

3.1) Great Migrations (Chapter 2)

Lone Star Nation: How Texas Will Transform America, 2014

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The vastness of Texas has always held promise to migrants. Richard Parker, author of *Lone Star Nation: How Texas Will Transform America*, argues that successive waves of migration have altered the course of history by changing economic structures, creating new social pressures, and shifting the balance of political power. In his accounting, the recent population wave is the sixth that has occurred in the state's history. This most recent migration, he claims, has the most potential to change Texas's political character forever.

Each wave of migration in Texas has engineered new conflicts, some violent, but all revolutionary. Native tribes encroached on each other's territory and displaced one another. Anglo settlement pushed Native Americans out of their territory. Anglo settlers pressed for their own rights from Spain and Mexico. Polish and German immigrants clashed with other settlers over slavery. After the conflict of the Civil War, economic expansion framed subsequent migrations to Texas. The last three waves of migration have had more dramatic impacts on the economic order than the political order, but political change remains potent. What challenges face Texas after the sixth wave of migration?

On an isolated stretch of desert an imaginary line slices the land, separating New Mexico from Texas.

This is a land of boundaries. A few miles to the west, the muddy Rio Grande cuts its way south, separating Mexico from the United States. To the east, the Organ Mountains mark the southern end of the Rocky Mountains and the purple Franklin Mountains to the southeast note the beginning of the harsh Chihuahuan Desert, which unfolds for hundreds of miles. Interstate 10 stretches out across the mesas, a pair of double-wide, blacktop ribbons between the mountains and the river, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Eighteen wheelers push on in both directions. But most of the cars are going east. One after another bears the same license plate: California.

Quickly, a bright yellow sign framed by rustic wooden posts bids them a farewell to New Mexico: "Now Leaving the Land of Enchantment!" A few seconds later, a modest, green highway sign with a red, white, and blue flag comes into view: "Welcome to Texas." A giant stone lone star monument slides into view. For many travelers from California a brief elation will set in. They have crossed 761 miles of

desert from, say, Southern California, after all. But that feeling is dashed by the very next mile-age sign:

EL PASO 18
BEAUMONT 852

And it is still some 600 miles to the big cities in between East Texas and West Texas. Dallas, San Antonio, Austin, and Houston are all still a full day's drive away. Between 2005 and 2010, some 3.4 million Californians left the Golden State. For many in the middle class the reasons were simple: High housing prices, scarce jobs, and mounting taxes. Housing was expensive and then, when the real estate bubble popped, it took the economy and jobs with it. But taxes remained high. And so, those that could—and those who had to—got out, reversing decades in which California gained more people than they lost.

California once embodied the American dream of orange groves, opportunities, and sunny beaches. Now, the California diaspora dispatched people to neighboring states like Oregon and Arizona. Yet the single largest number, about 1 million in the initial years, went to Texas, with many making that long trek through the desert, past the state line, and

onward to reach the big cities of Texas: Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin.

Yet California was not the only home Americans left behind for a new life in the Lone Star State. Over the same five-year period, nearly 3.5 million Americans arrived in Texas from all points in the United States: California, yes, but also New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Miami, Portland, Seattle—and hundreds of other towns and cities. America was in the throes of one of its periodic and epic mass migrations. Among them were the westward expansion and European migration of the 19th century, the Great Migration of African Americans from the agrarian South to the industrializing Midwest in the early 20th century, and the Great Depression migrations from the Dust Bowl to the fields and groves of California.

When these occur, they alter the course of history. Entire economies arise. New social pressures are created. Power changes hands. Texas has seen five such great migrations. This is the sixth. In each case, the migrations to Texas created economic, social, and political change that reverberated across America and, in some cases, around the world. Indeed, Texas may be one of the great magnets of mass migration in human history, given the number of times that millions have picked up and moved here.

