861, and destined for Washoe, for packing purposes, was, in the fall of the same year, taken over the Sierra Nevada, by the Big Tree route, and is here represented entering the mammoth grove. (p. 17.)

#### *No. 18 — The Mammoth Grove Hotel and Surroundings.*

This number represents the farm, hotel, and grounds, taken from opposite the clearing of about eighty acres, as the only spot affording a general view of the forest. The "Guardsmen" here appear in full height, to the right of the picture, while the stump and log are indicated by the pavilion and buildings erected on them. A spacious structure has replaced the original Big Tree Cottage: the foreground of the hotel was to have been laid out as a park, the ornamental shrubbery of which would have formed a striking contrast to the giant proportions beyond.

The remnants of felled trees in the foreground, a chaotic wilderness, show this settlement as an oasis in the apparently boundless forest. As an evidence of there having once existed Indian wigwams in this neighborhood, we notice the holes in the granite boulder close by the fence, which, with the aid of a pestle, formed the usual means of pounding their acorn food. Had their Seers possessed the gift of second-sight, the gaunt, spectre-like forms of the camels, as we saw them passing through the grove, would have harrowed them with fearful visions of intruders from Asia, as well as from the land of the pale faces. (p. 30.)

#### *No. 19 — Hermit Valley, Holden's Station, on the Upper Mokelumne.*

Hermit Valley, pleasantly situated near the headwaters of the Mokelumne, is the centre of traffic of the so-called Big Tree route over the Sierra Nevada, leading from the Calaveras Mammoth Grove, over the Summits, and, through Carson Cañon, to Alpine District, and the Carson Plains; thus connecting the old Carson emigrant

road (which formerly was made to strike off towards Lake Valley) with the more southern counties on the California side. . . .

The settlement here represented, and formerly simply known as Holden's Station, owes its present poetic name to Lady Franklin, who visited this spot, in 1862, from the Big Trees, and, like ourselves, charmed by the seclusion of the locality, between the two granite ranges, and worthy old Holden's — the pioneer settler's — hearty welcome, named it Hermit Valley.

Our sketch is taken in fall. Holden's modernized log house, on the skirt of the forest-clearing, with a few of the tall pines yet left standing on the road-side, exhibiting a winter's snow gauge, or record, and a tamed eagle's summer perch; the baker's, and also the blacksmith's trade carried on in the open air — and teamsters chatting in the corridor, while their horses (blanketed) are feeding around the ponderous wagons, or lustily rolling in the morning sun — Holden and Ritchie, the proprietors of a now lively road-station, are standing on the roadside beyond, as are the cook and hostler nearer to us, to await the passing Pony Express. An immigrant train is just passing, on its way to California, its mules scared at the sight of some of our camels, who, strayed from the corral, have come to bask in the open space. Other trains are encamped near by; the smoke in the timber, denotes the camp-fires of a whole Cherokee Colony, en route for Stockton. (pp. 30-32.)

No. 23 — *Carson Cañon — Entrance from the California Side.*

[The text does not mention the camels.]

No. 43 — *Summit Lake.*

That nothing should be wanting to complete the awful grandeur of this solitary wilderness, the spectre-like forms of several of our camels, having strayed from our encampment on an adjoining lake (forest-bound, yet encircled by rich meadow land) appear in the foreground, noiselessly grazing on the rich sward of the near shore, or nibbling on the branches of over-hanging trees. (p. 64.)

No. 47 — *Encampment with the Camels, on the descent towards Carson Valley.*

Bactrian camels, imported from the Amoor River, and brought over the Sierra Nevada, (to convey salt from the Walker River District to Virginia, for mining purposes,) now halting in sight of the Carson Plains, and, for the first time since their voyage, snuffing the air of the desert. Their instinct enables them to recognize a congenial region, nearly resembling their native wilds in Tartary.

