Running head: STONEWALL JACKSON

The Development of a Legend: Stonewall Jackson as a Southern Hero

Andrew Chesnut

A Senior Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for graduation
in the Honors Program
Liberty University
Spring 2008

Acceptance of Senior Honors Thesis

This Senior Honors Thesis is accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation from the Honors Program of Liberty University.

_____
Brian Melton, Ph.D.
Chairman of Thesis

_____
Cline Hall, Ph.D.
Committee Member

_____
Charles Murphy, Ph.D.
Committee Member

_____
James Nutter, D.A.
Honors Director

_____
Date

Abstract

Throughout history, most individuals have lived their lives, and then faded into oblivion with little to remember them by. Relatively few receive credit for significantly affecting the course of human history and obtain appropriate remembrance in accounts of the past. For those whose memories endure, due to the unrepeatable nature of past events, history remains vulnerable to the corrupting influence of myths and legends that distort historical realities. Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson (1824-1863) serves as a prime example of an historical figure, who, though deserving of his place in history, has been subsequently distorted by biographers and memory.

The following discussion largely passes over the general's already well-analyzed military career, and explores other factors that contributed to his incredible rise in fame to the exalted position of southern hero. Topics include Jackson's well-documented eccentricities, the manner of his death, the social climate of the post-war South, and his subsequent treatment by early biographers. All will contribute to the answer of the question, "what made Jackson into a legend?"

Development of a Legend: Stonewall Jackson as a Southern Hero

History concerns itself with not simply the past, but with the human past—the stories of individuals as they affect the development of the whole. Naturally, historians often focus on the deeds and lives of the great characters of history and the roles that those figures played in the development of humanity, and stories of extraordinary men and women form the bulk of the discipline. The American Revolution would be amiss without Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and the story of nineteenth century Europe cannot be told without Napoleon Bonaparte and Lord Nelson, for example. History chooses to exalt other less essential figures seemingly at random, and the popular mindset particularly exaggerates this phenomenon. If not for a classic poem, Americans might remember Richard Dawes as much as Paul Revere—or perhaps they would have forgotten the names of both. Confederate Lieutenant General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson (1824-1863) curiously falls into both categories. As a tactician in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign and beyond, historians agree that Jackson's brilliant maneuvering undoubtedly altered the course of the American Civil War and certainly earned his spot in history. Recently, however, historians have begun to consider that perhaps popular history has altered the image of Jackson, exalting him to a higher position than his deeds alone would merit. From his devout Presbyterian faith and successes on the battlefield to his severe hypochondria and his love of lemons, certain genuine traits have been blended together with exaggerated and sometimes completely false notions to create an intensely eccentric genius exalted to the position of southern hero. This does not imply the subjective assertion Jackson does or does not deserve his heroic status. Rather, the following discussion attempts to explain how the man's legend

expanded and became warped through history. Stonewall Jackson's legend grew and became distorted through the genuine eccentricities of his personality, the historical and social conditions of the belligerent and pre-war South, and his treatment by early biographers.

Genuine Eccentricities Contributing Towards Jackson's Legendary Status

The most obvious reason that Jackson's legend grew beyond his original reputation concerns his eccentric personality. Jackson makes an interesting story simply because he displayed numerous genuine differences from the average individual even without distortion. His genuine eccentricities, personality quirks, and ardent belief system cause Stonewall Jackson to stand out among other historical figures. Jackson's academic career, social awkwardness, religion, and reading habits served to distinguish him from his contemporaries and launch him higher into popular historical memory as a man of hard work, determination, and method.

Jackson's scholarship serves as an example of the hard work and dedication that he devoted to all of his life's endeavors. His moderately prosperous family had fallen from wealth before his birth, and his widowed mother, in her poverty, gave up her son to his Uncle Cummins. Jackson received a minimal formal education, but demonstrated an eagerness to learn that impressed his Congressman and earned his selection to West Point in 1842 at the age of 18.[1] Jackson's experiences had not prepared him, however, and he soon discovered that he needed more than eagerness to succeed. James I. Robertson remarks that, "…he was poorly prepared for the academic demands."[2] In fact, he finished the first year at the very bottom of the class. By graduation in 1846, however, he

---

[1] James I. Robertson, Jr., Ed., *Stonewall Jackson's Book of Maxims* (Nashville: Cumberland House, 2002), 10-11.
[2] Ibid.

had worked his way through the class to reach number 17 out of 59 students. [3] Jackson accomplished this rise through hard work and study—traits that would serve him in life and contribute to the popular image after his death. His classmate, John C. Tidball, characterizes him as "…an intense student, [whose] mind appeared to be constantly preoccupied…"[4] As a student, Jackson applied study and hard work. These traits would assist him throughout his life. Jackson rarely possessed natural talent for anything, but worked with intense self-discipline and rigor to accomplish his goals. As a young man at West Point, Jackson continued to develop the personality that he would be remembered for.

Jackson's personal ardor and intense study carried on through West Point and into his career. Jackson fought in the Mexican War with distinction, earning three promotions to brevet major for his courageous actions in combat. After the war, he spent several years in the peacetime army at posts at Fort Hamilton in New York and Fort Meade in Florida, and in 1851 accepted an appointment as Professor of Natural Philosophy and Artillery Tactics at the Virginia Military Institute.[5] Jackson topped future Union Generals Rosecranz, McClellan, and Reno, who were also considered for the position. Robert Louis Dabney, Jackson's personal friend and first reasonably accurate biographer, suggests that the desire to appoint a Virginian to the post contributed to his selection.[6] His reputation in the Mexican War as well as his impressive advance through the class ranks in his last three years at West Point probably factored considerably into the appointment as well.

---

[3] Ibid., 12.
[4] Qtd. in Ibid., 11.
[5] R. L. Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson* (Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1983), 60-61.
[6] Ibid.

