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“A Constant Reminder to All”: Remembering Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in West Virginia

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“A CONSTANT REMINDER TO ALL”: REMEMBERING THOMAS “STONEWALL” JACKSON IN WEST VIRGINIA

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APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Steven Straley, affirm that the thesis "*A Constant Reminder to All": Remembering Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in West Virginia,* meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the History Program and the College of Liberal Arts. The work also conforms to the formatting guidelines of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that Confederate heritage groups leading the Lost Cause Movement in West Virginia promoted Stonewall Jackson, through tactics such as ceremonies, publications, and monuments, to the point where his appeal expanded beyond that of former Confederates and their descendants. During the late 1800s, Confederate supporters in the state formed branches of Confederate heritage organizations and espoused a Lost Cause narrative with Stonewall Jackson as its figurehead. In doing so, they accomplished two things: to integrate the seemingly pro-Union West Virginia into Confederate memory, and to gain acceptance of Confederates as full members of West Virginia society. Jackson's advocates also upheld him as an ideal role model for all white West Virginians- a military hero, and a symbol of honor, integrity, and piousness. They ignored or downplayed certain aspects of his career, such as Jackson's support for total war or black flag war, lack of empathy for his soldiers, petty disputes with officers, and pro-slavery views. This white, male, Christian, native-born, chivalrous figure became popular as an example of a "true" West Virginian. His rise to prominence in the state during the early 1900s coincided with a period of intense racial discrimination against African Americans, as well as an influx of foreign immigrants into the state. He was used as a rallying point for advocates of white, native-born supremacy. During the dedication of the 1910 statue, for example, many attendees wore white lilies in support of the "lily-white" campaign to disenfranchise African American voters. During the memorialization process, Jackson transitioned from being known primarily as a Confederate figure into a popular West Virginian symbol over the course of the twentieth century. The enduring presence of Jackson in the form of various monuments, government endorsement, and public and private entities bearing his name, demonstrates the profound success of the Lost Cause movement in West Virginia.

INTRODUCTION

A CONFEDERATE ICON IN A UNION STATE

On the afternoon of May 10, 1953, a crowd of some 1,500 people gathered in front of their local courthouse to dedicate a new monument to Stonewall Jackson on the 90th anniversary of his death. The bronze equestrian statue was funded in large part by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 1333 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The ceremony began with a parade led by the Stonewall Jackson High School marching band. Cadets from the Virginia Military Institute served as the color guard. West Virginia State Supreme Court Judge Frank C. Haymond delivered a speech extolling the virtues of Jackson. Local historian Roy Bird Cook recounted his journey to the ceremony, noting that he had passed by another Stonewall Jackson statue, Stonewall Jackson High School, Jackson's Mill 4-H Camp, and the Stonewall Jackson Gas Station while driving on the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Highway. As the audience sang "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," the statue was unveiled by the head of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Afterward, the UDC hosted a reception at the Stonewall Jackson Hotel. Similar ceremonies to honor other Confederate leaders had been held across the South since the 1890s. What distinguished this occasion from the others was that it did not occur in Richmond, or Charlottesville, or New Orleans, but rather in Clarksburg, West Virginia.[1]

It seems quite peculiar that West Virginia, an ostensibly pro-Union state in the Civil War, came to idolize a rebel general who fought against the state and was diametrically opposed to its very existence. Granted, Jackson was a native of the region, but he expressed no sentiment for

[1] *Program for Unveiling Statue of Stonewall Jackson*, Betty Barger Dakan Collection, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV; "Stonewall Rides Again As Bronze Statue Is Unveiled," *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram*, May 14, 1953; "Talk by Judge Haymond to Mark Unveiling Ceremony," *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram*, May 10, 1953; transcript of the Stonewall Jackson statue dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections, Clarksburg, WV.

the statehood movement and considered himself to be purely a Virginian. Yet according to state historian John Alexander Williams, "Modern West Virginians feel an understandable pride in so eminent and interesting a native son and have honored his memory in many ways."[2] His statement is no exaggeration. In 2020, there were approximately two statues, multiple plaques, a hospital, a 4-H camp, a lakeside resort, a coffee shop, a clay pigeon shooting range, and various other forms of monuments in Jackson's honor across West Virginia. The prevalence of such Stonewall Jackson tributes in the state is both symptomatic and representative of the success of the Lost Cause movement in West Virginia.

Despite West Virginia's status as a Union state, a sizable number of Confederate supporters lived within its borders, perhaps as much as one-third of the population.[3] During the rise of the Lost Cause Movement in the late nineteenth century, former Confederates and their descendants organized local branches of such national groups as the United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans. From the 1880s to the 1910s, these organizations waged a nationwide campaign to reinterpret the Civil War and honor those who served in the Confederate military. Driven by an aging veteran population and growing racial tensions, leaders of this movement desired to instill among future generations a sense of pride for their Confederate heritage and to reinforce a culture of white supremacy. Proponents of the Lost Cause were highly successful in the South, erecting monuments in public spaces, holding lavish ceremonies, building homes for aging veterans, giving speeches, writing books and articles, and changing school curriculum.[4]

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[2] John Alexander Williams, *West Virginia: A History* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2001), 38.
[3] Richard Ogden Hartman, "A Constitution of Our Own: The Constitutional Convention of 1872 and the Resurrection of Confederate West Virginia" (master's thesis, Marshall University, 2004).
[4] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003).

The goals of these pro-Confederate organizations in West Virginia included integrating the seemingly pro-Union state into Confederate memory and gaining acceptance of Confederates as full members of West Virginia society. Stonewall Jackson, as a native of the state and a popular Confederate officer, made the ideal standard-bearer for these ambitions. The first major Jackson commemorations occurred during the early 1900s as a way for pro-Confederate groups to promote their ideology, with the most notable case being a statue placed at the state capitol in Charleston in 1910. Over time, however, Confederate heritage groups in West Virginia were able to redefine the rebel general as a nonpartisan, honorable, respectable figure; in doing so they broadened Jackson's appeal to a larger portion of the state. Post-Lost Cause era monuments focused on Jackson less as a Confederate general and more as a role model or folk hero. They promoted his moral virtues and military prowess while downplaying his political allegiances and racial attitudes. By the mid-twentieth century, Jackson had transcended pro-Confederate memory to become accepted as both an American and a West Virginian icon by a sizable proportion of the state's population. In the latter decades of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first, Jackson's West Virginia identity was exploited by politicians and entrepreneurs alike. State government officials at every level endorsed Jackson and delivered remarks at memorial ceremonies. Jackson served as a *de facto* Mountain State mascot, and his name was appropriated for sundry commercial purposes; examples include the Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company of Huntington, and the Lewis County Convention and Visitors Bureau's tourism marketing campaign promoting their region as "Stonewall Country."[5]

[5] "Business Organization Detail: Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company," West Virginia Secretary of State—Online Data Services, accessed January 12, 2021, https://apps.sos.wv.gov/business/corporations/organization.aspx?org=88472; *Lewis County, West Virginia – Create Legendary Adventures – Stonewall Country*, Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau, accessed January 24, 2021, https://www.stonewallcountry.com/SWC-Visitor-Brochure-2020.pdf.

In the first two decades of the 21st century, new public debates erupted over the commemoration of Stonewall Jackson. Growing public awareness of the racist, white supremacist connotations of Lost Cause ideology led to calls for the removal or reinterpretation of Confederate monuments nationwide. Campaigns to remove or protect Jackson monuments in West Virginia produced mixed results on both sides. Citizens sparred with one another in newspaper editorials on multiple occasions. Several protests were held at the Jackson statue in Charleston by activists seeking its removal, to no avail. In 2020, the Kanawha County Board of Education voted to rename Stonewall Jackson Middle School, after previously rejecting the idea in 2015.[6] Meanwhile, the Harrison County Commission voted against removing the equestrian statue of Jackson in Clarksburg.[7] A bill introduced in the state legislature restricting the ability to relocate monuments—Jackson's included—died in committee, as did multiple bills to name a bridge in Hampshire County after the general.[8] Controversies over Confederate monuments nationwide forced West Virginia to reassess its treatment of Stonewall Jackson.

The Lost Cause and Civil War memory, in general, has received significant attention from scholars, especially in recent years thanks to growing public debate over the intentions and appropriateness of Confederate monuments in community spaces. Many historians of this subject focus on ways that white southerners embellished or invented narratives of the Civil War that

[6] Danielle Dindak and Jeff Morris, "Kanawha school board unanimously votes to change name of Stonewall Jackson Middle School," WCHS, July 6, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wchstv.com/news/local/kanawha-county-school-board.

[7] Mike Nolting, "Harrison County Commission rejects proposal to remove Stonewall Jackson statue," West Virginia MetroNews Network, July 17, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wvmetronews.com/2020/06/17/harrison-county-commission-rejects-proposal-to-remove-stonewall-jackson-statue.

[8] Andrea Lannom, "Republicans push bill to protect Confederate monuments," *Register-Herald*, February 14, 2018; "House Concurrent Resolution No. 93," West Virginia Legislature, accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/Bill_Status/bills_text.cfm?billdoc=hcr93%20intr.htm&yr=2015&sesstype=RS&i=93&houseorig=H&billtype=CR; "House Concurrent Resolution 4," West Virginia Legislature, January 14, 2016, accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/Bill_Status/bills_text.cfm?billdoc=hcr4%20intr.htm&yr=2016&sesstype=RS&i=4&houseorig=H&billtype=CR.

placed the Confederacy in a more positive light and used those positive narratives to their own advantage. One of the first major works on the Lost Cause was Charles Reagan Wilson's *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*, published in 1980.[9] Wilson claims that former Confederates engineered a morally righteous, white Southern identity by fusing Christianity and Lost Cause ideology together into a civic religion. Gaines Foster, in his 1987 book *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South*, argues that former Confederates accepted their defeat and subsequent reconciliation with the North.[10] Confederate celebrations in the late nineteenth century asserted the honor of veterans from the war without actively promoting sectionalism. Instead, Foster claims that the Lost Cause encouraged reunification by depicting both sides as equal and respectable participants in a shared past while overlooking the sociopolitical disputes that contributed to the outbreak of the Civil War. David Blight's acclaimed 2001 study *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* examines the development of Civil War memory within the context of race relations.[11] He argues that white northerners and white southerners pursued reconciliation with each other at the expense of African American rights and championed white supremacy. In one chapter, "The Lost Cause and Causes Not Lost," he postulates that the Lost Cause movement served as both a coping mechanism against social change and a method of restricting African Americans to second-class status. One of the keys to the effectiveness of the Lost Cause was the organizational might of its adherents. Karen Cox's magnum opus *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, traces the impact of the titular

[9] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980).
[10] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987).
[11] Blight, *Race and Reunion.*

institution on the Lost Cause movement.[12] Cox stresses the influential role of women in the Confederate memorialization effort. She also argues that the UDC actively worked to promote and perpetuate a pro-Confederate narrative of the Civil War among future generations through the use of monuments, public ceremonies, and educational initiatives. Adam Domby's *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* makes the case that many aspects of the Lost Cause movement were built on invented ideas of Confederate history.[13] While focusing primarily on North Carolina, Domby argues that staples of Confederate memory, such as the concepts of devoted soldiers and faithful slaves, were exaggerated or even fabricated to justify Jim Crow laws and veterans' pensions, among other things. Anne Marshall discusses the influence of Lost Cause supporters in areas outside of the immediate South in *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State*. She argues that Kentucky, part of a border region that skewed more in favor of the Union during the war, adopted a Confederate identity afterward as white pro-Union and pro-Confederate Kentuckians united in a conservative campaign to maintain white supremacy. [14] Marshall's work provides valuable insight into how pro-Union border states—West Virginia included—came to embrace Confederate sentiments in the decades after the war.

Historians have generally overlooked Civil War memory and the Lost Cause movement in Appalachia and in particular West Virginia. However, a number of studies explore the social, political, and economic developments in Appalachia following the war. *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, edited by Andrew Slap, provides a collection of essays

[12] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*.
[13] Adam H. Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2020).
[14] Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

on postwar issues in the region.[15] Two essays, Randall Gooden's "Neither War nor Peace," and Ken Fones-Wolf's "A House Redivided," examine the political activities of former Confederates in West Virginia. Unionist politicians from the statehood movement initially worked to keep Confederate residents from voting or holding office, but the two sides cooperated to focus on economic development. The passage of the Flick Amendment in 1870 restored voting rights to former Confederates and thus allowed them a greater share of influence in the state. John Alexander Williams' seminal work *West Virginia: A History* provides a critical overview of the state.[16] In some sections, he focuses on how the landscape and its people were changed by industrialization, immigration, raw material extraction, and class conflict since statehood. The rapid developments described by Williams in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries aided in fueling the Lost Cause movement in the state.

A plethora of studies and biographies of Stonewall Jackson exist. *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend,* by James I. Robertson, Jr. is perhaps the most comprehensive contemporary biography of the Confederate figure.[17] This detailed study of Jackson's life includes a chapter on his upbringing and family connections in West Virginia, and throughout the book, Robertson occasionally makes note of the general's ties to the region. Robertson paints Jackson as a talented but imperfect character, an intelligent man devoted to the ideas of faith, loyalty, and military service, but who could also be polarizing and deeply critical of subordinates. Wallace Hettle's *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory* explores the crafting of Jackson's popular image after his death. Hettle asserts that early

[15] Andrew L. Slap, ed., *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010).
[16] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*.
[17] James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing USA, 1997).

biographers such as Robert Lewis Dabney, John Esten Cooke, and Mary Anna Jackson—each with their own interpretation of the general—solidified the perception of Jackson as a pious, eccentric figure, and an ingenious military hero.[18] These beliefs about Jackson's character, carefully cultivated in the pages of these and a myriad of other history books, were essential in promoting him as an icon worthy of veneration in West Virginia both during and after the Lost Cause movement.

Several writers and amateur historians from West Virginia have produced biographies of Jackson within the context of his relation to the Mountain State. Their emphasis on Jackson's connections to West Virginia is essential to providing justification for his veneration in the state. The most notable of these works is *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, written by Roy Bird Cook in 1924 and republished several times.[19] The book, dedicated almost exclusively to Jackson's life pre-Civil War, makes the case that his West Virginia upbringing directly influenced his character. Cook, for example, claims that Jackson's exposure to religion as an adolescent contributed to his famously devout Christian attitude later in life. He also traces Jackson's regional genealogy to further stress his West Virginia roots. Other books written by state residents such as *The Hidden Years of Stonewall Jackson* by Holmes Alexander, *Stonewall* by Julia Adams Davis, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson 1824-1863: A Sketch* by Edward Smith, and *Under the Shade of Trees: Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson's Life at Jackson's Mill* by Dennis Norman contribute little in terms of original scholarship for Jackson biographical

[18] Wallace Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).
[19] Roy Bird Cook, *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* (Richmond, VA: Dominion Press, Inc., 1924).

historiography.[20] However, they provide valuable insight into how Jackson was interpreted by West Virginians.

This thesis examines the period from Jackson's military career during the Civil War to his commemoration to the present day within the State of West Virginia. Increased attention is given to the periods of the 1890s through the 1910s, and the 1950s through the 1960s, two eras when Stonewall Jackson commemorations were at their apex. It also touches upon controversy and debates over the appropriateness of these monuments in the 2010s and 2020s, showing that Jackson remains very much a subject of public interest in the state.

Chapter 1 highlights key aspects of Jackson's character and career, both those that are celebrated by his supporters and those that are overlooked. An unvarnished, abbreviated biography of Jackson provides the context from which the Confederate general became a venerated icon in the South and West Virginia. The biographical section first establishes Jackson's relationship with what is now West Virginia: his childhood in the community, ancestral ties, and his lifelong affection for the area. Popular aspects of his life, including his military career, religious attitude, and supposed reluctance to support slavery and secession, are examined. This chapter also looks at the more controversial aspects of his life: Jackson's ownership of slaves, his harsh treatment of subordinates, support for black flag warfare, and his active efforts to undermine the West Virginia statehood movement. Newspaper articles from the era illustrate public perception and memory of Jackson both during his Confederate service and immediately after his death. They reveal an initial lack of positive sentiment towards Jackson in

[20] Alexander Holmes, *The Hidden Years of Stonewall Jackson* (Richwood, WV: The West Virginia Press Club, 1981); Julia Adams Davis, *Stonewall* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1931); Edward C. Smith, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson 1824-1863: A Sketch* (Weston, WV: Society of Historical Engravings, 1920); Dennis Norman, *Under the Shade of Trees: Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson's Life at Jackson's Mill* (Charleston, WV: Mountain State Press, 2000).

the new state. Only decades after the Civil War did Jackson attain a degree of widespread popularity in West Virginia.

Chapter 2 assesses the growing popularity of Jackson in West Virginia from the late nineteenth century through the first few decades of the twentieth century. Brief overviews of the reemergence of former Confederates' sociopolitical influence in West Virginia and the rise of the Lost Cause movement nationwide establishes the context behind the idolization of Jackson in the state. It also emphasizes the Lost Cause movement's roots in white supremacist attitudes and white anxiety over African American progress and the changing socioeconomic atmosphere caused by industrialization. The chapter focuses on major Jackson commemorations, such as the 1910 statue in Charleston, which reflected increased public and government endorsement of the general. It demonstrates how Jackson was used by Confederate groups to advance the Lost Cause agenda in West Virginia. An examination of newspaper articles, speeches, and locally produced biographies also highlights efforts by supporters to attach a West Virginia identity to Jackson.

Chapter 3 focuses on Jackson commemorations after the peak of the Lost Cause and his evolution from a figure of Confederate iconography to more of a state folk hero. It primarily examines events from the 1950s and 60s—most notably the creation of the Clarksburg statue in 1953—but also explores subsequent acts of commemoration over the following decades, such as Stonewall Jackson Lake and Lewis County's "Stonewall Country" tourism campaign. It notes the widespread support for Jackson among all levels of government, including Senator Jennings Randolph in particular. Attention is also given to the treatment of Jackson in public education, where neutral or positive depictions of the general in history textbooks overlooked the controversies in his life. This chapter shows that by the late twentieth century, if not earlier, Jackson had developed into a *de facto* mascot for West Virginia.

Through the examination of Jackson tributes across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this thesis demonstrates that Jackson transcended his Confederate identity to assume the status of a firmly West Virginia character. It also argues that the popular image of Jackson in the state is rooted in Lost Cause ideology, which inevitably ties him back to his Confederate service and poses continuing problems for his veneration. Through the lens of Stonewall Jackson memory in West Virginia, this thesis illustrates the profound success of the Lost Cause movement on a regional level.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL JACKSON

Confederate General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson is the most identifiable Civil War figure from West Virginia. His swift rise to fame and sudden death at the height of his military career in 1863 made him a martyr among Confederates. In the decades after the war, Jackson was commemorated with an outpouring of biographies, statues, and other assorted tributes. Next to fellow Confederate leaders such as Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, Jackson became one of the South's most celebrated Civil War icons. He eventually achieved an enormous degree of popularity in West Virginia as well, despite most of its citizens and political leaders having aligned with the Union during the war. Stonewall Jackson enthusiasts in the state and beyond championed a romanticized, if not distorted, version of the general; one who was a military genius, a pious Christian, and a loyal defender of states' rights. In the process, however, West Virginian supporters downplayed or ignored controversial elements of the man they so eagerly claimed as a noble mountaineer. Thus, a disparity exists between the historical Jackson and the idealized Jackson. Before Stonewall Jackson's memory and commemoration among West Virginians can be explored, it is important first to contextualize the man behind the myth.

This chapter highlights key aspects of Jackson's life and career and in particular focuses on his relationship with what is now West Virginia. Despite deep familial ties and a lifelong affection for the region, Jackson had a complicated relationship with the future state. Jackson always considered himself to be a Virginian and he pointed to its mountainous, northwest corner as his home. He grew up in the area as the scion of a prominent sociopolitical dynasty and most of his closest friends and family resided there.[1] However, the onset of the Civil War in 1861

[1] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*; Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 1-23.

found Jackson and western Virginia on opposing sides of the conflict. Jackson personally wished to avoid war, but he obligingly reported for service in the Confederate military after Virginia seceded in April 1861. Meanwhile, large swathes of northwestern Virginia were quickly occupied by Union forces and anti-secessionist politicians maneuvered to establish a new, separate state.[2] Jackson was anxious to reunite the two Virginias by force under the Confederate government, but military priorities led him elsewhere. Jackson exercised highly aggressive leadership during his wartime career. He supported a take-no-prisoners form of warfare, clashed with subordinate officers, and imposed draconian measures upon his troops. These aspects were overshadowed by Jackson's string of military victories and outward religious devotion. Southern newspapers hailed him as a hero. Northern ones begrudged their admiration of Jackson while still condemning him as a rebel traitor. The West Virginia press largely aligned with the North in their sentiments. It also acknowledged Jackson's origins in the region but gave little importance to this fact. At the end of the war, geographical coincidence saddled the new state with the legacy of a popular and deeply controversial military figure that was by all means opposed to the state's very existence. It took decades for the state's leadership and the public to embrace Jackson and identify him as a West Virginian worthy of veneration.

The Jackson family long had a strong presence in the counties of Harrison and Lewis in northwestern Virginia. The clan settled around the West Fork River in 1770 with the migration of patriarchs John Jackson and Elizabeth Cummins Jackson.[3] The Jacksons and their descendants acquired extensive landholdings in what is now north-central West Virginia. The family grew to wield a substantial influence in the area; members held local offices, fought in wars, owned

[2] Williams, *West Virginia*, 75-78; Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985), 140-143.
[3] The two were former indentured servants from Maryland, and had each been expelled from their native Britain on convictions of larceny. See Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 2-3.

farms and slaves, and generated substantial revenue. Observers characterized the Jacksons as ambitious, ruthless, and demonstrating no outward religious adherence.[4]

Thomas Jackson, born on January 20, 1824, in Clarksburg, the seat of Harrison County, was the child of indigent attorney Jonathan Jackson and Elizabeth Neale Jackson.[5] Contemporaries and biographers described him as a quiet, contemplative, and solemn boy, the victim of several childhood tragedies. By age seven, both of his parents were dead.[6] The orphaned Thomas and his sister Laura spent their childhood from 1831 onwards at Jackson's Mill, the family farm, under the care of their uncle Cummins Jackson. The estate spanned some 1,500 acres along the West Fork River, three miles north of Weston, in Lewis County.[7] It was an economic powerhouse for the community in its prime, thanks to the farm's sawmill and grist mill. Thomas Jackson considered the enclave to be his home, the center of his life in western Virginia. Biographer James Robertson even speculated that Jackson's dying last words, "Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees," were a reference to Jackson's Mill, where he spent countless hours as a young boy sitting quietly in the woods.[8]

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[4] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 2-3.

[5] One descendant who did not inherit the family's aptitude for accumulating wealth and power was Jonathan Jackson. Born in 1790, Jonathan received training as a lawyer and held the potential for a successful career. However, he proved to be an incompetent worker, an unlucky gambler, and even worse money handler; he mismanaged his uncle's law firm, fell into debt, and lost his inherited land. In 1817, Jonathan married Parkersburg resident Julia Ann Neale. The couple lived in a small house along Main Street in Clarksburg and had four children: Elizabeth, Warren, Thomas, and Laura. See Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 5-7; While all major biographers agree that Thomas was born in Clarksburg, some accounts in area newspapers have argued that he was born in Parkersburg instead, at the home of Julia's parents. See "Birth of Jackson Here Discredited," *Daily Telegram*, Clarksburg, WV, February 7, 1914.

[6] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 7-10.

[7] By the 1830s, the property included a large, two-story log house, a water-powered saw mill and grist mill, a blacksmith forge, a carpenter shop, a general store, forested woodlands, and ample farmland. The family also possessed around a dozen slaves. Several uncles lived and worked on the farm but Cummins, the eldest, dominated the operation. While generally an amiable and well-liked individual, Cummins Jackson bore the family penchant for aggressively pursuing business interests. Very litigious and sometimes flouting the law, Cummins eventually ran the mill heavily into debt. In 1848, he fled Lewis County while on trial for counterfeiting money and died months later prospecting for gold in California. See Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 28-42; Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 11-14.

[8] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 753.

Some biographers pointed to Jackson's orphaned status and deduced that he had to forge his own path in life unassisted. For instance, early biographer John Esten Cooke wrote, "The child was thus left, upon the very threshold of life, to learn the hard lesson of poverty."[9] Mary L. Williamson, author of an 1899 children's book on Jackson, wrote, "It is sad to think of this young man thrown upon the world without . . . any human influence, save his own will, to keep him in the right way. But in this wild, rough life the great wish of his heart was to reach that condition from which he had been thrust when left a poor orphan boy."[10] Such claims that Jackson suffered a deprived and hardscrabble childhood, forced to rely on his self for advancement, are rather exaggerated. Despite losing both parents at a young age and having limited access to a quality education, Jackson's family connections still allowed him the privilege of opportunities for climbing the social ladder. He could count some of the most prominent politicians and businessmen in western Virginia as his kin. Three Jacksons, for example, took turns holding the same local congressional seat. One of these Congressmen, John G. Jackson, also served as a federal judge and married into the family of President James Madison.[11] Holmes Alexander opened his biography of Jackson by noting the family's influence in the Harrison and Lewis County vicinity. "It was Jackson country, and the boy [Stonewall] always felt himself a First Family."[12] Historian John Alexander Williams stated that "In truth, the social and political influence of an extended family helped to cushion the shocks that young Jackson faced and protected him against the hardships that would probably have confronted a more typical western Virginia orphan."[13] It was these familial connections, for example, that

[9] John Esten Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1866), 10.
[10] Mary L. Williamson, *The Life of Gen. Thos. J. Jackson "Stonewall" for the Young (Fourth Reader Grade) in Easy Words* (Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1899), 23.
[11] Williams, *West Virginia*, 39-40.
[12] Alexander, *Hidden Years of Stonewall Jackson*, 1.
[13] Williams, *West Virginia*, 41.

enabled Jackson to secure the post of Constable for the West Fork District of Lewis County in 1841, despite being underage and lacking any meaningful experience.[14] Jackson, at least in the early years of his career, could rely on his affluent relatives to provide him with opportunities for upward mobility.

