

10-1986

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Recommended Citation

Goodwin, Katherine G. (1986) "'A Woman's Curiosity:' Martha Gaffney and Cotton Planting on the Texas Frontier," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 24: Iss. 2, Article 6.

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"A WOMAN'S CURIOSITY:" MARTHA GAFFNEY AND COTTON PLANTING ON THE TEXAS FRONTIER

by Katherine G. Goodwin

"You wrote to me that you had bought a place but never said it was a good place or not, nor said how much you gave for it. You know a woman's curiosity [sic]." Martha E. Gaffney of Richland, South Carolina, would need more than "a woman's curiosity" to run the plantation her husband Peter bought in the winter of 1853 in Red River County, Texas. Her interest in the details of the purchase indicated her awareness of the magnitude of operating a family enterprise. As the family prepared to migrate to Northeast Texas in late 1854, Peter died unexpectedly and left Martha, a thirty-three year old Southern lady, to raise their five children and run a cotton plantation on the frontier.

Martha Gaffney continued with the planned move to Texas, and her preparations for the journey reveal she had every intention of continuing her familiar plantation life. Rather than discarding personal and household items she spent six months prior to the move to Texas accumulating goods she knew would be scarce on the frontier. She had trunks repaired, purchased fabric and contracted with dressmakers and milliners for dresses and hats. She shopped dry good stores for hoops and gloves and twice visited the jewelers for items to take with her to Texas.² Nor did Gaffney pack these items and the family's belongings in a covered wagon for an overland trip. As befitted an aristocrat, she booked passage for herself, four of her five children, a companion, Mrs. Allen, four servants and an overseer, Mr. Haley, on two steamers to transport them from New Orleans to the Red River plantation. The passage receipt for the steamer *Jenny Bealle* included \$95 for two boxes, eleven bales, and two barrels shipped with the family. Additional boxes shipped on the steamer *California* incurred a bill for \$29.62. These receipts did not include items Gaffney bought in New Orleans which were shipped at a later date. In addition there were receipts describing services rendered for transporting luggage to and from hotels, railroad stations, and steamship docks, transporting an unspecified number of negroes, and renting wagons to move everything and everyone to the land her late husband had purchased outside Clarksville.³

In the 1850s Northeast Texas represented the Southern frontier and offered economic opportunity for upward mobility. Cheap land prices and a healthy climate combined to lure many immigrants to that

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section of Texas between 1836 and 1861. D.E.E. Braman of Matagorda addressed the virtues of the land when he advised immigrants, "the rich alluvial loams, invite honest industry to come, till, and reap the abundant rewards of harvest." Moreover, the better lands in the older Southern states were already under cultivation, and in many areas those lands were nearing depletion.⁵ The cotton market, dependent upon land fertility, was faltering and planters were seeking more productive lands. This apparently was the case in the tidelands of Richland, South Carolina, where Peter and Martha Gaffney previously owned a plantation. The poor land in that area resulted in depressed markets as indicated in letters to Peter while he was scouting land in Texas from his friend and neighbor in South Carolina, H. R. Brown. Early in 1854 Brown reported, "the times are worse hear [sic] than I have ever sear [sic] them. Haven't sold your cotton or mine yet." Again in March of the same year, Brown still had not sold either his crop or Peter's and reported that "cotton is dull." Certainly depleted soil and poor markets were among the factors which drove Peter Gaffney to seek more profitable lands.

The unhealthy climate may also have been an important reason for the Gaffneys to leave South Carolina. Yellow fever and malaria were rampant in the South and continually recurred in the tidelands of the Carolinas. Concerned about illness like many new Texans, William, Peter's brother who had emigrated to Texas in the late 1840s, wrote home of the healthy climate: "Only sickness here—is tite chills until you become climatized [sic] then as healthy as any state I have lived in." This preoccupation with fever and chills prompted many to seek new healthful lands, as well as new economic opportunities, west of the Mississippi River.

