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“Schooner Flash, Captain Falwell...”

THE SHORT WARTIME LIFE OF A TEXIAN SAILING VESSEL, 1835-1837

By Alan Barber

“I left New Orleans March 28, 1832, in the schooner Flash, Captain Falwell, for the town of Anahuac on the head of Galveston Bay...” So wrote David Kokemot in his reminiscences published in his hometown newspaper nearly a half century later.1 Kokemot and his family must have taken some other vessel – the Flash had not yet been built – but his mistake is understandable. The Flash was a common sight in Kokemot’s neighborhood, San Jacinto Bay, from the end of 1835 until her loss fifteen months later. It carried freight from New Orleans, along with its wealthy owners and their families. At one time or another, the ship also carried the Texas president, the vice-president, their families, and the family of the secretary of war. The Flash carried Kokemot’s neighbors and their property as they fled San Jacinto before the battle, and before that she carried the “Twin Sisters,” the artillery gift to Texas from the citizens of Cincinnati, on their final seaward journey to the San Jacinto battlefield. She even served as a privateer for a time. The competent and well-liked Irish immigrant Luke Falvel (Kokemot’s spelling is an error) commanded every voyage except her last when a newcomer named Marstella skippered a routine run from New Orleans, one that ran aground at the far end of Galveston Island.

The Flash owed its existence to land speculation. Samuel Swartwout, the New York City customs collector, and a dozen or so of his friends formed an Association to invest in Texas land just before the revolution. Swartwout and his partners had acquired the empresario rights of Mexican citizen Lorenzo de Zavala, who subsequently joined the investors. They then purchased a number of questionable land grants, gambling that after independence and annexation a new government would find their titles.2 They also bought clear titles, such as the leagues of the above mentioned David Kokemot and his mother-in-law.3 The Association also engaged Anahuac merchant James Morgan as their agent in Texas and he completed their most important acquisition, the 1600 acre homesite of Nicholas Clopper on the right bank of the San Jacinto River, where it broadened to enter Galveston Bay. A neighbor described it as “not only the most prominent but the most beautiful site on the Bay...”4 Here the investors planned a new town, starting with a port, a store, a hotel, and homesites. They were betting on the town growing into a city and even becoming the capital of the new state – thus the name of their town and their Association: New Washington.

The summer of 1835 found all the members together in New York. Zavala had been Mexican ambassador to Paris, but by 1834 his differences with the president, Jose Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, had fatally deteriorated. The

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Santa Anna government ordered him home but, fearing prison, he instead took his family to New York. There he presumably met with the other New Washington investors before he quickly traveled overland to Texas, leaving his wife and youngest children in New York.

Morgan was also in New York to acquire raw materials for the new town: building supplies, merchandise, workers, and two schooners. The member given the task of acquiring the schooners was almost certainly John P. Austin, for his name appears on both registrations. Austin would have been the logical choice; his family was long involved in maritime commerce and he was a first cousin of Stephen F. Austin. John P. Austin had become a well established trader in New York long before 1835, and the family kept homes in both New Haven and New York, so John P. would have known the Connecticut shipbuilders well. The smaller of the two schooners was built in New Haven and presumably purchased new from the builder, for it was named the Kosciusko, which was also the name of James Morgan's only son, then thirteen years old. Morgan usually referred to both the vessel and the son as "Kos." At thirty tons, the Kos was a small schooner, approximately forty-five feet from stem to stern with a hold that a man would have to crouch to enter. In compensation, her draft would be less than larger vessels, so it could more easily cross the bars and shoals of Galveston Bay. Unlike the Flash, the Kos maintained a low profile in Texas history and appears to have spent her time doing routine duty in the coastal trade.

The Flash, at seventy-seven tons, was much larger than the Kos, probably some sixty-five to seventy feet long with a hold about seven feet deep. That hold was twice as long and more than double the width of the largest contemporary moving van. With space on the top deck she could carry prodigious amounts of cargo or even 150 people in an emergency (which later becomes important). The Flash also had a comfortable furnished cabin.