Thomas Jackson relied upon his family's influence to receive a nomination to the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1842. The appointment—driven by the resignation of another nominee—came in spite of the fact that Jackson had little formal education.[15] Jackson struggled at West Point, initially alienating peers with his stern, off-putting, no-nonsense personality and foundering in his coursework. Only through sheer determination and excessive studying did he manage to improve his grades and graduate seventeenth out of fifty-nine cadets.[16] Jackson received a commission in the United States Army immediately after graduation in 1846 and fought in the Mexican-American War. After a brief stint in Florida following the war, Jackson left the military for a teaching position at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in Lexington, Virginia. Jackson was a lackluster but respected instructor, and he enjoyed the Shenandoah Valley community that became his home for the rest of his life. In Lexington, he got married, adopted a deeply religious persona, served as a deacon in the local Presbyterian church, and, as many of his supporters point out, organized a Sunday School for African Americans, both free and enslaved.[17]

In the decade prior to the Civil War, Jackson maintained connections to his childhood community and family back in northwestern Virginia. Foremost among these was his sister

[14] Williams, *West Virginia*, 41; James Robertson alternatively claims that Jackson's appointment came thanks to lobbying by "influential friends" rather than his family. Part of the reason for this appointment, he states, was so Jackson could alleviate his lifelong gastrointestinal pain with exercise through the frequent horseback riding that the job necessitated. See Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 20.
[15] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 81-93.
[16] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 23-46.
[17] Ibid., 167-169.

Laura Jackson Arnold, who lived at Beverly (in the Tygart River Valley, roughly 45 miles east of Weston); he wrote letters to her regularly.[18] He also corresponded with various members of his extended family, and some politically connected friends including Jonathan M. Bennett, a Weston native, state legislator, and state auditor.[19] After Jackson's move to Lexington in 1851, he spent little time in western Virginia, aside from occasional sojourns to see his sister's family and visits to the health spas at White Sulphur Springs.[20]

Jackson's decision to align with the Confederacy at the beginning of the Civil War proved a defining moment in his career. His actions in 1861 onwards set him on a path to national prominence and a complicated relationship to the future state of West Virginia and its residents. Despite the significance of this choice, there are few surviving documents written by Jackson himself that provide any indication of his personal views on secession, slavery, the impending war, or national politics in general. It was in letters to Laura that Jackson made rare allusions to his concerns regarding a conflict between the states. In 1856, while discussing the possibility of purchasing land in the West, Jackson mentions in passing that he would like to acquire some land in a northern state, but that he was "a little afraid to put much there for fear that in the event of dissolution of the Union, that the property of Southerners may be confiscated."[21] By the summer of 1860, according to Jackson's wife, he "heard and saw enough to awaken his fears that it might portend civil war."[22] After the presidential election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860, Jackson initially expressed support for the Union. In a letter to Laura

[18] Stonewall Jackson Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, VA.
[19] Many of Jackson's letters to Bennett were published by his nephew Thomas Jackson Arnold in his book *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson "Stonewall" Jackson*.
[20] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 156-157; 165; 195.
[21] Thomas Jackson to Laura Jackson Arnold, June 6, 1856, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, VA.
[22] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson)* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1891), 133.

on December 29 (nine days after South Carolina became the first state to secede) Jackson inquired about the residents of Beverly's feelings towards secession. He then added, "I am anxious to hear from the native part of my state, I am strong for the Union at present."[23] The Lexington community, he mentioned, was strongly pro-Union as well.

Multiple sources state that Jackson took little outward interest in political developments. His wife, Mary Anna Jackson, wrote that he was a Democrat but "never a very strong partisan, and took no part in the political contest of 1860, except to cast his vote for John C. Breckenridge."[24] Biographer S. C. Gwynne likewise says that "Jackson remained generally aloof from national politics."[25] Jackson was, however, an active participant in the politically divisive practice of slavery. Mary and later biographers claimed that Jackson regarded the institution as morally objectionable. Nonetheless, Jackson still benefited from slavery. His family used slaves at Jackson's Mill, and during his time in Lexington, he and Mary owned six enslaved persons. Some of Jackson's slaves worked as household servants and he hired others out to locals. He purchased one young girl as a welcome-home present to his wife.[26] Robertson acknowledged the ambiguity surrounding Jackson's views on slaveholding but still insisted that Jackson did not favor it. "Jackson neither apologized for nor spoke in favor of the practice of slavery. He probably opposed the institution."[27] Yet Jackson held a biblical rationale for the existence of slavery. He believed that God approved of slavery and therefore it was not his position to question the practice.[28] The complex and paradoxical circumstances surrounding Jackson's

[23] Thomas Jackson to Laura Jackson Arnold, December 29, 1860, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, VA.
[24] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 139.
[25] S. C. Gwynne, *Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion, and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson*, (New York, NY: Scribner, 2014), 21.
[26] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 114-119, 143; Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 155-156.
[27] Robertson, *Stonewall*, 191.
[28] Ibid.; Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 143.

relationship with slavery provided fodder for future generations of both supporters and detractors in their debates over his suitability for commemoration.

Whatever the nature of his feelings towards slavery, Jackson was strongly opposed to the idea of secession. Years later, advocates would use Jackson's supposed reluctance to join the Confederacy as evidence to downplay the magnitude of his support for rebellion. Before the war, Jackson preferred that the states resolve their growing dispute over slavery internally. Mary Jackson insisted that her husband "never was a secessionist, and maintained that it was better for the South to fight for her rights in the Union that out of it."[29] Jackson supported any efforts to avert war, but he drew the line at Virginia's sovereignty. In a letter to his nephew Thomas Jackson Arnold in January 1861, Jackson wrote that he was "in favor of making a thorough trial for peace," but also added that if all else failed, and Virginia was invaded by the North, he would defend the state "with a terrific resistance."[30]

CONFEDERATE SOLDIER

On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces opened fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, and inaugurated the Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln quickly called for the states to provide 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion. This proclamation changed popular opinion in Virginia in favor of the Confederates, and on April 17, the Virginia Secession Convention voted to exit the Union.[31] The Lexington community and VMI came out solidly in favor of secession. Among these enthusiastic supporters was Jackson, who promptly accepted a commission from the governor and led a contingent of VMI cadets to the new Confederate capital in Richmond.[32]

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[29] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 139.
[30] Thomas Jackson to Thomas Jackson Arnold, January 26, 1861, in Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson "Stonewall" Jackson* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916), 294. Arnold's book contains many letters written by Jackson to various people before and during the war.
[31] Otis K. Rice and Stephen W. Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 2nd ed. (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1993), 114-116.
[32] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 13-31.

Jackson abandoned his aversion to secession out of a sense of duty to defend Virginia from Union encroachment. Mary later wrote that Jackson dearly loved the Union, but "he believed that the constitutional rights of the States had been invaded, and he never had a doubt as to where his allegiance was due. His sword belonged to the State [Virginia]."[33] Biographer S. C. Gwynne speculated that Jackson was motivated to defend Virginia after the experience of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in October 1859. Brown's failed attempt to capture weapons from the federal armory and instigate a slave rebellion horrified Virginians. They considered the action to be nothing less than treason or terrorism. Even more concerning was the sympathetic response among some abolitionists for Brown. Jackson and a body of armed cadets even attended Brown's execution in Charlestown on December 2, 1859, in case Brown's supporters tried to rescue him. The incident convinced many people in Virginia and the South in general that the North condoned the use of violence to eradicate slavery.[34] Jackson expressed fears over such an influence by the North on the peculiar institution in a letter to his nephew:

> If . . . the free states, instead of permitting us to enjoy the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country, should endeavor to subjugate us, and thus excite our slaves to servile insurrection in which our families will be murdered without quarter or mercy, it becomes us to wage such a war as will bring hostilities to a speedy close.[35]

Religion was also a key driving force in determining Jackson's wartime allegiances. A devout Christian, Jackson believed that the birth of the Confederacy and the war it ignited were manifested by the will of God. "The Confederate States existed because the Creator deemed it so . . . as far as Jackson was concerned, God clearly intended for the Southern nation to flourish in carrying out his purposes . . . He would serve it and, by doing so, glorify God."[36] Jackson

[33] *Philadelphia Weekly Times*, April 7, 1877.
[34] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 22-27.
[35] Thomas Jackson to Thomas Jackson Arnold, January 26, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 294.
[36] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 213.

wholeheartedly accepted the war, and his role in it, because the conflict was the product of a divine mandate. He believed in the Confederate cause and expressed confidence that it would ultimately triumph over Union aggression. The issue to him was clear and beyond debate. In a conversation with Lexington pastor J. B. Ramsey, Jackson insisted that Christians should not be bothered by the dissolution of the Union. "It can come only by God's permission, and will only be permitted if for His people's good."[37]

As Jackson began his service in the Confederate military, he kept a close eye on developments in his home region of western Virginia. A significant portion of the western population opposed secession, in contrast to Jackson's own actions to preserve the split from the Union. Many western citizens answered Virginia's call to mobilize on behalf of the Confederacy, but many more came out in favor of the Union. They formed rival militias and clashed over supplies and territory. Exact troop numbers for each side remain unclear, but some scholars estimate that the future state of West Virginia furnished as many as 36,000 troops for the Union and perhaps 12,000 for the Confederacy.[38] From May through July 1861, forces under General George B. McClellan easily occupied large swaths of northwestern Virginia, denying the Confederates a major presence in that region for the duration of the war.[39] In July, Jackson admitted "the news from the Northwest is unfavorable," but he held optimism that God would allow the Confederacy to regain what had been lost.[40]

The chaotic political and military situation provided an avenue for the divorce of western Virginia from eastern Virginia. Anti-secessionist Virginian politicians, shielded from

[37] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 142.
[38] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 125.
[39] Ibid., 124-126.
[40] Thomas Jackson to Mary Anna Jackson, July 16, 1861, in Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 168. Mary Jackson's memoir includes much of his surviving correspondence to her during the war.

Confederate retaliation by the presence of federal forces, began laying the foundation for West Virginia statehood. In June 1861, statehood supporters convened in the Unionist stronghold of Wheeling and formed the Restored Government of Virginia, a rival administration to the one in Richmond. The primary goal of this new government was to provide constitutional sanction for the carving of a new state out of northwestern Virginia. The process continued for two years through a series of plebiscites, constitutional conventions, and negotiations with the federal government. The delegates in Wheeling named the new state simply West Virginia.[41] While its borders included the Unionist strongholds in the northwest, the state government also added counties further south and east (forming the eastern panhandle in the process) that skewed more in favor of the Confederacy.[42]

Jackson wished for western Virginia to be liberated from Union occupation and he wanted to be the one to accomplish it. The officer envisioned himself marching a Confederate army across the Appalachian Mountains, rallying his childhood friends and kinsmen together, and repelling the Union invasion of Virginian soil. He wrote multiple letters to his friend and state auditor Jonathan Bennett, who also hailed from the region, expressing this desire.[43] In a June 5, 1861 message Jackson commented that western Virginia "is now bleeding at every pore." He went on to write "I feel a deep interest in it and have never appealed to its people in vain, and trust it may not be so now."[44]

[41] Williams, *West Virginia*, 75-78; Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 140-143.
[42] The inclusion of additional counties was primarily the result of political and economic considerations. The Wheeling government included counties of the eastern panhandle in order to secure control over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Counties in the south were added to round out the southern border at the behest of Kanawha County delegates. See Williams, *West Virginia*, 76-77.
[43] Bennett was a native of Weston, in Lewis County. Like Jackson, he too came from a prominent and wealthy local family.
[44] Thomas Jackson to Jonathan Bennett, June 5, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 332.

Jackson's appeal evidently was in vain given the ongoing situation. Large chunks of western Virginia quickly fell under Union military and political sway, with little successful resistance. Jackson's birthplace of Clarksburg hosted an anti-secessionist convention on April 22, 1861, where Unionist politician John S. Carlisle called for delegates to meet the following month in Wheeling.[45] Many old friends and family sided with Jackson and pro-secessionists, such as Jonathan Bennett, and cousins Alfred and William Lowther Jackson, both of whom served as Confederate officers.[46] Other close associates, however, did not. For example, his childhood best friend Joseph A. J. Lightburn became a brigadier general in the Union Army.[47] Perhaps the biggest blow to Jackson personally was the estrangement with his beloved sister Laura, who came out as a staunch Unionist. His last known letter to her was on April 6, 1861, and made no reference to the ongoing crisis.[48] Afterward, she severed all contact with her brother for the rest of his life.[49] Laura gained a reputation in Beverly for housing and providing medical aid to Union troops, despite the fact that her husband and son were Confederate supporters.[50] S. C. Gwynne suggested that Jackson's split with western Virginia enhanced a sense of loneliness within the general. "[Western Virginia] was already a Federal stronghold, crawling with bluecoats . . . The meaning must have been painfully clear to Jackson. If he tried to return to his

[45] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 117.
[46] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 162-163.
[47] Tim McKinney, "Joseph A. J. Lightburn," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, December 7, 2015, accessed December 11, 2020, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1382.
[48] Jackson's final letter to his sister is devoted almost entirely to his concern for her Christian faith, or lack thereof. He concludes the message saying "God has done great things for you & your family. Don't doubt his eternal love for you." See Thomas Jackson to Laura Jackson Arnold, April 6, 1861, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, VA.
[49] In June 1863, a Union captain reported meeting Laura and noted her reaction to Jackson's death the previous month. "She seemed very much depressed, but said that she would rather know that he was dead than to have him a leader in the rebel army." See "Stonewall Jackson's Loyal Sister," *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, June 8, 1863.
[50] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 690-691.

native land . . . he would be arrested and locked up. He was the enemy. In a very real sense, he could not go home."[51]

If Jackson was disappointed by the dearth of Confederate support in his home region and among his family, he did not show it. He rarely spoke of his Unionist sister, for example.[52] No records are known to exist in which he directly comments on the statehood movement. While much of his attention was focused on waging war elsewhere, Jackson still made known his desire to invade, or liberate, northwestern Virginia. Clearly, he had no interest in supporting the statehood movement. In additional letters to Jonathan Bennett throughout June 1861, Jackson urged his political ally to secure him a deployment to their homeland, stating "I feel deeply for my own section of the state, and would . . . willingly serve under General [Richard] Garnett in its defense."[53] He had high hopes for the region when Robert E. Lee was given command over Confederate forces at western Virginia in July 1861 and wished that he would be requested to join him in "retrieving the downtrodden loyalty of that part of my native State."[54] He defended this longing by explaining "it is natural for one's affections to turn to the home of his boyhood and family."[55] Jackson became very distressed later when Lee's campaign ended in failure.[56]

In October 1861, Jackson held a conversation with Confederate President Jefferson Davis in which he spoke about the situation in northwestern Virginia. Davis was noncommittal about the idea of dispatching Jackson to that region.[57] In November, Jackson wrote to Confederate

[51] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 235.
[52] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 690-691.
[53] Thomas Jackson to Jonathan Bennett, June 24, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 334.
[54] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 182.
[55] Ibid., 183.
[56] Ibid., 216; The failure of General Lee's three-month campaign in western Virginia has been attributed to poor weather, rugged terrain, inadequate supply chains, disease, conflict between officers, and inexperienced troops, leading to a series of defeats and setbacks. As a result, Lee was recalled from Virginia in October 1861. See Williams, *West Virginia*, 60-61, and Charles Ambler, "General R. E. Lee's Northwest Virginia Campaign," *West Virginia History* 5, no. 2 (January 1944): 101-115.
[57] Thomas Jackson to Mary Anna Jackson, October 1, 1861, in Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 194-195.

Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin proposing an ambitious plan to re-conquer the northwest that winter by capturing the town of Romney in the eastern panhandle and advancing southwest to the Kanawha Valley in order to force the Union army to withdraw.[58] The War Department approved the idea and Jackson launched his expedition in January 1862. However, after capturing the town of Romney, severe winter weather and low morale among troops prevented Jackson from continuing his advance. Never again did he mount a specific campaign to occupy the future West Virginia.[59] As late as April 1863, Jackson still had his homeland on his mind. In letters to a cousin from the area seeking to enlist in the Confederate army, Jackson wistfully wrote, "I hope the Northwest will soon be reclaimed, but I do not know what the government designs respecting it this summer."[60]

Jackson's early actions in the war involved training troops for the Army of the Shenandoah at Harpers Ferry and skirmishing with Union forces around the eastern panhandle in the spring and early summer of 1861.[61] On July 21, he participated in his first major engagement at the First Battle of Bull Run, providing key reinforcements for the Confederates and receiving the famous "Stonewall" moniker.[62] Following the lackluster Romney Expedition in the winter of 1862, Jackson embarked on his Shenandoah Campaign the following spring, where the outnumbered general won multiple battles and forced the diversion of thousands of Union troops

[58] Thomas Jackson to Judah Benjamin, November 20, 1861, in Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 218-220.
[59] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 132-133.
[60] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 389-390.
[61] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 37-521; the Army of the Shenandoah later consolidated into the Army of Northern Virginia.
[62] In the midst of the battle, as Confederate lines were collapsing at Henry Hill, Jackson arrived with reinforcements to shore up the defense. Confederate General Barnard Bee allegedly exclaimed something along the lines of "Look, men, there is Jackson standing like a stone wall! Let us determine to die here and we will conquer! Follow me!" Bee died during the battle not long afterward, and few reliable eyewitness accounts of the moment exist. See Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 263-267 and Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 12-15.

away from General McClellan's Peninsula Campaign.[63] Afterward, he participated in the Seven Days Battles, and the Battles of Second Bull Run, Harpers Ferry, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. It was during Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863, that Jackson was wounded when Confederate pickets accidentally shot him in a friendly fire incident. Infection from the amputation of his left arm developed into pneumonia, and Jackson died on May 10.[64] His death occurred little more than a month before West Virginia formally entered the Union as a separate state on June 20, 1863. Noting this coincidental timing, Jackson's wife later remarked, "He did not live to see the Old Dominion so cruelly sundered in twain, he died as he was born, a Virginian."[65]

During his lifetime, Jackson garnered a high level of popularity among his troops and the southern public for his ability to deliver military victories. As the Confederacy suffered defeats in other major theaters of the war, people seized upon Jackson's success in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign and beyond as indicators that the South could in fact prevail. The troops frequently cheered whenever he appeared. Many composed glowing accounts of him in letters and diaries. A captain from Lexington wrote, "I do not think that any man can take General Jackson's place in the confidence and love of his troops."[66] A cavalryman reported "[He] has made such an impression on the men that 'Old Jack' is at once a rallying cry and a term of

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[63] The Romney Expedition was Jackson's only campaign to recapture what is now West Virginia. In early January 1861, he occupied the towns of Bath and Romney in the eastern panhandle, with the intention of eventually clearing Union forces out of central West Virginia. Poor winter conditions and low morale among non-Virginian troops forced Jackson to cancel the expedition in late January. See Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 294-322; in the spring of 1862, Jackson engaged several Union armies in the Shenandoah Valley, just west of Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains. His successful tactics caused the Union to divert reinforcements to the valley rather than aid Gen. George McClellan in his failed Peninsula Campaign to capture Richmond. See "Overview of the 1862 Stonewall Jackson Valley Campaign," National Park Service, accessed March 5, 2021," https://www.nps.gov/cebe/learn/historyculture/overview-of-the-1862-stonewall-jackson-valley-campaign.htm.

[64] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 737-753.

[65] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 14.

[66] William S. White, *Sketches of the Life of Captain Hugh A. White of the Stonewall Brigade*, (Columbia, SC: South Carolinian Steam Press, 1864), 61.

endearment."[67] Sympathetic civilians trailed Jackson's column or wandered into camp just to catch a glimpse of him; an elderly man arrived one day who desired to see Jackson at least once before he died, while the ladies he brought along were "just crazy to see him!"[68] Many others sent him gifts of food and various trinkets on a daily basis at times.[69] In the fall of 1862 a new song, "Stonewall Jackson's Way," became one of the most popular tunes in the South.[70]

While enormously popular among his troops and the public, Jackson bore a tendency to be extreme in his actions, which sometimes aroused controversy. These aspects were notably absent in future commemorations of the general. This omission betrays a selective memory among his supporters, who sought only to promote his positive military accomplishments. In the earliest days of the war, and even before the fighting began, Jackson advocated for a black flag policy, a strategy in which combatants would take no prisoners. He hinted at such an approach as early as January 1861, when in a letter to his nephew Jackson mentioned his preference "to wage such a war as will bring hostilities to a speedy close."[71] Jackson felt that black flag warfare, while brutal and bloody, would bring a swift conclusion to the war by eliminating the North's will to fight and therefore be a more humane solution. A prolonged war ending in a Union victory would result in the destruction of Southern property and "the dissolution of the bonds of all society," he argued.[72] Moreover, Jackson believed the strategy was justified because of its presence in several wars described in the Bible. However, Confederate leaders vehemently opposed the notion.[73]

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[67] Susan Leigh Blackford and Charles Minor Blackford, Charles Blackford III, ed., *Letters from Lee's Army*, (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), 89.
[68] John G. Gittings, *Personal Recollections of Stonewall Jackson*, (Cincinnati, OH: Editor Publishing Company, 1899), 57-58.
[69] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 389.
[70] Ibid., 484-486.
[71] Thomas Jackson to Thomas Jackson Arnold, January 26, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 294.
[72] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 310.
[73] Ibid.; Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 234-235.

Far from a benevolent leader, Jackson expected nothing short of perfection from his subordinate officers and readily arrested them for what he deemed to be unsatisfactory performances. In one instance, he arrested Brigadier General Richard Garnett on trumped-up charges of neglect of duty, much to the consternation of Garnett's brigade.[74] On another occasion, Jackson arrested Colonel Z. T. Conner on similar charges for apparently withdrawing his regiment before suffering any casualties.[75] He arrested General A. P. Hill for countermanding orders and even ignored Hill's attempted resignation.[76] Some of Jackson's officers expressed frustration at Jackson for issuing unreasonably demanding orders or for failing to divulge his plans. General Richard Ewell—left in the dark as to Jackson's intent for certain maneuvers—once (but probably on multiple occasions) angrily exclaimed "This man Jackson is certainly a crazy fool, an idiot!"[77]

Although many admired and respected Jackson, rank and file soldiers also endured tough treatment under his command. One quipped that "some of the boys says that they wish all the yankees ware in hell but I don't for if they ware to go there Old Jackson would follow them there to."[78] Troops regularly complained about the harsh, long marches, during which sometimes they were not permitted time to consume their rations. On at least one occasion, Jackson forced soldiers to march in the frigid January weather for over thirty hours without the chance to eat.[79]

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[74] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 258-259; Richard B. Garnett (1817-1863) commanded the Stonewall Brigade after Jackson's promotion to higher rank. Jackson arrested Garnett following the 1862 Battle of Kernstown for, among other things, ordering an unauthorized retreat. Garnett later served under Gen. George E. Pickett and died at the Battle of Gettysburg. See Graham Dozier, "Garnett, Richard B.," Encyclopedia Virginia, accessed March 5, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/garnett-richard-b-1817-1863.

[75] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 304.

[76] Ibid., 464-465.

[77] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 381; Richard Ewell (1817-1872) served as a Major General underneath Jackson from January 1862 until Jackson's death in May 1863. Ewell commanded Jackson's forces after his death. See "Richard S. Ewell" National Park Service, accessed March 5, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/people/richard-s-ewell.htm.

[78] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 510.

[79] Ibid., 306.