The price of land west of the Mississippi River, however, was probably the most important factor in the Gaffney's migration to the Texas frontier. In letters to Peter, William wrote in response to inquiries on land in the Red River area, "Land below raft is \$5 to \$20 per acre and here you can get land 25 cents to \$5 an acre. You had better come and judge for yourself." The raft William mentioned was an accumulation of trees and dirt that formed an obstruction on the Red River. Beginning a few miles above Natchitoches, it extended up river for a hundred miles and was interspersed with open water. An attempt was made by Captain Henry Shreve early in 1830 to destroy the raft. However, lack of money terminated the efforts until 1833 when Shreve resumed the work for the next five years. While he failed to completely clear the river, he did make it navigable during high water periods. Steamboats were especially constructed for use on the upper part of the river, but no regular service could be maintained.¹⁰ This obstruction to the transport of people and goods accounted for the

differences in land prices.

The request for Peter to come himself and judge the land was typical of immigration of the 1850s. Many areas were established by members of the same family and region. Individuals first "scouted out" an area; then families and neighbors followed. Sometimes whole towns and villages were transported to a new land. William had been the first of his family to seek new lands in Texas. Once established he encouraged his family to join him. In a letter to his brother Peter in 1849 he wrote, "Would be the happiest of the happy with you to live near me with your family where we could raise all things we might want."¹⁰

The area William wanted Peter to purchase was rich river bottom land in northeast Texas east of the 96th parallel. Hunters, attracted to the bears, raccoon, possums, otters, deer, and quail, and streams full of fish, had first settled it in 1819. By the 1830s small patches of cotton appeared, and the Republic of Texas chartered the town of Clarksville. By the 1840s furs and hides were the main cash "crops," and Clarksville was the major market center for the area. In 1847 the present boundaries of Red River County were established and the first cotton gin was built in the area. Clarksville reported the average price of cotton that year was 7½ cents per pound. By the early 1850s cotton became the main cash crop and the price rose to 11.8 cents per pound, providing the economic opportunity Peter had sought for his cotton operation.¹¹

Red River County, Texas, was an ideal place for the aristocratic Martha Gaffney to establish a plantation after Peter's death. Clarksville was a typical Southern frontier community made up of like-minded people: Southern plantation and farm owners who accepted slavery as a fact of life and part of the natural order.¹² Most slave owning settlers brought their property in large groups from the old states into Texas, and Gaffney was no exception. She brought the South Carolina slaves as well as the other trappings of her Southern plantation life to the frontier of Northeast Texas.¹⁴

Plantations had been run by women in the absence of their men for generations. Many women ran plantations and farms because their husbands were engaged constantly in other business pursuits or because they were widows. Ann Firor Scott in her book, *The Southern Lady, From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*, discusses at great length the activities of plantation wives. Scott contends the woman's role on plantations was important. In addition to the traditional roles of wife, mother and hostess, plantation life thrust upon her an immense retinue of slaves, who all had to be fed, clothed, and nursed. The ordinary planter's wife led a very demanding life.¹⁵ However, Scott points out

that Southern women were not encouraged to develop business or professional abilities. The prevailing view was that women existed for the benefit of their families and that their lives should be conducted in complete submissiveness to the will of their husbands.¹⁴ In addition, Nancy Woloch, in her research for *Women and the American Experience*, touches on traditional roles of women as cotton and slavery expanded into the fertile Southwest.¹⁵ She contends that Westward expansion did little to change women's traditional roles. Only on substantial plantations with large numbers of slaves did women assume managerial positions, and even then they were confined to the "doctrine of sphere" in which women were to be dependent, affectionate, pious, pure, gentle, nurturing, benevolent, and sacrificing.¹⁶ Nowhere, perhaps, was this concept of "women's sphere" more evident than in the American South of Martha Gaffney's birth.

Gaffney, however, because of her husband's death found herself in a position of maintaining a household and managing the entire plantation. In a male dominated society could she successfully manage the Texas estate? Was she knowledgeable about money affairs? Did she have sufficient funds to run the plantation? Could she obtain financing to carry her through the bad years as well as good years? Could she operate and succeed with the plantation in the male dominated cotton business?

