

## CONFEDERATE MIGRATION TO MEXICO

After the termination of the War between the States, many of the men who had been fighting for the Confederacy determined to leave their native land. A few prominent families, like the Benjamins and the Slidells, went to England and France never to return. Others went to Cuba, Jamaica, Yucatan, Honduras, and Venezuela, but Brazil and Mexico attracted by far the largest proportion of southern emigrants. The exact number of southerners who sought new homes and fortunes in foreign lands will never be known; nevertheless, the migration was sufficiently important to warrant more attention than has, hitherto, been accorded it.

After the movement of voluntary exile was well under way, the editors of southern papers gave the adventurers "frequent warning that a positive decision would prove perilous" and sounded a word of caution.<sup>1</sup> Among the many papers that opposed the movement were the Charleston *Daily Courier*, the Charleston *Daily News*, the Raleigh *Standard*, the New Orleans *Times*, the *Daily True Delta*, and the *Crescent* of New Orleans, the Alabama *State Journal* and the *Daily Register* of Mobile, and others.

It was perhaps fortunate that notes of caution were sounded on every side, for this led those who could not be deterred from making the adventure to exercise greater precaution in formulating their plans. In this manner the exodus was robbed of some of its precipitateness, if not of some of its radicalness. As is usual in such movements, there were a few wisecracks who rushed off in headstrong fashion, but the vast majority who left the country acted after deliberation.<sup>2</sup>

The adventurers launched companies throughout the south to aid in colonization schemes in Brazil and Mexico if suf-

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence F. Hill, "Confederate Exiles to Brazil" in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII (May, 1927), 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (Austin, Texas, 1936), 309-326.

ficient interest warranted the undertakings. These organizations gathered important data and sent out agents to select sites for the settlements. As a rule these locations were made with great care—health, climate, water, soil, accessibility, and attitude of government concerned were all carefully investigated. The agents sent to Brazil exercised more care than those sent to Mexico, but the ex-Confederates, as we shall now observe, were equipped with advanced information.

As there was, however, less organization in the migration to Mexico than in the expedition to Brazil—and perhaps to any other Hispanic American nation—it is exceedingly difficult to determine how many ex-Confederates eventually went to that country. Isolated southerners were to be found in all parts of the empire—on farms, in the seaport towns, and in the villages of the interior. Several ex-Confederates, moreover, attempted to plant colonies within various sections and provinces of the empire. Bryant of Arkansas established a colony in Chihuahua; Mitchel, of Missouri, another on the Rio Verde in the province of San Luis Potosi; Terry of Texas, another in Jalisco; and Soulé and Gwin promoted a similar project in Sonora.<sup>3</sup> In the Córdoba Valley at Carlotta, General Sterling Price made the most vigorous and concentrated effort of them all.

General Price selected the Córdoba Valley for his project because the lands in the locality selected by him had already been abandoned. A number of haciendas in that neighborhood had become indebted to the church for more than they were worth and had been confiscated by the Juárez government. These lands were expropriated by Emperor Maximilian and applied to colonization.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Message and Documents; Papers relating to foreign Affairs accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the second Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress* (Washington, 1867-1868), part 2, p. 491, part '3, p. 210. Hereafter this will be cited as *Diplomatic Correspondence*. See Amos A. Ettinger, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855* (New Haven, 1932), p. 473.

Since there are so few references to these undertakings it is probably safe to say that they attracted fewer settlers from the southern part of the United States than that at Carlotta.

<sup>4</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, p. 491.

The valley of Córdoba is located in the beautiful mountain region of Mexico sixty-five miles from Vera Cruz and has an elevation from eight hundred to several thousand feet above sea level. The climate is excellent, the rainfall not excessive, and the land extremely fertile. Since agriculture was to be the main pursuit and occupation of the southern emigrant, a more ideal location for planting a permanent colony could hardly have been found in all Mexico.

The leaders in this gigantic undertaking came from well-to-do southern families who had been slaveowners prior to the war, had owned large plantations, and had moved within the best circles of southern society. They had earlier held, moreover, high government positions, both military and political, in the United States, and later in the Confederacy. Among the sponsors of this colonizing enterprise are to be found such names as generals J. B. Magruder of Virginia, Sterling Price of Missouri, M. F. and R. H. Maury of Virginia, D. Leadbeater of Alabama, ex-Governor Isham G. Harris of Tennessee and several others scarcely less prominently identified with the southern cause.<sup>5</sup>

These men entered enthusiastically upon the tasks involved in this hazardous undertaking. They were filled with high hopes of planting successfully a congenial group of southerners in a foreign country where good fellowship could be enjoyed by all; and where their lost fortunes could more quickly and easily be forgotten or retrieved. Circulars and pamphlets were issued setting forth the advantages of this country for emigrants.<sup>6</sup> So enthusiastic was the response that, according to reports, as early as September 20, 1865, there were ninety-eight former Confederates in Mexico in search of new homes and new fortunes.<sup>7</sup> Although it was reported in New Orleans in October, 1865, that Maximilian had positively refused to do more for them than for other emi-

<sup>5</sup> New York *Herald*, October 20, 1865.    <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1865.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, October 17, 1865. The majority of these prospective settlers came from Mississippi. The name of each is given, where from, whether married or single, and the date of arrival (*ibid.*, October 18, 1865).

grants, it was nevertheless believed that the emperor really favored immigration in order to develop the natural resources of Mexico, and that he would soon issue a favorable decree on the subject.<sup>8</sup>

The leaders in the colonization project were apparently so enthusiastically optimistic about the enterprise that, according to letters received from Americans at Orizaba, they proudly boasted that stages from Mexico brought each day a fresh contingent of immigrants for Córdoba to form agricultural settlements. The great majority of these new settlers hailed from the southern states.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that, according to an earlier report, Maximilian favored immigration in general but would not offer more attractive inducements to the ex-rebels than to others, he appointed at a good salary M. F. Maury, one of the southern leaders from Virginia, honorary counsellor of state and imperial commissioner of colonization. In addition to \$150 for office furniture, he allowed him \$500 annually for expenses, \$100 a month for office rent, one clerk at a salary of \$1200, and \$300 for a private messenger. To further the colonization project, the emperor authorized Maury to appoint seven agents of colonization from the following states and cities of the United States: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Mississippi, California, New Orleans, and Mobile. These agents were to receive \$100 a month as compensation and the further sum of \$300 a year for general expenses. The emperor also appointed J. B. Magruder chief of the land office of colonization at a salary of \$3,000. He, too, was allowed \$150 for office furniture, \$1200 a year for office rent, \$500 for general expenses, and \$300 for a private messenger. Magruder was authorized to estimate the number of engineers and surveyors needed to carry on the work, and the appropriation needed for salaries.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, October 20, 1865.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1865.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, October 24, 1865. On November 18, 1865, M. F. Maury said: "The lands of Mexico have never been surveyed, nor has there been until now a land office" (*Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, p. 212). The *Mexican Times*, June