One time a colonel reported, "As the men limped along . . . on what seemed to them an aimless march, I heard them denouncing Jackson in unmeasured terms to 'marching them to death for no good.'"[80] Jackson rarely issued anyone a furlough regardless of the circumstances. Even petitions to visit sick or dying relatives did not meet his approval.[81] Jackson believed that to disobey military orders was to defy the will of God. The disciplinarian held an uncompromising view towards deserters; he ordered several executed against the objections of other officers.[82] In one outburst to a dissenting colonel, he yelled, "Men who desert their comrades in war deserve to be shot! And officers who intercede for them deserve to be hung!"[83] Jackson's strict attitude occasionally extended beyond his military hierarchy. One anecdote alleged that Jackson nearly ordered the expulsion of an elderly male civilian across enemy lines after learning that he had taken an oath of loyalty to the United States; Jackson relented only when he learned the man had been forced to take the oath by Union soldiers upon threat of death.[84]

IN THE PRESS

Jackson's stern behavior was little noted by the public despite his extensive press coverage. Long before his death, the perception of Jackson was being shaped in the North and South alike by journalists and other observers. By mid-nineteenth century standards, he was a media sensation. Attention to the exploits of Stonewall Jackson began after the First Battle of Bull Run and ascended throughout his two-year career. Many newspapers in the North and South naturally covered his military campaigns, but they also focused heavily on Jackson's character. According to historian Wallace Hettle, journalists struggled to write about Jackson because he

[80] John M. Patton, "Reminiscences of Jackson's Infantry ("Foot Cavalry"), *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 8 (1880), 141.
[81] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 300; Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 54-55.
[82] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 676, 687; Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 409-410.
[83] Gwynne, *Rebel Yell*, 409.
[84] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 377.

produced few records during the war, never gave interviews, and he was generally a reserved individual. In fact, Jackson made concerted efforts to avoid reading about himself in the papers.[85] Two facts that most publications seemed to agree on were that Jackson possessed a remarkable military talent and a staunch Christian attitude. Beyond that, there was little verifiable information to report. However, Hettle says, "Americans keenly wished to discuss Jackson's character, despite knowing so little about it, in part because his military exploits fed a growing celebrity."[86] Thus the press continued to publish stories about Jackson—some true, some exaggerated, and some downright false—to satisfy public fascination with the rebel general.

Southern newspapers lavished praise on Jackson. His military victories, even when minor, provided a much-needed distraction from the Confederacy's military setbacks elsewhere. Jackson's enigmatic nature also made him less liable to criticism compared to other major Confederate and Union figures in the public eye.[87] After one battle, the *Lynchburg Virginian* gushed "Who can doubt when Jackson speaks? Like a Christian hero, as he is, he ascribes the victory to the Lord of hosts. Long live Jackson!"[88] The *Richmond Whig*, noting Jackson's religious outlook on the war, wrote "He wears 'the sword of the lord and of Gideon,' and can do the job the Confederate States have contracted to finish."[89] The *Richmond Dispatch* leaped over other Confederate leaders and pronounced Jackson "THE HERO OF THE WAR."[90]

Some Northern papers reluctantly conceded their admiration for the mysterious Jackson. His military prowess and pious character proved an allure to the Union almost as much as it did the Confederacy. The *New York World* even complained that he was receiving too much positive

[85] Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 10-26.
[86] Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 11.
[87] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson*, 377; Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 10-26.
[88] *Lynchburg Virginian*, quoted in *Lexington Gazette*, May 15, 1862.
[89] *Richmond Whig*, June 12, 1862.
[90] *Richmond Dispatch*, May 29, 1862.

coverage and accused the press of exaggerating his success. "This rebel general is gaining a reputation at the North out of all proportion to his real merit . . . Let us be careful how we help make reputations for the red-handed traitors."[91] Jackson's death produced mixed feelings among Northern journalists: relief over the removal of a powerful adversary, but grief that such an ostensibly noble figure had fallen. The Washington, D.C., *Daily Chronicle* published an editorial grappling with these feelings: "While we are only too glad to be rid . . . of so terrible a foe, our sense of relief is not unmingled with emotions of sorrow and sympathy in the death of so brave a man."[92] After extolling Jackson's positive qualities, the *Chronicle* wished that "God throw these great virtues against the sins of the secessionist, the advocate of a great national crime."[93] The article was so popular that President Lincoln even sent the editor a message complimenting the piece.[94]

Surviving publications from West Virginia during Jackson's career indicate that little regional pride for Jackson existed in the state at the time. However, few major newspapers circulated in West Virginia during the war, and most of those that did were pro-Union in their sentiments. One such example was the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*. Its location at the seat of Union power made it the preeminent newspaper in the state. Much of the *Intelligencer*'s coverage of Jackson consisted of military reports copied from other papers, although occasionally the editors produced original works commenting on the general. In October 1862, the *Intelligencer* first disclosed that Jackson was a native of West Virginia. The editors noted the argument of an anonymous dissenter that "the well known religious character of Jackson proves conclusively that he was not a native of Clarksburg," but they countered this claim by pointing

[91] *New York World*, quoted in *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, September 10, 1862.
[92] John Forney, "The Death of Stonewall Jackson," *Washington Daily Chronicle*, May 13, 1863.
[93] John Forney, "The Death of Stonewall Jackson."
[94] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 172.

out that Jackson had moved to Lewis County at a young age.[95] The following week, a resident from Clarksburg sent a letter to the paper attesting that Jackson came from the town, but added "I suppose it is of little consequence where he was born."[96] The West Virginia public did not attach any significance to Jackson's local origins beyond the geographical specificity. In a postmortem editorial in May 1863, the *Intelligencer* reaffirmed Jackson's nativity in Clarksburg but expressed no enthusiasm over his connection to the Mountain State. "Whether Stonewall or Clarksburg is most complimented by the circumstance is not clear. It seems rather a doubtful compliment either way."[97]

The Morgantown *Monitor* certainly possessed no love for Jackson. A strong Northern paper, it boasted a defiantly patriotic motto, "The Constitution and the Union—One and Inseparable," on the header of every issue.[98] On May 9, 1863 (the day before Jackson's death, unbeknownst to them) the paper published a fictional biography lampooning the general (but not mentioning his West Virginia origins). The article claimed that Jackson was descended either from Jack the Giant Killer, "Jackaloo the Chinese Pirate," or "the Wandering Jew." It joked that Jackson was "known to live nine days off one sardine and a barrel of whiskey" and "In dress he is extremely neat, never wearing a shirt longer than three months without changing it." Jackson also, so the biography said, had each of his limbs (including his head) blown off at separate battles.[99] Issues of the *Monitor* for the following week are lost, but in the May 23 issue, the editors merely republished reports on Jackson's death from Richmond papers, with no commentary.[100]

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[95] *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 16, 1862.
[96] *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, October 20, 1862.
[97] *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, May 23, 1863.
[98] *Morgantown Monitor*, February 14, 1863.
[99] *Morgantown Monitor*, May 9, 1863.
[100] *Morgantown Monitor*, May 23, 1863.

The West Virginia press followed the lead of many Northern newspapers by painting Jackson's death as a bittersweet event in the Civil War. The *Intelligencer* gave a fairly sympathetic analysis of Jackson. It published a summary of his career in its May 16, 1863 issue and largely avoided mention of his Confederate loyalty. "The incidents which are told of this able and daring leader would fill a volume," the paper declared.[101] An *Intelligencer* editorial the following week predicted that his death would strike a powerful moral blow to the Confederates, but the paper—echoing the *Daily Chronicle* article—also admitted that "the satisfaction felt that he has fought his last battle, will be tempered by a sentiment of sorrow that so brave and capable a man should have fallen."[102] It conceded that even Union troops felt "a curious regard" for Jackson and questioned how such a talented and admired individual could be associated with the traitorous Confederacy. "His name will forever be prominent, shining with a brilliant but baleful light."[103]

The nascent State of West Virginia treated Stonewall Jackson much like the Northern states did: with a mixture of fear and admiration, loathing and fascination. Aside from acknowledging Jackson's birth in Clarksburg, the press made no efforts to draw any special connection between the state and the general. He was just another Confederate. Nonetheless, at the end of the war, the new state found itself with the prominent enemy warrior grandfathered into its early history. In the years that followed, West Virginia was forced to grapple with the legacy of Stonewall Jackson and interpret his meaning to the place he called home.

A critical, biographical analysis of Stonewall Jackson reveals a man fundamentally at odds with West Virginia's statehood movement and Unionist leanings. His views and actions

[101] *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, May 16, 1863.
[102] *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, May 21, 1863.
[103] Ibid.

conflicted with that of many people in the Mountain State. Had Jackson had his way, West Virginia would never have existed. Jackson considered his childhood community to be an indivisible part of Virginia and throughout the war pressed to free his ancestral home from what he regarded as a Union occupation. He won widespread admiration in the South for his military success, religious attitude, and sense of duty to his state (which, again, was *Virginia*). These traits masked the less-celebrated parts of Jackson's career, such as his support for black flag warfare, his harsh leadership, and his active participation in—and defense of—slavery. During the Civil War, West Virginia did not honor Jackson with the acclamation that he received in the Confederacy. The Union-dominated state press—much like Northern newspapers—regarded Jackson with disapproval, though it acknowledged his military talent and Christian persona. In time, West Virginia's negative attitude towards the general changed. A romanticized, popular image of Jackson took hold thanks to the work of biographers and former Confederates. By the end of the nineteenth century, West Virginia came under the influence of a national movement to reinterpret the history of the Civil War through a staunchly pro-Southern angle. Stonewall Jackson would serve as the embodiment of this movement within West Virginia. Eventually, the state's political, economic, and civic leaders recast the once fierce enemy of West Virginia into one of its proudest native sons.

CHAPTER 2

JACKSON, THE LOST CAUSE, AND THE MANUFACTURING OF A WEST VIRGINIA HERO

Between the end of the Civil War and the early twentieth century, the legacy and memory of Stonewall Jackson's life and wartime exploits shifted towards a more positive light in West Virginia. Initially, there was a lack of widespread commemoration of the rebel general throughout the state. His popularity was confined to areas where Confederate support was most prominent, such as the Eastern Panhandle, evidenced through local newspapers. By the 1870s, Reconstruction-era proscriptions against former Confederates had been removed, and they returned to positions of power in the social and political spectrums.[1] Around the turn of the 20th century, West Virginia became influenced by the Lost Cause movement. This revisionist ideology gained traction throughout the South and in border states in the late nineteenth century largely as a response to social, economic, and racial changes in the nation. Its core message insisted that the Confederacy fought a noble battle for the cause of states' rights, rather than the defense of slavery. The movement also reflected a white supremacist atmosphere, accompanied by growing violence and new segregation efforts against African Americans.[2] The Lost Cause found a receptive audience in West Virginia due in part to the influence of former Confederates and a dearth of positive, widely recognized historical figures and events within the young state. Local branches of national Confederate heritage organizations emerged and created a string of monuments and public celebrations honoring the Lost Cause. Stonewall Jackson soon became the subject of intense commemoration in West Virginia. His origins in the state and his national

[1] Randall S. Gooden, "Neither War nor Peace: West Virginia's Reconstruction Experience," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, edited by Andrew L. Slap (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2010), 212-215.
[2] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 255-300.

fame made him a galvanizing symbol for West Virginian Confederates. The first monuments to Jackson and the ceremonies accompanying them were tinged with Lost Cause rhetoric and Confederate glorification.[3] Gradually, these commemorations focused less on Jackson's Confederate identity and instead depicted him as a West Virginia icon. Supporters celebrated him as a role model to all mountaineers, in particular the state's youth.[4] They highlighted personal characteristics such as Jackson's Christian faith, loyalty, humility, and military prowess. Local biographers such as Roy Bird Cook gave attention specifically to Jackson's West Virginia roots, further reinforcing a West Virginia identity.[5] The proliferation of Jackson monuments endured even after the Lost Cause movement peaked in its intensity in the 1910s, underscoring the degree of popularity that the Confederate general achieved in the state.

The development of Stonewall Jackson into a figure deemed worthy of public celebration in West Virginia took time. In the initial aftermath of the Civil War, the public gave little attention to the general and his legacy. In scattered instances where the topic did arise, the sentiment towards Jackson was usually negative. In December 1865, the *Clarksburg Telegram* condemned reports that plans were underway to build a statue of Jackson, possibly in Baltimore. It characterized Jackson as a traitor and called into question his Christian values. "Alas! How many widows and orphans North and South have been made to mourn by the deeds of Stonewall Jackson; and yet his admirers want to make a demigod of him." Positive aspects of his personal character were irrelevant because "he dimmed their luster by his overwhelming crime of treason."[6]

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[3] "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Gazette*, September 28, 1910; "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Daily Mail*, September 27, 1910; "Tribute is Paid to Stonewall Jackson by His Native City," Betty Barger Dakan Collection, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV.
[4] Roy Bird Cook, "Unusual West Virginians: Stonewall Jackson," *The School Journal and Educator* (February 1923): 261.
[5] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*.
[6] "Honoring Crime," *Clarksburg Telegram*, quoted in *Charleston West Virginia Journal*, December 13, 1865.

The memory of Jackson provoked little discussion around West Virginia, with one exception. Pro-Southern attitudes were abundantly clear in the Eastern Panhandle through newspapers such as the *Spirit of Jefferson*, the *Virginia Free Press*, and the *Shepherdstown Register*. In the months and years immediately following the war, each paper openly and frequently published articles that glorified Jackson. In January 1866, for example, the editors of the *Shepherdstown Register* printed the lyrics to the song "Stonewall Jackson's Way," while commenting that they "pity the man who can read them without deep emotion, or with a dry eye."[7] The papers regularly shared glowing accounts of Jackson's life from various sources. In November 1867, the *Virginia Free Press* recounted a story in which Jackson mailed a donation to the Black Sunday School in Lexington a mere day after the First Battle of Bull Run. The *Press* declared that the example set by "this great and good man teaches a lesson which many would do well to heed."[8] In May 1870, the *Spirit of Jefferson* reacted enthusiastically to reports that plans were underway to build a monument at Jackson's gravesite.[9]

The defiant nature of the Eastern Panhandle press highlighted the continued presence of Confederate support within West Virginia. While politically the state rejected the Confederacy and sided with the Union during the Civil War, much more division over the issue existed among the general population. Secession from Virginia was made possible mainly due to the continuous, protective presence of Union soldiers and their quick seizure of much of the northwest very early in the war. Many Confederate supporters were either intimidated by the presence of federal forces or boycotted the statehood process altogether.[10] Demographically,

[7] *Shepherdstown Register*, January 20, 1866.
[8] "Stonewall Jackson—A Characteristic Incident," *Charlestown Virginia Free Press*, November 14, 1867.
[9] "A Monument Proposed to Stonewall Jackson," *Charlestown Spirit of Jefferson*, May 3, 1870.
[10] Eric J. Wittenberg, Edmund A. Sargus, Jr., and Penny Barrick, *Seceding from Secession: The Civil War, Politics, and the Creation of West Virginia* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2020), 44-46, 62-63.

West Virginia was like other border states in that its citizenry split between allegiance to the North and the South. Historian Ken Fones-Wolf claims that "at least one-third, if not more, of the state's voters and nearly half of its counties sympathized with the Confederacy."[11] Much of this Confederate support came from the oligarchy of western Virginia; these were large, landowning families with significant social, political, and economic influence in the region. This elite class was adapted from similar institutions in eastern Virginia and counted the Jackson clan among its ranks. The influence of this oligarchy persisted after the war despite largely supporting the losing side. John Alexander Williams observes that "if the old leaders tended to oppose West Virginia's creation . . . they also survived it, a fact that would have momentous consequences for the new state once the separation was made."[12]

Immediately after the war, the Reconstruction state government was dominated by pro-Union politicians. They worked strenuously to prevent ex-Confederates from holding offices, fearing that such a scenario threatened the pro-Union faction's grip on power, the success of Reconstruction policies, or even the independent statehood of West Virginia. To this end, the legislature enacted laws barring ex-Confederates from voting or participating in state government. They also confiscated the property of ex-Confederates and required loyalty oaths for state officials, among other measures.[13] Anti-Confederate policies were popular among some of the more ardent pro-Union segments of the population. In several communities, including Jackson's birthplace of Harrison County, residents held meetings to discuss how to prevent ex-

[11] Ken Fones-Wolf, "A House Redivided: From Sectionalism to Political Economy in West Virginia," in *Reconstructing Appalachia: The Civil War's Aftermath*, ed. Andrew L. Slap (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 239.
[12] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 47.
[13] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 154-157; Gooden, "Neither War nor Peace."

Confederate supporters from living there.[14] Citizens of Marion County even forcibly drove out several ex-Confederates.[15]

Over the next decade, the stringent measures taken by the state government lost support among constituents as ex-Confederates reassumed their positions of influence within their communities. In the late 1860s, Democrats (many of them Confederate supporters) won election to more public offices as proscription enforcement eased and the influence of the pro-Union Republicans waned.[16] Republicans endorsed the passage of the 1870 Flick Amendment to formally enfranchise ex-Confederates in the hopes of earning some support and goodwill from the Democrats.[17] The Democrats subsequently swept state elections in the 1870s, but both parties moved away from issues involving Confederate and Union divisions, such as enfranchisement and the legitimacy of statehood. Instead, the Republican and Democratic parties cooperated to pursue common goals such as economic development and industrialization in West Virginia.[18]

Ex-Confederates and their supporters assimilated into state government, thereby normalizing their presence in society. One harbinger of this rehabilitation was when Henry M. Mathews, a major in the Confederate Army, was elected governor in 1877.[19] At his inauguration ceremony, Mathews proclaimed the end of Union-Confederate tensions in the state. “The legitimate results of the war have been accepted in good faith, and political parties are no longer

[14] *Clarksburg National Telegraph*, May 5, 1865; *Morgantown Weekly Post*, June 10, 1865.
[15] *Morgantown Weekly Post*, March 25, 1865.
[16] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 157-161.
[17] Gooden, “Neither War nor Peace,” 228-229; the Flick Amendment removed language in an 1866 amendment to the state constitution that denied voting right to anyone who willingly supported the Confederacy. The tradeoff for restoring voting rights to former Confederates was that the amendment also granted suffrage to African Americans by removing the word “white” from the 1866 amendment. See Richard Ogden Hartman, “A Constitution of Our Own: The Constitutional Convention of 1872 and the Resurrection of Confederate West Virginia (master’s thesis, Marshall University, 2004), 31.
[18] Some issues that the parties cooperated on included the construction of railroads, the reorganization of banks, and the opposition against repaying debt to Virginia. See Gooden, “Neither War nor Peace,” 223-233.
[19] Donna Addkinson-Simmons, “Henry Mason Mathews,” e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, May 16, 2016, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1582.

aligned upon the dead issues of the past."[20] The return of ex-Confederates to the political realm in West Virginia allowed them to exert influence on state affairs. Their influence on Civil War memory in particular became apparent in the early 1900s.

While Jackson initially received little attention in West Virginia aside from the Eastern Panhandle in the 1860s and 1870s, on a national level the general's image rose to mythic proportions. Newspaper articles, songs, and books published even before the Civil War ended kept Jackson and his exploits in the public eye. Historian Wallace Hettle asserts that the public image of Jackson was shaped by the proliferation of post-war biographies, each of which emphasized a different aspect of Jackson. Theologian Robert Lewis Dabney's *Life of General Thomas J. Jackson* (1866), for instance, depicted Jackson as the epitome of Christian piety. Dabney described Jackson as a martyr, and a poster child for upward mobility and self-reliance; he also overlooked Jackson's harshness and other negative traits.[21] John Esten Cooke's *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (1866) highlighted Jackson's oddities and perpetuated misconceptions such as that he ate lemons on the battlefield and took cold baths. These quirks humanized the general and made him a more endearing figure to audiences.[22] Mary Anna Jackson's own account of her husband, *Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson* (1892) interpreted Jackson as a kind, godly man, and a loving husband and father, a firm rebuttal to the perception of Jackson as a ruthless warrior and religious fanatic put forward by writers in the years after his death.[23] The works of various biographers together crafted a public image of Jackson as a noble Christian soldier, a tactical genius, an inspired figure who rose from humble origins to achieve

[20] "Inaugural Address of Governor Henry M. Mathews," March 4, 1877, West Virginia Archives & History, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.wvculture.org/history/government/governors/mathewsia.html.
[21] Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 27-52; Robert Lewis Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson* (New York, NY: Blelock & Company, 1866).
[22] Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 53-68; John Esten Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1866).
[23] Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*, 69-85; Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*.

greatness. Such a rosy portrait made him an asset to Confederate sympathizers in their interpretation of Civil War history and their effort to promote the Lost Cause narrative.

THE LOST CAUSE

The romanticized, if not mythologized, depiction of Jackson contributed to the promulgation of the Lost Cause movement. This ideology, which venerated Jackson and other major Confederate figures such as Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, had a tremendous impact on the development of Civil War memory. Lost Cause thought originated almost immediately after the war, as defeated Southerners struggled to justify their actions and explain their defeat. Its name derives from journalist Edward Pollard's 1866 book *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*, in which he railed against the Confederate loss, defended slavery, and expounded a pseudo-historical narrative of the war placing the South in a better light.[24]

The Lost Cause rested upon three core tenets. First: that the Civil War was not fought over slavery. Rather, the South rebelled in the face of what it perceived to be a federal intrusion upon constitutionally protected states' rights. By seceding, the Confederacy was actually upholding the values enshrined in the United States Constitution. Second: that slavery was a benign and humane institution. African Americans were content—happy even—to be in the service of whites, and they were treated well. The abolition of slavery discombobulated the entire racial order and negatively impacted African Americans by forcing them to support themselves. Thirdly: Confederate soldiers and military leaders were brave, honorable, and superior warriors. They were a morally and culturally virtuous people, and their defeat in the war was only due to

[24] Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York, NY: E. B. Treat & Co., 1866).

the Union's superior manpower and industrial might.[25] Ultimately, according to historian Adam Domby, the main argument of the Cause was that "instead of being remembered as traitors, Confederates should be recalled as heroic defenders of American principles."[26]

The Lost Cause movement made early inroads into West Virginia through Stonewall Jackson, as seen by the glowing accounts of his life in Eastern Panhandle newspapers starting in the 1860s. Some efforts to promote Jackson extended beyond the panhandle, evinced by a letter sent to the *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* in 1868 by disgruntled Barbour County resident Guy Roland.[27] He lamented that ministers of the Methodist Church South were including Jackson in their sermons as a model of Christian manhood.[28] Roland warned that "the adherents of the lost cause are manufacturing political capital by expatiating upon the virtues of . . . a cold-blooded traitor to his country."[29] The matter seems to have concerned few, as no further mention of Jackson and the Methodist Church South (either positive or negative in tone) was made in the *Daily Intelligencer*. Indeed, the editorial was a rare mention of Jackson in the state press outside the Eastern Panhandle during the postwar years. It took another three decades for the Lost Cause, and consequently Stonewall Jackson, to achieve a meaningful degree of widespread popularity in the state.

Though its origins date to the immediate end of the Civil War, the Lost Cause did not gain traction until the 1880s and 1890s. There were several reasons for the surge of interest

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[25] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 255-300; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 100-119; Domby, *The False Cause*, 6-7; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 49-50.
[26] Domby, *The False Cause*, 4.
[27] Barbour County, located in north central West Virginia, borders Harrison County, where Jackson was born.
[28] The Methodist Church South formed in 1845 when the national Methodist Church split over slavery. The South Church supported a biblical right to own slaves, while the Methodist Church North did not. The two denominations reunited in 1939. See "Methodism: America," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed March 10, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Methodism/America#ref466653.
[29] Guy Roland, "Stonewall Jackson – The 'Christian Soldier,'" *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, February 17, 1868.

during this period. The end of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of the last federal troops from the South in 1877 allowed white, pro-Confederate Democrats to retake control of their state governments, previously dominated by white and black Republicans. Public celebration of the Confederacy became more acceptable to the general public as a result.[30] Another explanation was that by the late 1800s, many Confederate-supporting families had rebuilt their fortunes and prestige lost during the war; the monuments served as an open expression of their resurgence.[31] Additionally, Confederate soldiers were growing old. They and their families wanted to ensure that they received acceptance, honor, and vindication for their service in the war before all the veterans had died.[32]

Historian Gaines Foster provides a more crucial explanation. He states, "increasing fears generated by the social changes of the late nineteenth century provided the immediate impetus for the revived interest in the Lost Cause."[33] The Lost Cause represented a conservative backlash among whites against the changing social, economic, and racial landscape during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Whites grew uneasy with the waves of new immigrants, rapid industrialization, technological advances, and the increased participation of African Americans in society. The romanticized, patriotic, white-dominated ideology of the Lost Cause provided a safe place for whites to cling to in the face of widespread change in their world.[34] Historian David Blight described the significance of the movement to ongoing national trends:

> [The Lost Cause] seemed an antidote to the new ethnic invasion of America's shores, and especially to farmers' and workers' revolts. In the bewildering technological and Industrial society, and amidst resurgent racism, a white boy growing up in America in the 1890s might find safe havens in the past and present by just *being a Confederate*.[35]

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[30] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 4-5.
[31] John J. Winberry, "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer* 55, No. 1 (Spring 2015): 26-27.
[32] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 49-72.
[33] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy,* 6.
[34] Ibid., 113-114.
[35] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 276.

West Virginia was especially impacted by these nationwide socioeconomic changes around the turn of the century. The state's sparsely populated, heavily forested landscape gave way to the burgeoning extraction industries of timber and coal. Subsistence agriculture, the traditional mainstay for many mountaineers, became increasingly untenable as land was destroyed to harvest raw materials and property owners were bought out by coal, timber, and railroad companies. Dozens of new settlements large and small sprung up along railroads or adjacent to mining operations. Places like Huntington, Charleston, Clarksburg, and Parkersburg grew into large industrial centers. Families left their longtime farms and flocked to urban areas to find work. The proliferation of railroads connected the state together.[36] Great demographic change came as well. Up to this time, the population of West Virginia consisted overwhelmingly of the descendants of Scots-Irish, English, and Germanic settlers from the eighteenth century. Starting in the late nineteenth century, however, thousands of European immigrants and African American migrants flocked to the state to work in the mines, railroads, and factories. By 1910, these new arrivals made up seventeen percent of the state's population.[37]

The rapid and dramatic developments in West Virginia during its first half-century bred a longing among some native residents for the days before mass industrialization hit the state. According to Williams, "A great nostalgia for some of its [pre-industrial] habits and customs welled up in subsequent years, but there was no returning to the old ways, no matter how unpalatable the new industrial frontier might turn out to be."[38] Members of West Virginia's social elite, including a number of ex-Confederates, looked to the antebellum period for comfort. Escapism became a popular mechanism among the wealthy to cope with the new order of things.