Like the current of a strong, new river suddenly carved into the earth, the Sixth Migration has delivered 3.6 million people to the state and deposits over 1,000 fresh arrivals every single day. In the 1970s and 1980s, the collapse of the Industrial Rust-belt drove the first large wave of non-southerners to Texas, the Fifth Migration. These migrants decisively moved the state's conservative politics from the Democratic column into the Republican one, where Texas remains today. No Republican has won the White House in the last quarter century without Texas, nor could they. Early in the 20th century, oil brought Southerners in the Fourth Migration to create an industry that, to this day and for better or for worse, fuels modern economies around the globe.

The Third Migration, the mass arrival of Southerners in the early 19th century led to war, independence, the expansion of slavery and the Indian

wars; then it triggered still more war with Mexico and ultimately, after Texas was granted statehood, tipped America into its bloodiest conflict, the Civil War. The Second Migration from Asia spawned the Native American cultures that, in turn, brought with them agriculture, trade and war. The arrival of the first humans, also from Asia, 16,000 years ago constituted the First Migration; for the first time, the pristine natural order of North America met with hunting, harvesting, and the hand of a creature it had never known: Man.

In the morning, 150 miles east of El Paso, the sun comes up and the interstate roars across the creosote-studded flats into little Van Horn, population 2,000. The town has a truck stop, a couple thousand residents, and a jam-packed breakfast rush at McDonald's. Everybody here is headed somewhere else, true to form for a town that has been a way station since it was founded as a stagecoach stop in the 1850s in the midst of Apache country. Off in the distance, the Davis Mountains rise.

Back on the road and coming fast, big green highway signs warn drivers that a fork in the road approaches and the time zone is about to change from mountain to central time. A lengthy drive beckons. Soon enough, a fork in the road arises: Bear left and head for the big cities of Dallas-Fort Worth, though many hours away. Bear right and hours from now, Austin, San Antonio and, later, Houston will eventually come into view. I bear right across the creosote-studded Trans Pecos and the hours slip by as slowly as the highway signs: Exits for Balmorea, Pecos, Fort Davis, Marfa, Big Bend. Each remains hours away, hidden from view of the interstate which crossed the middle of nowhere on its way to Fort Stockton. A little south, at Iraan, an exit reveals a back road into the Hill Country, leaving the big interstate behind for the Llano Uplift. Narrowing to just two lanes, U.S. 377 jogs across the Edwards Plateau. It is afternoon now and the spring light is bright and clear. The limestone remains of a Spanish presidio, established on the San Saba River in 1757, come into view. This is as far west as the Spanish ventured in Texas.

All these towns out here, from Junction to Mason to Llano, wait patiently for fall, when city

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hunters fill up the hotels, little restaurants, and the bars for deer season. But now, the next deer season is nearly as far ahead in the calendar as the last and the towns seemed empty. The light reflected off the broad, rushing waters of the Llano River bounces off the struts and girders of the big metal bridge, as the road leads toward the town square. It is getting close to fishing time, in fact. The giant schools of white bass are forming up, even now, in the deep water of the Highland Lakes to run the shallow rivers to spawn.

By early afternoon on a Tuesday, the square is empty, the parking lot around the town hall largely devoid of cars. A faded Confederate flag hangs limp over the memorial to the Civil War dead. The plaque reveals the short list of the small town deceased who set off for a very faraway conflict. I turn right on State Highway 16 and, in a little while the road begins to climb, the town slipping out of sight. The cell phone signal falters as the road climbs through a narrow saddle, heads due south and backwards—to the beginning of time itself.

Rocks, big and nearly square, rise up in a ruddy color, as if a giant playing with red blocks had forgetfully dropped them here and there, forming whole escarpments. Off to the right, Enchanted Rock rises, a pink granite dome reaching some 425 feet above the rest of the countryside, the result of magma from the earth's crust bubbling upward as long as a billion years ago. The giant rocks and hills of the Llano country are literally the blocks from the bottom of the world. No younger than 600 million years old, these Precambrian rocks come from the foundations of the very continents themselves, the basement of the earth and the beginning of geologic time.