Traveling with this drove on the occasion of our inspection of the Big Tree Route, we could not but observe with interest the peculiar habits of these sagacious and much-enduring animals. Seemingly listless, they notice everything, and are fond of overlooking a wide range of scenery. On a halt, though fatigued from a day's journey, if they discern any eminence near the camp, they like to climb it, to obtain a more extensive view, and, with their heads towards that direction, quietly kneel down, as though in contemplation. They are less fond of becoming themselves the subject of observation, especially from strangers, and when annoyed by their curiosity, give unmistakable evidence of impatience. Though usually slow in their movements, their attitudes are continually changing, rendering it difficult to sketch these animals from nature.

A lot of camels subsequently imported from the same source were purchased for the Cariboo mines. But, previous to any of these trial-importations from Tartary, undertaken by Mr. Otto Esche — formerly a merchant of San Francisco, now established in Nicolajeffsk — the Syrian camels, imported by order of the United States Government, in 1847 [1856], were brought to this coast, by the Albuquerque route, with the surveying expedition under Lieutenant Beale. (pp. 66-67.)

### *Mammoth Tree Grove Album*

Plate IX. *The Mammoth Grove Farm, Hotel and Grounds.*

[The explanatory text is, with a few slight differences, the same as that for No. 18 of the *Pictorial*.]

### *Sketches of the Washoe Mining Region*

No. 24 — *Descent to Carson Valley.*

[The view is the same as No. 47 of the *Pictorial*. Because they are an earlier version and because they vary somewhat from the text of the *Pictorial*, the explanatory passages are quoted here in full.]

Bactrian Camels, imported from the Amoor River and brought over the Sierra Nevada (to convey salt from the Walker River District to Virginia for mining purposes,) now halting in sight of the Carson Plains, and for the first time since their voyage, snuffing the air of the desert. Their instinct enables them to recognize a congenial region, nearly resembling their native wilds in Tartary.

We take this opportunity for introducing the Ship of the Desert.

Traveling with this drove on the occasion of our inspection of the Big Tree Route, we could not but observe with interest the peculiar habits of these sagacious and much enduring animals. In their apparent listlessness they notice everything, and are particularly fond of overlooking a wide range of scenery. On a halt, though fatigued from the day's journey, if they discern any eminence near the camp, they like to climb it to obtain a more extensive view, and with their heads toward that direction patiently kneel down, seemingly to rest in contemplation. They are less fond of becoming, themselves, the subject of observation, especially from strangers, and when annoyed by their curiosity, give unmistakable evidence of impatience; they unceremoniously throw their cud into the face of the offender, and then turn away with something between a moan and a groan, with the most ludicrous gestures of contempt.

Though usually slow in their movements, their attitudes are constantly changing, and we found it so difficult to sketch these animals from nature, that at last we preferred to confine our study to a close observation of their habits so as to render their attitudes from memory. Once, we thought to have a sure thing, while some of them were feeding — but the Nestor of the group seemed to suspect our intention; in the next moment every head was turned round, and before we had even secured an outline, the snouts of the five animals that had appeared so absorbed in their meal, by rubbing against our paper, put an effective protest against all further portraiture. (p. 22.)

#### *California at the Close of 1863*

[In this seven-page folio there is found the following brief mention of camels.]

We may here mention, that in September, 1861, a drove of *Bactrian camels*, which had been imported the year previous from the Amoor River, was taken over the Sierra Nevada to Washoe, and has since then been employed in the transportation of salt from the Walker District to Virginia. A lot subsequently imported from the same source, was purchased for the Cariboo mines. But previous to any of these trial importations from Tartary, the Syrian camels, imported by order of the U. S. Government, 1847 [1856], were brought to this coast, by the Albuquerque route, with the Surveying Expedition under Lieut. Beale. (p. 4.)