[36] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 183-204; Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 101-129.
[37] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 189; Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 111-112.
[38] Williams, *West Virginia*, 106.

One blatant example was the construction of the Southern plantation-inspired Greenbrier Hotel at White Sulphur Springs in 1913.[39] The Lost Cause provided West Virginians, especially the upper class, with a similar method of escapism through a nostalgic embrace of the past, despite the movement's historical exaggerations and falsehoods. It was, as Blight called it, "a tonic against fear of social change."[40]

The successful promotion of the Lost Cause movement in West Virginia and the nation in general was attributable to the rise of Confederate heritage organizations. These institutions were founded by Confederate veterans, their spouses, and their descendants. Members dedicated themselves to advancing and defending the Lost Cause ideology. Most of these organizations emerged in the late 1880s and 1890s when advances in transportation and communication, as well as growing urbanization, allowed local and regional groups to merge into cohesive national organizations.[41] These groups included: The United Confederate Veterans (UCV) in 1889, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in 1894, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) in 1896. Of these, the UDC was by far the most prominent. It expanded rapidly, and at the group's peak around 1918, it boasted nearly 100,000 members.[42]

The UDC's main objectives were to preserve Confederate memory and pass it down to future generations. The groups accomplished this through a variety of methods, including providing aid to elderly Confederate veterans, holding elaborate public ceremonies, giving speeches, writing histories, encouraging the publication of school textbooks that conformed with

[39] Williams, *West Virginia*, 157-158; the first hotel at White Sulphur Springs, the Grand Central Hotel, opened in 1858. In 1913, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway bought the property and expanded the resort, constructing the Greenbrier as the new center of the facility. The original Grand Central Hotel portion was demolished in 1922. See "History," The Greenbrier, accessed March 25, 2021, https://www.greenbrier.com/About-US/History.aspx.
[40] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 266.
[41] Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 104-108.
[42] Caroline E. Janney, "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, January 11, 2019, accessed December 27, 2020, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/United_Daughters_of_the_Confederacy.

their ideology, indoctrinating youth with Children of the Confederacy clubs, sponsoring scholarships and essay contests, gifting portraits of Confederate leaders to public facilities, and erecting monuments.[43] Their ranks were dominated by elite women of the South. Many were married or related to businessmen, lawyers, and politicians of every level. Some were descended from Confederate officers and old Southern aristocratic families. The women of the UDC used these connections to their advantage by fundraising and lobbying politicians to endorse their projects.[44] The organization proved far more successful than other Confederate heritage organizations in realizing their agenda. A report by the Southern Poverty Law Center determined that the UDC was directly responsible for the creation of at least 700 Confederate monuments nationwide (including several in West Virginia) due to their talent for raising money and rallying support.[45] The UDC's publication of numerous pro-Confederate books and the education of children in the Lost Cause dogma further imbedded the organization's beliefs into Civil War memory for generations. In his book *Race and Reunion*, historian David Blight singled out the UDC for solidifying "a conception of a victimized South, fighting nobly for high Constitutional principles, and defending a civilization of benevolent white masters and contented African slaves."[46]

The West Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy formally organized in 1898, although chapters had been active for several years prior. The first chapters were concentrated primarily in the Eastern Panhandle—where Confederate support ran higher—and major urban centers of the state, namely Huntington, Charleston, and Bluefield. The group

[43] Janney, "United Daughters of the Confederacy."
[44] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 5-7.
[45] "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," Second Edition, Southern Poverty Law Center, February 1, 2019, accessed December 28, 2020, https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy.
[46] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 278.

mushroomed in its early years; during the Division's first three decades, forty-one chapters were established. Nearly half were short-lived, but they reveal a high level of interest in Confederate heritage at the time. Total membership in the state peaked at 1,743 in 1932.[47] Like in the Southern states, the West Virginia Division was dominated by women of the social elite. The most poignant example may be that of Virginia Faulkner McSherry, President of the Division from 1899-1909 and later president of the national organization from 1909-1911. She was the daughter of Charles Faulkner, a former Congressman, ambassador to France, and a staff officer with Stonewall Jackson in the Civil War. Her husband, James McSherry, was also a Confederate officer and a local politician in Martinsburg.[48] Connections such as those possessed by McSherry provided the UDC with access to people with the money and sociopolitical influence necessary to cultivate the Lost Cause.

During its first decade, the West Virginia UDC erected at least seven physical monuments in the state. Shafts, plaques, and sentinel statues were placed in Martinsburg (1899), Huntington (1900), Clover Lick (1902), Parkersburg (two, in 1903 and 1908, respectively), Lewisburg (1907), and Beverly (1908). Some were located in cemeteries and others in public spaces.[49] The UDC dedicated these early monuments to Confederate soldiers in general for their service to their country (the Confederacy) and their home (Virginia). The memorials and the rhetoric surrounding them exhibited both the influence of the Lost Cause and a concerted effort by supporters to highlight West Virginia's contributions to the Confederacy. At the dedication of a monument at Beverly in Randolph County (a granite shaft placed in a nearby Confederate

[47] Betty B. Dakan, et al, "United Daughters of the Confederacy West Virginia Division 1898-1998," United Daughters of the Confederacy, West Virginia Division, 1998, United Daughters of the Confederacy, W. Va. Collection, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV.
[48] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 38; Michael B. Graham, *The Coal River Valley in the Civil War: West Virginia Mountains, 1861* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), Appendix A.
[49] Mary Calvert Stribling, "History of the West Virginia Division, U.D.C," September 12, 1913, United Daughters of the Confederacy, West Virginia Division Records, 1899-1919, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.

cemetery) in 1908, the speaker, Hubert Houston, glorified the service of local Confederates in his oration. He expressed pride that "this section of West Virginia gave to the Southern Cause an enlistment of clansmen as brave and daring as ever answered . . . and gave to earth its heroes and to heaven its martyrs."[50] While the UDC's original primary focus was on the service of the average Confederate soldier, the organization increasingly turned attention to a lone individual, one who became the perfect standard bearer for West Virginia's Southern sympathizers: Stonewall Jackson.

JACKSON'S MOUNTAIN STATE MEMORIALS

Jackson made the most obvious rallying point for Confederate heritage organizations in the state. The general's biggest advantage was his local origins, and the fact that he was by far the most high-profile Confederate officer to live in what is now West Virginia. It was, and remains, common for Confederate heritage organizations to uplift prominent individuals as embodiments of white Southern values. Typical figures for veneration along with Jackson were Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and Generals Robert E. Lee, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Jeb Stuart. Jackson was the third most popular Confederate in terms of monument depictions (behind Lee and Davis); at least 112 monuments were erected in his honor throughout the country.[51] His long-established reputation as an honorable, loyal, devout Christian warrior easily made him an appealing figure to West Virginia Confederates.

Stonewall Jackson's West Virginia upbringing gave the state more credibility in the world of Confederate memory. Since it had formally been a Union state in the Civil War, West Virginia had little standing to be considered a part of the Confederacy. Because of the state's

[50] *Unveiling of Monument to Confederate Dead, Beverly, West Virginia, September 30, 1908* (Clarksburg, WV: The Coston Printing Company, 1908), Harrison County Historical Society.
[51] "Whose Heritage?," Southern Poverty Law Center.

Union identity, it possessed few significant links to the Lost Cause historical narrative. The state's strongest connections were the claim that it built the first Confederate monument (at a Romney cemetery in 1867) and that it was the birthplace of Robert E. Lee's horse, Traveller.[52] Stonewall Jackson by comparison provided a major propaganda boost, as West Virginia could claim one of the Confederacy's greatest heroes as a native son. The *Confederate Veteran* magazine, the official mouthpiece of the national UCV, recognized this connection. In a 1911 article, it dubbed Jackson "the greatest and most illustrious man ever born on the soil of West Virginia, a typical soldier, patriot, and Christian."[53]

The earliest recorded public celebrations of Stonewall Jackson in West Virginia were two ceremonies hosted by UDC chapters in Charles Town and Shepherdstown on Jackson's birthday, January 20, 1898. The Shepherdstown event took place in a Presbyterian Church, where speakers lectured on Jackson's character. Similar proceedings occurred in the county courthouse at Charles Town, where a former Confederate chaplain extolled the virtues of Jackson the "great christian [sic] hero."[54] The content of every speech and the display of a painting titled "Stonewall Jackson at Prayer" at the Charlestown ceremony indicated that Jackson's pious nature was a major feature driving his popularity in the state. The choice of venues—a church and a courthouse—furthermore show a degree of support for Jackson among the political and religious leadership.[55]

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[52] Stribling, "History of the West Virginia Division, U.D.C"; In 1936, the WV UDC's Southern Cross Chapter No. 2001 placed a plaque along U.S. Route 60 at the site of a tree where Lee allegedly stood during the first time he saw Traveller. The tree itself was chopped down and the wood turned into souvenirs, including a meeting gavel for the chapter. See Dakan, et al, "United Daughters of the Confederacy West Virginia Division."
[53] "Confederate Monument in West Virginia," *Confederate Veteran* 24, No. 12 (December 1911).
[54] *Charlestown Spirit of Jefferson*, January 25, 1898.
[55] "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Shepherdstown Register*, January 27, 1898; *Charlestown Spirit of Jefferson*, January 25, 1898.

The Lost Cause movement in West Virginia reached its apex in 1910 with the installation of a Stonewall Jackson statue in Charleston. It was by far the largest propaganda thrust by Confederate heritage organizations into the public sphere, directed right at the political epicenter of the state. The Charleston Chapter No. 151 of the UDC orchestrated the memorial, which they had planned since the 1890s.[56] The chapter took great pride in their monument, calling it "a credit to ourselves, to the State, to the cause it commemorates, to the great General whose statue surmounts it, and to the gifted sculptor."[57] They commissioned Moses Ezekiel, a nationally recognized artist and graduate of the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), to craft an eight-foot tall bronze sculpture of Jackson.[58] The statue depicted Jackson standing upright, in full Confederate garb, gripping a sword at his side. The artist intended it to show Jackson at the very moment General Bee conferred the name of "Stonewall" upon him at the First Battle of Bull Run. The design was so popular that Ezekiel made an identical copy of the statue for VMI in 1912.[59] The Charleston statue stood at the top of a distinct, twelve-foot, granite pedestal. The inscription on the base pronounced that the statue was "erected as a memorial to the Confederate soldiers."[60] However, its depiction of Jackson rather than a generic soldier—as was the case with other monuments—indicated that the general was the clear recipient of attention.

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[56] The chapter originally began raising money to build a soldier's home for the state's aging Confederate veterans, but in 1897 they deemed the project unfeasible and pivoted towards building a monument instead. The total cost of the statue amounted to $20,000. See "Confederate Statue in West Virginia," *Confederate Veteran* 12 (December 1911).

[57] "Report of Charleston Chapter to State Convention, 1910," quoted in Stribling, "History of the West Virginia Division, U.D.C."

[58] Moses Ezekiel (1844-1917) was noted for being the first Jewish graduate of VMI. He spent most of his career in Rome, but created numerous religious and Confederate sculptures for clients in the United States. His most famous work was the Confederate Memorial at Arlington National Cemetery, created in 1914. See "Moses Ezekiel," American Battlefield Trust, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/moses-ezekial.

[59] "Statues and Monuments at VMI," VMI Archives, accessed December 30, 2020, https://www.vmi.edu/archives/vmi-archives-faqs/statues-and-monuments-at-vmi/.

[60] "Confederate Statue in West Virginia," *Confederate Veteran*.

The dedication ceremony for the Stonewall Jackson statue on September 27, 1910, revealed a convergence of several different interests upon the revered figure. The most prominent feature was the celebration of Confederate heritage. The unveiling of the statue exemplified the grandiose nature of Lost Cause pageantry. Many state Confederate veterans and members of the UDC, UCV, and SCV attended the proceedings. Virginia had a sizable presence as well. There was the Stonewall Brigade Band from Staunton, a company of cadets from VMI, and a representative of Virginia Governor William Mann.[61] As a part of the UDC effort to expose youth to Lost Cause celebrations, a mile-long parade preceding the ceremony included many schoolchildren waving Confederate flags. The commander of the United Confederate Choirs sang "Dixie" and other Southern tunes. Every guest speaker was either a Confederate veteran or a UDC member. Their speeches, given before an enthusiastic crowd of 5,000 spectators, were laced with typical rhetoric praising the service of Confederate soldiers and the honorable values they represented.[62] Bennett H. Young, Commander of the UCV's Army of Northern Virginia Department, delivered some of the most virulent Lost Cause remarks. "The greatest monument to Confederate valor were [sic] the losses which were inflicted on the federal armies. While one-third of all the men of the South went down in battle, over 430,000 of the enemies died before the Confederates were conquered."[63] Confederate organizations on a national level took notice of West Virginia's commemoration efforts. The *Confederate Veteran* lavished praise on the statue. "This monument," it declared, "is a love offering to the bravery, patriotism, and self-denial of all soldiers of the Confederate States."[64]

[61] "Confederate Statue in West Virginia," *Confederate Veteran.*
[62] "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Gazette*, September 28, 1910; "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Daily Mail*, September 27, 1910.
[63] "Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Gazette*, September 28, 1910.
[64] "Confederate Statue in West Virginia," *Confederate Veteran.*

It is worth noting that, at the time of the Jackson statue dedication, no Union monument existed at the Capitol. Confederate memory evidently overshadowed the popularity of Union memory among West Virginians. It at least benefited from better organization and support among state leaders. Two years later, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) erected a Union monument nearby in response. The statue, depicting an anonymous soldier in the West Virginia Home Guard, did not garner nearly as much attention as Jackson's statue. According to the *Charleston Gazette,* there was a much smaller crowd in attendance for its dedication.[65]

The location of the monument was perhaps as symbolic as the statue itself: Stonewall Jackson was unveiled on the grounds of the West Virginia State Capitol. Indeed, the level of government support for the Confederate memorial was palpable. In 1905, the local UDC chapter petitioned the state legislature for permission to place a monument on the capitol grounds. Their extensive social connections and lobbying efforts paid off. Joint Resolution No. 13, authorizing the placement, unanimously passed both chambers on February 23, 1905. The bill stipulated that the UDC would assume all costs for the monument's purchase and continued maintenance, while the design and inscription would be subject to the approval of the State Board of Public Works.[66] Passage of the bill was spearheaded by state senator John A. Preston, a Confederate veteran, commander of the UCV's David S. Creigh Camp No. 856 in Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, and a devoted Lost Cause adherent.[67] Preston accepted the statue on behalf of the state government at

[65] Rick Steelhammer, "Charleston's Civil War soldier statues erected with private funds," *Charleston Gazette-Mail,* August 22, 2017.
[66] *Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia Passed at its Twenty-Seventh Regular Session* (Charleston, WV: Moses W. Donnally, 1905), 517.
[67] The David S. Creigh Camp was named after a Confederate sympathizer in Lewisburg who was executed in 1864 for murdering a Union soldier. See C. E. Turley and James E. Harding, "Montescena; David S. Creigh Place," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1975.

the unveiling ceremony. His remarks were described by the *Charleston Gazette* as an "expression of love for the cause for which General Jackson fought and died."[68]

The legislative approval for the placement of the statue marked a clear government endorsement of the Lost Cause and, by extension, Stonewall Jackson. The earliest Confederate monuments in the nineteenth century were usually placed in cemeteries. During the early 1900s, however, a significant portion was placed on public property, namely the grounds of county courthouses and state capitols. Karen Cox notes that "the monuments became part of the political landscape, marking an important change in their cultural significance."[69] Confederate memorials did not just honor the past; they also embodied the values of the generation (or at least its sociopolitical leadership) that erected them. Geographer John Winberry, in his study of the distribution of Confederate monuments, affirms that their placement in public spaces was a symbolic expression of power. One of his theories for the rise of public Confederate monuments was that Democrats used them to unite Southern whites of competing political inclinations together under a common heritage. This inevitably created a firm distinction between white and black Southerners and asserted the dominance of a white leadership.[70]

White supremacy was one of the most crucial and obvious elements of the Lost Cause narrative. According to historian David Blight, "its very existence depended upon dehumanizing a group of people."[71] Supporters of the Lost Cause held that slavery had been beneficial to African Americans, that it made them more civilized and introduced them to Christianity. They argued that African Americans were worse off after abolition since the traditional racial order was thrown out of balance. As a counterpoint to the new social status of African Americans after

[68] "Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Gazette*, September 28, 1910.
[69] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 66-67.
[70] Winberry, "Lest We Forget," 28.
[71] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 292.

the war, Lost Cause advocates promoted the notion of the "faithful slave." Speeches, publications, and some monuments celebrated the alleged stories of slaves who remained loyal to their masters; the faithful slave epitomized the proper role of African Americans in society, in the eyes of white supremacists.[72]

The rise of the Lost Cause movement in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century coincided with an intense period of racism and the emergence of stringent Jim Crow laws. White supremacy increased in its fervency as part of the conservative backlash against social change. In his work *Race and Reunion*, David Blight writes that the Lost Cause "armed those determined to control, if not destroy, the rise of black people in the social order."[73] Confederate monuments and celebrations highlighted the preeminence of the traditional white, Anglo-Saxon ruling class over African Americans and other minorities. Statues of noble, white, male figures—famous for fighting to defend slavery—towering over city squares and government facilities sent a clear message that this society was one dominated by the white race. Historian Annette Gordon-Reed argues that Confederate memorials and the Lost Cause in general were more a reflection of turn-of-the-century racism rather than the Civil War they were ostensibly intended to commemorate. "The monuments were not so much about honoring the Confederate dead, but were about sending an explicit and implicit message of white supremacy.

[72] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 104-107; Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 284-291; one example in West Virginia was the Heyward Shepherd Monument in Harpers Ferry. Dedicated in 1931 by the local UDC and SCV, the memorial recognized a free black man who was killed by John Brown and his men during their 1859 raid on the federal armory. The monument vilified Brown and interpreted Shepherd as faithful and loyal to the white race. The African American community largely condemned the monument, accusing it of celebrating slavery and white supremacy. See Mary Johnson, "An 'Ever Present Bone of Contention': The Heyward Shepherd Memorial," *West Virginia History* 56 (1997): 1-26.
[73] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 266.

It is about history, but it's much more about the history of that time — the time the monuments went up."[74]

The racial sentiments of many white West Virginians were quite evident at the unveiling ceremony of the Jackson statue. The white-owned Charleston papers failed to report that many of the attendees wore buttons in support of the Lily White movement to disenfranchise African Americans.[75] Lily White campaigns in Appalachia dated to at least the 1890s, when both major parties sought to limit the political participation of African Americans in order to garner more support among whites. The extent of the voter suppression campaigns varied, ranging from efforts to deny patronage to African Americans to eliminating their right to vote altogether.[76] During the 1908 elections, the West Virginia State Democratic Party ran on a platform vowing to disenfranchise African Americans. After failing to secure a governing majority in the 1908 elections, the Democrats changed course. During the 1910 campaign, the party attempted to lure African American voters away from the Republicans. When people showed up at the Jackson statue dedication wearing Lily White buttons from the 1908 campaign, however, it was obvious that many whites still favored measures to suppress African Americans.[77] For them, the effigy of a popular Confederate general at the seat of state power projected white supremacy across West Virginia.

The state, like much of the country, experienced much racial violence and discrimination. Many of the thousands of African Americans who migrated to West Virginia in the late 1800s and early 1900s to work in the mines and industrial centers did so out of a belief that the

[74] "Symbols of the Confederacy should not exist in public spaces, Harvard professor says in Black History Month lecture at UH Law Center," University of Houston Law Center, February 19, 2019, accessed June 22, 2021, https://www.law.uh.edu/news/spring2019/0219SpeakerBHM.asp.
[75] "George Byrne Reveals Plan," *Clarksburg Weekly Telegram*, October 13, 1910.
[76] Gordon B. McKinney, "Southern Mountain Republicans and the Negro, 1865-1900," *Journal of Southern History* 41, No. 4 (November 1975): 493-516.
[77] "George Byrne Reveals Plan," *Clarksburg Weekly Telegram*, October 13, 1910.

Mountain State was safer for blacks than further south.[78] Nonetheless, racist activities were rampant. There were at least ten reported cases of lynchings in West Virginia between 1890 and 1900.[79] Various segregation laws existed in the state; West Virginia schools, for instance, were segregated since 1866. Many whites viewed African American migrants as outsiders and perceived them as criminals. In the early 1900s, there were attempts in the state legislature to pass more Jim Crow laws, such as the segregation of railroad cars.[80] And some white politicians and their supporters flirted with the idea of disenfranchising African Americans.

African Americans both locally and nationally were well aware of the racial connotations behind Confederate monuments and the danger it posed to public memory. African American activist W. E. B. Du Bois was sternly critical of the meaning of Confederate monuments. "The plain truth of the matter [of explaining the Confederacy] would be an inscription something like this: 'Sacred to the memory of those who fought to Perpetuate Human Slavery,'" he wrote in a 1931 article.[81] Historian George Washington Williams, in his 1887 work *History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion,* lamented that the absence of any monuments to African American soldiers of the Civil War (and the proliferation of those to white soldiers) threatened their position in the historical narrative of the war. "The surest way to teach national history is in monumental marble and brass."[82] Charleston's black newspaper, *The Advocate*, republished an article highlighting the presence of Lily White buttons at the Jackson statue dedication.[83] The

[78] Tim Konhaus, "'I Thought Things Would Be Different There': Lynching and the Black Community in Southern West Virginia, 1880-1933," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies* 1, No. 2 (Fall 2007): 25-43.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Cicero M. Fain III, "Black Response to the Construction of Colored Huntington, West Virginia, during the Jim Crow Era," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies* 1, No. 2 (Fall 2007): 1-24; "George Byrne Reveals Plan," *Clarksburg Weekly Telegram*, October 13, 1910.
[81] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Postscript," *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* 40, No. 8 (August 1931): 279.
[82] George Washington Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion: 1861-1865* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1888), 328.
[83] "Leaders Hopeless," *The Charleston Advocate*, October 13, 1910.

publication recognized that the monument stood against the African American community's interests.