The ones lying here, scattered, big as whole buildings, are the only ones still visible in Texas, and one of only seven sites where they are visible in North America. All come from a silent vault in time that still encompasses nearly 90 percent of the earth's history. From here, though, history pressed relentlessly forward. A quarter of a billion years ago, this area was bordered by salt water to the east and south. Then the Ouchita Mountains arose, stretching from present day Arkansas across northern Texas. Rivers drained westward into

the shallow seas that covered West Texas. By the Permian Period, the sea began to withdraw, leaving only flats and basins. Some 140 million years ago, dinosaurs and flying reptiles roamed Texas.

From here, Highway 16 presses determinedly south, toward the Pedernales River. The land flattens. Thick Spanish oaks and formidable thickets arise. A quick left turn onto Farm Road 1323 deepens the isolation. A solitary sign warns: "Watch for cattle crossing road." Not even a house in sight, cows and calves impassively chew their cud while watching the car go by, just yards away. At the one-house junction at Sandy, the land changes yet again. The exposed limestone, lifted out of those ancient seas, turns the ground white and rocky. Here the road enters the Cretaceous Period: 65 million years ago when the extinction of the giant reptiles brought forth the mammoths, sloths, and the large cats.

The last great Ice Age came and brought with it, as far back as 15,500 years ago, the first humans: The First Migration to Texas as people from Asia crossed the Bering Strait from Russia to Alaska and then headed south, away from the ice, to hunt the giant Columbian mammoth. Predating even Clovis man, once thought to be the earliest Americans, these ancient people settled in places like Buttermilk Creek, in Bell County near present day Waco, for its water and game, certainly, but mostly for its rich supply of chert rock, used to shape trademark spearheads and blades, cut with funnels along the side. The blades not only cut into the animal's flesh but their clever design deftly allowed their quarry to bleed out even as it fled. Once pierced with an arrow or spear point, the more the prey moved, the more it bled. But these people vanished, too, as suddenly and inexplicably extinct as the giant mammals they had hunted.

Yet before the land bridge sank from view, more people came from Asia, arriving in waves 7,000 years ago and making their way southward, too, away from the ice to hunt the ancient bison, twice as big as the modern buffalo. The last great Ice Age concluded, the land bridge sank into the rising waters of the Bering Sea and the glaciers retreated northward. The once lush Great Plains dried out and the sea in Texas conducted its final retreat,

sulking into the shallow Gulf of Mexico some 3,000 years ago.

The people of the Second Migration, who would become known first as Indians, and later as Native Americans, were like any migrants. They sought opportunity and moved to find it. Racially similar, they quickly became linguistically and culturally diverse, spreading across vast distances. The Caddoan people of East Texas were close in culture, for example, to the Mound Builders of the Mississippi and showed strong Mexican influences. Smaller tribes, reputed to be cannibals, spread along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and fiercely repelled any intrusions. Coahuiltecan inhabited the harshest scrub desert and adapted by digging, grubbing, and eating anything from pecans to spiders to undigested seeds harvested from deer dung, not to mention agave bulbs, flies, and even maggots. Before they came to know the horse, the Tonkawa lived on the fringes of bison country on the Edwards Plateau in the forested Hill Country.

A still newer culture arrived from the Rocky Mountains, speaking Athabaskan, the language of the Pacific Northwest. Known simply as Apaches by other Native Americans, they spread out onto the plains and down into Texas, taking on different permutations themselves, Jicarillas, Lipans, and others. After washing ashore in 1529 near present-day Galveston, the Spanish explorer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca recorded Native American tribes that herded hundreds of deer into enclosures for food, dug up roots, and plucked the fruit of prickly pears as he and a dwindling group of shipwreck survivors battled starvation, the landscape, the weather, and disease, while trying to get back to Mexico City: "One third of our people were dangerously ill, getting worse hourly and we felt sure of meeting the same fate, with death as our only prospect, which in such a country was much worse yet."