The Flash would seem large to its neighbors on Galveston Bay, but it was among the very smallest vessels calling at an international port such as New York or New Orleans. When the Flash arrived at New Orleans for the first time, 23 January 1836, she would have met, either clearing or arriving, twelve brigs, four ships, one bark, and nine other schooners - nothing smaller. The brigs, ships, and the bark, with only one exception, were departing for or arriving from the Caribbean, eastern U.S. coast, or European ports, and were registered at 200 to 400 tons capacity. The schooners would have ranged from the size of the Kos, thirty tons, up to 120 tons. The schooner was primarily an American invention and this single day's traffic through the port of New Orleans illustrates its economic impact. Brigs, ships, and barks were the traditional vessels of the high seas - multiple decks, two, three, or four masts loaded up with square sails hung from horizontal yards, all tended by many seamen scrambling up the masts. Cargo capacity was huge, but their performance in unfavorable winds was poor - not a serious problem for transatlantic voyages where the captain sought favorable trade winds. The North American coastal trade, however, required smaller crews and better performance into the
wind, and owners often sacrificed cargo capacity for speed and efficiency. The triangular, fore-and-aft rigged sails of the schooner gave just such a performance and small crews sufficed since the sails could ably be managed from the deck. American sailors had utilized such ships since the American Revolution. The Flash was built in Stonington, Connecticut, just fifty miles from New Haven, and was registered in New York on November 2, 1835, to John P. Austin. She would prove an excellent choice for the variable winds and courses of Galveston Bay and the Gulf coast with their shallow bars and reefs.

The captain of the Flash also came from New York, probably through the efforts of John P. Austin as well. Luke Falvel was an Irish immigrant who had been in the United States for about five years and New York for one year before becoming a naturalized citizen just before leaving for Texas. He was in his late twenties and had recently married a teenaged woman, also Irish, from Connecticut. It is a fair guess that Luke had been a seaman while leaving in the East, which is likely how he met both his wife Mary and John P. Austin. It is also likely that this was his first command, given his youth.

The Flash and the Kosciusko left New York for Texas in early November, 1835, heavily laden with goods and construction materials. Cargo included food (mustard, raisins, tea, coffee), supplies (soap, Epsom salts, medicine), construction materials (nails, linseed oil), merchandise for sale (blankets, shoes), and many boxes simply labeled “Mds.” The vessels also carried the captain and his new wife, three servants of the Zavala family, and thirteen artisans and laborers for the New Washington venture. Among these was a housekeeper from New Haven, Emily West, who would soon play a role, in legend at least, in the Battle of San Jacinto. Lorenzo de Zavala and his son, Lorenzo Jr., had already traveled to Texas and had purchased a home for the family on a bluff overlooking Buffalo Bayou, the San Jacinto River, and the future site of the battle of that name. In a few days James Morgan also left New York, accompanied by Zavala’s wife Emily and their three youngest children. They travelled by stage and riverboat to New Orleans and would join the Flash and Kos at the Balize, the pilot and customs station 111 miles below New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, for the final leg of the journey to New Washington.

Much had happened in Texas since Morgan’s departure the previous April. Stephen F. Austin had returned from a Mexican prison with a new zeal for revolution. The revolt against Santa Anna’s government began soon thereafter, quickly followed by Texian victories at Gonzales and San Antonio. But in the Gulf the Texians were not as fortunate; the Mexican war schooner Montezuma had seized two merchant schooners and still menaced Texas shipping. Thus when Morgan met his vessels at the Balize he was carrying yet more supplies picked up at New Orleans: muskets, cutlasses, and an eighteen pounder cannon. They joined with two more vessels and traveled unmolested to Galveston Bay, arriving in mid December.
By January, James Morgan busied himself with the business of the Association. Stevedores unloaded the cargo from the Flash and the Kos; the merchandise began to be sold, and the crews brought from New York began work. Morgan also purchased land for the Association—a league each from his neighbors David Kokernot and his mother-in-law, mentioned previously. The Flash then re-loaded with Texas exports for a trip to New Orleans: thirty-five bales of cotton, eleven bales of deer skins, and “Three Jack Asses.” Thirteen passengers bought passage in steerage and another were eleven in the cabin, including the captain’s wife, Mary Falvel. She was carrying three trunks and three hat boxes, which suggests she was abandoning New Washington.21 That may be the case; the state of construction at New Washington was probably still crude. Morgan, in fact, had not yet brought his family to Texas for perhaps that very reason.22 She probably went no further than New Orleans, for her name appears in November on the Flash passenger list, again going to New Orleans, where the couple had their first child the following year.22