The Stonewall Jackson statue was first and foremost a Confederate monument and glorified his Southern allegiance. Its creation underscored the popularity of Lost Cause rhetoric and white supremacist ideology among the state government and the general public. However, there were a few indications that Jackson supporters tried to identify him as a West Virginian more than a Confederate. These efforts extended Jackson's appeal beyond ex-Confederates and helped sustain a positive image of him in public memory. Some newspapers covering the statue dedication claimed Jackson to be universally beloved among West Virginians (white ones at least). The *Charleston Gazette* opined "That the natives of the state which gave birth to General Jackson should seek to perpetuate his memory, and to hand down to posterity a record of his valor, seems eminently fitting."[84] The *Grafton Republican* cited the statue's placement at the Capitol grounds as proof that the state was no longer divided by Union and Confederate animosities. It declared, "All West Virginians are proud of the career of this one of the greatest military leaders of any war."[85] The *Charleston Daily Mail* credited Jackson with enhancing the state's profile, calling him a "West Virginia warrior who made himself famous during the civil strife and who attracted attention to the State in which he was given birth."[86]

Stonewall Jackson provided West Virginia with a popular historical celebrity at a time when the young state had a dearth of such figures in its short history. As West Virginia approached its fiftieth birthday, it boasted few major icons and events to distinguish it among neighboring states. State historian Charles Ambler notes, "[West Virginia] is unique in that she

[84] "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Gazette*, September 28, 1910.
[85] "A Great Soldier," *Grafton Republican*, quoted in *Fairmont West Virginian*, September 29, 1910.
[86] "Dedication of the Stonewall Jackson Statue," *Charleston Daily Mail*, September 27, 1910.

has few state traditions and little authentic history of the kind out of which state pride and patriotism grow."[87] Well-known West Virginians that did exist at the time were not always flattering to the state's reputation. National press coverage of Appalachia in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was preoccupied with sensational violence and fierce, gun-toting backwoodsmen such as Devil Anse Hatfield. According to Rice and Brown, "A rash of family and political feuds in southern Appalachia . . . produced a wave of national revulsion."[88] A negative perception developed among outside observers that the Appalachian Mountains were dominated by backward, impoverished, and sometimes violent hillbillies.[89]

Jackson acted as a suitable alternative to uncouth stereotypes of Appalachians. For the state's conservative, white elites, Jackson represented the ideal West Virginian: a noble, "civilized," Anglo-Saxon, native-born, Protestant Christian figure, with an honorable military career, and descended from the old Scotch-Irish settlers of the eighteenth century. His fame could bring West Virginia positive name recognition to the outside world. "Any West Virginian would be an object of interest in any military school in the world, because Stonewall Jackson was born in the State," the *Charleston Gazette* predicted. "As Napoleon crowned Corsica, and Grant immortalized Ohio, so Jackson has written his birth place on the pages of history and in the war record of the earth."[90] To his supporters, Jackson represented the desirable values that all West Virginians should seek to emulate. One article from a 1923 state education newsletter commented, "His high ideals may well be set up as goal posts to which all of the youth of our schools may rightly aspire."[91] The intentional use of Jackson as a counterweight against negative

[87] Charles H. Ambler, "Preface," in Anna Pierpont Siviter, *Recollections of War and Peace, 1861-1868* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), 7.
[88] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 180.
[89] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 97-10; Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 179-180.
[90] "Stonewall Jackson," *Charleston Gazette*, reprinted in *Calhoun Chronicle*, April 19, 1910.
[91] Cook, "Unusual West Virginians: Stonewall Jackson."

perceptions of the state continued for decades. In 1980, Thorn Linger, head of a Jackson memorial committee in Lewis County, wrote that one of the organization's objectives was "to refute the hill-billy concept some people seem to have of West Virginians, and to inform them that a state that has produced men like General Thomas Jonathan 'Stonewall' Jackson . . . speaks for itself."[92]

Jackson veneration was among several campaigns by activists in the early twentieth century to highlight aspects of West Virginia history that connected the state to the broader American narrative. One instance was an effort by Point Pleasant's chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) to commemorate the 1774 Battle of Point Pleasant as an event of major national significance. They successfully lobbied the 1908 Congress to fund a large obelisk memorial at the battleground, which opened to great fanfare the following year. The DAR also argued that the Battle of Point Pleasant should be recognized as the first battle of the American Revolution, a claim dismissed by many, including state historian Virgil A. Lewis.[93] At the other end of the state, a group in Shepherdstown called the Rumseian Society worked to promote the legacy of James Rumsey, a little-known inventor that supporters claimed to be the inventor of the first steamboat (rather than rival claimant Robert Fulton). Their efforts culminated with the erection of a large memorial shaft at Shepherdstown in 1916.[94] While the significance and accuracy of these historical narratives are questionable, Historian John Alexander Williams commented that these commemorations "celebrated history as people preferred to remember it, as something called 'heritage.'"[95] Stonewall Jackson, in comparison to

[92] Thorn Linger to Betty Barger Dakan, June 9, 1980, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[93] "'Manufactured History': Re-Fighting the Battle of Point Pleasant," *West Virginia History* 56 (1997): 76-87; Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 136-137.
[94] Amy Mathews Amos, "Race for the Rivers: James Rumsey's Steamboat Legacy," *Wonderful West Virginia* (July 2014): 20-23; "The Rumsey Monument," The Rumseian Society, accessed January 7, 2021, https://jamesrumsey.org/the-rumsey-monument/.
[95] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 137.

Rumsey or Point Pleasant, was more prominent and memorable on a national level. By laying claim to Jackson, the state anchored itself to a major part of American history. He provided a "heritage" that West Virginians could embrace with more pride.

The fact that Jackson fought for the Confederacy seemed not to be a liability. Celebrations such as the statue unveiling served "to put to rest the sectional animosities left over from the statehood movement and the Civil War."[96] Indeed, one objective for some Lost Cause proponents was to achieve reconciliation between the North and the South, (or the pro-Union and pro-Confederate factions in West Virginia's case), often at the expense of African Americans. The passage of time, and a shared unease over the rise of blacks and other social changes, united white Northerners and white Southerners under a common reverence for the Civil War era.[97] Biographer Roy Bird Cook wrote, "We have long ago passed from beneath the passions engendered by the war and can set in a just light the men produced on both sides."[98]

Another major Jackson celebration occurred in 1911 when the UDC's Stonewall Jackson Chapter, No. 1333 unveiled a tablet in downtown Clarksburg marking the site of his birthplace. The endeavor was funded by the chapter through the sale of Stonewall Jackson commemorative calendars for 1912. The dedication ceremony was quite elaborate for a simple bronze plaque; much like with the Charleston statue, the pageantry in Clarksburg was fraught with elements of pro-Confederate, Lost Cause symbolism. James Powers Smith, the last surviving member of Jackson's staff, served as the principal speaker. During the proceedings, sixteen Confederate veterans present were awarded the Southern Cross of Honor by the UDC. A band played "Dixie." Government endorsement came in the form of County Judge Haymond Maxwell and

[96] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 137-138.
[97] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 258-266; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 4-7; Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 98.
[98] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 175.

State Delegate James W. Robinson, who each gave remarks. Maxwell delivered a speech in which he outlined states' rights and economic conditions as the causes for the Civil War, which he described merely as "a misunderstanding between brothers."[99] Notably, the speakers at the plaque ceremony made overtures to non-Confederate sympathizers. They downplayed Jackson's role in the Confederacy, and instead stressed that his character was more important than his allegiances. Judge Maxwell declared that they were honoring Jackson "not because of his Confederacy [sic], but because of his superb manliness."[100] He went on to describe the general as a "conscientious, sincere man," and "a consecrated Christian."[101] Delegate Robinson spoke of Jackson's West Virginia identity and how his appeal should extend to all state residents, rather than just Confederate descendants and supporters. He claimed that the residents of Jackson's hometown, "regardless of sectional sympathies, are proud that Clarksburg gave to the war between the states its greatest soldier and military genius."[102] Robinson further stated that "West Virginians admire General Jackson because of the unselfish devotion which he had for the people of his state."[103] He failed to mention that, for Jackson, that state was Virginia.

JACKSON IN PRINT

West Virginia's growing embrace of Jackson extended into the literary realm as well. During the early twentieth century, multiple state-based writers produced pre-Civil War biographies of Stonewall Jackson. Most histories of Jackson, while briefly mentioning his upbringing at Jackson's Mill, concerned themselves primarily with his military career. Local authors on the other hand wrote biographies that specifically focused on Jackson's West Virginia

[99] "Tribute is Paid," Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[100] Ibid., 3.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., 6.
[103] Ibid., 10.

roots. They were meant to both shed light on a little-examined period of Jackson's life and emphasize his Mountain State identity.

In 1916, Jackson's nephew Thomas Jackson Arnold published *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson*. It was notable for containing numerous unpublished letters from Jackson to Arnold and his mother, Laura Jackson Arnold, which the author used to interpret the character of his subject.[104] "The book," said a review in the *Confederate Veteran*, "reveals a youth of towering ambition, of high and lofty principles, of stern integrity, and devoted to system and discipline in everything he did."[105] Lewis County resident Edward C. Smith published a short booklet, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson: A Sketch* in 1920 through a Weston-based printer. The abbreviated biography celebrated Jackson's local origins. One subtitle read "A Western Virginia Boy Who Rose from Poverty and Obscurity To Greatness."[106] Julia Davis Adams contributed with *Stonewall,* a creative nonfiction biography, in 1931. Chapters focusing on his childhood depicted Jackson as a kind and honest young man, unafraid to speak his mind.[107]

The most notable Jackson biography published in West Virginia was Roy Bird Cook's *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*. Cook (1886-1961), a pharmacist and amateur historian from Lewis County, was a true Jackson devotee and a strong advocate for his commemoration. Cook conducted extensive research on Jackson's youth and genealogy, amassed a collection of Jackson letters, gave talks, and wrote articles for publications such as the *Confederate Veteran*, the *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, and the *West Virginia School Journal and Educator*.[108] His writings provided background information on Jackson for

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[104] Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*.
[105] "A New Book on Stonewall Jackson," *Confederate Veteran* 25, No. 3 (March 1917).
[106] Smith, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson: A Sketch*.
[107] Adams, *Stonewall*.
[108] Christy Venham, "Roy Bird Cook," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, October 5, 2012, accessed January 4, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1580; Roy Bird Cook, "Stonewall Jackson in Lewis County, (W.) VA," *Confederate Veteran* 32, No. 7 (July 1924); Cook, "Unusual West Virginians: Stonewall Jackson," 259-261.

numerous state newspaper articles and commemorations in the following decades. *Family and Early Life* was published in 1924; it proved so popular that the book was reprinted in 1925, 1948, 1963, and 1967. It was even adapted into a smaller, commemorative edition for the 1961 Christmas season.[109]

Some biographers outside of West Virginia dramatized Jackson's childhood in the state, crafting a story of a boy who overcame adverse circumstances in his early life and rose to greatness. In the process, they implied that what is now West Virginia was a hindrance to Jackson, rather than an asset in his development. They negatively depicted Jackson's homeland as a remote, impoverished, wild frontier, full of "godless pleasures" as historian Allen Tate described it.[110] Biographer John Bowers argued that Jackson was handicapped by such a harsh environment. "[He] grew up on the frontier. He was not conditioned by the plantation or grand ancestral home, nor by mint juleps at sunset or endearing black mammies to look back on. Life on the western fringes of Virginia was hard."[111]

The works of Cook and other local authors of the early twentieth century refuted the claims by some biographies that Jackson endured a hardscrabble childhood in a destitute region. Historian Hamilton Eckenrode, in the preface to Cook's biography, lambasted the prevailing idea that Jackson "was reared in a wild and godless community" and discredited a story that Jackson was so poor that he had to travel to Washington, D.C. on foot to request a commission to West Point.[112] Cook himself stated that his purpose in writing the biography was to correct inaccurate

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[109] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*; Roy Bird Cook, *Thomas J. Jackson: A God-Fearing Soldier of the CSA*, (Cincinnati, OH: The C. J. Krehbiel Company, 1961).
[110] Allen Tate, *Stonewall Jackson: The Good Soldier*, Ann Arbor Paperback Edition (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1957), 8.
[111] John Bowers, *Stonewall Jackson: Portrait of a Soldier* (New York, NY: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1989), 35.
[112] Hamilton James Eckenrode, "Preface," in *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* by Roy Bird Cook, (Richmond, VA: Dominion Press, Inc., 1924).

conceptions about Jackson's home and upbringing.[113] State writers argued that, instead of serving as an obstacle on Jackson's path to greatness, West Virginia was actually responsible for producing the qualities in Jackson that made him famous. Thomas Jackson Arnold complained that "Surprise is expressed by . . . his biographers, at Jackson growing up to be a man of veracity, of correct habits and of marked piety, considering his surroundings in youth."[114] He noted that previous biographers described early western Virginia as a land devoid of religion and good morals. Arnold refuted this by asserting that the region was very Christian-oriented in the time of Jackson, full of churches, good preachers, and God-fearing, law-abiding citizens.[115] Adams portrayed Jackson as an honest, respectable young man, proud of his western Virginian family. "They were Scotch-Irish, full of energy, independence, and hardihood."[116]

Edward Smith, echoing the conservative anxieties about modern society, conjured a romanticized image of pre-industrialized Appalachia and credited it with molding the Confederate hero. "Stonewall Jackson was the product of life in the hills of western Virginia . . . before the hollows was broken by the coming of the railroads and the industrial development which followed."[117] After praising Jackson for his military success, his humility, his kindness, and his piousness, Smith concluded his tract with a final assertion:

> These qualities are inherent in the great race from which he sprang; and they were heightened by the experiences of his youth and early manhood. As a preeminent military genius, he belongs to the whole world; but as a man he belongs peculiarly to the hills which lie between the Alleghenies and the Ohio river.[118]

[113] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, ix.
[114] Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*, 49.
[115] Ibid., 47-49.
[116] Adams, *Stonewall*, 27.
[117] Smith, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson: A Sketch*, 11.
[118] Ibid., 43.

Roy Bird Cook in particular was effusive in his argument that Jackson's West Virginia heritage directly established his character. He dedicated an entire chapter to explaining Jackson's pedigree, pointing out the prominent careers of several relatives and stressing Jackson's descent from prototypical Appalachian settlers. "Among the immigrants of the Scotch-Irish race, few, if any, were more prominent than the Jacksons."[119] He also pointed to Jackson's influential family as the reason for his nomination to West Point.[120] In another section, Cook speculated that Jackson's interest in religion was piqued by his childhood friendship with Joseph Lightburn, and from the preaching of a family slave named "Granny Nancy Robinson."[121] Biographies written from a local angle such as Cook's cemented the notion that Jackson became a successful and respected figure *because* he was a West Virginian. They elicited pride in West Virginia by insinuating that the state was capable of creating such accomplished individuals as Stonewall Jackson.

THE INTERWAR YEARS AND LIVING MEMORIALS

The first iteration of the Lost Cause movement diminished in its intensity after World War I. The UDC and other Confederate heritage organizations had completed many of their goals: hundreds of monuments dotted the Southern landscape, veterans received adequate care and respect, and school textbooks trumpeted pro-Confederate narratives. Most of those who lived through the Civil War period were now dead and new generations lacked the emotional devotion of their predecessors.[122] Stonewall Jackson remained a popular icon, however, and monuments to him still emerged periodically. In 1929, for example, the UDC's Berkeley County Chapter No. 264 installed a plaque at Williamsport Pike, near Martinsburg. This highly specific monument

[119] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 5.
[120] Ibid., 81-92.
[121] Ibid., 61-64.
[122] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 159-163.

marked the site where, on July 2, 1861, Jackson sat under an oak tree and calmly rode away unnerved when a Union cannonball sliced off a branch of the tree. The plaque cited this anecdote as an example of Jackson's "Bravery at all times in the face of danger."[123]

During the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, the general public gravitated towards a new form of monument: the living memorial. These types of monuments possessed a functional aspect as well as a commemorative one. The theory behind living memorials was that they could best honor their subjects by providing the public with a continuous means of bettering themselves through recreational and educational opportunities. Living memorials took the form of gyms, auditoriums, schools, bridges, roads, libraries, parks, and other active public facilities. These new functional monuments were widely utilized to honor veterans of the First World War, but Lost Cause advocates seized upon the trend as well.[124]

In West Virginia, Stonewall Jackson's legacy thrived through the medium of living memorials. Their proliferation demonstrated the level of institutional support for Jackson that existed in the state. In the summer of 1922, for instance, multiple organizations throughout West Virginia—including chapters of the UDC, the DAR, the Rotary Club, and the Kiwanis Club—publicly urged the State Road Commission to name a new planned highway the Stonewall Jackson Trail.[125] That same year, the general's childhood home of Jackson's Mill opened as West Virginia's first state 4-H camp. Jackson supporters regarded the site as a shrine with tremendous historical and cultural significance. The *Fairmont West Virginian* reported, "This is said to be the most historic spot in the domain of West Virginia."[126] Throughout the 1910s, the

[123] Dakan, et al, "United Daughters of the Confederacy West Virginia Division."
[124] Steven Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919-1941* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 107-109.
[125] "The State Highway," *Fairmont West Virginian*, May 18, 1922; by at least 1933, the state had designated U.S. Route 19 as the "Stonewall Jackson Memorial Highway." See Charles Ambler, *A History of West Virginia* (New York, NY: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933), 515.
[126] "Traction Co. Closes Deal," *Fairmont West Virginian*, November 1, 1913.

UDC held a number of ceremonies and festivities at the site. In 1913, the organization placed a tablet there at the original location of the Jackson family house. The plaque called Jackson "a soldier of great military genius and renown, a man of resolute, pure and Christian character."[127] Interestingly, it made no mention at all that Jackson was affiliated with the Confederacy.

In the early 1920s, West Virginia University acquired the Jackson's Mill property and set about converting it into a summer camp for youth. Organizers of the 4-H camp chose the site specifically for its connection to Stonewall Jackson, believing that it was imbued with great significance. To the developers, Jackson served as an ideal role model for West Virginian children.[128] His perceived traits of honor, loyalty, piety, and service could inspire good citizenship among the young and impressionable. Roy Bird Cook praised the 4-H camp, writing, "What more fitting purpose could be served than the creation of Christian citizenship as a memorial to the boy who . . . spent his youth at this spot and from here rode away to national and international fame as a man and a soldier?"[129] Jackson's Mill 4-H Camp, perhaps more so than the statues and plaques, brought Stonewall Jackson out of the past and into the present by enabling his memory to directly influence the development of future generations.

Another instance of a living memorial to Jackson was Stonewall Jackson High School, opened by the Kanawha County Board of Education at Charleston in 1940. Roy Bird Cook himself allegedly proposed the name to the Kanawha County Board of Education. School developers and the local community embraced it enthusiastically. Organizers invited a young boy named Thomas Jonathan Jackson Altizer (no relation) to participate in the cornerstone laying ceremony. Parents formed a Stonewall Jackson Club to volunteer and raise money for

[127] *Stonewall Jackson Boyhood Home Tablet*, 1913, West Virginia University Jackson's Mill.
[128] Courtney Flint, "Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, May 1, 2004.
[129] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 35.

school functions. A famous Jackson maxim, "You may be whatever you resolve to be," became the official school motto.[130] Upon its opening, the *Charleston Gazette* pronounced that Stonewall Jackson High bore a "proud name."[131] Here, West Virginia youth were exposed to the name and memory of Stonewall Jackson on a daily basis. In addition to extracurricular activities, the long-dead Confederate officer now played an active role in public education.

In the first few decades after the Civil War, West Virginia gave little regard to the memory of Stonewall Jackson. Former Confederates regained social and political influence, which helped open the way for public celebration of the general to become acceptable. The changing social and economic landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the anxiety it stirred among whites fueled the national rise of the Lost Cause movement. This revisionist history of the Civil War portrayed the Confederacy in a more honorable and sympathetic light, while also espousing a doctrine of white supremacy. Under the Lost Cause, Confederate heritage organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy spearheaded efforts to commemorate Jackson as a symbol of West Virginia's Confederates. They largely succeeded in their efforts to popularize Jackson, as evidenced by the amount of support from the state government and in the press. White citizens coalesced around Jackson not just as a Confederate figure, but increasingly as a West Virginian as well. His idealized virtues—promoted by a flurry of romanticized biographies of the general—made him a favored bulwark against social change and negative outside perceptions of Appalachia. Supporters upheld Jackson as a product of West Virginia and a role model for young West Virginians. In the process, they downplayed the significance of Jackson's loyalty to Confederate Virginia. Though the Lost

[130] "High School Named for Stonewall Jackson, Thomas R. Hornor Recalls His Work There," *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram*, February 9, 1975.
[131] "Proud name given school." *Charleston Gazette*, April 14, 1940.

Cause movement peaked in the 1910s, Jackson's popularity endured over the subsequent decades. The use of Jackson in living memorials, particularly those that trained and educated future generations, demonstrated his continued relevancy and the determination of state leaders to represent West Virginia with a Confederate icon. This trend would persist throughout the century and beyond.

CHAPTER 3

JACKSON AS A MOUNTAIN STATE MASCOT

Stonewall Jackson commemorations showed no signs of abating in the second half of the twentieth century. "As time moves on, interest in this man has increased rather than diminished. His name today appears on modern motels, schools, a post office, many hotels and highways," biographer Roy Bird Cook wrote in 1961.[1] Two of the most prominent physical monuments of the mid-1900s—a statue erected in Clarksburg in 1953 and a bust dedicated in Charleston in 1959—were each orchestrated by the UDC, much like dedications nearly half a century prior during the Lost Cause's zenith. They formed part of a broader resurgence in Confederate commemorations during the 1950s and 1960s as a backlash by white conservatives against the Civil Rights Movement. Just as they did decades earlier, Lost Cause adherents utilized Jackson as their standard bearer for Confederate memory and model citizenship in West Virginia. Increasingly, however, the image of Stonewall Jackson in the state grew more detached from his Confederate identity. Attention gravitated towards his personal character, which attracted a larger segment of society than just descendants and admirers of the Confederacy. Confederate heritage played less of a role in Jackson commemorations and the eccentric general came to represent more aspects of the state and its citizenry. Public ceremonies and school history textbooks influenced West Virginians with a polished, non-critical interpretation of Jackson. A wave of new living memorials and appropriative business enterprises solidified the normalization and sanitization of his memory. Many of them persist to this day. By the end of the twentieth century, many segments of West Virginia embraced the state's association with Jackson for financial and

[1] Roy Bird Cook, *Thomas J. Jackson: A God-Fearing Soldier of the CSA*, (Cincinnati, OH: The C. J. Krehbiel Company, 1961), 45.

civic gain.

A mid-century uptick in Jackson commemorations commenced with the unveiling of an equestrian statue on the grounds of the Harrison County Courthouse in Clarksburg on May 10, 1953. The city posed a bit of a paradox in West Virginia's Civil War history. While it was the birthplace of Jackson, the city had also been firmly pro-Union during the war. In April 1861, Unionist delegates gathered in Clarksburg and called for an anti-secessionist convention to meet in Wheeling. From there the convention formed a rival government and began the process to West Virginia statehood.[2] Soon after the Civil War, Clarksburg newspapers expressed strong hostility to any glorification of Jackson. The *Clarksburg Telegram* opined that the federal government "should not permit any public memorials to be erected to men who died with their hands stained with the blood of their fellow men and their souls blackened with the most damning crimes known to the laws."[3] Nearly a century later, the community's sentiments towards its native Confederate general were visibly reversed with the erection of a public memorial in his honor. The bronze sculpture on the courthouse lawn depicted Jackson riding into battle, mounted on his horse Little Sorrel. It was strategically placed so that the horse looked directly at the site of Jackson's birthplace across the street. The Jackson monument overshadowed an older statue of a Union soldier, located down the street in front of City Hall. Erected in 1908, organizers at first intended for the statue to be a monument to Union soldiers of the Civil War. However, they chose to dedicate it to all soldiers from 1776 through 1907, in order to avoid inciting division in the community.[4] Organizers behind the Jackson statue on the other hand had no such qualms about provoking controversy. There was some degree of public

[2] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia*, 117.
[3] "Honoring Crime," *Clarksburg Telegram*, quoted in *Charleston West Virginia Journal*, December 13, 1865.
[4] "Historic Markers and Cemeteries," Clarksburg Convention & Visitors Bureau, accessed January 12, 2021, https://www.clarksburgvisitorswv.com/historicmarkers.aspx.

opposition, but they were rather minor and did not object to the idea of a Jackson monument in principle. Some people felt the statue was too small for outdoor display, and the courthouse architect balked at its placement in the plaza on the basis that it would interfere with the building's original design.[5] The Clarksburg Junior Chamber of Commerce, meanwhile, argued that a new Jackson monument should take the form of a living memorial, preferably a recreational center, instead of a statue.[6] Nonetheless, the Harrison County Commission voted to allow the statue on the courthouse plaza.[7]

Supporters circulated plans for a Jackson statue in Clarksburg for years. During the 1910s, the local UDC—immediately after installing the birthplace plaque—tried fundraising to commission a statue for the city, but the project languished.[8] Then in the 1940s, former Governor John J. Cornwell corresponded with Jefferson County native Berkeley Moore about obtaining a statue for Jackson' Mill from Moore's friend, sculptor Charles Keck.[9] At the time, Keck possessed a two-thirds scale working model of the Thomas Jonathan Jackson equestrian statue that he created for Charlottesville, Virginia in 1921. In the early 1950s, discussions regarding the statue shifted to Clarksburg, where supporters hoped to finally get a monument. After Keck's

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[5] JoAnn Snoderly, "Additional details come to light on Stonewall Jackson statue's 1953 arrival in Clarksburg West Virginia," *WV News*, December 6, 2020, accessed January 21, 2021, https://www.wvnews.com/news/wvnews/additional-details-come-to-light-on-stonewall-jackson-statues-1953-arrival-in-clarksburg-west-virginia/article_17683f3f-06d8-5838-9094-d19f32f91fe3.html.

[6] "Jaycees Promote Living Memorial to Gen. Jackson," *Clarksburg Telegram*, date unknown, Roy Bird Cook Papers, Series 6, West Virginia and Regional History Center, Morgantown, WV.

[7] David Houchin, "How the Stonewall Jackson Statue Came to Clarksburg," Harrison County Commission, 2020, accessed January 13, 2021, https://www.harrisoncountywv.com/Includes/Stonewall.pdf.

[8] "Dr. Douthat to Lecture Here," *Clarksburg Daily Telegram*, November 21, 1911.