Maximilian made further attractive offers to these settlers. He arranged by imperial decree that each immigrant should "receive a duly executed title, incommutable, of his landed estate, and a certificate that it is free of mortgage". Upon entering the country he was given a permit to bring all his personal effects in duty free, including his "working and brood animals, seeds, agricultural implements, machines and working tools". To make matters even more attractive, perhaps, to the dissatisfied ex-Confederates, it was further decreed that those

who may desire to bring laborers with them, or induce them to come in considerable numbers, of any race whatever, are authorized to do so, but those laborers will be subject to special protective regulations.

Such a stipulation might induce the former slaveholders to bring their ex-slaves with them to serve as peons, since slavery was forbidden in the empire. If the foreigner so desired, he might be naturalized as soon as he had established himself within his chosen community. Furthermore,

immigration agents shall be appointed, who will be paid by the government, and whose duty it will be to protect the arrival of immigrants, and instal them on the lands assigned them, and assist them in every possible manner in establishing themselves.<sup>11</sup>

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16, 1866, carried the following encouraging account of the colonization enterprise: "We are glad to learn from those of our countrymen who have lately had business to transact with his excellency Sr. Somera, minister [of] Fomento, in relation to immigration, that there is as much activity in the acquisition and surveys of lands for colonization as has ever been known on the part of the government; that the policy of encouraging immigration is earnestly adhered to, and that many and very desirable lands have recently been obtained for that purpose. Messrs. Robert Laurence, Hardeman, and McClausland have been employed to make extensive surveys, and already there are several efficient parties in the field engaged in this operation." *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-206. "Under the laws of the Empire all persons of color are free by the mere act of touching Mexican soil. They may make contracts with the employer who has engaged, or may engage them, by which such employer shall bind himself to feed, clothe, and lodge them, and give them medical attendance, and also pay them a sum of money according to whatever agreements they may enter into with him; moreover, he shall deposit in the savings bank hereinafter mentioned, for the benefit of the laborer, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of his

The lands offered for colonization were divided into three classes:

First. Those that are of the public domain and have never been reduced to cultivation.—Second. Those that have been more or less improved as haciendas, the right to dispose of which the government has acquired either by purchase or otherwise.—Third. Private lands and haciendas, the owners of which are disposed to offer them to immigrants on liberal terms for colonization. Many haciendas that are or have been under cultivation may be bought on easy terms and for less than one dollar per acre.<sup>12</sup>

In further explanation Maximilian said:

It is the policy of the government to encourage settlement upon private as well as public lands: and the same rights, privileges, and exemptions are offered to immigrants who may settle upon the former as are granted to those who settle upon the latter.—Lands of class first [public lands] are offered in alternate sections, as donations to actual settlers, and in quantities varying from 160 acres for a single man, to 640 for the heads of families, . . .

Immigrants are . . . divided into two classes, A and B. The former being those alluded to, who by misfortune have lost all their substance; and the latter, those who are less straightened in their means.—Not only a free passage by sea is offered to class A, but when they arrive in the country, a travelling allowance of ten cents the league thence to their new homes will be made for each member of their families, counting as members, also, their apprentices. Lands of class first [public lands] will be donated to those immigrants by alternate sections, viz: 160 acres to a single man and 320 to a man with a family, with pre-emption right to as much more in each case.—Immigrants of class A, who, after arriving in the country, may prefer to settle upon haciendas or other lands, are at liberty to do so; but in that case they may be required to refund, with interest, the money that may have been advanced in assisting them to their new domiciles.

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wages. The laborer shall, on his part, obligate himself to his employer to perform the labor for which he was employed, for a term of not less than five, nor more than ten years." *Ibid.*, p. 20. These quotations are taken from the decree of Maximilian, September 5, 1865.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207. These are regulations and stipulations made by the Minister of Fomento with the approval of Maximilian.

—Immigrants of class B, who are those that can afford to pay their own expenses, have the whole country before them. They may establish themselves wherever they can find suitable and available lands. If they prefer the unimproved lands of the public domain, they also can have them free, in alternate sections, but only for actual settlement, at the rate of 320 acres for a single man, and 640 to a man with a family, with a pre-emption right to as much more in each case.—These donations of land to persons, whether of class A or B, are made on condition and with the understanding that they shall in good faith, proceed forthwith to occupy, subdue, and cultivate the lands so donated.<sup>13</sup>

Should immigrants come in groups, the government further promised them religious freedom, together with sufficient improved land free of rent within the vicinity selected for colonization purposes, to be used for their common benefit until they could clear their own land and get it ready for cultivation.

This reserve or common is ultimately intended for educational purposes, and after the first years, a ground rent of ten per cent upon the value of the land, but not of the improvements will be made.<sup>14</sup>

The most attractive inducement to the war-weary southerner, perhaps, was the exemption from military conscription for five years. He was allowed, moreover, to bring in his arms free of duty, and, with his neighbors, to form a militia for natural defense against robbers. The emperor further, as suggested above, promised toleration for the Protestant churches and schools that might be established throughout the empire. He even promised endowments of land for the support of schools and colleges.<sup>15</sup>

In order to facilitate the colonization movement, agents for immigration will be stationed at convenient points abroad, for the purpose of affording information to the emigrant there, as to this country, its lands, the best way of reaching them, and upon all other subjects pertaining thereto.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 208.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 488, 494.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, part 3, p. 208.

The imperial commissioner of colonization, M. F. Maury, and Sub-Commissioner Richard L. Maury, appointed eight agents to the different southern states and cities as authorized by Maximilian to aid and encourage settlers to come to the ex-Confederate settlements in Mexico. The excellent plan devised by the emperor and Maury was in a measure thwarted by the United States government, however, in forbidding Mexican colonization agents to enter the country.<sup>17</sup> Literature, nevertheless, was distributed throughout the south telling of the activities of the American settlers in their newly adopted country and urging others to start life anew by joining them in their Mexican project.