An examination of the Gaffney Family Papers including receipts, notes, and family correspondence discloses the manner in which Martha Gaffney immigrated to the frontier and the lifestyle she brought with her. Her business correspondence and financial records reflect not only her struggles and successes, but also shed light on the banking business in Northeast Texas in general, and the cotton industry in particular. In addition, the role Martha Gaffney played in heading a household and running a large cotton plantation in a male dominated society reveals some interesting contradictions in the history of women in Texas. The accounts of her plantation activities, coupled with family papers, provide significant information on the social and economic history of Northeast Texas and the Southern frontier.

An inspection of the Gaffney financial papers for the period 1855 through 1860 yields an admittedly incomplete balance sheet for the plantation. There was no plantation ledger. Neither can records be traced through banking transactions as there were no banks in the area during the 1850s.¹⁷ However, even with these limitations, some assumptions can be made regarding the affairs of Martha Gaffney and the extent of banking and financing in Northeast Texas.

Gaffney arrived in Clarksville on December 21, 1854. She quickly took control of the family enterprise. Within two weeks she had filed

Peter's will in probate court with the clerk of Red River County, taken possession of the land and five head of cattle, and bought ten bushels of corn and 100 bundles of fodder for the animals.¹⁹ She paid cash for these purchases, plus an additional \$257.12 for miscellaneous supplies.²⁰ Gaffney also established credit with several prominent firms in Clarksville, including the female merchants Mary Ragin and Anne Monkhouse, as well as the establishments of Chamber and Marshall, Rowland and Bryarly, and J. W. Kirchoff and Company.²¹

These payments and those in the year after she arrived, as well as the manner in which she traveled to Texas, indicate that Gaffney brought enough money with her to sustain her family for a year. Evidently, the sale of the family's plantation in South Carolina had been profitable. As a report by John H. Brown, executor, indicates, after paying Peter's outstanding accounts, his estate retained a cash balance of \$1692.85 and notes payable in the amount of \$5631.00.²² Presumably the cash and notes were the basis upon which Gaffney began operations on the Texas plantation.

In addition to these funds, Martha Gaffney also had an established line of credit with a New Orleans commission house. Before his death, her husband had made arrangements for the commission house of Purvis, Gladden and Heard to handle his cotton sales from the Texas plantation and act as his agent. Martha Gaffney continued to avail herself of their services, and the commission house guided her in conducting her business. Especially during that first year as she struggled to cope with the business affairs of the plantation, they aided her in settling her accounts, made shipping arrangements, and generally solved problems. The agents of Purvis, Gladden and Heard, for example, explained the charges to her account which she did not understand.²³ They acted on her behalf in solving a discrepancy in a shoe order from a New Orleans merchant and resolved a problem with a piano she had purchased on her first trip through the city.²⁴ On another occasion when a ship captain threatened to sue Gaffney after she charged him for damages to her goods, the commission house smoothed the way for a settlement and cautioned her not to sign for goods until she had examined them.²⁵ In addition, the firm acted on her behalf in numerous insurance claims and continued to do so over the years.²⁶

Purvis, Gladden and Heard not only advised Gaffney on the handling of her affairs but most importantly, supplied her with credit. This credit was necessary for her to maintain the family and the business. The use of credit to compensate for cash in the operation of a plantation was of paramount importance on the Southern frontier in the 1850s. D.E.E. Braman, author and attorney of Matagorda City, Texas, informed immigrants: "Credit in Texas is the universal rule,

and prompt payment, the exception; the system runs through all business, from the smallest account to the most important contract."²⁷ The shortage of banks and the tendency of the planters to invest annual profits in land and slaves did little to change the situation.²⁸

The local credit merchants, by issuing sight drafts, and receiving and shipping goods purchased in New Orleans or elsewhere, generally assisted the planter with the daily business transfers. Planters charged supplies and goods on a yearly basis with local dry goods firms, supply houses, tradesmen, and physicians. When the bills came due, around the first of the calendar year, the planter would ignore the bills until about the first of March. If his cotton had not sold by then, he would issue a promissory note, usually for a year, occasionally for three to six months, in the amount of the statement in order to continue to purchase needed goods. When the cotton crop was sold, the local bills would be paid in cash or by note from a commission house through which the cotton was sold at market. The commission house in New Orleans took receipt of the cotton shipped, paid freight, wharfage, baling and bagging expenses, and then stored and sold the cotton for the account of the planter. In addition, the commission houses acted as the agent for the planter in other financial matters in a manner similar to a bank.