[9] John Jacob Cornwell (1867-1953) grew up in the Eastern Panhandle and became a conservative Democratic politician. He served as Governor from 1917 to 1921. During his administration, Cornwell reduced funding for African American schools and purged many African Americans from positions in state offices. See John Hennen, "John Jacob Cornwell," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, May 16, 2016, accessed April 16, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1604. Charles Keck (1875-1951) was a New York-based sculptor known for his patriotic statues. His works included depictions of Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Booker T. Washington, and other politicians. Two of his statues were placed in Statuary Hall at the U. S. Capitol. He also designed the state seal for Virginia and a plaque commemorating the USS Maine explosion. See "Charles Keck papers, circa 1905-circa 1954: Biographical Note," Archives of American Art, accessed March 30, 2021, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/charles-keck-papers-9130/biographical-note.

death in 1951, his widow sought to sell the Jackson sculpture.[10]

Jackson enthusiasts formed a Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund to raise money for the statue in the early 1950s. Joseph Z. Terrell, former warden of the state penitentiary in Moundsville, headed the project. Other backers included Clarksburg's Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 1333 of the UDC, the City of Clarksburg, the Harrison County Court, Governor Cornwell, historian Roy Bird Cook, West Virginia Supreme Court Judge Frank C. Haymond, the editors of at least five newspapers, and a number of businessmen and other professionals.[11] Several were the children of Confederate veterans. The list read like a "who's who" of the state and county's elite.[12] Of the $5,000 raised to purchase the monument and build a pedestal, the UDC alone contributed $2,000.[13] In the run-up to the statue unveiling, the UDC and their allies saturated the region with reminders of Jackson. The West Virginia C&P Telephone Company issued a special phone directory featuring Jackson on the front cover and a small biography inside.[14] Local radio stations promoted their city as the birthplace of Jackson during commercial breaks. The *Clarksburg News* carried a statement on the top right corner of their papers informing readers that Clarksburg was the birthplace of Jackson. Metal signs installed along the railroad tracks notified incoming passenger trains that they were entering Jackson's place of birth.[15]

In some ways, the dedication of the statue hearkened back to the Lost Cause pomp and circumstance of Confederate monuments half a century prior. Orchestrators of the event

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[10] Berkeley W. Moore Letters, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections, Clarksburg, WV; Snoderly, "Additional details," *WV News*, December 6, 2020.
[11] The editors were C. E. Smith of the *Fairmont Times*, John W. Barger of the *Mineral Daily News*, G. C. McKown of the *Martinsburg Journal*, Robert S. Earle of the *Weston Democrat*, and R. H. Ralston of the *Buckhannon Record*.
[12] Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund stationery, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[13] Houchin, "How the Stonewall Jackson Statue Came to Clarksburg."
[14] Minutes of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter #1333 Meeting for June 25, 1953, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[15] "Clarksbury [sic] to Honor 'Stonewall' Jackson," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* (June 1953): 11, 30.

overwhelmingly had Confederate roots. Keynote speaker Judge Haymond was the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Confederate veterans, for example.[16] The UDC played a major role in organizing much of the day's festivities, including hosting a post-dedication reception. Bands played southern songs such as "Dixie" and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." William M. Beard, national Commander-in-Chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, unveiled the statue and a color guard from VMI participated in the proceedings.[17]

Yet in many aspects, the ceremony was divorced from the traditional Confederate celebration. Speakers and commentators almost entirely avoided any praise or defense of the Confederate cause. The focus was primarily on Jackson the man, not Jackson the Confederate. The *Clarksburg Exponent Telegram* stressed that the general was celebrated "not alone for his valor and military strategy, but for his devout and staunch Christian character and sterling integrity."[18] Judge Haymond recounted Jackson's choice to join the Confederacy nonchalantly and matter-of-factly as if the decision between North and South was as inconsequential as choosing what color piece to use in a board game.[19] He went on to state in his remarks that Jackson was "a great American and a great man."[20] The Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund strongly emphasized that its intentions bore no social or political agenda; it even printed on its letterhead a disclaimer that the monument effort was "strictly non-partisan and non-sectional; the sole purpose being to honor one of the greatest military commanders of all time, who was also the highest type of Christian manhood."[21] A plaque on the base of the statue even proudly noted

[16] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections; "West Virginia," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* (May 1962): 39.
[17] *Program for Unveiling Statue of Stonewall Jackson*, Betty Barger Dakan Collection; transcript of the Stonewall Jackson statue dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[18] "Stonewall Rides Again As Bronze Statue Is Unveiled," *Clarksburg Exponent Telegram*, May 14, 1953.
[19] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[20] "Stonewall Rides Again As Bronze Statue Is Unveiled," *Clarksburg Exponent Telegram*, May 14, 1953.
[21] Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund stationery, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.

that many donors were descendants of Union soldiers in the Civil War.

THE WHITEWASHING OF A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER

By the mid-1900s, it was clear that Jackson supporters in the state were trying to portray the Confederate general as a heroic, model West Virginian. To do so, they focused more on his personal characteristics and accomplishments and less on his service to the Confederacy. Advocates cited his Christian beliefs, his military talent, and his alleged sympathies for African Americans as virtuous traits worthy of admiration. They also downplayed, ignored, or defended controversial parts of Jackson's life. This primarily included his active participation in slave-owning, his conscious decision to rebel against the federal government, his stern treatment of subordinates, and his desire to engage in black flag warfare. This selective remembrance created a polished image of Jackson to be revered in West Virginia. The idealized Jackson became especially prominent in tandem with the Civil Rights Movement. The white, disciplined, gentleman soldier served as a foil against protestors demanding racial equality both statewide and around the nation.

The 1953 Clarksburg statue represented the transition of Jackson into more of a broadly popular figure than a specifically Confederate hero within West Virginia. The ceremony featured no outward attempts to defend or celebrate the Confederacy, but there was no need. In the eyes of supporters, Jackson was unquestionably an American and West Virginia legend; his political allegiance did not matter. West Virginia Senator Jennings Randolph commented on this trend in a speech before Congress in 1959. "It is not to the cause he served that we must look, but to the character of the man which carried him through adversity with such unswerving devotion to duty."[22] What mattered to Jackson's admirers were his integrity, piousness, and successful

[22] "Remarks by U.S. Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia in the Senate, January 21, 1959, on the 135th Anniversary of Stonewall Jackson," Jennings Randolph Collection, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.

military career, aspects that were all worth appreciating in their view. Anne Keck, the sculptor's widow, wrote in praise of the statue and the moral example set by its subject. "Who knows what influence may be put into motion by the contemplation of the character and deeds of Jackson. He is there in your city as a constant reminder to all."[23]

Supporters of Jackson, especially during the mid-twentieth century, argued that the rebel leader warranted admiration for two major traits: his religious attitude and his military talent. Jackson's steadfast adherence to Presbyterian Christian doctrine was well documented by contemporaries and biographers. His ethical decisions notwithstanding, Jackson clearly worshipped the Christian God and believed that his life was guided by divine intervention. He commonly described the results of battles with the summarization "God blessed our arms with victory today."[24] Advocates seized upon Jackson's spiritual nature to depict him as a man of high moral standing. His Christianity, they reasoned, made Jackson a good person, one worth admiring. Judge Haymond remarked, "Deeply religious, [Jackson] was possessed of a lofty character and endowed with noble virtues."[25] Bishop Robert E. Lee Strider, in his benediction for the ceremony, likewise called Jackson "a great and noble man whose incorruptible nature and whose heroic deeds have cast the halo of an illustrious name about this birthplace."[26]

Even more than his religion, Jackson's military record was the most celebrated facet of his life. Scholars and casual admirers alike consistently called him one of the best, if not *the* best, military leaders in history. Clarksburg UDC leader Betty Barger Dakan dubbed him "the greatest military genius who ever lived," in the opening line of one of her speeches.[27] It was Jackson's

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[23] "Stonewall Jackson Chapter, UDC, Civic Club To Honor 162nd Anniversary of His Birth Jan. 21; Extended History and Quotes Given," *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram*, January 19, 1986.
[24] Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 377.
[25] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Betty Barger Dakan, "Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson," 1957, Betty Barger Dakan Collection, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV.

success on the battlefield that first drew attention to himself and, consequently, the region that birthed him. Speeches, books, and articles regarding Jackson's Civil War career typically focused on three key events: The First Battle of Bull Run, where Jackson received the nickname "Stonewall;" the Shenandoah Campaign, where he clashed with three separate armies and forced the diversion of Union troops from an offensive against Richmond; and, the Battle of Chancellorsville, where he smashed Union forces in a bold flanking maneuver before suffering his fatal wound. Many supporters in the mid-twentieth century, such as Dakan, Roy Bird Cook, and Sen. Jennings Randolph, repeated anecdotes that German military leaders in both World Wars had studied the tactics Jackson employed during his Shenandoah Campaign.[28] Backers also made a point of emphasizing Jackson's participation in the Mexican-American War. Dakan stated, "the picture of Jackson loomed into a legend soldiers don't easily forget . . . he proved his bravery at the battles of Vera Cruz, Contreras, and Chapultepec."[29] He served honorably in the conflict and it presented the case that Jackson could be celebrated as a patriotic American military hero in addition to, or instead of, a Confederate hero.

In promoting Stonewall Jackson, most supporters tended to downplay or even ignore the more controversial aspects of his life and career. One such example of this historical whitewashing was Jackson's conscientious decision to side with the Confederacy against the United States. While the use of pro-Confederate apologetics diminished in Jackson memory by the mid-twentieth century, those who chose to address Jackson's loyalty to the South explained that he fought for a cause he believed in; the specifics of that cause were rarely elaborated upon.

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[28] Dakan, "Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson"; Roy Bird Cook, "Stonewall Jackson's Place in History," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* (May 1948); "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Stonewall Jackson Recognition Dinner, Tuesday, October 14, 1980, Jackson's Mill," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[29] Dakan, "Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson," Betty Barger Dakan Collection, Marshall University Special Collections.

The plaque on the Clarksburg statue, for instance, merely stated that Jackson died "fighting for a cause he believed to be just." The only defense offered, if at all, was the standard Lost Cause assertion of states' rights. A 1977 *Wonderful West Virginia* magazine article on Jackson stated simply "He believed strongly in Virginia's constitutional right to withdraw from the Union, and he would fight with all his powers to defend that right."[30] An article from the *Kanawha Citizen* in May 1950 described Jackson's contributions as a soldier and a member of the Presbyterian Church, but it entirely omitted the fact that he served the Confederacy.[31] What side Jackson belonged to in the Civil War apparently mattered little to some. Sen. Jennings Randolph, speaking at a memorial dinner in 1980, discussed Jackson's personal characteristics and minimized his role in the war as only a small portion of the general's life. "His actual field service in the Confederate Army was less than 25 months," the senator noted.[32]

Positive narratives of Jackson also failed to mention his sometimes harsh treatment of soldiers under his command. Instances where Jackson pushed his soldiers to their physical limits, executed deserters without hesitation, refused to grant leave even for family emergencies, and arrested officers for various degrees of offenses were generally ignored by admirers. His advocacy for black flag warfare early in the war escaped attention as well.[33] The closest West Virginians came to approaching Jackson's austere command was an acknowledgment that he was a strict disciplinarian who expected the best from his soldiers. Sen. Randolph defended Jackson's behavior in at least one speech: "Jackson is often portrayed as a stern militarist . . . To the contrary, he deplored the prospect of war . . . He demanded much of his subordinates and rarely

[30] Terry Kerns, "A Profile of Courage… Stonewall Jackson," *Wonderful West Virginia* (August 1977), 14.
[31] J. A. Earl, "Soldier and Churchman Stonewall Jackson," *Kanawha Citizen*, May 18, 1950.
[32] "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Stonewall Jackson Recognition Dinner, Tuesday, October 14, 1980, Jackson's Mill," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[33] Many admirers failed to note Jackson's early support for a take-no-prisoners strategy intended to end the war swiftly and brutally. See Thomas Jackson to Thomas Jackson Arnold, January 26, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 294.

communicated with them. And, despite the day-long marches and the late evening battles he devised, he was popular with his men."[34]

Perhaps the most detrimental blemish to Jackson's public image was his support for slavery. The fact that he was a slave owner who went to war in defense of the institution posed a challenge for those insisting he was a morally virtuous individual or those asserting the Lost Cause rationale for war. Advocates defended Jackson by trying to diminish his commitment to slavery. Sen. Randolph mentioned that "The slaves he owned were bought at their own request, according to his historians."[35] This claim was true only with two slaves, Albert and Amy.[36] Jackson inherited three slaves (Hetty, Cyrus, and George) from his wife's family. He also purchased one slave—four-year-old Emma—as a present for his wife.[37] Jackson and his wife did not always think highly of their slaves. Of George and Cyrus, Jackson felt "that if these boys were left to themselves they would be sure to go back to barbarism."[38] Mary Jackson described her "present," Emma, as "useful, although never a treasure."[39] Nonetheless, some proponents tried to portray Jackson as being sympathetic to blacks. Roy Bird Cook, in his biography, noted that Jackson as a child taught one slave how to read, and listened to Bible readings from another.[40] Writer Julia Adams constructed a fictional conversation in her book *Stonewall*, in which she imagined Jackson to be outspoken in his concern for blacks:

> "I think the slaves ought to be free and have a chance," said Tom.
> "You're an Abolitionist!" cried Dick in horror.

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[34] "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Stonewall Jackson Recognition Dinner, Tuesday, October 14, 1980, Jackson's Mill," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[35] "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Stonewall Jackson Recognition Dinner, Tuesday, October 14, 1980, Jackson's Mill," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[36] Albert requested that Jackson purchase him, and in exchange Jackson rented him out to a local hotel until Albert earned enough to pay for his freedom. Amy, an elderly woman, asked Jackson to purchase her so that she would not be sold outside of the community. See Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*, 114-115.
[37] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*, 114-119.
[38] Ibid., 118.
[39] Ibid., 119.
[40] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, 56, 63.

> "Well anyway, I think they ought to be taught to read so they could enjoy the Scriptures, and learn God's Holy Word."[41]

The *Charleston Gazette*, writing a special piece on Jackson in 1955, directly addressed the issue of his support for slavery, juxtaposing it against his alleged compassion for blacks. Even though Jackson fought to defend the practice of slavery, the paper said, he "held affection in his heart for the Negro. His fondest memories were of the days when he was a teacher in a Negro Sunday School class at Lexington."[42] Jackson's involvement in managing a Sunday School for free and enslaved blacks was commonly cited by defenders as evidence that Jackson was not a racist figure. This was perhaps best epitomized by the publication of a children's picture book called *Stonewall Jackson's Black Sunday School* in 2010.[43] For most Jackson advocates, it was more beneficial to avoid discussions of race and slavery altogether. During the statue unveiling in Clarksburg, not a single speaker mentioned Jackson's relationship with African Americans in any way.[44]

A final detail that avoided mention during the twentieth century memorializing of Jackson was that he was fully opposed to West Virginia's statehood during the Civil War. "His was the blood of the West Virginia mountaineer, and he never let anyone forget it," the *Charleston Gazette* boasted in its 1955 article.[45] Yet the fact of the matter remained that West Virginians claimed as one of their own a man who regarded himself as a *Virginian* only. The situation was pointed out by a 1922 op-ed published in the *Fairmont West Virginian* in a rare case of public opposition to Jackson monuments. "What did the Civil War general do for West

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[41] Adams, *Stonewall,* 29.
[42] Harold Lambert, "Stonewall Jackson's Meteoric Career: Two Years to Immortality," *Charleston Gazette State Magazine*, January 16, 1955.
[43] Rickey Pittman, *Stonewall Jackson's Black Sunday School* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2010).
[44] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[45] Lambert, "Stonewall Jackson's Meteoric Career," *Charleston Gazette State Magazine*, January 16, 1955.

Virginia to make it desirable that she pay him homage. Rather we think, let Virginia or one of the other southern states, for whom he fought, than this state which he fought against."[46] Sen. Jennings Randolph saw nothing wrong with Jackson's dual identities; he asserted that the issue simply reflected Jackson's popularity. "It is testimony to the measure of the man, Stonewall Jackson, that both the sovereign states of Virginia and West Virginia claim him as a son."[47] In an earlier speech, Randolph even suggested that Jackson may have had a political career in West Virginia if he survived the war. "We can only speculate as to the role Jackson might have played in forming the early policies and decisions of the Mountain State."[48] His statement overlooked both the potential change in the war's outcome had Jackson not died at Chancellorsville, and the fact that Jackson lived in Lexington, Virginia, at the time of the conflict. Historian John Alexander Williams dealt with the problem by explaining that Jackson, while never identifying himself as a West Virginian, could still be considered one because his character was forged by his upbringing in the region:

> Most biographers, if they take more than passing notice of Jackson's background, slide over the problem of trying to fit Stonewall into some sort of "typical mountaineer" mold, creating a personage who may be identified with West Virginia not by virtue of his conscious choices and acts, but as a social creature who represents in his character, if not in his behavior, the salient features of the society that made him.[49]

Jackson may never have recognized himself as a distinctly West Virginian figure, but that issue was negligible to supporters who appropriated his image to bolster state pride. One advocate in 1971 wrote, "General Jackson's stature in history increases with the passage of time, and we

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[46] "Letters to the Editor: The State Highway," *Fairmont West Virginian*, May 18, 1922; in this case, the writer expressed opposition to the campaign to establish the Stonewall Jackson Highway.
[47] "The 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Stonewall Jackson – Hon. Jennings Randolph of West Virginia in the Senate of the United States, Monday, January 21, 1974," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[48] "Extension of Remarks of Hon. Jennings Randolph of West Virginia in the Senate of the United States Friday, January 22, 1965," Jennings Randolph Collection, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.
[49] Williams, *West Virginia*, 38.

West Virginians can be proud that we share native origin with him."[50]

On September 13, 1959, the West Virginia UDC dedicated a bronze bust of Jackson inside the State Capitol in Charleston. The tremendous symbolism of the action was not lost on the organizers, who expressed hope that Jackson's presence within the legislative chambers would influence people throughout the state. In her remarks, the president of the UDC state division stated, "may the many children and youth of our great State who pass this way be inspired by following his philosophy."[51] The location of the bust within the interior of the Capitol Building, compared to the 1910 statue on the grounds outside, reflected a new level of state endorsement. Whereas the statue was accepted on behalf of the state by a sole legislator, the bust was received by Governor Cecil Underwood in person. After the ceremony, he hosted a reception for attendees in the Governor's Mansion. In his remarks, Underwood spoke highly of the "proud history and noble tradition which Stonewall Jackson represents."[52] Like many before him, the governor claimed that Jackson was honored for his character rather than his Confederate loyalties. "Let us remember that the important thing is to live well; it is for this that Stonewall Jackson is remembered."[53] VMI Superintendent William H. Milton, Jr. delivered the keynote address, where at one point he acknowledged West Virginia's influence on Jackson's character. "[He] was like your mountains, from whence he came. He was silent and deep. He was inspiring. Others drew strength from him."[54]

While Charleston garnered attention for the Jackson bust in September 1959, months earlier the city received publicity for more negative reasons. In January 1959, Charleston's

[50] Letter from Arthur L. Bennett, Jr., to Mayor of Ansted, West Virginia, September 20, 1971, Betty Barger Dakan Collection, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV.
[51] "Minutes of the Sixtieth and Sixty-First Annual Conventions," West Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1958-1959, West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

Daniel Boone Hotel refused to service African American members of the Minnesota Lakers basketball team during a scheduled match against the Cincinnati Royals. The snub prompted team member Elgin Baylor to boycott the game, causing the Lakers to lose.[55] Controversy ensued, and the incident was reported nationwide; the *New York Times* even covered it on their front page.[56] The American Business Club of Charleston condemned Baylor's protest, claiming that it generated bad publicity and cost the city ticket sales.[57] The National Basketball Association, meanwhile, decided to no longer play in segregated communities where team members were not treated equally.[58]

The Baylor protest and the UDC's Jackson bust illustrated the dueling racial tensions present during the Civil Rights Movement in West Virginia. The 1950s and 1960s marked a period of renewed interest in Confederate monument building in the South. It never quite reached the intensity of the 1910s, but there was a noticeable increase in Lost Cause promotion compared to the past few decades. To some extent, this revival was motivated by the approaching Civil War centennial. Generally, though, most Confederate monuments dedicated or rededicated during this era came as a result of a backlash against the growing Civil Rights Movement. Conservative white Southerners clung again to Confederate memory to reassert white supremacy in the face of desegregation.[59] According to Karen Cox, "The role of [Confederate monuments] at midcentury, therefore, was about a clash of values . . . those that were forward-looking and guided by the goals of racial equality versus those still shaped by the fabricated narratives of the

[55] Jerry Bruce Thomas, *An Appalachian Awakening: West Virginia and the Perils of the New Machine Age, 1945-1972* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010), 112-113.
[56] Thomas, *An Appalachian Reawakening*, 112-113.
[57] A. L. Hardman, "Baylor's Refusal to Play Here Brings ABC Protest," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, January 18, 1959.
[58] Sid Hartman, "Back in 1959, Minneapolis Lakers star Elgin Baylor refused to play to protest racism," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, August 28, 2020, accessed April 19, 2021, https://www.startribune.com/hartman-in-1959-lakers-star-baylor-refused-to-play-to-protest-racism/572245502/.
[59] "Whose Heritage?," Southern Poverty Law Center; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 160-163.

Lost Cause and a commitment to segregation and white supremacy."[60]

The new upturn in West Virginia tributes to Jackson correlated with the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. In the case of the 1953 Clarksburg statue, it is unclear whether the organizers were motivated by white supremacist, anti-segregationist backlash given the context behind the monument's inception. The city's white, pro-Confederate community had sought to erect a statue of sorts for decades without success; the opportunity to do so came only by coincidence when Charles Keck's spare sculpture became available. The installment of the statue in 1953 also occurred before many milestones of the Civil Rights Movement such as *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[61] The dedication of the Capitol bust in 1959, on the other hand, took place squarely in the middle of the national struggle for desegregation and racial equality. The Baylor protest was just one example of the ongoing racial tensions present in the state. West Virginia experienced several civil rights incidents during this period. After *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, school integration met with resistance in several communities; the last school system did not fully desegregate until 1969.[62] Peaceful protests against segregation occurred in major cities such as Huntington, Charleston, and Bluefield during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Activists in Charleston launched a series of sit-ins and successfully forced the desegregation of several lunch counters in the city between 1958 and 1960. One business, the Diamond department store, resisted for two years and subjected demonstrators to verbal abuse and intimidation.[63] In Huntington, the owner of the White Pantry

[60] Karen Cox, *No Common Ground: Confederate Monuments and the Ongoing Fight for Racial Justice* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 24.
[61] Snoderly, "Additional details," *WV News*, December 6, 2020.
[62] Sam F. Stack, Jr., "Implementing Brown v. Board of Education in West Virginia: The Southern School News Reports," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2008): 59-81; Thomas, *An Appalachian Reawakening*, 121.
[63] Thomas, *An Appalachian Reawakening*, 111-112.

Grill sprayed protestors with pesticides and pursued court injunctions against them.[64] When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was introduced in Congress, West Virginia Senator Robert C. Byrd mounted a fourteen-hour filibuster to delay its passage.[65]

White conservatives and Confederate heritage groups in West Virginia, much like across the South, used Stonewall Jackson as a tool in their fight against the battle for civil rights. His image was not confined to the Civil Rights Movement, however. Various forms of memorials to Jackson emerged after the 1960s and continued throughout the remainder of the century. Many demonstrated less of the Confederate and white supremacist undertones that characterized Lost Cause monuments of the early and mid-1900s. The 1959 bust, for instance, was the last major Jackson monument erected by the UDC in West Virginia. Subsequent Jackson monuments included less involvement from Confederate heritage organizations. Their successful exportation of Lost Cause ideology to a broader segment of the state's population enabled a positive Jackson memory to thrive without the direct assistance of Confederate groups.

POLITICAL ENDORSEMENTS

Gov. Cecil Underwood's speech and subsequent reception for the Jackson bust dedication in 1959 blatantly illustrated the extent of government support for Stonewall Jackson and the Lost Cause in West Virginia. The Confederate General received endorsements from public officials at the local, state, and federal levels and across the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Political promotion dated back to the earliest days of widespread Jackson celebration in West Virginia. State senator John A. Preston pushed for the approval of Charleston's 1910 Jackson statue, while guest speakers at the birthplace tablet dedication in 1911 included local Judge

[64] Thomas, *An Appalachian Reawakening,* 117-118.
[65] Edward Peeks, "Civil Rights," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, April 19, 2021, accessed April 22, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1189.

Haymond Maxwell and state delegate James Robinson. In April 1911, Congressman John W. Davis presented United States Speaker of the House Champ Clark with a gavel carved of wood salvaged from Jackson's childhood house at Jackson's Mill.[66] The symbolic gift indicated the West Virginia leadership's choice to have Jackson represent their state to the nation. Congressman Matthew M. Neely and Governor Herman G. Kump each served as guest speakers at state UDC conventions.[67] Governor John J. Cornwell worked unsuccessfully to bring a statue to Jackson's Mill in the 1940s.[68] And in addition to West Virginia Supreme Court Judge Frank Haymond, the 1953 Clarksburg statue dedication was also attended by Congressman Cleveland M. Bailey.[69]

Perhaps the most vocal Jackson promoter to hold political office during the latter half of the twentieth century was Senator Jennings Randolph. Randolph served in the U.S. Senate from 1959 until 1984 and made a plethora of public statements in praise of Jackson.[70] He frequently spoke at groundbreakings and dedications for new Jackson-themed living memorials, many of which were created through public works funding that Randolph secured. "No man has left more [living monuments] in his wake than Senator Randolph," cheered the *Weston Democrat*.[71] Every year at or around January 21, Randolph delivered a speech in front of the United States Senate for Jackson's birthday. Year after year he spoke effusively on the virtues of "one of the most illustrious sons of West Virginia."[72] Randolph intended for the birthday wishes—consistent and

[66] "Gavel Presented By Mr. Davis," *Fairmont West Virginian*, April 6, 1911.
[67] "Great Day at Jackson Mills," *Fairmont West Virginian*, July 29, 1920; "Kump Speaks to UDC; Meet to End Today," undated newspaper clipping, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[68] Snoderly, "Additional details," *WV News*, December 6, 2020.
[69] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[70] Michael Barone, "Jennings Randolph," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, July 6, 2018, accessed January 27, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/10.
[71] "Another 'Living' Monument," *Weston Democrat*, October 17, 1979.
[72] Jennings Randolph, "Stonewall Jackson – Illustrious Son of West Virginia – Born 152 Years Ago Today," January 21, 1976, Jennings Randolph Collection.

repetitive in content over the years—to be printed in the Congressional Record as a written testimony to West Virginia pride in Stonewall Jackson. Political figures such as Randolph served as spokespersons for the Mountain State's cult of Jackson. Their public remarks, open support, and presence at Jackson celebrations gave credibility to the idea of Jackson as a West Virginia hero.