The imperial commissioner of colonization, M. F. Maury, published in the Mexican *Times*, a paper edited by ex-Governor Henry W. Allen of Louisiana, a circular letter advising the people who had land to sell and who desired to encourage immigration to offer their land for sale through the colonization office. The government promised to have such lands surveyed and advertised to the public without any charge whatsoever to the owner, provided the lands were suitable for colonization.<sup>18</sup> Thus both private and public lands were offered to settlers. Private lands were more attractive, as a rule, because they were already cleared and ready for cultivation and sugar plantations could be purchased cheaply; whereas uncleared land cost from \$5 to \$6 to clear, enclose, and bring under cultivation. Hence it was much cheaper for a person with a little money to buy an hacienda with ground already cleared, fenced, and a house ready for occupancy than to purchase government lands that had never been cultivated.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214. A letter of Richard L. Maury to James M. Payne, of Nashville, Tennessee, February 17, 1866. The agents of the Mexican colonization office in the South were arrested and required to give up their office. *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 488.

<sup>18</sup> New York *Herald*, November 2, 1865. Taken from the Mexican *Times*, October 14, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 492.

With ex-Confederate colonels and generals holding high imperial positions, southern colonists naturally supported the Maximilian régime. With the strong support of France, the emperor seemed to be firmly established in power. No serious obstacle, therefore, stood in the way of the ex-Confederates. Nevertheless, the activities of the imperial government's southern agents, in advertising the advantages of that country to settlers, urging the dissatisfied southerners to colonize there, and promising free passage to the needy, secured the hostility of the United States government and likewise the hatred of the Mexican liberals too.

According to many reports, enthusiasm for the Confederate project in Mexico continued throughout the fall of 1865. Some of them, however, were discouraging. One of the most enthusiastic that reached the United States was made through the New York *Herald* correspondent in January, 1866. This report, though long, is worth quoting:

On my arrival at Vera Cruz I learned from an American merchant of the city that a dozen or so of rebels had located themselves at a little above Cordova, and that each arrival brought some Southern family for their place of settlement. What he told me of their mode of life, of their system of labor, of the country in which they were settling, of the fine prospect they had before them, excited my curiosity to the highest degree. . . . The stage,<sup>20</sup> or rather the wagon had just reached the top of a small hill, when I saw in the plain extending before me a few tents scattered here and there, and at about five hundred yards a cluster of a dozen unfinished houses pleasantly situated along a brook lined with a row of trees and plants. "What is this?" said I to my conductor who was then whistling a Confederate tune. "This", said he, "is General Sterling Price's settlement. Here are his tents and those of his friends, and here the foundation of a city which, ere long, will be as large as Richmond or New Orleans".

"A city!" exclaimed I. I had no idea that a city could be built up in so short a time, General Price having settled here in the month

<sup>20</sup> The correspondent, whose name is not revealed, was from New York. He spent the night at Córdoba and the next morning was driven to Carlotta by a wooden legged ex-Confederate soldier.

of August, only four months ago. "And pray what is the name of this rival of Richmond and New Orleans?"

"The name of this city", said he gravely, "is Carlotta, a compliment to the Empress, whom we all love and admire, and for whom we are ready at any moment to shed what remains of Confederate blood in this and the other country, if necessary", added he, with a defiant gesture.

A quarter of an hour after my companion landed me in front of a straw roofed, low built, massive cottage, the outside of which had not yet been plastered, and which was far from being finished inside. "Here is General Price's house", said the driver, "but as it is not finished yet, he lives still under his tent, which he has pitched under the orange grove yonder".

On my way thither I saw a lot of Mexicans who were engaged in moulding and drying up to the sun large bricks, about half a yard square, and which appeared to me as hard as stones. The clay used in the manufacture of this building material is mixed up with a kind of vegetable hair, which makes it lighter and stronger. When your bricks are dry all you have to do is to pile them up, one upon the other, by means of a hard cement which is made in the country, and to cover up your structure with a peculiar kind of long and thick straw, stronger and lighter than shingle. If you add to this, a little plastering outside and a little stucco inside, you have as comfortable and nice a cottage as you may desire. . . . When our colony will be congregated on this spot, we will have as nice a little city as any in the South or New England.

"All these details", continued the correspondent, were given to me by the one-legged Confederate, who was amused at my surprise, and delighted to see me more attentive than I had been since our acquaintance began.<sup>21</sup>

As the correspondent approached General Price's tent, the entrance of which was open, he saw the old warrior seated at a table with his head resting on one of his hands in a contemplative attitude. Upon realizing that a stranger was in his midst, Price instantly rose to his feet and greeted him in a cordial and enthusiastic manner. He said to the correspond-

<sup>21</sup> *New York Herald, Supplement, January 12, 1866.*

ent in a familiar way: "Ah, my dear fellow, I am glad to see you. From St. Louis, I suppose?—Are you coming here to settle and to be one of us?"

Upon receiving a negative answer, General Price said:

Well I am sorry to hear you refuse to become one of us, on my own account as well as yours. I do not believe that a man of mature years, like you, can do better than settle down in the midst of this magnificent country and turn farmer. I have been here four or five months, and all I have seen and heard goes to convince me that this is really the land of promises, I have here six hundred and forty acres which I would not exchange for any twelve hundred acres in any part of the United States. What you have seen already must convince you that I do not exaggerate. Where will you find a richer soil and a healthier climate than this? Not in any part of the world. The patriarchs alone could boast of such advantages. Here a man can live under his tent from the wool of his sheep and from the fruits of the earth without being compelled to lift up either the shovel or the hoe; but as we are in an age of civilization, and as we have contracted habits of luxury and all sorts of fictitious wants, we must plough, hoe and turn the soil up side down, for we have not only the appetites of our natures to satisfy, but we have to work for others and to create wealth, the effect of which benefits the whole world.<sup>22</sup>

General Price also gave some particulars of the better known Confederates who had settled in the vicinity of Córdoba. He said that Governor Harris's plantation was close to his, that General Ewell, General Shelby, and other officers of distinction were among his nearest neighbors. These gentlemen had sent for their families, who were then, he supposed, on their way to join them; he was going to send for his own family as soon as the house he was building in Carlotta City was ready for occupancy. He further said that the ground on which that city was raised had been given by him, and he had the satisfaction to see that his gift was appreciated, and that immigrants were fast flocking to that spot.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, January 12, 1866. General Price also said while eating dinner that he had 460 pounds of documents about the army of the trans-Mississippi. *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