The danger of seizure by Mexican warships had not lessened by January 20 when the Flash departed, so that eighteen pounder cannon was now mounted on a swivel on the deck,20 and two kegs of powder and 400 cartridges were in the cabin stores in preparation for battle. Twenty years earlier a typical run to New Orleans from Galveston would have taken five to ten days, most of which was consumed in the final 111 miles up the Mississippi. The tortuous path of the river, including 90 and 180 degree bends at the English Turn just below the city, slowed any vessel that could not beat to windward effectively. Eighteenth century craft often took a week to ten days up the river, waiting at river bends for a shift in the wind. By the 1830s, however, a thriving towing business had developed. Steamboats would pick up a vessel offshore, bring it across the shallow, dangerous bar, lash it side by side with as many as four others, and steam up the river.21 Large, square-rigged vessels almost always used this service. Weatherly schooners could sail up the river but the Flash usually did not; this time she hitched a ride beside the steamer Grampus and clocked three days from Galveston to the docks at New Orleans.19

The Flash’s next recorded visit to New Orleans was six weeks later on 7 March 1836.21 The trip appears normal, with cotton, deerskins, and buck and ox horns in the hold,24 but the Flash would have no more routine voyages. Two days before leaving Galveston, and the same day Texas declared independence, Luke Falvel had been commissioned as a captain in the new Texas Navy.26 The provisional government had authorized the creation of a navy as well as issuance of letters of marque and reprisal to privateers. Flash and Falvel are widely considered to have been so empowered, though no such letters have been found for her or, indeed, for any of her contemporaries.27 It was a violation of U. S. law to outfit a vessel in a U. S. port for war against a nation at peace with the United States, but many Texian vessels did just this in New Orleans, although it was a risky venture. Six months later the Texian privateer Terrible, which had followed such a course, was seized, forfeited, and sold in New Orleans.29
Falvel may have felt compelled to ease out of New Orleans unnoticed, for there is no record of the *Flash* departing that March. She certainly did so and next appeared, in Velasco, on March 25, where she discharged Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, en route from his home in Georgia and eager to join Sam Houston’s army, camped just up the Brazos River at Groce’s Plantation. Falvel was at Velasco because he was ordered there as an officer of the navy. When he arrived at Galveston from New Orleans a few days earlier he would have received his first news of the war – the fall of the Alamo, the massive retreat of civilians eastward before the advancing Mexican army, and the Mexican closure of all Texas ports. His boss, James Morgan, was now a colonel in the Texian Army and commander of Galveston, charged with keeping that port open. Morgan had sent the *Flash* to Velasco to evacuate civilians who had fled down the Brazos River. Such was the urgency of the mission that freight and some passengers had not been discharged. Some, in fact, would remain aboard for six weeks as the *Flash* shuttled around the coast and Galveston Bay, picking up refugees and their property. Nevertheless, they ate well. Angelina Peyton later complained, and Falvel confirmed, that that the passengers and governments had consumed $1200 worth of groceries purchased in New Orleans.

Two shiny new cannons were also in the *Flash*’s hold alongside Mrs. Peyton’s groceries as she sailed out of Velasco. The *Twin Sisters* were a gift of the citizens of Cincinnati, and would soon become icons of Texas history for their performance at the Battle of San Jacinto. For some reason, they had been deposited at Velasco, probably so they could be transported up the Brazos River to Sam Houston’s army, but now they were on their way by sea to New Washington. The Schooner *Pennsylvania* is commonly given credit for this, but Luke Falvel claimed he carried them from Velasco to New Washington. Forty-four years later Falvel proudly proclaimed: “The said Schooner Flash (sic) being under [my] command when the Celebrated ‘Twin Sisters’ were transported on board of her for Service in the memorable Battle of San Jacinto.” But on April 6, the day they were left at New Washington, they were just more routine cargo to be itemized and billed to the Republic of Texas. An April 9 invoice charged $289 freight for the cannons and accessories as well as $154 for transportation and board for refugees from Velasco. Secretary of the Navy Robert Potter, who had accompanied the *Twin Sisters* from Velasco to New Washington, approved the invoice the next day. From New Washington the *Sisters* were carried to Harrisburg on the sloop *Ohio*, thence overland by wagon to Houston near Groce’s Plantation.