The use of the local credit merchants and the commission house in New Orleans eliminated the need for cash flow other than for a few miscellaneous goods and services, usually from local individuals.²⁹ However, the local credit merchants enacted a high price for their services, charging from 10% to 12.5% interest per annum for the extension of credit. This could be compounded when the commission house in New Orleans paid the account of the planter with the local merchant. The commission houses took a 2½% commission on every transaction: on the sale of the cotton, on the issuance of drafts, and on the advancement of funds. To remain solvent, planters had to avoid debt as much as possible. Texans tried to minimize expenses by purchasing only essential items for operations such as capital equipment and slaves and necessary supplies including corn, bacon, salt, sugar, molasses, tobacco, clothing, and medicine.³⁰

Martha Gaffney tried to minimize expenses, but credit was necessary for her to maintain the family and the business. Her use of credit was characteristic of most plantation owners, and Gaffney's pattern was clearly established in her second year in Texas, 1856, when she brought in her first crop. That year she sold a total of 115 bales of cotton. The first 105 bales (50,793 lbs.) sold at 10 cents a pound for \$5079.30 and the remaining 10 bales (2,929 lbs.) at 10¾ cents per pound for \$336.36. In addition, there was an insurance payment for

damaged cotton in the amount of \$174.68 for a total revenue of \$5684.33. From that amount, the commission house charged Gaffney \$986.73 to market the cotton. Those charges included freight, insurance, boxing, bagging, rope, storage and labor, weighing (at the rate of 8 cents per bale), and commission of 2½ % on the sale. The actual cost of marketing and selling the cotton through the commission house came to 17.35%."

The year 1856 was an average one for the Northeast Texas market. The following chart of Gaffney's finances demonstrates income and charges for the years 1856 to 1861.

Chart No. 1:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Bales</i>	<i>Gross \$</i>	<i>Charges</i>	<i>Accounts</i>	<i>Balance</i>
1856	115	5684.33	986.73	\$2362.24	\$2335.56
1857	118	7616.70	966.12	\$3191.17	\$3459.41
1858	113	5453.71	93.93*	\$5163.83	\$ 195.95
1859	100	5797.07	891.92	\$4615.27	\$ 289.88
1860	223	9583.58	1875.44	\$????.??	\$????.??

The actual percentage for the cost of marketing is seen from the charges stemming from gross sales. In 1856 charges amount to 17%; 1857: 12%; 1858: ??? (*: the records are incomplete for charges in this year); 1859: 15%; and 1860: 19%.

In addition to the marketing services of the commission house, Gaffney had an account that paid for goods she ordered from New Orleans merchants and had shipped to her on the Red River. The commission house advanced the freight monies, paid for the merchandise, and issued drafts as Gaffney directed. For these additional services the firm charged 2½ % in commission and interest on the advance of monies until the cotton was sold. For example, on April 24, 1856 the company's ledger for Gaffney's account shows three entries: a cash advance for freight to the *Victoria* in the amount of \$299.25, a commission of 2½ % for advancing the \$299.25 in the amount of \$7.48, and interest on the monies advanced from date of the transaction to January 26, 1856 in the amount of \$4.20. In the case of these accounts, interest was charged on a daily basis for the monies extended. The transaction actually cost Gaffney \$11.68 or 3.9%. Martha Gaffney's account in 1856 amounted to \$2487.80, leaving a credit of \$2362.24 for Gaffney to use to pay her remaining accounts in Clarksville. The account amounts for the succeeding years are indicated in the above chart.

Martha Gaffney conducted business in a similar manner with the merchants in Clarksville. She operated on credit for goods purchased locally. Her accounts accrued for one calendar year and were payable

in January. By March she had to deliver a promissory note for payment inasmuch as her cotton usually did not sell until April and sometimes not until June. Frequently Gaffney had to resort to requesting one of the larger local merchants not only to extend her account for several more months, but also to pay the statements from some of the smaller merchants. In effect she procured a "bill-payer" loan from the larger local merchant, usually at 10% interest, to maintain her credit in Clarksville.