General Price conversed five hours with the New York correspondent upon the wonders of the Córdova Valley and the progress of the city of Carlotta. The general showed him several fields which he had planted—some with coffee trees, and some with tobacco. Some of the land was in cultivation when he bought it, and he affirmed that he had already exported coffee to the value of £5,000, and, in addition, tobacco, beans, cattle, horses, sweet potatoes, and fruits. Price used Mexican field hands whom he paid at the rate of 3 and 4 shillings a day in silver.<sup>24</sup>

When asked if he were not afraid that his schemes would be upset and the city sacked by the liberals under the Juarist leadership, who were waging war against Maximilian, or that the former might form an alliance with the United States, Price replied that these possibilities had been considered but were counted as nothing. In other words he believed that Maximilian would remain emperor of Mexico. He said that “the Napoleon family is not in the habit of backing down in the accomplishment of its schemes”. Besides, France is bound to Prince Maximilian by treaties and promises which it cannot give up without compromising its national prestige and honor. Before it would back down it would secure the coöperation of other nations. “Every friend of the Empire”, said General Price, “trusts in these considerations, which are, in their estimation, sufficient to discard any appearance of danger on the part of the United States”. If, however, the United States interfered in Mexican affairs it would arouse Mexican nationalism and unite the two factions.<sup>25</sup>

By the spring of 1866, the beautiful valley of Córdova contained possibly five thousand inhabitants including a regiment of French and Austrian soldiers, and from one hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and fifty Americans. The latter by no means represented all the Americans who sought refuge in Mexico; there were something like 2,300 additional Confederates scattered throughout the empire.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1866.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Among the expatriates in Mexico were three former members of the Richmond Congress—Senator Oldham of Texas, Judge Perkins of Louisiana, and Wilkes of Missouri. “Members of the House Conrow and Parsons of Missouri were murdered by the Mexicans in the summer of 1865 at Toro, between Monterey and Matamoros”. Governor Harris of Tennessee, as previously mentioned, enthusiastically joined the settlement and proceeded at once clearing land and preparing the soil for planting a crop in the following spring. Governors Reynolds of Missouri and Allen were in the City of Mexico—Allen editing the *Times* and Reynolds acting as agent of the American and Mexican Emigrant Company.<sup>27</sup>

According to the New York *Herald*:

Very few Confederate field officers sought refuge in this country, most of the emigrants being line officers and privates, young men without families, and too often without the industry and application needed to insure success in any new country. Major General Sterling Price is at Carlotta, Brigadier General Shelby has a splendid hacienda four miles from Cordova, on the Vera Cruz road; Major General Waterhouse is a contractor on the railroad, and Brig. Gen. Lyon is at the head of a surveying party near Tuxpan. They are the only Confederate generals east of the City of Mexico. Major Gen. Magruder is Surveyor General of the government colonization enterprise, Wilcox talks of returning to the States, and Hindman of going to Yucatan. These are all residing in the city. Brigadier General Slaughter of the old army is interested in mills in the valley and Hardman of Texas is surveying on the Pacific slope of the mountains. Of all these General Shelby is the most energetic and enterprising, and consequently his prospects are more flattering than any other American's in the country. Besides working in his hacienda, he runs large wagon trains from the railroad terminus at Paso del Macho to the City. His wagons are all of Yankee manufacture, are drawn by ten mules each, and every wagon carries a load of 6 to 7,000 pounds, the freight of which is from 300 to 350 dollars. Major General Jubal Early passed through this city [Córdoba] yesterday enroute for Havana, where he will probably locate, as he had become much dissatisfied with Mexico. He is writing a history of his campaigns,

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

which can hardly fail to prove interesting, even if it be not entirely reliable. Gen. Bee is a ship broker in Havana, in which place Toombs is temporarily residing, astonishing the natives with his yarns and disgusting the Confederates with his blowing. Commodore Maury recently went to France after his family; but it is very probable that he will remain in Europe, as latterly he has been out of favor with Maximilian. Judge Perkins was formerly one of the largest cotton planters in the United States, and secured a portion of his wealth before leaving Louisiana. He has a small coffee plantation adjoining this city and is about opening another at Carlotta. Judge Perkins is the only Confederate, except Kirby Smith and staff, who brought with him any considerable amount of means; the others are poor, and are obliged to get their living as best they can. The gentlemen mentioned with one or two exceptions have gone to work with a determination to retrieve that bodes success; they are industrious and energetic, bearing the trials and tribulations to which they are subject with rare courage and equanimity, never once reverting to the sacrifices which they made to the cause which they espoused and whose downfall proved their own ruin. Judge Oldham, formerly Chief Justice of Texas, has turned photographer and is in business in this city. The Judge has also turned author, and is engaged upon the last sheets of a work entitled, "A History of A Journey from Richmond to the Rio Grande, from March 30 to June 26, 1865, or the Last Days of the Confederate States". This book will cause a commotion as soon as published, and will doubtless involve its author in half a dozen fights. The Judge institutes an inquiry into the causes that led to the overthrow of the Confederacy, and traces them to the incompetency and wilfulness of Davis, and the corruption which, if not connived at, suffered to exist unrebuked in all departments of government. He is unsparing in his exposé, which his position as a member of the Senate gave him ample opportunities of making. He lashes certain cabinet members severely (also gen. officers) and does not spare *Pres.* Johnson or federal commanders. The book will prove vastly popular from its independence as well as from its general character, and be a valuable assistant to future historians.<sup>28</sup>

Most of the organized American settlers lived around Carlotta, a new village, as we have seen, laid out by the colonists,

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

and named in honor of the empress. Carlotta was located nine miles southeast from Córdoba, in a splendid country, and by April, 1866, boasted of but three houses or rather bamboo huts, yet five or six others were in the course of construction. The best and largest house, containing two rooms, belonged to General Price, built of bamboo, thatched with flag and stalks.