The *Flash* apparently stayed at New Washington after the tenth, her orders being to defend that place in the event of attack. Both Morgan and Potter had gone to Galveston, but Morgan’s full staff remained behind and in order to secure New Washington. Property was no longer safe anywhere; fleeing civilians abandoned their property, and the retreating army lived off the land. What they could not use they burned in order to deny it to the Mexican army. What the Mexicans did not use they also burned. Illegal “press gangs” confiscated
property in exchange for a slip of paper, supposedly promising payment, but then took it to Louisiana to sell. Morgan was operating a farm, a hotel, and a general merchandise store at New Washington, and so had a huge amount of attractive possessions to protect. Slaves and workmen loaded anything portable onto the Flash. The process was slow since everything had to be loaded onto a flatboat and rowed out to the Flash – there was yet no wharf – then loaded into her hold.

The Texas government, which had evacuated to Harrisburg ahead of the advancing Mexican army, learned that a sizeable piece of Santa Anna’s army had detached and was specifically in pursuit of them. Thus began a scramble even more urgent than the one at New Washington. The two members with homes in the neighborhood, Zavala on April 12 and Burnet on the thirteenth, set out to care for their families. Zavala moved his family by rowboat four miles down the bay to William Scott’s home or David Kokernot’s home, depending on the account – abandoning his possessions. Burnet packed his wife and two children and what possessions he could carry on horseback, crossed the river at Lynch’s Ferry, and rode to New Washington, a total of thirteen miles. That evening, the 14th, he dashed a note off to James Morgan at Galveston requesting that he detain the Flash at New Washington so he could evacuate his family if necessary. The following morning President Burnet attempted to rejoin the government at Harrisburg only to find the town deserted, cabinet and citizens gathering what possessions they could and crowding onto the steamer Cayuga and the schooner William. Zavala’s spunky wife Emily attempted to row home to fetch some personal belongings the same day but was turned back by Nathaniel Lynch, who fled to Scott’s home with her. Cayuga steamed past Lynch’s with a full load the night of the 15th, just as Santa Anna roared into the deserted Harrisburg.

By now, of course, Burnet realized that the Texas Revolution was about to reach its climax right in his neighborhood. President Burnet and his family barely escaped death at New Washington the next day, as they were furiously loading property onto boats for the Flash when Mexican dragoons rode up. They left much behind: Morgan’s property; Burnet’s property; slaves and workmen, including Morgan’s housekeeper Emily West, whom some called Emily Morgan as though she were his slave. Santa Anna arrived at New Washington the next day with his full force and enjoyed the facilities for two more days before burning everything that could not be carried. On the 20th Santa Anna took his army, Emily West, and his plunder nine miles up the river to their fate at San Jacinto. Emily entered Texas legend as “The Yellow Rose of Texas.” The Cayuga, the Flash, and every other vessel available had swept the river of citizens and property so thoroughly that there was no vessel larger than a rowboat to carry the news of the San Jacinto victory to the government at Galveston. The Cayuga had picked up the Zavalas and the Kokernots and carried almost the whole Texas cabinet, except for Burnet. The Flash, despite leaving people behind at New Washington, carried 150 passengers into Galveston, including some fifty slaves owned by Monroe Edwards.
The *Flash* remained in Galveston until May 6, when she left for New Orleans with sixteen passengers. Cargo consisted of thirty-one bales of cotton, a normal Texas export, and a far greater volume of assorted merchandise, essential import goods bound for Texas. The merchandise was equally divided between James Morgan's stock from New Washington and McKinney and Williams's stock, presumably from their store in Quintana, near Velasco. Both merchants were removing goods that would have been destroyed in fires set by either army – trunks and boxes of books, for example. But both were also removing goods that would have been quickly impressed, legitimately by the army or illegitimately by press gangs: guns, saddles, and medicines.