This payment procedure became more complex but appeared to be the manner in which business was conducted in Northeast Texas at that time. Gaffney had a lapse of fourteen months between the sale of the last of the 1858 crop and the first of the 1859 crop. That year Gaffney instructed D.C. Russell Dry Goods to pay in February and March a total of \$594.31 to small merchants in Clarksville and advance her \$405.69 for a total loan of \$1000.00. D. C. Russell in turn drafted the New Orleans commission house for \$1012.22 for the loan and \$260.12 (including \$26.01 interest on the house account) for the outstanding balance on Gaffney's account at his business. The firm charged Gaffney \$31.76, the standard 2½ % commission, for accepting the drafts and extending the monies for forty-four days. The loan cost Martha \$67.89. In arranging the draft on the New Orleans commission house, D. C. Russell remarked that he had made similar arrangements with other planters in the area.²²

Why Martha Gaffney had to resort to loans can be seen by examining the amount of funds remaining from the commission house after the sale of her cotton crop. In the above chart the balance column represents the amount available to Gaffney to pay her bills and make purchases for the remainder of the year. Gaffney's records reveal the accounts payable in Clarksville and other towns where she had accounts or purchased goods. The figures do not represent all the monies spent by Gaffney as the records are incomplete, but it must be assumed they are representative.

Chart No. 2:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Accts. Pay</i>	<i>Notes Paid</i>	<i>Total</i>
1856	\$2159.36	\$ 880.31	\$3039.67
1857	\$1552.54	\$ 950.00	\$2503.44
1858	\$3464.71	\$1031.96	\$4496.67
1859	\$1182.71	\$1642.47	\$2825.18
1860	\$1346.01	\$ 288.11	\$1634.12

In the years 1856, 1858, and 1859, Gaffney spent more than her documented income. This can be seen by comparing the totals spent in Chart No. 2 with the corresponding year's balance in Chart No. 1. To compensate for this loss of cash flow, Gaffney used individual

accounts with various credit merchants to pay her account with other storekeepers and tradesmen. She began to make these arrangements in 1857. That year Gaffney received \$3459.41 from the sale of her cotton. After Purvis, Gladden and Heard deducted their charges from the account, she held receipts for \$1552.54 and additional notes for another \$950.00 totaling receipts of \$2503.44. The remaining \$955.97 was evidently not sufficient to pay all the expenses incurred during the year. Gaffney coped with the lack of funds by obtaining loans from the local credit merchants who in turn drafted the New Orleans commission house who extended credit by mortgaging the following year's cotton crop. Gaffney exemplified the credit system in use, "the merchants sold on credit, and the planters and farmers . . . bought on credit."³³

Ann Scott's premise that Southern women knew how to run plantations applies only partially to Gaffney.³⁴ She seemingly had few problems with the agricultural pursuits of the plantation, but the first year proved a learning experience in transacting business in a state without a banking system.³⁵ The accounts indicate she had little knowledge of the financial problems encountered in the business. However, she evidently learned quickly. Although she appears to have been involved in spiralling debt, Gaffney harvested a very good cotton crop in 1860 (230 bales which sold for \$9583.58) and redeemed her outstanding debts. She continued to use the credit system to her advantage in the following years. What is obvious, and important, is that Gaffney used the same banking system the male planters employed. Her use of credit merchants and commission houses to conduct business and secure loans mortgaged on future crops was the same method of operation used by most planters and farmers in the 1850s.