Some government support came in part because many politicians possessed Confederate connections. For instance, state senator John Preston was a Confederate veteran and Judge Frank Haymond was the descendant of several Confederate soldiers.[73] Still, not all of the politicians who praised Jackson had Confederate roots or sympathies. For example, Congressman John W. Davis (who gifted a Jackson's Mill gavel to the Speaker of the House in 1911) was the son of John James Davis, a Unionist politician during the Civil War and onetime West Virginia Congressman in the 1870s.[74] Some Jackson-supporting politicians also engaged in activities that were seemingly at odds with pro-Confederate and Lost Cause ideology. Congressman Mathew Neely supported a failed attempt to pass anti-lynching legislation in 1938.[75] Sen. Jennings Randolph voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (at odds with his fellow West Virginia Senator Robert C. Byrd) and more civil rights legislation afterward.[76] These political leaders and other West Virginians celebrated Jackson without espousing the white supremacist and segregationist dogmas commonly associated with the Lost Cause. Some public servants perhaps

[73] Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections.
[74] "Death Claims John W. Davis at 81," *Clarksburg Exponent*, March 25, 1955; "Gavel Presented By Mr. Davis," *Fairmont West Virginian*, April 6, 1911.
[75] Isabelle Whelan, "The Politics of Federal Anti-lynching Legislation in the New Deal Era," Institute for the Study of the Americas, September 17, 2007. Neely was one of the chief proponents of the 1938 Wagner-Van Nuys Bill. In one speech pleading for a halt to the Southern filibuster blocking the bill, Neely graphically described the case of Florida resident Claude Neal, who was "castrated and forced to eat his own genitals" while being lynched. See Walter T. Howard, *Lynchings: Extralegal Violence in Florida during the 1930s* (Lincoln, NE: Authors Choice Press, 2005), 149-150.
[76] Barone, "Jennings Randolph."

trumpeted the cult of Jackson merely to curry favor with their supporters. Others genuinely believed that Jackson was the quintessential West Virginian without perceiving him as a white supremacist icon. By the mid-twentieth century, there were many state politicians who grew up exposed to idealistic, romanticized perceptions of Jackson. In one of his speeches before the Senate, Randolph described Jackson as "an inspiration to me since my youth."[77]

JACKSON AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

The education and citizenship training of West Virginian children played a key role in cultivating Jackson veneration among the general population. Confederate heritage groups such as the UDC were keenly aware of the importance of passing on their Lost Cause beliefs to succeeding generations. Symbols such as public statuary, the high school, and Jackson's Mill 4-H camp regularly inserted a positive Jackson memory into the minds of youth. Indoctrinated children, the UDC believed, were the most important living memorials to the Confederate cause. "Unlike marble statues, these children served as future defenders of the 'sacred principles' for which their Confederate ancestors had died," wrote historian Karen Cox.[78] In May 1956, the *Monogahelan Magazine* published a short story in which a young boy named Tommy admires the Clarksburg statue of Jackson and recites anecdotes of the general's life. Towards the end of the story, the child "thought about how good it is to live in America where a boy who is poor can grow up and study and work and fight and be a great man, like General Jackson."[79] The message of the fictionalized tale was clear: West Virginian children needed to appreciate and emulate figures like Stonewall Jackson in order to become exemplary citizens.

One major strategy employed by Confederate supporters to promote Jackson and the Lost

[77] "Extension of Remarks of Hon. Jennings Randolph of West Virginia in the Senate of the United States, Friday, January 22, 1965," *Congressional Record* 111, Part 24 (January 4, 1965 to October 22, 1965): A243.
[78] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 120.
[79] Jack Collette, "A Talk with Stonewall Jackson," *Monogahelan Magazine*, May 6, 1956, 8-9.

Cause to West Virginia schoolchildren was to produce history books that endorsed the Lost Cause and rally against those that did not. UDC divisions and chapters regularly operated education committees to review school textbooks and demand their removal if the narratives lacked a pro-Southern slant. They encouraged the publication of works that attributed the Civil War to the infringement of states' rights, romanticized the institution of slavery, and created heroes out of Confederate leaders such as Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson.[80] This campaign was highly effective in shaping the collective memory of the South for years. According to historian Karen Cox, "evidence suggests that the UDC had succeeded in keeping that [Lost Cause] narrative present in the minds of several generations of southerners."[81] Cox attributed white backlash against desegregation during the Civil Rights movement as proof of the campaign's success. "It was clear [in the mid-1900s] that the UDC's call to create 'living monuments' to the Confederacy had born fruit. Those children, now adults, were doing exactly as the Daughters had hoped they would."[82]

West Virginia history books typically lacked staunchly pro-Confederate, Lost Cause narratives, but they also avoided criticism of Jackson. Some texts attempted to offer an objective, factual view of Jackson, albeit without acknowledgment of his controversies. Others were unapologetically positive in their interpretations of Jackson and the Confederacy. One early work, state historian Virgil Lewis' *History of West Virginia* published in 1889, treated Jackson gently in its biography of the general. His personal feelings regarding slavery and secession were entirely ignored, with the book simply relating that the Virginia governor commissioned him as a colonel following secession. It concludes with an account of Jackson's death, stating "With these

[80] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 120-140.
[81] Ibid., 140.
[82] Cox, *No Common Ground*, 71.

beautiful and typical words trembling upon his lips, the Christian soldier sank to eternal rest."[83]

Given the divided loyalties and border state status of West Virginia during the Civil War, many textbooks attempted to balance their narrative of the war and its leaders by discussing both its Union and Confederate figures. The 1947 edition of historian Charles Henry Ambler's *West Virginia Stories and Biographies* included separate sections on "Union Civil War Heroes" and "Confederate Civil War Heroes."[84] Ambler heaped praise on Jackson in the Confederate section, concluding the opening paragraph with, "Of course you wish to know something about a man who is spoken of so highly."[85] Some textbooks paired Jackson with Union Generals Jesse Lee Reno or Joseph A. J. Lightburn, whose careers were far less known.[86] Even when placed in context against his Union counterparts, Jackson still received favorable attention and a lack of focus on the controversial aspects of his life. *West Virginia: The Mountain State*, published in 1958 by Ambler and historian Festus P. Summers, claimed that Jackson was "inseparably associated with West Virginia" and—like many supporters—argued that the state shaped his personality. "It was there . . . that he acquired inalienable concepts of duty and responsibility . . . [and] those fundamentals of Christianity which made him a Cromwellian warrior."[87] The 1974 textbook *West Virginia History*, by historians Phil Conley and William Doherty, devoted the same amount of space to Reno and Jackson respectively, with similar biographical information

[83] Virgil A. Lewis, *History of West Virginia in Two Parts* (Philadelphia, PA: Hubbard Brothers, Publishers, 1889), 551-554.
[84] Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia Stories and Biographies* (Rand McNally & Company, 1947).
[85] Ibid., 288.
[86] A native of Wheeling in the Northern Panhandle, Jesse Reno (1823-1862) left his home for a career in the military. During the Civil War he rose to the rank of major general. He was killed at the Battle of South Mountain on September 14, 1862. See Phil Conley and William Thomas Doherty, *West Virginia History* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, Inc., 1974), 265-268. Joseph Lightburn (1824-1901) grew up in the same community as Jackson and the two were longtime friends. Lightburn became a brigadier general during the war and participated in the Siege of Vicksburg, among other engagements. See Tim McKinney, "Joseph A. J. Lightburn," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, December 7, 2015, accessed April 16, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1382.
[87] Charles Henry Ambler and Festus P. Summers, *West Virginia: The Mountain State*, Second Edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 211-212.

about each one's family and military career. They were largely treated as equals and the book emphasized their similarities rather than their differences. This perspective, combined with a lack of critical focus on his Confederate sympathies, made Jackson seem just as worthy of praise as Union officers. The section concluded with an extraneous mention that Jackson was added to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans in New York City.[88]

In the late twentieth century, some textbooks included more objective narratives of Jackson, recounting mostly his famous military campaigns and eschewing praise for his character and spiritual devotion. They were still largely deferential towards him, however. In describing Jackson's decision to fight for the Confederacy, the 1985 book *West Virginia and the Appalachians* merely stated, "Jackson did not want a war over slavery but refused to fight against the South."[89] *West Virginia: Our State 2000 C.E*., a 1997 textbook for elementary school students, labeled Jackson a "Confederate Hero" and promoted Stonewall Jackson Lake and State Park.[90] The failure of state history books to present critical, balanced assessments of Jackson exposed students to only positive or ostensibly neutral perspectives of the general. Many youths, consequently, came to see Jackson not just as a historical character to be studied, but a man to be admired and emulated.

CULTURAL AND CORPORATE ICON

The decades following the dedication of the 1953 Clarksburg statue witnessed a spate of new Jackson monuments. These were predominately living memorials in the form of public facilities and, for the most part, involved little to no participation from Confederate heritage

[88] Phil Conley and William Thomas Doherty, *West Virginia History* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, Inc., 1974), 265-268.
[89] David A. Bice and Helen E. Jones, *West Virginia and the Appalachians* (Marceline, MO: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1985), 27.
[90] Tony L. Williams, *West Virginia: Our State 2000 C.E.* (Charleston, WV: The West Virginia Historical Education Foundation, Inc., 1997), 69.

organizations. The Stonewall Jackson Regional Library opened in Buckhannon in 1957 as the result of a merger of the library systems for Upshur, Harrison, and Lewis Counties. A replacement library building in 1979 retained the name.[91] Weston's Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hospital organized in 1958 and replaced the former City Hospital.[92] A comprehensive, promotional history of the hospital published in 1972 to commemorate the construction of a new facility did not disclose the reason or process behind the naming.[93] The United States Postal Service opened the Stonewall Station post office in Charleston in 1961.[94] One of the last major, twentieth-century, public monuments to Jackson came in 1990 with the completion of Stonewall Jackson Lake in Lewis County. First approved in 1966, the lake endured years of controversy and lawsuits by community members evicted from their properties for the flood control reservoir.[95]

Nearly all of the promotions and dedications for these Jackson monuments failed to mention Jackson's life and career in depth, nor did they attempt to explain their naming decisions. Sen. Jennings Randolph did mention Jackson in his dedication speech for the Stonewall Station Post Office, but his address primarily revolved around the senator's argument that postal services were essential to preventing the United States from slipping into communism. "Though we have no wish to become a garrison state, we could well profit from

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[91] "Library Details: Upshur County Public Library," West Virginia Library Commission, accessed January 25, 2021, https://librarycommission.wv.gov/library_map/Pages/LibraryDetails.aspx?Title=Upshur%20County%20Public%20Library; the name changed to Upshur County Public Library in 1981 when Lewis County dropped out of the joint system.
[92] "Our History," Mon Health Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hospital, accessed January 24, 2021, https://www.stonewalljacksonhospital.com.
[93] "Weston – Lewis County and the New Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hospital Growing," *Weston Independent*, July 20, 1972.
[94] *Dedication Program, New Stonewall Postal Station*, January 17, 1961, Jennings Randolph Collection.
[95] Angie Brant, "Stonewall Jackson Dam turns 25, cuts flood damage," *Cumberland Times-News*, July 10, 2011; Skip Johnson, "Stonewall Jackson Lake," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, December 16, 2015, accessed January 25, 2021, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/597.

developing . . . some of the militant values of character which inspired Stonewall Jackson," he proclaimed.[96] The dedication program for Stonewall Jackson Lake did include a brief biography of Jackson and his image emblazoned against the dam on the front cover. However, the keynote address (again delivered by Sen. Randolph) presented a lengthy defense of the controversial dam project and the potential economic benefits it would bring. Jackson himself avoided mention.[97] The lack of a significant effort to praise or defend Jackson at many of his later memorials reflected a perception among organizers that such language was unnecessary. Jackson became normalized to the point that new monuments in his honor were not widely questioned nor defended. The dedication of each public facility focused on what services they would provide—mail delivery, healthcare, education, recreation, etc.—rather than expending time and energy to justify their namesake. Jackson provided a blanket mascot, or a default icon, for many of the state's new amenities; one that, to supporters, suitably embodied West Virginia's regional identity. He represented not just Confederate West Virginians, but all West Virginians.

In addition to the naming of public facilities, Jackson's legacy also remained relevant in a number of other ways, one of which was the proliferation of social groups and activities named after him. In Clarksburg alone, citizens commemorated Jackson through the formation of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 1333 of the West Virginia UDC, the Stonewall Jackson Historical Committee of the Clarksburg Chamber of Commerce, and the Stonewall Jackson Civic Club. The three groups coordinated with each other to organize wreath-laying ceremonies at both the Jackson equestrian statue and the birthplace plaque on the anniversaries of the general's birth and death. These wreath-laying ceremonies occurred annually from the late 1950s until at least the

[96]"An Address by Senator Jennings Randolph (D – W. Va.) in Dedication of the Stonewall Station Charleston, West Virginia, January 17, 1961," Jennings Randolph Collection.
[97] "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Dedication of Stonewall Jackson Lake Saturday, May 21, 1988," Jennings Randolph Collection.

early 2000s.[98] In Lewis County, the Committee to Recognize General Jackson pursued initiatives to further commemorate him at Jackson's Mill, such as hosting a memorial dinner.[99] Some organizations and events dedicated to Civil War history adopted Jackson's name because he was the state's most significant military leader. These included the Stonewall Jackson Civil War Round Table (a social club for discussing and promoting Civil War history) at the town of Anmoore, Harrison County in the early 1990s, and the annual Stonewall Jackson Civil War Seminar at Pricketts Fort State Park in Marion County during the early 2000s.[100] Some organizations used Jackson to promote state arts and culture. Jackson's Mill inaugurated the Stonewall Jackson Heritage Arts & Crafts Jubilee in 1974.[101] In 1992, playwright Eberle Thomas produced *Stonewall: Old Blue Light*, for Theatre West Virginia in Beckley, Raleigh County. This glamorized, biographical play was reported to tell "the exciting story of this eccentric, independent man of courage."[102] Some groups adopted Jackson's name if for no other reason than for his status as a regional celebrity. Such was the case with the Stonewall Jackson Amateur Radio Association, established in Clarksburg in 1978.[103]

At the conclusion of the unveiling ceremony for the Clarksburg statue in 1953, attendees

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[98] Undated newspaper clippings, Betty Barger Dakan Collection; "Stonewall Jackson Civic Club Marks Anniversary of Death of Clarksburg's Famed War Hero," *Clarksburg Exponent*, May 11, 1994; "Club to commemorate 'Stonewall' Jackson Tuesday," *Clarksburg Exponent*, January 20, 2003. The Historical Committee was headed by Jackson enthusiast Samuel Joseph "Stonewall" Birshtein, a Jewish Belarusian immigrant with no Confederate ties; the Civic Club was a women's organization dedicated to community service and self-improvement.

[99] "Senator, Others Laud Jackson During Dinner," *Clarksburg Exponent*, October 16, 1980; Thorn Linger to Betty Barger Dakan, June 9, 1980, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.

[100] *Bugle Call* (March 1993), Stonewall Jackson CWRT, Betty Barger Dakan Collection; "The Stonewall Jackson Civil War Seminar," 2000, "Jackson, Stonewall," Vertical Surname Files, West Virginia State Archives. Pricketts Fort is a museum depicting a recreated eighteenth-century frontier fort in present-day northern West Virginia. See "History," Pricketts Fort Memorial Foundation, accessed April 16, 2021, https://www.prickettsfort.org/history.html.

[101] "Stonewall Jackson Jubilee," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, November 5, 2010, accessed November 16, 2019, https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/596.

[102] "Historical Drama Traces Life of Civil War General," *Ritchie Gazette*, March 26, 1992.

[103] Ashlie Walter, "Amateur Radio Association to hold field day for enthusiasts," *Clarksburg Exponent-Telegram*, June 17, 2013.

moved across the street to the Stonewall Jackson Hotel for a tea reception hosted by the UDC.[104] The eponymous business, one of several large, opulent hotels in downtown Clarksburg, opened in 1929.[105] It clearly intended to take advantage of Jackson's popularity and local provenance for financial and social gain. Only the name of a heroic figure such as Stonewall Jackson could grace the front of a 200-room hotel with a restaurant claiming to offer "the best food in 17 states."[106]

West Virginians used Jackson's name for financial gain at least as far back as the early 1900s. In June 1904, one enterprising shoe repairman used the name as the title for his newspaper advertisement in the *Shepherdstown Register*, despite the apparent lack of relevancy. "Stonewall Jackson moved in a mysterious way. So I do myself. So if you wish your shoes repaired, just call on me."[107] Commercial appropriation of Stonewall Jackson accelerated in the 1950s and continued throughout the century. The growing popularity of Jackson beyond just the state's Confederate descendants meant that the use of his moniker could advance entrepreneurial endeavors. The previous controversy that once plagued the general and his Lost Cause adherents now lacked enough divisiveness to appreciably deter patronage. Business owners adopted Jackson as a mascot because of his positive image as a successful, honest, virtuous icon; these were qualities that companies wanted to be associated with.

In many instances, Jackson's name was commandeered by businesses that seemingly possessed no meaningful connection to him whatsoever. An excellent case in point was the Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company. The Huntington-based insurance provider was

[104] "West Virginia," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* (July 1953): 23, 29.
[105] Morris Purdy Shawkey, *West Virginia in History, Life, Literature and Industry* (Chicago, IL and New York, NY: Lewis Publishing Company, 1928), 239.
[106] James Logue, "The Stonewall Jackson Hotel," *Clarksburg Exponent Telegram*, December 5, 2018.
[107] G. W. Yontz, "Stonewall Jackson," *Shepherdstown Register*, June 2, 1904.

founded in 1959 by investor Robert P. Holley, Jr.[108] Holley chose Stonewall Jackson from among a list of fifty suggested names. He reportedly made the choice because Jackson "was a West Virginian who . . . has brought credit to the state," and "because Stonewall the man stood for everything a good insurance company should possess—soundness, firmness and determination."[109] Holley and his backers evidently felt that Jackson was the best West Virginian to represent a West Virginia corporation to the world. In January 1961, the company sponsored a special Stonewall Jackson edition of the *West Virginia Hillbilly* newspaper (the self-proclaimed "Spokesman for the state that needs to stand like a Stonewall against its depressed economy") for the centennial of the Civil War. Plastered among the articles on Jackson's life were numerous advertisements for Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance featuring a logo depicting the general riding into battle on his horse.[110]

One method of financially benefitting from Jackson's popularity was to tap into his name and image to promote tourism. This practice dates at least as far back as 1938 when the State Road Commission issued a Stonewall Jackson-themed road map for the month of February. It bore a portrait of Jackson, a brief biography, and highlights of sites from his childhood. In dedicating the travel map to him, its creators claimed, "to do honor to one of [the state's] illustrious sons."[111] In the twenty-first century, the utilization of Jackson as a mascot to lure out-of-state visitors grew as West Virginia sought to expand its tourism industry. In 2004, the Stonewall Resort opened at Stonewall Jackson Lake. Built at a cost of nearly $100 million, the

[108] "Business Organization Detail: Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company," West Virginia Secretary of State—Online Data Services, accessed January 12, 2021, https://apps.sos.wv.gov/business/corporations/organization.aspx?org=88472.
[109] "What's In a Name . . . ?," *West Virginia Hillbilly* 3, No. 8 (January 28, 1961); the company's claim to be sound and firm proved questionable when it folded as part of a merger in 1969. See "Business Organization Detail: Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company."
[110] *West Virginia Hillbilly* 3, No. 8 (January 28, 1961).
[111] Road Map of West Virginia, February 1938, "Jackson, Stonewall," Vertical Files, Marshall University Special Collections, Huntington, WV.

luxury resort included lodging, high-class restaurants, a spa, clubhouse, excursion boat, and an Arnold Palmer Signature Golf Course.[112] Besides the name, nothing about the facility paid homage to Jackson, let alone his Confederate affiliation. In contrast to Jackson's military heritage, the resort's website promised "peaceful serenity" for its patrons.[113] Today, the Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau (CVB) promotes a tourism campaign dubbing the region "Stonewall Country." The home page of the CVB's website greets browsers with "Welcome to Lewis County, West Virginia, also known as Stonewall Country. Famous as the boyhood home of General Stonewall Jackson . . ."[114] A visitors' guide distributed by the CVB includes the header "Celebrating Our Namesake" and proudly states that "Stonewall Jackson grew to manhood in this county and was raised with the heritage and beliefs of its residents."[115] The agency's branding directly appeals to fans of Jackson and, as a result, conspicuously tethers the community to his legacy.

On October 14, 1980, the Committee to Recognize General Jackson hosted a special Stonewall Jackson memorial dinner at Jackson's Mill. 150 people attended the celebration, including representatives from Salem College, Davis and Elkins College, West Point, and VMI. Sen. Jennings Randolph and biographer Holmes Alexander delivered the keynote addresses. The banquet was organized by committee chairman Thorn Linger, a diehard Jackson devotee and an active figure in the local Democratic Party.[116] The motive for the dinner was rather hazy, with the

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[112] Marla Brannan, "Close to Nature, Far from Ordinary," *Huntington Quarterly* No. 52 (Summer 2004).
[113] "Stonewall Resort: Close to Nature. Far from Ordinary," Stonewall Resort, accessed January 24, 2021, https://www.stonewallresort.com/about-stonewall-resort/.
[114] "Stonewall Country," Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau, accessed January 24, 2021, https://www.stonewallcountry.com.
[115] *Lewis County, West Virginia – Create Legendary Adventures – Stonewall Country*, Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau, accessed January 24, 2021, https://www.stonewallcountry.com/SWC-Visitor-Brochure-2020.pdf.
[116] "Senator, Others Laud Jackson During Dinner," *Clarksburg Exponent*, October 16, 1980; *Memorial Dinner in Recognition of and in Honor of General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson*, October 14, 1980, Jennings Randolph Collection.

day and year having no particular significance to Jackson or Civil War history. A letter written by Linger hinted that the event was connected to a campaign to restore the grist mill building at Jackson's mill to working order, but he also added that the dinner would include "no fund raising, as little politicking as possible, no book selling, just Jackson right down the middle, all the way."[117] Linger was eager just to celebrate Jackson. In the letter, he bragged, "This could be one of the best testimonials to a mortal man, ever."[118] Regardless of the event's true intentions, it did succeed in showing that interest in Jackson remained strong among West Virginians. Sen. Randolph, in his glowing remarks at the dinner, commented that "it is difficult to think of any more individual [sic] in American history who accomplished so much in such a short span."[119]

Stonewall Jackson remained a popular figure in West Virginia throughout the twentieth century, long after the Lost Cause movement's peak in the 1910s. Jackson monuments experienced a revival during the 1950s and 1960s as part of a broader white backlash against the Civil Rights Movement. The creation of memorials in Clarksburg and Charleston, among others, took place amid statewide conflicts over racial equality and segregation. Jackson's popularity demonstrated considerable staying power, but Confederate heritage groups such as the UDC played a diminished role in organizing Jackson monuments after the 1950s. Their decades of work promoting Jackson through a Lost Cause lens succeeded in expanding the general's appeal beyond his traditional base of support. It was so successful, in fact, that Confederate heritage groups and other supporters eliminated the need to justify public celebrations of Jackson; tributes could be made without explanation. Jackson came to be seen as less of a Confederate and more of a West Virginian within his native region. The use of his name on public facilities, private

[117] Thorn Linger to Betty Barger Dakan, June 9, 1980, Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[118] Ibid.
[119] "Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph, Stonewall Jackson Recognition Dinner, Tuesday, October 14, 1980, Jackson's Mill," Jennings Randolph Collection.

businesses, and social organizations indicated that he was regarded by a substantial segment of the population as an acceptable, even desirable, representative for West Virginia. The constant presence of Jackson in monuments, literature, speeches, and various institutions normalized him in the eyes of many residents and made the general an enduring object of West Virginia pride.