The *Flash* made more runs between New Orleans and Galveston in support of the war. Typical was her return to New Orleans on June 22 with 119 bales of cotton, and departure for Galveston on July 3, carrying ninety-three volunteer soldiers for the army. At no time does it appear she used her eighteen pounder mounted on deck, nor did she act as a privateer to intercept foreign shipments to the Mexican Army.

The government twice tried to buy the *Flash*. Secretary of State Samuel Carson offered $8500 in April, 1836, and then President Burnet did the same seven weeks later. Apparently Morgan accepted the second offer, because one week later Burnet had to withdraw the offer when his cabinet balked. Then, on October 11, Morgan sent his friend George M. Patrick to Columbia to see newly elected Texas vice-president Mirabeau Lamar with another offer to sell, again for $8500. Lamar's response is lost, but the sale was never consummated.

By the following spring life was returning to normal in Texas. Those who had fled in the "Runaway Scrape" had mostly returned. A New Orleans newspaper wrote of Texas: "The country was very tranquil. The farmers had returned to their plantations and the crops, particularly of corn, would be abundant." James Morgan had returned to the burned out New Washington and began to rebuild as well as plant corn and orange groves. The *Flash* had been working steadily from New Orleans to either Texas or Florida, earning him $1000-5200 each trip. The New Washington Association investors in New York had sent to Texas a man named Stone, either a new partner or an agent, to assess the situation after the war and his reports were very positive: "...in 5 years yours will be the second place only to any in Texas – Go ahead!" wrote Samuel Swartwout to Morgan after reading Stone's first report, from New Orleans.

Only the Zavalas were doing poorly. Lorenzo Sr. had died of malaria and pneumonia the previous November after a spill into Buffalo Bayou. His widow kept the family home and cemetery, but sent the youngest children back to New York. On March 17, the *Flash*, carrying the Zavalas and commanded by Luke Falvel, left Galveston for the three day run to New Orleans, where she loaded routine commercial cargo for Galveston. Mexico still maintained the wartime blockade of all Texas ports and published reminders of that in New Orleans newspapers. The Mexican Navy had increased its attempts to stop most traffic along the Texas coast. The Mexicans seized any vessel that carried military cargo; others were released.
For an unknown reason Stone, the New Washington Association agent, replaced Luke Falvel with a man named Marstella as captain. The \textit{Flash} left New Orleans on April 3 for Galveston Bay.\textsuperscript{32} News next reached New Orleans three weeks later via Bee, which reported that the \textit{Flash} had grounded at the west end of Galveston Island, "...doubtlessly chased by a Mexican vessel of war."\textsuperscript{33} The \textit{Flash} had indeed been boarded by the Mexican Navy but was released after the seizure of nothing more than the military paperwork of at least one discharged Texas Army officer.\textsuperscript{34} After that, on April 13, the \textit{Flash} wrecked with no loss of life. The vessel, however, and cargo were a total loss.

Morgan was furious. He blamed Stone and Marstella. "...in pops Stone... – Drove a well trained Capt. out of the Flash – -----put a drunken vagabond in..." he wrote to Swartwout in New York.\textsuperscript{35} No contemporary report discusses the reason for the loss of the \textit{Flash}, but later writers seem to agree that Marstella was simply disoriented and confused San Luis Pass for the entrance to Galveston harbor.\textsuperscript{36}

Morgan estimated his losses at $12,000 before insurance. Apparently, only one shipper sued Morgan. John W. Moore asked for $250 in the District Court in Houston for his loss of flour, sugar, coffee, and powder.\textsuperscript{37} Morgan’s astonishing defense was that he was not the owner of the \textit{Flash}.\textsuperscript{38} He sent to New York for a certified copy of her registration, which would show John P. Austin as owner.\textsuperscript{39} The court minutes show the case repeatedly continued through December of 1840 when it disappears from the records.\textsuperscript{40} Perhaps the mysterious Stone paid from his own pocket as Morgan argued he should.\textsuperscript{41}