Other criteria in determining Gaffney's success at plantation management required examining other records in addition to the family collection. To determine success, one must consider how success was measured in 1850. Obviously the size of real estate should be considered, as well as the number of slaves and the continued growth of the plantation. The tax records for Red River County, Texas, reveal details regarding the size and value of Gaffney's holdings. Five months after she arrived in Texas Gaffney described her property as follows:³⁶

<i>Property:</i>	<i>Value:</i>
1800 acres	\$12,000.00
36 Negroes	\$18,695.00
8 Horses	\$ 500.00
Wagons and winch	\$ 300.00
	<hr/>
Total value	\$31,495.00

By 1856 Gaffney had increased her slave holdings from thirty-six to fifty-five slaves valued at \$19,260.00, added twenty head of cattle at a value of \$140.00, and made other smaller miscellaneous additions. Gaffney assessed the plantation that year at \$32,240.00. Her assessment of the plantation increased in 1861 to \$44,975.00.³⁷

According to the 1850 census, Martha Gaffney's holdings included her in a group of 512 slave holding farmers in the state at the time and labeled her as a "planter."³⁸ In addition, a study by Jonathan Wiener classifies the "planter elite" as those with over \$10,000 in real estate or over 800 acres.³⁹ Gaffney, with 1800 acres valued at \$12,000.00, easily met those qualifications.

A final criterion for establishing Gaffney's success is to look at the growth of the plantation under her management. Like other owners, she continually added to and improved her plantation's assets. In addition to improvements on the house, Gaffney evidently added the landing on the Red River to her holdings. In the financial and legal records for January-February 1858 are numerous lists of supplies including boat lumber and the necessary materials to build the landing. Along with the shipment records, the account records of the commission house in New Orleans refer to "Mrs. Gaffney's Landing" as the destination for goods after this date.⁴⁰ One other addition appears in the records. For December 8, 1856, there is a receipt in the amount of \$320.00 for the final payment on a cotton gin which Gaffney apparently purchased to improve the performance of her plantation.⁴¹

In assessing the records of the Gaffney plantation in the 1850s several points are clear. First, Martha Gaffney was neither a typical immigrant nor typical of women in general in the 1850s. She arrived in Texas with her Southern characteristics intact and molded her new surroundings to conform to her previous plantation homeland. She continued to purchase items synonymous with the status of Southern plantation wives. Included in her account records were purchases of silk fabric, velvet fabric, white bows, brilliants, velvet ribbon, several combs, a linen coat and vest, an overcoat, embroidered shirts, a pair of fine calf boots, as well as a fine saddle blanket, a side saddle, and a hand bell. In keeping with the tradition of plantation entertainment she purchased two dozen fine goblets, a china service for twenty-four from New Orleans, and "segars," whiskey, and brandy.⁴² In the years the cotton crop excelled, such as 1860, Gaffney traveled to New Orleans on shopping trips where she purchased additional fine fabric at Haggerty Brothers Importers, had dresses made at Mrs. Sessford's, and bought gold thimbles at W. A. Tyler's, Watchmaker & Jeweller.⁴³ Indeed her shopping sprees were only different from those of male planters in that she indulged in dresses, hats, and thimbles, where the

men purchased fancy boots, silk vests, and coats.

Gaffney maintained her lifestyle as she successfully operated her plantation during the Civil War. Confederate tax receipts attest to the prosperity of her enterprise. Based on her production of corn, peas and beans, wheat and pork, she paid \$966.21 in 1862, \$1548.55 in 1863, and \$1923.95 in 1864.¹¹ In addition she pledged seventy-five bales of cotton for the war effort from her 1861 crop.¹² Her show of confidence in the Confederacy was probably influenced by the service of her son in Gould's Regiment, Debray's Brigade of the Confederate Army.¹³ After the Civil War, Gaffney continued to operate the plantation until her death in 1871.

By all the criteria of the period, Martha Gaffney succeeded in running her plantation without her husband. Peter had left her a large tract of land upon which to base the plantation, and he had provided enough money to bring the family, their belonging and their slaves from South Carolina. Martha Gaffney, however, established the plantation, planted the cotton for market, managed the large labor force, distributed the rations, maintained the health and housing of the plantation, oversaw a wide range of productive activities, and continued to expand her estate. Her "woman's curiosity" helped her to be a successful planter while she maintained her status as a Southern lady. In addition, and most importantly, Martha Gaffney acquired the knowledge and expertise of the regional business practices of the cotton industry. She extensively used the accrual system in favor with the credit merchants and local storekeepers.¹⁴ These practices were essential elements in a state without banking laws whose agricultural interest were rapidly expanding into national and international markets.