A grove of Mango trees near the casa afford a cool and inviting retreat for the old soldier, and here he may be found at all hours, seated upon a chair of his own manufacture, entertaining his numerous guests, giving advice to the settlers, cracking jokes with old companions in arms, or giving orders respecting the cultivation of his plantation. Everything is of the most primitive description, the tables and chairs being the General's own handwork. Gen. Price is not a little of a Yank, and is about as ingenious and handy as any New Englander. Gov. Harris and the General are inseparable companions, living together until the Governor's house shall be completed.<sup>29</sup>

The town of Carlotta was systematically laid out around a large square,

which is covered by a natural growth of trees, among which is a grove of mangoes, the most beautiful shade trees, whose interlacing boughs and thick, glossy foliage completely exclude the sun's rays, affording a delightful retreat during the heat of the day. . . . In a few years, Carlotta will be the most pleasant town in Mexico. It will be built after American style, with a degree of beauty and comfort elsewhere unknown in the empire and the society will be formed from the best educated families of the South and West. The first and only American lady in the town is the wife of Dr. Wharton of Va. Gen. Price's family is expected to arrive in the next steamer within a few weeks.<sup>30</sup>

Certain inducements allured many dissatisfied and adventurous ex-Confederates to the Mexican Empire. Each unmarried member of the colony received one town lot, and every married member was allowed two lots. In addition the colonists who were heads of families, as we have seen, were al-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

lowed a section of land or 640 acres, single men were entitled to one half that amount—the land to be located at the will or choice of the settler.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, other things being equal, there is no greater inducement perhaps to immigration than extremely cheap, well watered, and productive soil, a beautiful country, a marvelous climate free from extremely cold and hot weather, together with a well organized, liberal, and stable government. All of these attractions, except a stable government, Mexico had to offer.

There is no doubt that the soil in the Córdoba Valley was extremely fertile, well watered, and with a little care exceedingly productive. This fact was soon recognized by General Price who busied himself in preparing for the production of coffee, corn, and tobacco.

He is an old tobacco raiser and thinks he can show the natives a thing or two in his line. The tobacco is of superior quality, similar to that of Havana, and if properly cured will bring equally as high price. No pains is taken here either in cultivation, cutting, or curing, and General Price intends to adopt the best methods, being confident of placing in [the] market an article equal in every respect to the most celebrated of the Cuban weed. He has sent to the States for presses and machinery and will also enter into the manufacture of chewing tobacco, much to the gratification of his American neighbors, who are almost inconsolable over the deprivation of their favorite luxury.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the fact that the Córdoba Valley was pictured as the most favored spot in the world, and rewarded labor with lavish returns, the colonists lacked men of means, energy, and ambition. Those individuals who migrated to Mexico expecting to live off the fruits of nature without labor quickly returned to the United States dissatisfied and gave a distorted impression of the country itself. As a matter of fact, little

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* Land prices varied from a few cents to a few dollars according to locality and fertility but at Carlotta land usually sold for \$1 an acre. See *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, pp. 492, 494.

<sup>32</sup> New York *Herald*, April 19, 1866.

more than half the southerners who went to Mexico remained and many of them caught the first returning steamer they could reach.<sup>33</sup>

This is no country for drones. A man without money, industry and energy had better hang himself before he starts for Mexico—he will be glad of it afterwards. Mechanics and farmers are needed here; such if willing to work cannot go amiss. Wages are low, compared to what are paid in the states, laborers receiving seventy-five cents and one dollar per day and board; but with this a man can soon secure a home and fortune. Clerks and professional men should by all means avoid Mexico . . . there are no openings for clerks, ministers, or lawyers; and happily for the community a doctor's services are rarely needed in this climate. Forty acres in coffee is a fortune to any man, and there are a dozen other articles that can be raised with little labor, and which will pay 200% more than the best crops that can be raised in the States. But hardships are to be endured here that few colonists are prepared to encounter; therefore, unless they have a little money or a trade and are willing to work, they had better remain where they have friends to help them in case assistance is needed.<sup>34</sup>

The following quotation is taken from a letter written by Benjamin Crowther while in Mexico to J. Calvin Littrell early in 1866:

Presuming a letter from a live rebel that never surrendered, and who preferred exile to degradation, regardless of the acts of other rebels to the contrary, it is with pride and pleasure I take this means of addressing you. . . . On reaching . . . [San Antonio, May 26, 1865] having sufficient evidence that the army had disbanded, and having witnessed and known so much diabolical cruelty and inhumanity of the federal government, I resolved to continue my journey to this country [Mexico] and abandoned the God-forsaken land of the so-called United States—as you are well aware that the word united is only a name and not a fact. . . . Unless I change my mind I shall proceed to Cordova, . . . where I shall locate and cultivate coffee, tobacco, &c. It is estimated from the experience of others that five years, with the cultivation of about eighty to one hundred acres in

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

coffee, will make any man with ordinary skill and attention become immensely wealthy. There is also about 300 different varieties of tropical fruits, and never without vegetables at any season of the year. . . .

At first, on account of the language, my wife thought she never would like to live in the country, but necessity soon forces a person to learn to speak it. We have a female servant, Mexican, we pay five dollars per month. On the 21st January, at 11.40 a.m., my wife was safely delivered of a fine, healthy, rebel child, a little girl, whom we have named Carlotta, after the empress of Mexico, and deservedly so, because she has been and still is the true friend of true confederates.

There appears to be very little known of this country in the United States or other countries—concerning its interior mineral and agricultural wealth; it is far above anything I ever before conceived of, and I must say I have been very agreeably disappointed. I was sorry to see and witness so many confederates come to Mexico with wrong and improper motives; some imagined that they would be forthwith installed into some fat office, like Commodore Maury, and because they were not, and not being disposed to adapt themselves to temporary inconveniences, would not labor, and to their shame went back to the dis-United States, like a dog returning to his vomit; whereas had they been patient, and not tried to force things whether or no, they would, by settling in colonies of twenty-five and fifty families, as is now the case at Cordova, Rio Verde, and other places—they would all have done well and been of mutual assistance to each other. The only temptation that I or any of my family could have to return to the States would be on the occasion of a war with any other power on earth and that of the federal government, in which event you may expect to see me in the service of that army, whatever army it may be.<sup>35</sup>

Since, as has been stressed, the Córdoba settlement lay in an exceedingly fertile country where agricultural products of almost every variety could be produced, tropical or otherwise, and since the climate was so marvelous that a doctor was seldom needed and lawyers could find no business, why did the colony fail?

<sup>35</sup> Letter of Benjamin Crowther to J. Calvin Littrel, St. Louis, Missouri, February 9, 1866. See *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, pp. 212-213.