After the loss of the \textit{Flash} Luke and Mary Falvel lived, raised their children, and died in Galveston. At various times Luke served coastwise shipping in his brig \textit{Rover},\textsuperscript{42} was a bar pilot, and a light ship tender. He and Mary raised eight children, the boys named Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Luke Sr. died July 10, 1872, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Galveston.\textsuperscript{43}

James Morgan successfully resurrected his 1600 acre plantation at New Washington, renaming it Orange Grove. His hospitality became legendary in the years following the revolution,\textsuperscript{4} but his later years were plagued by the deaths of his wife and daughter and by progressive blindness that became complete by about 1850. He died at Orange Grove on March 1, 1866, and was buried there.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{Notes}

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"Report and Manifest," Schooner Flash. 10 May 1836, and Schooner Kosciusko, 16 June 1837, Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, LA, 1820-1902, micropublication M259 (Washington: National Archives), roll 13 (hereafter New Orleans Passenger Lists). Both were registered in New York, but those records are lost. New Orleans customs records show, if the vessel clears customs and the inspector is diligent, the registered owner, the master, a description of the vessel and cargo, and a list of passengers.

William Ransom Hogan, "Henry Austin", Southwestern Historical Quarterly vol. 37, no. 3 (January 1934): pp. 185-215; Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. "John Austin," http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/AA/a1u9.html (accessed 24 June 2007). The John P. Austin who was a member of the New Washington Association never visited Texas and may easily be confused with the John Austin who lived in the Galveston Bay area and was actively involved in the beginnings of the Revolution or with his father John Penderson Austin, who visited Texas after the death of his son in 1833. The Austins were distant cousins, if they were related at all, to Stephen F. Austin.

James Morgan household, 1860 U.S. census, Harris County, Texas, precinct 7, page 27, line 27, National Archives micropublication M653. roll 1296. Kos Morgan's family is living with the widowed James Morgan at Morgan point in 1860. His age is given as thirty-eight.


The arrival records cited in note 6 give the tonnage of the Kosciusko as 30 44/95 and of the Flash as 77 13/95. Port fees and registration taxes were derived from this tonnage number, calculated as the volume of the hold, in cubic feet, divided by ninety-five. The volume of the hold was approximated by a strict formula which, for a single deck vessel, was the vessel length (adjusted downward by three fifths of the beam) multiplied by the beam multiplied by the measured internal height of the hold. All these dimensions would be noted in the vessel's registration documents, which are not available for New York for these years. The suggested dimensions given here come from inspection of the documents for similar tonnage schooners registered in New Orleans.


"Marine News," New Orleans Daily Bee, 25 Jan 1836, p.2, col. 6. This daily feature summarized the arrivals and departures of the previous day or, in this case, the previous Saturday.


No cargo manifests exist for imports into Texas for these years. These are all items evacuated in the Flash from New Washington to New Orleans just a few months later as Santa Anna's army approached. See the first citation of note 6.


New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash. 23 Jan 1836.


New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash, 7 Mar 1836.


United States vs. Schooner Terrible, United States District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, Admiralty Case No 3835, RG 21, National Archives, Fort Worth.


Henson, Zavala, p. 156.


Gray, Diary of William Fairfax Gray From Virginia to Texas, 1835-1837, p. 154.


Dilue Harris, "The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 4, no. 3.


*New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 22 Jun 1836.


Carson to Morgan, 1 Apr 1836, *PTR* 2519, vol. 5, p. 281.

Burnet to Morgan, 22 May 1836, *PTR* 3129.

Burnet to Morgan, 29 May 1836, Morgan Papers 31-1057, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.


Swartwout to Morgan, 8 Apr 1837, Morgan Papers 31-0390.


“John W. Moore vs. James Morgan,” 27 Nov 1838 (31-0491), Sep 1837 (31-0492), 26 Oct 1839 (31-0516), Morgan Papers. These are summonses and petitions received by Morgan.

James Treat to Morgan, New York, 6 Jan 1839, Morgan Papers 31-0916.


*John W. Moore vs. James Morgan*, Minutes, 11th District Court, Harrisburg (later Harris) County, Texas; Book A, pages 8, 16, 44; Book B, pages 3, 82, 280, 516; from HIL microfilm 1009265.