Finally, Gaffney's experience opens the door a little wider on the history of women on the Southern frontier. She was a contradiction to the perceived notion of a "woman's sphere" prevalent in the 1850s. "Woman's sphere" relegated women on the frontier, as well as in the South, to a subservient position. Society assumed that women could only succeed in acceptable feminine endeavors such as teaching and religious missionary work. Women in general, and Southern women in particular, were not supposed to engage in the masculine worlds of banking, business, and money making. Martha Gaffney, however, was not the area's only successful woman in a man's world of business. It should be noted that two other women in Clarksville, Mary Ragin and Anne Monkhouse, ran family dry goods stores and engaged in credit banking after the deaths of their husbands.¹⁵ Given Martha Gaffney's success in operating her plantation, it would seem women were more active in those masculine roles than we are sometimes led to believe.

NOTES

¹Letter, Martha Gaffney to Peter Gaffney, February 26, 1853, Richland, South Carolina, Gaffney Family Papers, Box 14A, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington (hereafter cited as Gaffney MSS).

²Financial and Legal—1854, Gaffney MSS.

³Financial and Legal—1854, Gaffney MSS; Peter Gaffney purchased 1811 acres known as the Gabriel Learthing headright, Financial and Legal—1853, Gaffney MSS.

⁴D.E.E. Braman, *Braman's Information About Texas* (Philadelphia, 1858), pp. 190-91.

⁵Michael Kalen Smith, "Red River County, Texas, 1850-1860: An Investigation of the 'Planter and Plain Folk' Hypothesis" (Master of Arts thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 1983), p. 6.

⁶H. R. Brown to Peter Gaffney, January 23, 1854, Clarksville, Texas, Gaffney MSS.

⁷H. R. Brown to Peter Gaffney, March 17, 1854, Clarksville, Texas, Gaffney MSS.

⁸William Gaffney to Peter Gaffney, May 20, 1849, Gaffney MSS.

⁹William Gaffney to Peter Gaffney, May 20, 1849.

¹⁰Ernest Wallace, *Charles DeMorse Pioneer Editor and Statesman* (Lubbock, Texas, 1943), pp. 44-45.

¹¹Letter William Gaffney to Peter Gaffney, Richland, South Carolina, May 20, 1849, Gaffney MSS.

¹²Eugene W. Bowers and Evelyn Oppenheimer, *Red River Dust* (Waco, Texas, 1969), pp. 21, 59, 67; Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin, 1984), pp. 14-16; Pat B. Clark, *The History of Clarksville and Old Red River County* (Dallas, 1937), pp. 32, 55-9; Smith, "Red River County, Texas, 1850-1860," abstract.

¹³Smith, "Red River County, Texas, 1850-1860," p. 3.

¹⁴The taxes were collected three months after Martha arrived. At that time she assessed her property and stated she owned thirty-six slaves. Texas State Library, Records Division, Red River County Tax Rolls, 1838-1910, Microfilm reel #1; the South Carolina slave schedule listed thirty-four slaves belonging to the Gaffneys. Slave Schedule, 1850, Richland District, South Carolina, Microfilm reel #1; Mr. Haley, the overseer transported an unspecified number of slaves from Richland to Clarksville. Receipt signed by Haley in Legal and Financial files, 1854, Gaffney MSS.

¹⁵Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady, From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 28-29.

¹⁶Scott, *The Southern Lady*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (1st ed., New York, 1984), pp. 115, 145-46.

¹⁸Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, pp. 142-43.

¹⁹Receipt in the amount of \$30.00 for cattle, David Rush to Peter Gaffney, March 24, 1854; Financial and Legal—1855, Gaffney MSS.