Many factors contributed toward its failure. In the first place, the colony failed because of the hostile press of the north and south. The leading papers of the north, including the New York *Herald*, New York *Times*, and the *Tribune* were exceedingly critical. Before the colony was two months old, the New York *Herald* published an important article entitled the "Failure of Sterling Price's Rebel-Mexican Colony". The article stated that Secretary Seward was watching the rebels in Mexico with much interest. Seward was reported as being unfriendly to a movement "calculated to drain the South of a large portion of its inhabitants and consequently as being eminently hostile to the prosperity of the Union".<sup>36</sup> The *Herald* further reported that the representative of Mexico in Washington had been advised that the colony had been "broken to pieces and that most of the settlers" had left their lands, saying "they had been deceived. Fifteen of them only have remained at Córdoba where the colony is located".<sup>37</sup>

Six weeks later the same paper carried another article entitled, "Miserable Condition of Emigrants from the United States". In reporting the contents of the circular issued by Maury setting forth the advantages of Mexico for emigrants, the *Herald* said:

We say again let not the people in the United States who want to make a fortune be deceived. This is not the place for them. The "advantage of the country to emigrants" is a spade in the hand on the railroad with very poor pay. The "*Pobre diablos*" who have been deceived, induced to come out here, and who have no money and are wretched, almost begging in some instances for food to eat, are experiencing the "advantages of the country to emigrants."<sup>38</sup>

When the colony was just about three months old, the New York *Times* carried an article entitled, "Interview with Seedy Southern Exiles—Failure of Southern Emigration Scheme". "At Córdoba", continued the *Times*,

<sup>36</sup> New York *Herald*, November 19, 1865.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, December 29, 1865.

we had a look at some of those great and mighty Southerners who have sold four thousand Southern families to the empire. The Emperor, however, begins to smell a rat, and begins to see that Maury, Price, and Magruder have humbugged him. The four thousand families have not been delivered according to bargain—not even one thousand, not even one hundred, not even fifty. The poor fellows looked seedy enough and I could not help pitying them as they in turn mounted a poor down-trodden pony. They had one horse between four. Indeed the ways of a sinner are hard.<sup>39</sup>

The southern papers, as previously stated, were likewise hostile to the colonization scheme and printed very little information relating to the Córdoba settlement. If one of the home town boys joined the colony, a note might be found to that effect and if he later sent a letter to the editor telling about the colony that too would be printed, but the editor frequently advised all Southerners to remain in the southland where opportunities awaited them. Such important papers as the *Richmond Inquirer*, the *Raleigh Standard*, and the *Charleston Daily Courier* carried very little information about the progress of the colony, but frequently reprinted articles from the New York papers that not only discouraged emigration, but gave discrediting accounts of the settlements. The southern papers naturally did not encourage southerners to migrate, for the south needed all of its white inhabitants. The plantations that once blossomed as a result of slave labor were now idle and would soon grow up into bushes and forests unless these lands were divided into small farms and sold to those who were willing to work them. Farmers, mechanics, millers, watchmakers, and various other workers were likewise needed. The south, therefore, could not afford to let its sons of the soil depart for foreign lands. It not only felt that it must keep the population it possessed but advertised in the United States and abroad through the leading papers of the nation, through circulars and pamphlets in order to encourage domestic and foreign immigration. Bureaus of immigration

<sup>39</sup> *New York Times*, January 19, 1866.

were established in South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee to aid and encourage people to seek homes in the sunny south. Immigration agents, sent abroad to advertise the south, distributed circulars and pamphlets (printed in various languages) which described in glowing terms the golden opportunities that awaited industrious settlers within the bounds of the different southern states. Vacant lands were listed at the office of the commissioner of immigration, people who desired renters, laborers, mechanics, house-keepers, and the like gave their names to the commissioner or his agents, and the north was urged to fill the desired positions.

In light of this demand on the part of the south to attract settlers, is there any wonder that the southern press gave very little friendly space to the efforts of some ex-Confederates to plant colonies in Mexico and Brazil, and that the Charleston *Daily Courier* in January, 1869, should print the following article?

We want all of our young men here in our own state. Let them look around [and find an honest job and get to work] and they will soon realize the fruits of a spirit that is [not] ashamed of perseverance. . . . What we need in this state is a population. . . . Let every young man determine that he will succeed here, [and to refrain from enlisting in the wild and adventurous colonization schemes in Mexico and Brazil].<sup>40</sup>

An Alabama paper published early in January, 1866, offered the following advice to the dissatisfied ex-Confederates:

For some time past the *Ledger* has been warning persons desiring to migrate to other places, in order to better their fortunes, against the deceptive appeals to induce them to go to Mexico. Our advice to them has been to the effect that they find lands and localities within the United States equal to the best to be found elsewhere, with the additional advantage of remaining in their own country, near to the best markets of the world, always within reach of the comforts of

<sup>40</sup> Charleston *Daily Courier*, January 4, 1869.

civilization, and under a liberal and respected government. These views have recently found a striking support in the views from Mexico. A recent letter from that turbulent country refers to the "advantages to emigrants", as advertised by the rebel Maury and others, and says that the poor fellows who have no money are wretched, and in some cases begging for food.<sup>41</sup>

The Nashville *Press* of December 3, 1867, carried the following account of the return and surrender of ex-Governor Harris of Tennessee:

Yesterday morning ex-Governor Isham G. Harris, accompanied by General Dunlop, called on Governor Brownlow at his room in the Capitol. Governor Harris left Liverpool on the 6th instant, and came directly through from New York, without pausing to pay his respects to his old friend, the President. He was plainly but well dressed, and appeared to be in fine health—a fact which he attributes to the rough-and-tumble and somewhat migratory life which he has led for some years past, during which he has officiated in the various capacities of traveling executive, Confederate Agent, president of the Cordova Colony, and commissioned merchant in London. He greeted Governor Brownlow very courteously and cordially, . . . Harris remarked that he had come to give himself up, and expressed much gratitude for the kind mention which the Governor had made of his family in his message. Governor Brownlow remarked that he would parole him to appear at the spring term of the Federal court in this city.

The ex-Governor showed some feeling when his successor inquired if he had not a poor opinion of his quondam neighbors at Cordova. Harris replied that the Mexicans were the most unprincipled, hollow-hearted vagabonds on the face of the earth. After an experience of several years among the Mexicans of Cordova, and the Europeans, he has wisely concluded that life under the Brownlow despotism is a great deal preferable to a wretched existence, dragged out among either anarchists or monarchists. He left yesterday for his home in Paris, Henry County, [Tennessee], where his family reside.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *The Nationalists* (Mobile, Alabama), January 25, 1866. This quotation was taken apparently from the Montgomery (Ala.) *Ledger*.