Cabeza de Vaca, one other Spanish adventurer, and the slave Estevanico de Dorantes were the only men to finally reach the capital of New Spain. The two adventurers married well. For his trouble, Estevanico was sold back into slavery and killed by Indians, eventually, in what became New Mexico

while scouting routes for the return of the Spanish, this time en masse. When the Spanish arrived in numbers in 1540 during the disastrous expedition of Coronado, the oldest living cypress trees in the Texas Hill Country today were young saplings. In 1680, the Spanish horse dispersed throughout the American Southwest and yet another mountain tribe came out on the plains: The Comanche—a Ute word for "enemy"—who mastered the feral mustang. By 1750, the Native American horse culture spread from Texas to Canada. Soon enough, the Comanche and the Apache would struggle over their rights to the Southern Plains, one displacing the other in wars for food and territory. Other tribes migrated to Texas, too, or were pushed across it by aggressive neighboring tribes. In the 19th century, the Kickapoo, an Algonquian tribe of the Great Lakes region, dispersed to regions as far as Texas after pressure from white settlers and other Native Americans.

While the French presence in Texas was inconsequential, the Spanish occupation of Texas and the Southwest was a long but half-hearted affair; a global kingdom had far more pressing concerns than the rough and untamed wilderness of Texas, after all. Paramount among these concerns was Mexico, the Viceroyalty of New Spain. On behalf of Madrid, Mexico City governed a swath of earth that stretched from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Cayman Islands in the Caribbean, encompassed all of Mexico and Central America, all of Texas and most of what is now the American West, including California—and then stretched westward across the Pacific Ocean, to include the Philippines and the Marianna Islands. Each year, a Spanish fleet would drop anchor in Acapulco Bay to fill cargo holds with Mexican gold. Then the heavily-laden vessels sailed west, stopping in Manila and Guam, following the setting sun home to the mother country, half a world away.

So Spain invited American southerners from the Missouri territory led by Moses Austin to settle in Texas in 1820, as new citizens of a rough, backwater outpost of their global empire. After independence from Spain the very next year, Mexico, too, failed at sparking a migrant culture of its own to move into Texas. So, by 1830 some 30,000 Anglo

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settlers—largely of Scotch and Irish descent—filled the void, traveling from the ports of the Carolinas to Tennessee and Kentucky and into Texas, eclipsing in a few short years the Mexican and Native American populations combined that had arisen or arrived over centuries and millennia.

This was the Third Migration to Texas. This period became most infamous for the Battle of the Alamo as well as victory on the field at San Jacinto and the region's subsequent independence. Like all the great migrations to Texas, this one had an impact felt well beyond those early years in the 19th century and one felt well beyond the borders of Texas itself.

But why? Why would these people travel to a foreign land which held meager promise but was fraught with risk from Indian attacks, disease, thirst, and outright starvation?

The answer was simple: These people not only had the desire to come but the need to come. Their drive was a perfect balance of ambition and desperation—as it is, frankly, with many people who decide to move, whether across the country or across the world. T. R. Fehrenbach accurately noted that the southerners sweeping into Texas numbered among them a few rich men, certainly, but most were Scotch-Irish from the Appalachian South. Many landed at the port of Charleston, South Carolina. There they had generally found limited opportunity in the settled Carolinas. So they pushed into the wilderness of Tennessee, Kentucky, and northern Alabama only to scratch out small farms on land that quickly played out, fighting recurring Indian wars and carrying the burden of staggering debt.

Like a lot of members of the Third Migration, one Tennessean named David Crockett found Texas a vast and beautiful place, when compared to the broken down plots people like himself had left behind in the East. It was true. Texas was a wide open space that just a little rain, now and again, could turn thick with vegetation, rich with water in some places and promising. "I must say as to what I have seen of Texas it is the garden spot of the world," Crockett wrote in 1836. It held "the best land and the best prospects for health I ever saw, and I do believe it is a fortune to any man to come here. There is a world of country to settle."

The records of the original Austin colony showed 776 colonial families, most coming from Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri. "The vast majority emigrated to Texas for no other reason than economic opportunity: the chance to get cheap land," Fehrenbach wrote. "Some left debts behind in the States, but most brought some form of capital: Seeds, equipment, stock, or slaves. . . . For the price of 80 acres of plantation ground in the South, a Texas settler could acquire a square league or 4,428 acres." Even leaders, like Sam Houston, who would be president of the Republic of Texas, senator, and governor, fled the failure of his marriage, the stall of his political career, and a mountain of debt in Tennessee for a potent mix of opportunity and uncertainty in Texas.