CONCLUSION

THE "INORDINATE FUSS" OVER STONEWALL JACKSON

Stonewall Jackson veneration continued in its many different forms in West Virginia during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Local author Dennis Norman published *Under the Shade of Trees: Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson's Life at Jackson's Mill* in 2000, maintaining the tradition of homegrown historians calling attention to Jackson's Mountain State roots.[1] The opening of Stonewall Resort and the Lewis County Convention and Visitors Bureau's "Stonewall Country" campaign drew in tourist dollars. The City of Clarksburg sought to boost its own tourism when it flirted with the idea of reconstructing Jackson's childhood home in 2010.[2] In 2015 and 2016, state delegate Ruth Rowan introduced bills to rename one bridge in Hampshire County after Jackson, per the request of a fifth-grade class.[3] Stonewall Coffee opened in downtown Clarksburg in 2016; for $3.75, customers could order a white chocolate Stonewall Mocha and admire a portrait of Jackson made from pennies.[4] 2018 saw the opening of Stonewall Sporting Clays, a clay pigeon shooting range, located adjacent to Stonewall Resort.[5] As of 2020, the *Weston Democrat* continued to publish an image of Jackson on the top right corner of every newspaper, bearing the caption, "Where Stonewall Jackson grew to manhood." The Confederate general-turned-West Virginia mascot retained a great deal of popularity. But increasingly, public

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[1] Norman, *Under the Shade of Trees.*
[2] "Stonewall Jackson house seen as boosting tourism," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, December 13, 2010.
[3] "House Concurrent Resolution No. 93," West Virginia Legislature, accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/Bill_Status/bills_text.cfm?billdoc=hcr93%20intr.htm&yr=2015&sesstype=RS&i=93&houseorig=H&billtype=CR; "House Concurrent Resolution 4," West Virginia Legislature, January 14, 2016, accessed February 2, 2021, http://www.wvlegislature.gov/Bill_Status/bills_text.cfm?billdoc=hcr4%20intr.htm&yr=2016&sesstype=RS&i=4&houseorig=H&billtype=CR; each bill died in committee.
[4] "Stonewall Coffee," City of Clarksburg, accessed February 2, 2021, https://www.cityofclarksburgwv.com/DocumentCenter/View/446/Stonewall-Coffee-PDF; Lauren Talotta, "Restaurant Road Trip: Stonewall Coffee," 12 WBOY, February 21, 2018, accessed February 2, 2021, https://www.wboy.com/news/local/restaurant-road-trip/restaurant-road-trip-stonewall-coffee/.
[5] "Our Story," Stonewall Sporting Clays, accessed February 2, 2021, https://www.stonewallsportingclays.com/our-history.

opposition complicated the state's ongoing Jackson reinvention and memorialization.

During the summer of 2011, Charleston real estate broker Howard Swint published opinion pieces condemning the Jackson statue at the Capitol and calling for its removal. Swint argued that it was hypocritical for a Union state to display a memorial to someone who fought on the opposite side, let alone a slave owner. The Jackson statue, he said, "doesn't keep up with the spirit of West Virginia's birth and its role in the Civil War."[6] The opinion articles "stirred a hornet's nest" and the *Charleston Gazette-Mail* was inundated with letters to the editor from Jackson defenders.[7] Editorials such as "Stonewall Jackson was also a hero," and "Leave Stonewall Jackson alone; he is part of history," underscored a fierce level of vocal support for Jackson and a lack of interest among many to remove Confederate monuments.[8]

The June 17, 2015 murder of nine African Americans at a historic church in Charleston, South Carolina, by a pro-Confederate white supremacist triggered a nationwide debate over the meaning and appropriateness of Confederate monuments.[9] Critics argued that the memorials explicitly and implicitly symbolized white supremacy and the suppression of racial minorities. In an op-ed for *The Atlantic* published shortly after the massacre, journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote, "The Confederate cause was white supremacy. This claim is not the result of revisionism. It does not require reading between the lines. It is the plain meaning of the words of those who bore the Confederate flag across history."[10] The Confederate monument controversy intensified following the white supremacist, neo-Nazi rally at Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017 and, according to historian Adam Domby, "By 2018, many Americans had realized there were deep connections

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[6] Paul Fallon, "Stance of Stonewall Jackson statue stirs a fuss," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, July 27, 2011.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Nathan Dollison, "Stonewall Jackson was also a hero," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, July 1, 2011; Jim Meddings, Jr., "Leave Stonewall Jackson alone; he is part of history," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, August 2, 2011.
[9] "Whose Heritage?," Southern Poverty Law Center.
[10] Ta-Nehisi Coates, "What This Cruel Was Was Over," *The Atlantic*, June 22, 2015, accessed June 24, 2021, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/what-this-cruel-war-was-over/396482/.

between Confederate monuments and white supremacy—connections that went beyond the Civil War."[11] The protests that erupted in the summer of 2020 following the police killing of Minnesota resident George Floyd became a tipping point for many states and cities, which moved swiftly to take down their monuments. In that year alone, over one hundred Confederate monuments were removed, including two Jackson statues in Virginia.[12]

Local authorities in several West Virginia communities acted to eliminate Confederate monuments in reaction to the controversy stirred by their historic racial connotations. The Jefferson County Commission removed a plaque honoring Confederate veterans from the county courthouse at Charles Town in December 2018 after repeated requests from the African American community.[13] The mayor of Charleston ordered the removal of another Confederate memorial plaque from the city's Ruffner Park in June 2020.[14] Just days later, in the city of Huntington, Marshall University's Board of Governors voted to rename a building honoring Confederate General Albert Gallatin Jenkins, after years of petitioning from students and faculty.[15]

Stonewall Jackson, the most prominent basis for Confederate monuments in the state, naturally provoked the most discussion. Traditional arguments that Jackson deserved praise for

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[11] Domby, *The False Cause*, 2.
[12] "SPLC's Whose Heritage? Reports Over 100 Confederate Symbols Removed Since George Floyd's Murder," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 14, 2020, accessed February 5, 2021, https://www.splcenter.org/presscenter/splcs-whose-heritage-reports-over-100-confederate-symbols-removed-george-floyds-murder; the Jackson statues in question were the VMI barracks statue in Lexington and an equestrian statue in Richmond.
[13] Matt Welch and Clarissa Cottrill, "Confederate plaque removed from courthouse," *Martinsburg Journal*, December 12, 2018.
[14] Roxy Todd, "Confederate Memorial Partly Removed in Charleston, W. Va.," West Virginia Public Broadcasting, June 30, 2020, accessed February 4, 2021, https://wwww.wvpublic.org/news/2020-06-30/confederate-memorial-partly-removed-in-charleston-w-va.
[15] Jenkins Hall opened in 1937 and first served as a laboratory school before housing Marshall's College of Education. After initially voting to retain the name in 2019, the Board of Governors reversed their decision on July 7, 2020 amidst new discussions surrounding the George Floyd protests. See Taylor Stuck, "MU board votes to remove 'Jenkins' name from education hall," *Huntington Herald Dispatch*, July 7, 2020.

his noble character and military achievements were countered by opponents who asserted that Jackson's service to the Confederacy and defense of slavery outweighed any redeeming personal traits. Activists clashed over editorials in local newspapers. Some defenders of Jackson pointed to the well-worn claim that his life story provided a source of inspiration. One wrote, "When I look at his statue, I'm reminded of a Clarksburg native using his ability to literally pull himself up by his bootstraps to overcome his early life as an uneducated orphan . . . is there any West Virginian who cannot succeed using Jackson's secret of success?"[16] Others brought up Jackson's support for his Black Sunday School as evidence that he helped, rather than oppressed, the African American community.[17] Some threw "red herrings" into the argument, declaring that monuments to Abraham Lincoln and Robert C. Byrd should also be removed for their racist behaviors.[18] A few argued that Jackson needed to be regarded in the historical context of his time, rather than be judged by contemporary morals. One writer in doing so undermined the general's claim to a West Virginia identity. "It is my understanding that he became a Confederate because he, like Robert E. Lee, did not want his home state invaded. He was a Virginian. There was no West Virginia at that time."[19]

Advocates for the removal of Jackson monuments confronted and discredited the notion of Jackson as a West Virginia icon. They argued that he was first and foremost a Confederate whose values and actions made him unsuitable to represent West Virginia as a whole. Many emphasized the hypocrisy of Jackson monuments in a state with a history of Union sentiments.

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[16] Harry C. Bruner Jr., "Stonewall Jackson's statue should stay at the Capitol," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, June 10, 2011.
[17] Greg Bradford, "Letter: Stonewall Jackson was a dedicated educator," Charleston Gazette-Mail, October 11, 2015.
[18] "Stonewall Jackson should stay where he is," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, June 8, 2011; Karl Priest, "Letter: If removing Stonewall's statue, do others," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, August 19, 2017.
[19] Charles D. Raines, "Letter to the Editor: Stonewall Jackson a man of his time," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, July 16, 2015.

"The statue of Stonewall Jackson on the Capitol grounds of West Virginia is a slap in the face of all people who truly honor the birthright of the state of West Virginia," said one writer.[20] Another added, "Stonewall Jackson chose to be not part of the United States. His loyalty was to the continuation of the slave economy. He and his traitorous cause do not deserve our respect."[21] Others argued that Jackson's racial attitudes were polarizing and monuments in his honor—especially those on government property—amounted to a *de facto* endorsement of white supremacy. They projected a discomforting and unwelcoming image to minorities. One writer stated that the Clarksburg statue "is a painful sight for people who do not make up the county's white majority and should not continue to stand on the courthouse plaza maintained at taxpayers' expense."[22]

The fight to remove Jackson monuments produced mixed results. In 2015, educator Gregg Suzanne McAllister compiled over one hundred signatures for a petition to rename Charleston's Stonewall Jackson Middle School (formerly Stonewall Jackson High), where African Americans now made up over half of the student body. The Kanawha County Board of Education declined to take up the issue after a counter-petition opposing the name change garnered over 3,000 signatures.[23] In July 2020, the board backtracked and unanimously chose to rename the school West Side Middle following a series of community rallies and a new petition amassing more than 6,500 signatures in favor of the change.[24] In Clarksburg, the Harrison

[20] Mike Harmon, "Letter: Jackson should be removed from WV Capitol grounds (Gazette)," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, September 12, 2017.
[21] Bill Weiss, "Letter: Traitors like Stonewall Jackson don't deserve statues," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, October 11, 2015.
[22] Bill O'Field, "Stonewall Jackson statue should be relocated," *Fairmont Times West Virginian*, July 31, 2020.
[23] Gregg Suzanne Ferguson, "The Perceptions and Effects of Schools' Names on Black Professional Educators and Their Students" (PhD diss., Marshall University, 2019), 7.
[24] Danielle Dindak and Jeff Morris, "Kanawha school board unanimously votes to change name of Stonewall Jackson Middle School," WCHS, July 6, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wchstv.com/news/local/kanawha-county-school-board; "Kanawha school board selects new name for Stonewall Jackson Middle," West

County Commission twice voted against moving their statue off the courthouse grounds in 2020, despite the pleas of community activists including members of the West Virginia Black Heritage Festival.[25] The Charleston statue meanwhile was the subject of multiple protests, petitions, and a one-man hunger strike, all of which failed to dislodge Jackson from his place on the Capitol grounds.[26] David Fryson, a civic leader in the state's African American community, lambasted West Virginia's attitude towards Confederate monuments (in particular those to Jackson) compared to Virginia's successful efforts in removing their own. "While the state of Virginia is affirmatively distancing itself from its Confederate roots, West Virginia . . . is acting as if it had joined the Confederacy."[27]

Political leaders and agencies on the state level neglected to address the concerns of Jackson monument opponents. The Capitol Building Commission allowed a brief public comment period regarding the Charleston statue during its December 9, 2020 meeting, but took no action despite overwhelming sentiment from speakers against the monument.[28] Earlier that year, Governor Jim Justice punted on the issue and opined that the legislature had responsibility

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Virginia MetroNews Network, July 16, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wvmetronews.com/2020/07/16/kanawha-school-board-selects-new-name-for-stonewall-jackson-middle/.

[25] Amanda Mueller, "Stonewall Will Stay: Harrison County Commission votes not to remove statue of Confederate general," 12 WBOY, August 5, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://www.wboy.com/news/harrison/stonewall-will-stay-harrison-county-commission-votes-not-to-remove-statue-of-confederate-general/; Mike Nolting, "Harrison County Commission rejects proposal to remove Stonewall Jackson statue," West Virginia MetroNews Network, July 17, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wvmetronews.com/2020/06/17/harrison-county-commission-rejects-proposal-to-remove-stonewall-jackson-statue.

[26] Alex Thomas, "Protestors call for removal of 'Stonewall' Jackson statue," West Virginia MetroNews Network, August 13, 2017, accessed February 6, 2021, https://wvmetronews.com/2017/08/13/protesters-call-for-removal-of-stonewall-jackson/; "Remove the Stonewall Jackson Statue at the WV Capitol Complex in Charleston, WV," Change.org, June 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://www.change.org/p/remove-the-stonewall-jackson-state-at-the-wv-capitol-complex; Haley Kosik, "Man fasts in hopes to remove Stonewall Jackson monument," WOWK, July 13, 2020, accessed February 6, 2021, https://www.wowktv.com/news/local/man-fasts-in-hopes-to-remove-stonewall-jackson-monument/.

[27] "David Fryson: West Virginia and the Confederacy," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, August 22, 2020, accessed June 22, 2021, https://www.wvgazettemail.com/opinion/op_ed_commentaries/david-fryson-west-virginia-and-the-confederacy/article_afc9e52d-ab7f-576d-9cb0-515ae89b4039.html.

[28] Phil Kabler, "Capitol Building Commission listens to calls to remove Stonewall statue, but takes no action," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, December 9, 2020.

over Confederate monuments.[29] The legislature, meanwhile, pushed back against the controversy. In early 2018, Republican members introduced a bill that would have prohibited the removal of any historic monuments without legislative consent; the move was interpreted by observers as an effort specifically to protect Confederate memorials, including those for Jackson.[30] The measure ultimately died but the bill made clear that in the conservative, Republican-dominated government there was no appetite for discarding what many citizens still considered to be one of West Virginia's most exemplary citizens.

Throughout his life, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson held a deep affection for the mountainous section of northwestern Virginia that he called home. During the Civil War, Jackson lamented what he regarded as a Union occupation of his native region and consistently hoped to reclaim it under Confederate rule.[31] The Union-leaning, new State of West Virginia did not hold the rebel, enemy general in high regard during and immediately after his life. The presence of a fiercely pro-Union government and the disenfranchisement of former Confederates in the initial years after the war precluded widespread positive discussion of Jackson in many parts of the state. Gradually, former Confederates and their families regained the political and social influence they wielded in antebellum western Virginia.[32]

By the late nineteenth century, the Lost Cause movement gained traction throughout the South and in border states such as West Virginia. The pseudo-historical ideology, promulgated by diehard Confederate supporters, espoused a romanticized narrative that justified secession as necessary, the conduct of Confederate soldiers as honorable, and the institution of slavery as

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[29] Dave Mistich, "West Virginia, Born Out Of The Civil War, Grapples With Confederate Monuments," NPR, June 20, 2020, accessed February 3, 2021, https://www.npr.org/2020/06/20/881017611/west-virginia-born-out-of-the-civil-war-grapples-with-confederate-monuments.
[30] Andrea Lannom, "Republicans push bill to protect Confederate monuments," *Register-Herald*, February 14, 2018.
[31] Thomas Jackson to Jonathan Bennett, June 5, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 332; Thomas Jackson to Jonathan Bennett, June 24, 1861, in Arnold, *Early Life and Letters*, 334; Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, 182.
[32] Gooden, "Neither War nor Peace."

benign. The movement gained support among white southerners and some white northerners as a conservative response to socioeconomic changes in the United States wrought by industrialization and immigration.[33] As scholars such as David Blight and Gaines Foster argue, many Union and Confederate whites reconciled with one another under a shared Anglo-Saxon identity to counter the rising status of African Americans in society.[34] In West Virginia, anxiety over rapid change incurred by the development of the coal, timber, railroad, and manufacturing industries, as well as an influx of immigrant and African American workers, provided fodder for the movement.[35] Former Confederates and their descendants, many from the state's elite families, formed heritage organizations and advanced the Lost Cause through the production of Confederate monuments and sundry public commemorations. Many monuments, both locally and nationally, were placed in public spaces and government properties as a method of asserting white dominance over minorities.[36]

Confederate heritage groups in West Virginia adopted Stonewall Jackson as their hero of choice given his nativity in the state. Starting in the early 1900s (during the apex of the Lost Cause), Jackson monuments and celebrations large and small cropped up around the state. While supporters in this era promoted Jackson as a Confederate figure, they also began to make the case that Jackson possessed a West Virginian identity.[37] Highly positive depictions of Jackson in various biographies, including ones written by his wife and nephew, gave the general a favorable image as an endearing, stern but kind Christian warrior with unparalleled military acumen.[38] West Virginia's status as a newer state with a shortage of distinct contributions to American

[33] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 255-300.
[34] Ibid., 276; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 6, 113-114.
[35] Rice and Brown, *West Virginia: A History*, 189; Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 106, 111-112, 157-158.
[36] Winberry, "Lest We Forget," 28.
[37] Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*; "Tribute is Paid," Betty Barger Dakan Collection.
[38] Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*; Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of Stonewall Jackson*.

history, coupled with negative stereotypes of mountaineers circulating in the press, made Jackson an ideal icon for the state's white population. Jackson was the type of historical figure that supporters wanted the world to associate with West Virginia: a successful, Anglo-Saxon man and war hero, devoted to his state and his faith. Advocates especially wanted children to look upon Jackson as a role model for good citizenship.[39]

From the mid-twentieth century onwards, after the Lost Cause diminished in importance, Jackson supporters emphasized his Confederate status less and highlighted his personal characteristics that could appeal to a broader portion of the state. They focused on his Christian piety, his military genius, and on occasion his allegedly kind sentiments towards African Americans.[40] Some bolstered his West Virginia identity by claiming Jackson's characteristics were forged by his upbringing in the region.[41] Politicians such as Senator Jennings Randolph touted Jackson as the quintessential West Virginian hero.[42] During the second half of the century, Jackson was firmly established as an iconic representative of the state, if not a mascot. This normalization spurred various tributes, namely public facilities, social organizations, and businesses named in his honor. By the turn of the century, Jackson's name was frequently used for commercial enterprises and tourist marketing campaigns in efforts to profit from his association with West Virginia.[43]

Nationwide racial tensions and calls for the removal of Confederate monuments in the

[39] Cook, "Unusual West Virginians: Stonewall Jackson"; Cook, *Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*; "Stonewall Jackson," *Charleston Gazette*, reprinted in *Calhoun Chronicle*, April 19, 1910.
[40] "Stonewall Rides Again," *Clarksburg Exponent Telegram*, May 14, 1953; Stonewall Jackson Memorial Fund stationery, Betty Barger Dakan Collection; Transcript of dedication ceremony, Clarksburg-Harrison County Public Library Special Collections; Lambert, "Stonewall Jackson's Meteoric Career," *Charleston Gazette State Magazine*, January 16, 1955.
[41] Cook, Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson; Smith, *Thomas Jonathan Jackson 1824-1863: A Sketch.*
[42] Randolph, "Stonewall Jackson – Illustrious Son of West Virginia," January 21, 1976, Jennings Randolph Collection.
[43] Brannan, "Close to Nature, Far from Ordinary," *Huntington Quarterly; Lewis County, West Virginia*, Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau.

twenty-first century directly triggered a wave of vocal opposition to Jackson memorials in West Virginia and a reconsideration of Jackson's historical legacy. Opponents cited the Lost Cause falsehoods and white supremacist undertones of Confederate monuments as reasons to remove them from public spaces. They also argued that the notion of Jackson as a West Virginian was contradictory both to the state's historic, pro-Union origins and Jackson's personal views in opposition to statehood. Nonetheless, large-scale support for the general continued. Reasons ranged from opposition to efforts at "erasing history," to denial that Confederate monuments exuded racism, to full-throated belief in the perception of Jackson as an honorable man.[44]

In his history of the state, John Alexander Williams criticized West Virginians for pushing what he called "a particularly strident form of state patriotism," featuring "boasts, slogans, and distortions of historical fact."[45] He also complained that children were taught "to make an inordinate fuss about West Virginia natives who have become prominent nationally."[46] Stonewall Jackson perhaps best exemplifies this tendency. For over a century, residents of the state were taught through books, newspapers, statues, public facilities, festivities, and other constant reminders that Jackson, whatever his faults, was a person worthy of being celebrated as a fellow West Virginian. He possessed by far the most name recognition outside the state of any native mountaineer. To knock Jackson off his pedestal, as it were, would deprive West Virginia of one of its most prominent mascots and national figures. It would also prove problematic to communities such as Lewis County and Harrison County that have anchored their tourism industries to their association with Jackson.

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[44] Dollison, "Stonewall Jackson was also a hero," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, July 1, 2011; Meddings, Jr., "Leave Stonewall Jackson alone," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*; Weiss, "Traitors like Stonewall Jackson," *Charleston Gazette-Mail*; Raines, "Stonewall Jackson a man of his time," *Charleston Gazette-Mail.*
[45] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 204.
[46] Williams, *West Virginia: A History*, 205.

Many of the state's residents still adhere to the mindset that Jackson should be honored as a West Virginian and not a Confederate because he possessed admirable traits outside of his Confederate service. This idealized image of Jackson was born as a direct product of the Lost Cause movement. Celebration of Jackson solely for his personal character, well-intentioned or not, unthinkingly draws from pro-Confederate ideology. As protests in the twenty-first century revealed, Jackson cannot be completely separated from his Confederate identity. In a way, the Lost Cause movement succeeded in West Virginia because it integrated the Confederate general into the state's Civil War memory and popularized him for future generations. Proper scrutiny of Stonewall Jackson within West Virginia must acknowledge the influence that the Lost Cause exerted upon the state and its lingering presence in the twenty-first century. Any effort to recontextualize Jackson would require significant changes to West Virginia's historical narrative, as well as a reevaluation of its most public-facing Jackson monuments. In essence, West Virginians will have to reconsider what aspects of their state they want to present to the world.

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APPENDIX A: APPROVAL LETTER

MARSHALL UNIVERSITY
www.marshall.edu

Office of Research Integrity

January 20, 2021

Steven Cody Straley
History Department
Marshall University

Dear Mr. Straley:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled *"A Constant Reminder to All: Remembering Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson in West Virginia."* After assessing the abstract, it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction, it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,

Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director

APPENDIX B: LIST OF KNOWN STONEWALL JACKSON MONUMENTS AND TRIBUTES IN WEST VIRGINIA

- Stonewall District, Wayne County, 1878
- Stonewall Jackson Camp, United Confederate Veterans West Virginia Division, Charleston, Kanawha County, 1890s
- Stonewall Jackson Chapter 1333, United Daughter of the Confederacy West Virginia Division, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1904; re-established 1911
- Statue at State Capitol, Charleston, Kanawha County, 1910
- Birthplace Plaque, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1911
- Boyhood Home Tablet, Jackson's Mill, Weston, Lewis County, 1913
- Jackson's Mill 4-H Camp, Weston, Lewis County, 1921
- Plaque for July 2, 1861 Skirmish, Martinsburg, Berkeley County, 1929
- Stonewall Jackson Hotel, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1929-1975
- Stonewall Jackson Memorial Highway, U.S. Route 19, circa 1933
- West Virginia State Roadmap, 1938
- Stonewall Jackson High School (later Middle School), Charleston, Kanawha County, 1940-2020
- Stonewall Jackson Historical Committee, Harrison County Chamber of Commerce, 1940(?)
- Stonewall Jackson Gas Station, Location and Year Unknown
- Stonewall Jackson Compressor Station, Hope Natural Gas Company, Cheylan, Kanawha County, <1945
- Equestrian Statue, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1953

- Wreath Laying Ceremonies on Birth and Death Anniversaries, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1950s
- Stonewall Jackson Days, Morgantown, Monongalia County, 1950s(?)
- Stonewall Jackson Civic Club, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1957
- Stonewall Jackson Regional Library, Buckhannon, Upshur County, 1957-1981
- Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hospital, Weston, Lewis County, 1958
- Bronze Bust, State Capitol Rotunda, Charleston, Kanawha County, 1959
- Stonewall Jackson Life Insurance Company, Huntington, Cabell County, 1959-1969
- Stonewall Station Post Office, Charleston, Kanawha County, 1961
- Rival Birthplace Plaque, Parkersburg, Wood County, 1964
- Brass Relief Plaque, Clarksburg Library, Harrison County, 1974
- Stonewall Jackson Jubilee Arts & Crafts Festival, Jackson's Mill, Lewis County, 1974
- Stonewall Jackson Amateur Radio Association, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 1978
- Committee for Recognition and in Honor of General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson, Lewis County, Year Unknown
- Stonewall Jackson Lake & State Park, Lewis County, 1990 (approved 1966)
- Stonewall Jackson Civil War Roundtable, Anmoore, Harrison County, 1990s
- Theatre West Virginia Play, *Stonewall: Old Blue Light*, Grandview, Raleigh County, 1992
- Annual Stonewall Jackson Civil War Seminar, Pricketts Fort State Park, Fairmont, Marion County, 1999
- Stonewall Resort, Stonewall Jackson Lake, Lewis County, 2002

- Stonewall Gas Gathering Pipeline, Northern West Virginia and Southern Pennsylvania, 2015
- Stonewall Coffee, Clarksburg, Harrison County, 2016
- Stonewall Sporting Clays, Lewis County, 2018
- Stonewall, unincorporated community in Raleigh County, Year Unknown
- Stonewall Road, Raleigh County, Year Unknown
- "Stonewall Country" Marketing Campaign, Lewis County Convention & Visitors Bureau, Year Unknown
- Camp 201, Stonewall Jackson, Sons of Confederate Veterans West Virginia Division, St. Mary's, Pleasants County, Year Unknown
- Stonewall Jackson Image on *Weston Democrat* Newspaper Masthead, Lewis County, Year Unknown