<sup>42</sup> Nashville *Press*, December 3, 1867, quoted in the Charleston *Daily Courier, Extra*, December 4, 1867.

A third reason for the failure of the colony was that the majority of the adventurers had lost everything they possessed during the great war that had just come to a close and it required every cent that they could raise to pay the passage to Córdoba. With no money left they were soon reduced to dire poverty and extreme hunger. If the majority had had some surplus capital, even though small, they might have had greater success.

A fourth reason for the failure lay in the colonists themselves. They adopted the methods used by the frontiersmen in the United States in conquering the great West. Whenever they saw fertile lands that they wanted they simply took possession of them by driving off the Indian occupants. For example, it was reported that a party of Confederates who selected some land near the Córdoba Colony, ordered an Indian family occupying it to clear out forthwith; the Indians left but afterward laid their case before the leader of the nearest liberal command. This officer, with about a thousand mounted men, made ready for a forced march to the Córdoba Colony. There he "took twenty-five Americans prisoners and carried them away as hostages for the future good conduct of the remainder. It is understood, furthermore, that the Indian neighbors have given the colonists to understand that they had all better *vamosé*. For the release of the parties held as hostages, it is said [that] the Liberals demand ten thousand dollars, purely as punishment for the act committed" against the Indians "who were ruthlessly driven from their proper place of habitation. From what we have learned through a friend, General Hindman thought of taking a small armed American force and going in search of the unfortunates with a view to securing their release". Furthermore, "Maury is being greatly talked against now. Many of the Confederates say he deceived them. It is a good thing for him that he left the country".<sup>43</sup>

The ex-Confederates may possibly be excused for their

<sup>43</sup> New York *Herald*, June 8, 1866.

indiscretion in this instance, however, for they believed that the land occupied by the Indian family belonged to the settlement. In addition, several southerners

had entered into an agreement with a number of Indians, or peons, for a certain stated amount of labor, which the latter were bound to perform. It seems, however, that after three months the Indians . . . refused to work any longer. . . . As it was impossible for them to find laborers anywhere else, the withdrawal of their field hands destroyed all hopes of a crop. . . . In this predicament they decided that the only way to save themselves from utter ruin was to compel these Indian laborers to fulfil their contracts, and to use violence in case of resistance.<sup>44</sup>

The liberals, on the other hand, claimed that Maximilian was without authority to grant lands to outsiders;<sup>45</sup> so it is easily seen how a controversy arose. In addition the Indian peons were under contract to work for the settlers.

The Americans seized by the liberals, however, were released after a few weeks and returned home.<sup>46</sup> The colonists, according to the liberals,

brought all their trouble on themselves. In the first place, they had no title to the lands upon which they squatted, and refused to enter into any arrangement for their purchase. Secondly, they neglected the advice of Maximilian not to be violent imperialists; and thirdly the conduct of the party was such that the Liberals were obliged to break up the colony, some of the men attempting to dispossess the old settlers of their homes and two being guilty of worse crimes in connection with the native women. Their indiscretions have effectually broken up the settlement, and for the present put a stop to American colonization. This is the more to be regretted as parties are now engaged in surveying and plotting out land for colonization purposes in the state of San Luis Potosi, and the government offer to settlers of twenty-one thousand acres on the Hacienda of Michopa near Cuernavaca, about 70 miles west of Mexico City.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 3, pp. 214-215.

<sup>45</sup> New York *Herald*, June 11, 1866.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1866. It was rumored that six of the party were missing and had been captured by a party of guerillas (*Ibid.*).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* Unsettled political conditions in Mexico, however, prevented this settlement from attracting many ex-Confederates.

The seizure by the liberals of the twenty-five Americans as prisoners caused General Price considerable worry and anxiety.

The General is by no means a favorite with the Liberals, who if the opportunity offers itself will give the old Missourian short shrift and a stout rope. This fact Price fully appreciates, and when he heard the Liberals intended to raid Carlotta, mounted his horse in haste and hied him to Cordova, where he begged the Americans there to arm themselves and go to Carlotta, excusing himself from going with them upon the ground that if the Liberals caught him they would send him either to hell or to the United States, and he would as soon go one place as the other.<sup>48</sup>

A fifth reason for the failure of the colony is one that has already been mentioned incidently, namely, the disturbed political conditions within Mexico from 1865 to 1868, throughout the entire life of the colony, arising out of the struggle between Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, and Benito Juárez, leader of the liberal or opposition forces. Although Maximilian desired and encouraged immigration,<sup>49</sup> only a few intrepid and adventurous individuals wished to leave the United States where one of the bloodiest and most destructive civil wars in history had just come to a close and depart for a country where civil wars and revolutions were going on at the time. Gloomy and hopeless as the outlook seemed to ex-Confederates in the United States at the time, it was preferred to that in revolutionary Mexico.

A sixth reason for the failure of the movement is found in the natural antipathy at the time of the Mexicans toward all Americans despite the fact that Seward had used all his official power and position to oust Maximilian. The annexation of Texas and the results of the Mexican War were too fresh in the minds of the vast majority of Mexicans to welcome cordially a colony of American citizens. The United States, the colossus of the north, had already taken possession

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, June 8, 1866.

<sup>49</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 1, 1867.

of half of Mexico and some of its leading statesmen in 1848 had demanded the remainder. Might this not be just another Yankee scheme in disguise?

Since Mexico was divided into two political and military factions it was to be expected that the Americans would incur the enmity of one faction or the other, if not both. Major John Edwards, one of the ex-Confederates who went to Mexico and who was the successor of Governor Allen as editor of the Mexican *Times*, arriving at New Orleans in March, 1867, reported that the evacuation of Mexico by the French was a known fact and that the liberals would soon be in power. He further said:

There is no love for the people of the United States, and the only sympathy for them at all is because they are presumed to represent opposition to the French and to have expressed dislike to them.

The settlement at Cordova is among the things of the past. The departure of General Price, which has been duly chronicled will be followed by almost all who associated with him at Cordova. Judge Perkins has gone to Paris, France. Governor Harris left two weeks ago for Havana. General Shelby still remains in Cordova, and probably will remain for several months to come. . . .