The Austin family, of course, was quite happy to extend credit, even to fleeing debtors. Stephen F. Austin, heir to the colony after Moses died, had vacillated over the increasing arrival of slaves with the new migrants; it was one important source of friction with the Mexicans who had abolished slavery in 1829. Ultimately, though, he came down on the side of slavery, declaring, "Texas must be a slave country!" Austin himself purchased a slave for \$1,200—for no apparent purpose. The Mexican government then cracked down, banning immigration from those in the United States who might bring their slaves into the region.

The Mexicans, in turn, called on European Catholics, namely Germans, to settle and balance out the new and largely Protestant migrants from the American South in the hopes that fellow Catholics and Europeans might not be eager to join the United States. A few initially answered the call and settled an arc that stretched from Galveston on the coast to Kerrville out in the western edge of the Hill Country. After war and independence from Mexico in 1836, more European Catholics followed: Germans, Czechs, and Poles, though they were still a decided minority among the settlers and they were culturally, linguistically and religiously different from the Scotch-Irish from the American South. There were political differences, too, namely over that original American sin: Slavery.

Texas joined the Union on December 29, 1845 and the Third Migration now birthed global consequences. War against Mexico in 1848 had a devastating effect on the Mexicans who ceded what became the American West, including the gold fields and Pacific ports of California. Mexico would descend into political tyranny, economic privation, and eventually the chaos of revolution. America would become a rich power, its ambitions spanning two oceans. The gold of California would fuel the industrial revolution, the Indian wars, the settlement of the American west and reach across the world to remove the remnants of the Spanish empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific at the close of the 19th century, replacing it with an American one.

A vague concept in the early 1800s, Manifest Destiny was the belief that the American people alone possessed both the virtue and God's will to remake the continent in their own image; its ideological heirs would include present-day American Exceptionalism. President James Polk and his supporters created the concept of Manifest Destiny to justify war with Mexico and realized its birth with expansion to the sparkling waters of the Pacific Ocean. But Manifest Destiny was midwived in Texas first.

In 1850, new Polish settlers joined their European counterparts on that arc that stretched from Galveston to the Hill Country. A small settlement, christened Panna Maria, grew up in the mesquite country at the confluence of the San Antonio and Cibolo creeks, east of San Antonio. The dusty cattle track that led through it would soon enough become the Chisholm Trail. And the town would become the oldest Polish settlement in the United States.

In Texas, slavery divided European Catholics and Mexicans from the American Southerners. For Mexicans, the issue had been settled in 1829 when Mexico forbade slavery and gave Texas a one-year extension to abolish the practice. For the Germans, the trade in human flesh was an abhorrent throw-back to the Middle Ages. The *Sachsenspiegel*, the most important German legal code of that era, shunned slavery beginning in the early 13th century.

But the practice of slavery in Texas reached far beyond the Sabine River into Washington, D.C.

The issue delayed the accession of Texas into the Union because of the well-placed fear that it would expand slavery; so the impoverished Texas Republic floated in the limbo of independence at the fringes of the Union. John C. Calhoun devised a scheme in which Texas would be divided into six states to give it more power on behalf of slavery in Congress. Debates over slavery in the Midwest dragged—often because of Texas. And as war approached, Texas inadvertently also strengthened the inaccurate perception of Southerners that Texas would strengthen the Confederacy to the point of invulnerability, opening a new Manifest Destiny to the south this time, expanding an empire of plantation servitude into a conquered Mexico and Central America.

These calculations and miscalculations about Texas helped to trigger and then prolong the deadliest conflict in American history, the American Civil War. Already much has been said about the Civil War and nearly as much has been said about the Civil War and Texas. But this tragic conflict was proof positive of how the great migrations to Texas had consequences of national and international scale. While the Third Migration of American Southerners became legendary for its battle against the Mexicans, less understood was how the Third Migration played a crucial role in the American crucible over human chattel. The men who followed the heroes of the Alamo and San Jacinto helped tip America into a war that left as many as 750,000 Americans dead, according to a recent estimate—more than in any other war.