**A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF THE CAMEL**

**With Particular Reference to the Introduction of Camels into the  
United States and the Camel Pack Trains in the  
Western Mining Camps**

By WILLIAM S. LEWIS

WITH ADDITIONS BY A. A. GRAY AND FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR

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OF THE

## AMERICAN CAMEL COMPANY,

Granted by the State of New York;

WITH THE

### NATURAL HISTORY OF THE CAMEL;

SHOWING THAT THE CAMEL IS THE ANIMAL OF ALL OTHERS THE BEST ADAPTED FOR  
THE BUSINESS OF TRANSPORTATION OVER THE DESERTS LYING  
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- SAN FRANCISCO: *Herald* — October 3, 1852; May 4, 1855; December 13, 1856; November 16, 1861.
- SPOKANE (WASHINGTON): *Daily Chronicle* — August 6, 1928.
- SPOKANE (WASHINGTON): *Spokesman-Review* — March, 1928.
- STOCKTON (CALIFORNIA): *Argus* — December (?), 1856.

VICTORIA (BRITISH COLUMBIA): *British Colonist* — March 1, 1862; April 15, 1862; May 2, 6, 24, 1862.

VIRGINIA CITY (MONTANA): *Montana Post* — June 3, 1865; July 29, 1865.

VIRGINIA CITY (NEVADA): *Territorial Enterprise* — August 3, 1861; October 27, 1861; May 10, 16, 1862; February 28, 1863; September 30, 1864; May 15, 1869; June 28, 29, 1876; July 6, 1876.

WALLA WALLA (WASHINGTON): *Union* — November 26, 1870.

WALLA WALLA (WASHINGTON): *Washington Statesman* — March 12, 1864.

WHITEFISH (MONTANA): *Montana Pilot* — September 26, 1924. (Syndicated article appearing in other Montana papers — Reminiscences of C. W. Cannon.)

[NOTE: During the period within which camels were being introduced and used in California, Nevada and other parts of the West, the newspapers of practically every town and mining camp in that region contained occasional mention of camels. These notices were frequently "clipped" from paper to paper, and no attempt has here been made to list them in detail. — Ed.]

#### *Some Manuscript Material*

1. Alter, J. Cecil — Letter to William S. Lewis, Aug. 21, 1928. Re: Camels in Utah.
2. Babb, James E. — Letter to William S. Lewis, Aug. 15, 1928. Re: Camels in Idaho.
3. Bonney, W. P. — Letters to William S. Lewis. Re: Camels at Olympia, and Camels passing through Cowlitz Prairie in 1860.
4. Galbraith, R. L. — Fort Steel, British Columbia.  
Letters to George H. Hines, Oregon Historical Society.  
Nov. 20, 1923, statement of Mr. Galbraith.  
Dec. 3, 1923, statement of Hon. Charles Semlin.  
Dec. 7, 1923, statement of James H. Anderson and T. D. Leighton.  
On Camels in British Columbia.
5. Hilger, David, Helena, Mont. — Letter to William S. Lewis, Aug. 17, 1928. Re: Camels in Montana.
6. Laumeister, Frank — Letter from his daughter to F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B. C., on importation of camels into British Columbia in 1862.
7. McDonald, Duncan, Dixon, Montana — Letters to William S. Lewis, Spokane, Washington, July 30, 1928. Re: Camels at Ft. Colville.
8. Phillips, Paul C., Missoula, Montana — Letter to William S. Lewis, Aug. 18, 1928. Re: Camels in Montana.
9. Prochaska, Joe, State Game Warden, Phoenix, Arizona — Feb. 3, 1919. Letter to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard. Re: Last Camels in Ajo country, Arizona.
10. Regan, Agnes D., Assistant Librarian, State Historical and Miscellaneous Library, Helena, Montana — Letters to Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Laramie, Wyoming, Feb. 17 and 27, 1919, containing statement of Judge William J. Pemberton, Librarian. On camels on Walla Walla trail, etc.
11. Spokane Indians — Sam Hill of Willpinit: statement to William S. Lewis; Alex Pierre of Willpinit, *ditto*, regarding camels in the Spokane country.