- ²⁰Financial and Legal—1855, Gaffney MSS.
- ²¹Financial and Legal—1855, Gaffney MSS.
- ²²Account of Estate of Peter Gaffney, John R. Brown Executor, April 22, 1856. Financial and Legal—1856, Gaffney MSS.
- ²³Purvis, Gladden and Heard to Martha Gaffney, June 14, 1856, Gaffney MSS.
- ²⁴Purvis, Gladden and Heard to Martha Gaffney, May 29, 1856, Gaffney MSS.
- ²⁵Purvis, Gladden and Heard to Martha Gaffney, May 30, 1856, Gaffney MSS.
- ²⁶Purvis, Gladden and Heard to Martha Gaffney, correspondence files 1856, 57, 58, 59, and 60, Gaffney MSS.
- ²⁷Braman, *Information About Texas*, pp. 80-81; Carl H. Moneyhan, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin, 1980), p. 6.
- ²⁸Moneyhan, *Republicanism*, p. 6.
- ²⁹Moneyhan, *Republicanism*, pp. 5-6.
- ³⁰Moneyhan, *Republicanism*, pp. 6-7.
- ³¹Statement of Account of Mrs. Martha Gaffney, Red River County, Texas from Purvis, Gladden and Heard, July 3, 1856. Financial and Legal—1856, Gaffney MSS.
- ³²D. C. Russell to Martha Gaffney, Clarksville, Texas, February 10, 1859, Gaffney MSS.
- ³³Braman, *Information About Texas*, p. 83.
- ³⁴Scott, *Southern Lady*, pp. 36-37.
- ³⁵Braman, *Information About Texas*, pp. 81-82.
- ³⁶Property owners were allowed to list property and "its valuation." They only needed to verify that evaluation by an oath. Edmund Thornton Miller, *A Financial History of Texas*, Bulletin of the University of Texas No. 37 (Austin, Texas, 1916), p. 100; Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, *Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas* (College Station, 1977), p. 147; Moneyhan, *Republicanism*, p. 8.
- ³⁷Texas State Library, Records Division, Red River County Tax Rolls, 1838-1910, Microfilm Reel #1.
- ³⁸Owning twenty-two or more Negroes was sufficient for the farmer to be labeled, "planter." Campbell and Lowe, *Antebellum Texas*, p. 55; Ralph A. Wooster, "East of the Trinity: Glimpse of Life in East Texas in the Early 1850s," in *East Texas Historical Journal*, 13 (Fall, 1975), p. 6.
- ³⁹Jonathan Wiener, "Female Planters and Planters Wives in Civil War and Reconstruction: Alabama 1850-1870" in *The Alabama Review*, 30 (1977), p. 136.
- ⁴⁰Major ports on the upper Red River were listed as Jonesboro, Rowland, Mrs. Gaffney's Landing, and Pecan Point. In addition, there is an account of the steamer, *Lafitte*, going aground May 1, 1859 just after leaving Mrs. Gaffney's

dock where 500 bales of cotton were loaded. Evidently Martha had more than her own goods and crops shipped from the Landing. Bowers and Oppenheimer, *Red River Dust*, pp. 115-16.

⁴⁴Benjamin F. Ruefro, December 8, 1856, Financial and Legal—1856, Gaffney MSS.

⁴⁵P. W. Kirchoff & Co., statement of account for Mrs. M. E. Gaffney, January 11, 1861, Financial and Legal—1861, Gaffney MSS; Wm. M. Harrison & Co., statement of account for Mrs. M. E. Gaffney, Financial and Legal—1861, Gaffney MSS.

⁴⁶Haggerty Bros., Importers, cash receipt dated February 15, 1860; Mrs. Sessford cash receipt dated January 1860; and E. A. Tyler, Watchmaker & Jeweller, cash receipt dated February 16, 1860; all in Financial and Legal—1860, Gaffney MSS.

⁴⁷Confederate Tax Receipts, Legal and Financial—1862, 1863, and 1864, Gaffney MSS.

⁴⁸Clarksville Northern Standard, October 19, 1861, p. 6, Col. 1.

⁴⁹Charles Gaffney to Martha Gaffney, January 20, 1864, Clarksville, Texas, Gaffney MSS.

⁵⁰Accrual represents obligations for services received for which payment is not yet due. Sales and purchases were made on credit and cash flow did not occur at those points. Lawrence J. Gaitman, *Principles of Managerial Finance* (New York, 1976), A-19.

⁵¹Statements of accounts from both G. Ragin Dry Goods and Monkhouse and Son Dry Goods, Legal and Financial files for 1855, 1856, 1857, 1859, and 1860.