Because of weather and topography, plantation farming could only thrive in the southeastern quadrant of Texas, where the land was rich with alluvial soil and rivers and bayous allowed for the easy shipment of crops to market. And these were no subsistence crops. Plantation crops like sugar and cotton were just about the only cash crops in nearly 700,000 square miles. There had been just 20 Africans in Texas out of a population of 3,000 in the late 18th century, according to the 1777 Spanish census. By the end of the 1830s, around 5,000 slaves toiled in Texas, despite Mexico's ban on the practice.

The plantation economy, originally centered near present-day Houston on the Colorado and

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Brazos Rivers, greedily demanded more and more free labor. "We want more slaves," wrote Charles DeMorse in the Clarksville *Northern Standard*. "We need them." Independence from Mexico and statehood in the United States actually accelerated the spread of slavery, north and west on to the blackland prairies, a grassland east of San Antonio and Austin stretching north toward the Red River. On the eve of war in 1860, the slave population had increased 40-fold since independence from Mexico to 182,000 men, women, and children.

Texas had far fewer slaves than many southern states and large slaveholders were a decided minority—though with their wealth a disproportionately powerful one. Out of a population of 600,000 people in 1860, only 20,000 white males owned slaves. Of these, half owned fewer than three. Only three men owned more than 200 but they also owned nine out of ten cotton bales bound for export and the cash that came in return. The Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret society established by Kentucky plantation owners to spread slavery westward, now engulfed Texas, encouraging secession as the fear of a Republican presidency in 1860 was realized with the election of Abraham Lincoln.

By early 1861, southern states were leaving the Union and on February 1, 1861 an unruly mob disproportionately dominated by slaveholders was convened on the question of secession at the capitol in Austin, despite the determined opposition of Governor Sam Houston, who fumed, as he said, at "the mob upstairs." Houston disliked abolitionists but foresaw that leaving the Union would prove disastrous. As former president and part of the original American wave of migrants, he held no special love for the men who followed him. "All new states are invested, more or less, by a class of noisy, second-rate men who are always in favor of rash and extreme measures," he wrote as newcomers followed the original colonists. "But Texas was absolutely overrun by such men." All of the delegates had migrated relatively recently to Texas from the American South, and fully 70 percent were slaveholders—wildly unrepresentative of the white population at large. Many were Knights of the Golden Circle, with fantasies of slave empires stretching toward South America. There were just

eight unionists in the crowd, led by the respected James W. Throckmorton. But their voices were all drowned out.

Calling "the African race . . . an inferior and dependent race" for which slavery was beneficial, the convention voted at 11:00 a.m. the next day 166 to eight "to dissolve the union between the State of Texas and the other States, united under the compact styled, 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'" Houston himself was in grudging attendance. Texans ratified secession later that month by a margin of four to one even as North Texas threatened to secede and San Antonio seethed with pro-Union sentiment—as did the Germans, Poles, and Czechs.

In Austin, Houston was presented with a loyalty oath to the new Confederacy, which he steadfastly refused to sign. "In the name of the constitution of Texas, which has been trampled upon, I refuse to take this oath," he said. "I love Texas too well to bring civil strife and bloodshed upon her." For his refusal, the old general was summarily fired by the state legislature and he left Austin. Now, events in Texas helped to prolong the war that it helped to start with a struggle over the real strategic importance of the state, schemes of hubris, obsessive compulsion, and that which seems, now, to have verged on madness. In exchange for safe passage to the sea and the evacuation of his 3,000 troops, U.S. Army General David Twiggs surrendered the federal arsenal in San Antonio to 700 Texans. Every single U.S. Army post in Texas was abandoned. Nearly all of Texas, save the coast, would be uncontested by the Union Army for the duration of the war as Twiggs practically ceded Texas single-handedly.