Condition of the country is worse than has been known for twenty years. The main thoroughfare between the city of Mexico and Vera Cruz is interrupted about every fifteen miles, and everything the unlucky passengers possess is taken with a quiet shrug of the shoulders and the polite declaration: *no le [sic: me] importa*, which means that it makes no matter to me.

Beverly Tucker,<sup>50</sup> who is proscribed in the United States, recently traveled from Luis Potosi to the city of Mexico, and was robbed five times. The first time they took his money, the second time his clothes, the third time they tried to get his money, but because he had none they struck him on the head with the sabre, and his son, who was with him received a terrible wound just over the right temple, which came near putting an end to his sight, if not his life. The fourth time the stage in which he had taken passage was attacked and robbed in

<sup>50</sup> Beverly Tucker was the famous Tucker from Virginia who migrated to Mexico and settled upon an hacienda at San Luis Potosí. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 512.

the streets of the city of Mexico, and twenty leagues beyond, towards Vera Cruz, the stage was again stopped, and Beverly Tucker was robbed for the fifth time.

Governor T. C. Reynolds, of Missouri, will remain in the city of Mexico, and see the issue of affairs there, General T. G. Hindman will leave in two weeks for the United States where it is his intention to practice law in Memphis or merchandise in New York.

With the evacuation of Mexico by the French, the rest of the foreigners think it best to leave the country; and those of all nationalities are leaving as fast as steamers will bear them from Vera Cruz.

The great idea in the Mexican mind is to get rid of foreigners, nolens volens; and whether it is the French this year, or the people of the United States next, it makes but little difference to them.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps Escobedo, the man who directed the execution of Maximilian, spoke more frankly in regard to foreigners than any other prominent Mexican of his day. Although subsequently denied by the Mexican authorities, he was quoted as saying:

The execution of the traitors, which I had the satisfaction of directing, is good food for digestion. It will satisfy the Europeans and the Yankees, too, that to trifle with Mexicans is death by the law. Had we complied with the request of the Yankees to spare the filibusterer and his associate traitors it would have been a request to give up our lands, our mines and our women. After this we shall be allowed to worship our God, till our soil, work our own mines, and not have our women defiled by Yankee libertines.

I am now in favor of making clean work of the detested "Gringos". This country belongs to God and us, and just so long as one foreigner remains on our soil, our liberty is in jeopardy. By every means in our power we should make the country Mexican; and as all the property in the hands of foreigners was made by our misfortunes, we should take it, now that we have the power, and hunt them from the country. My motto now is, death to all estrangeros!

He then concluded:

. . . Before we get through with the foreigners, the Yankees will think we are in earnest, and the time will come when their notables

<sup>51</sup> Charleston *Daily Courier*, March 15, 1867.

will be begging for their own heads, instead of begging for the Austrian.<sup>52</sup>

A Charlestonian in Mexico City, a few days before the surrender of Maximilian described the unhappy condition of the people in that city. He said that, in order to maintain itself, the Maximilian government had resorted to every conceivable device.

Exorbitant exactions of money under the specious names of "prestamos", "forced loans" and "taxes" are daily impressed upon the inhabitants—horses are seized in the streets, and the poorer classes, capable of bearing arms are dragged into the trenches. All foreigners, except Americans, being subject to these arbitrary impositions.

The city stores had closed, business had stopped, the people ate dog and horse meat; and prisons were filled with recusants.

. . . You must not imagine that the southerners are the only oppressed people in the world, and if you could but get a glimpse of the misery of this unfortunate country . . . you would feel more reconciled to your situation. . . .<sup>53</sup>

Finally, the government at Washington was hostile to the southern colonization movement and placed obstacles in the way of its permanent success by forbidding, as has been pointed out, the colonization and transportation agents, appointed by the imperial commissioner of colonization, to operate within the limits of the United States.<sup>54</sup> Thus many ex-Confederates were denied the much needed financial aid and the necessary transportation facilities to go to Mexico. This was somewhat offset, however, when the emperor authorized some of the customs collectors to pass the goods of immigrants free.<sup>55</sup> This was of little value, however, if a pro-

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, July 30, 1867. This quotation was taken from a letter of Escobedo addressed to Governor Gómez of Nuevo León. This letter, however, was branded a forgery by the Mexican authorities. Whether true or not it conveys the Mexican hostility to foreigners during the latter part of Maximilian's régime. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, pp. 666-667.

<sup>53</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 21, 1867.

<sup>54</sup> *Diplomatic Correspondence*, part 2, p. 494.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

spective passenger had no money to pay the initial cost of transportation.

In conclusion, it suffices to say that upon the return of the Confederate soldiers to their individual homes and communities destruction and despair continually haunted them—they were financially ruined and politically ostracized. These one time restless and expanding people turned to Mexico as their El Dorado. Associations were formed and agents sent out to find a suitable place for an ex-Confederate settlement. The beautiful and fertile Córdova Valley was selected and attractive inducements were made by the imperial government. The old zeal and enthusiasm that had brought Florida, Texas, and California into the Union were now rekindled but this time for another cause and country. With high hopes, the ex-Confederates embarked for Mexico to recuperate financially and to escape the humiliation of reconstruction. Maximilian welcomed them with government lands upon favorable terms. Mexico, accordingly, attracted all classes of people including former Federal and Confederate officials and soldiers of high rank—governors, generals, colonels, judges, legislators, adventurers, farmers, and ministers. Some of these men won the confidence of the emperor who in turn made them important imperial officials, thus seemingly paving the way for a successful colony. Despite the fact that the lack of means and equipment, a hostile northern and southern press, and the efforts of the south to hold its own subjects and to attract settlers from abroad, contributed to the downfall of the southern colony in Mexico, the real cause of its failure was Secretary Seward's success in persuading Napoleon III to withdraw his support from Maximilian, thereby paving the way for the overthrow of the key man to the success of the whole colonization movement. After the withdrawal of the French troops, Mexico was harassed by political factions, irresponsible bands of highway robbers, organized and guerilla warfare, and general confusion. When it became evident that Maximilian would be overthrown there was a general

exodus of southerners from Mexico because of the extreme hostility of Mexicans to foreigners. Not all of them returned to the United States, however; some of them departed for Yucatan, Venezuela, Jamaica, and Brazil never to visit the land of their birth again. The vast majority, nevertheless, returned to their native states.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The author acknowledges assistance received from Mr. Donald E. Wilkinson, formerly a graduate student at Lehigh University.