Cowboys began herding thousands of rangy longhorns eastward across Louisiana and the Mississippi River; the Confederate Army became dangerously dependent upon the beef supplied by Texas for its hungry, then starving, troops. A year before the Battle of Gettysburg, Confederate President Jefferson Davis foolishly launched a bloody and ill-fated attempt to invade the California gold fields and Pacific ports from West Texas. No army since Hannibal had survived so far from home and its supply lines and this one was no exception, never

getting farther than neighboring New Mexico. Instead of encountering flag-waving Confederate sympathizers, the troops in gray met only local resistance, snow, and better-supplied Union troops. Their wagon train captured, the survivors tried to avoid dying of thirst or starvation or being unmercifully killed by Apaches as they stumbled southward, in rags, back into Texas.

At home, some Texans turned on one another especially after forced conscription into the Confederate Army. Death threats arrived in the mailboxes of suspected Unionists; 25 of them were hanged outright in Cooke County, north of Dallas, followed by 40 more. In 1862, Confederate cavalry and a home guard of Partisan Rangers tracked 100 Germans on the move to Mexico, where they planned to enlist in the Union Army, and killed 32 men as they slept by the banks of the Nueces River. While it was called the Battle of the Nueces afterward, it was really a massacre. In fact, it was a war crime as the commanding officer exceeded his orders and his subordinate officer simply began murdering prisoners. Nine more Germans were summarily executed. Fifty other German Texans were caught in Gillespie and hanged.

With fevered dreams of a Confederate West now turned to desert dust, President Lincoln in Washington had his own obsession with Texas: Capturing it and severing it from the union. Urged on by New York merchants eager for Union Texas cotton, in short supply because of the blockade of Confederate ports, Lincoln commanded his admirals as part of Operation Anaconda to blockade, bombard, and land troops on the Texas coast repeatedly. Only once, at Galveston, did they briefly succeed before being driven back into the sea. Lincoln's Texas obsession was nearly as fantastical as Davis's. Nearly 400 miles of sparsely populated coastline would have left invading troops—unless they could successfully occupy Galveston—far from population centers, depending on supply lines that stretched unimaginably. By 1863, Houston, the hero of the revolution, president, senator, and governor, lay dying near Huntsville as his prophecy came true. Passing in and out of consciousness on July 26, 1863 his final words to his wife were: "Texas, Texas, Margaret."

In the very heart of the fighting in the eastern theatre, the Texas Brigade commanded by John Bell Hood was considered the finest in the Army of Northern Virginia and a favorite of none other than General Robert E. Lee. He called them "my Texans," for their valor in battle. They fought heroically and sometimes recklessly across Virginia to Sharpsburg, Gettysburg and back to Virginia in the desperate Battle of the Wilderness. Lee loved the Texans so much that he offered to lead them into the battle there; the Texans said they would charge but only if Lee, astride his horse, Traveler, remained at a safe distance.

When Lee surrendered amidst the burning bridges of Appomattox on April 9, 1865, his Texans were still there, though just 600 of the 3,500 original men still stood. Back in Texas, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued over two full years earlier, had been kept a secret from slaves in Texas. They finally knew that they were free with the arrival of Union occupation forces under Major General Gordon Granger at Galveston over two months later, on June 19, 1865, known ever after as Juneteenth.

The true legacy of the Third Migration had been felt, now, not just in Texas but across America itself. The great American sin of slavery had been expanded by Texas, but only briefly, and as a result it had been violently expunged, if never completely erased. A Confederacy with a weak hand from the start had overplayed it, in part because of Texas and, as defender of the institution of slavery, the South now lay in righteously smoldering ruins. Following the public triumphs and disasters, the tragic consequences now came home to roost. But the matter was settled. Slowly, the country would pull itself back together. The industrializing North, not the agrarian South, would become the power center and economic engine of the country, propelling Americans into the West that Texas had been crucial in opening. Manifest Destiny could now gaze across the ocean at a new empire for America, a Pacific one. Because of Texas, the entire 19th century was recast amidst equal parts of hubris and madness, triumph and tragedy, sorrow and hope.

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