All accounts agree, however, that he made a horrible professor. Students called him names like "Tom Fool," and once a student even planned to kill him.[7] The dislike stemmed mostly from his teaching method, by which he simply memorized his lectures in the afternoon and evening, and repeated them the next day in class. His fellow professor at VMI, Raleigh Colston, would later remark that Jackson "…had an improving mind and an excellent memory which retained what he read."[8] This trait allowed Professor Jackson to remember everything that he had prepared for his students, but unfortunately, he lacked the comprehensive cognitive abilities necessary to respond to their inquiries. Dabney writes that, "if one complained that his comprehension was imperfect, and asked for another statement, Jackson had no answer to make save to repeat his first formula."[9] In other words, he lacked the ability to think spatially, at least quickly enough to answer questions effectively in the classroom setting.[10] As a result, his students notoriously disliked him. The more brilliant ones excelled under his thorough instruction, but Jackson largely failed to help floundering students recover.[11] Combined with the example of his West Point education, Jackson's professorship at VMI contributes to the image of Jackson as a man of average intellect but strong discipline. His success, and hence his historical memory, largely derives from the man's hard work and method rather than natural talent.

---

[7] William C. Davis, *Rebels and Yankees: The Commanders of the Civil War* (London: Salamander Books LTD, 2001), 122.
[8] Robertson, *Maxims*, 12.
[9] Dabney, 64.
[10] A similar problem would follow Jackson onto the battlefield. See William C. Davis, *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 171. Davis writes that Jackson could not visualize the terrain on a map, and were it not for the exceptional skill and patience of his cartographer, Jedediah Hotchkiss, he would have been lost as a military tactician.
[11] Dabney, 63.

Professor Jackson's demeanor tended to differ between public and private occasions. For example, in spite of Jackson's rigidity during lectures, he expressed genuine care towards his students individually. Robertson, Jackson's foremost modern biographer, writes that, "on those occasion when Jackson engaged in informal conversations with cadets, few forgot the experience. He was warm and tolerant where the young men were concerned."[12] Jackson tended to display an incredible social awkwardness in public gatherings, but those who enjoyed the privilege of interacting with him in a personal setting encountered a friendly and respectful man, if not a particularly interesting one.

Associating freely with other people did not come naturally to Jackson. William C. Davis, whose study of Jackson mythology offers an invaluable source for sorting facts from invention, confirms that Jackson exhibited extreme awkwardness, characterizing him as absolutely "humorless" and unable "to 'get' a joke."[13] Anecdotes suggest that as a young man, Jackson displayed naïvete as well as awkwardness; when he first fell in love with his future wife, Jackson explained a series of physical symptoms that he had been experiencing to a friend, who in a burst of laughter informed the confused professor of what had happened to him.[14] Clement Fishburne, a fellow attendee at gatherings of the Franklin Literary Society in Lexington, which Jackson joined shortly after arriving in Lexington, remarked that Jackson seemed "…to perform a social duty and was

---

[12] James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: MacMillan Publishing USA, 1997), 182.
[13] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 171, 168.
[14]Robertson, *Maxims*, 116. The anecdote illustrates his social awkwardness, but Jackson was probably not as naïve as the story would suggest. He had apparently never felt physical symptoms before, but this was not his first experience with romance—he had attempted to woo at least one young lady in Mexico. See Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson)*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892), 46-47. True or not, the story illustrates Jackson's awkwardness, at least in the popular recollection.

determined to do it, so that he seldom allowed conversation to flag, although he certainly could not be said to be a great talker. He was at least a good listener."[15] In fact, Fishburne's remark exhibits incredible accuracy, as Jackson joined the Franklin Society specifically to improve his speaking proficiency, which he viewed as a social duty. The society's gatherings often included public speaking and debate, and Jackson forced himself to learn the art. The initial efforts often left him humiliated; during his first few attempts, he tended to lose his thoughts in the middle of making a point, and in several cases had to return sheepishly to his seat, unable to finish a speech. However, he persevered with "dogged resolution," eventually becoming an acceptable public speaker.[16]

Jackson never became anything like a socialite, but he improved upon his weaknesses. Although he continued in several eccentric tics that have impressed themselves on his historical image, he managed to become a welcome, if not a favorite, addition to Lexington gatherings. His manner displayed particular courtesy, especially towards the opposite sex, and he took care at social gatherings to attend to those ladies whom other men seemed to be ignoring.[17] By the end of his time in Lexington, he seems to have become more talkative. Referring to his tour of Europe in the summer of 1856, he remarks in a letter to a relative that should she bring up his tour, she must be prepared to exercise patience in dealing with his "…inexhaustible assemblage of proud and beautiful associations."[18] Like many other things in his life, Jackson lacked a natural talent for speaking and social mingling, but he refused to be conquered by a task, and

---

[15] Robertson, *Maxims*, 17.
[16] Dabney, 73; Robertson, *Maxims*, 18.
[17] Dabney, 77.
[18] Robertson, *Man, Soldier, Legend*, 172.

determined through hard work to correct his natural deficiencies, which he eventually did.

In similar manner he defeated his fear of public prayer. Upon learning from Reverend William S. White, D.D., of the Lexington Presbyterian Church, that a Christian's duty included leading his fellow believers in prayer, Jackson urged White to call upon him to pray—even though he found the assignment extremely awkward and uncomfortable—until he mastered the delivery.[19] The head-first approach that Jackson applied tended leave him humiliated in the first few attempts, much as with public speaking in the Franklin Society. Mary Anna Jackson, Thomas Jackson's second wife, describes her husband's first excruciating attempt by stating that, "…his embarrassment was so great that the service was almost as painful to the audience as it was to himself."[20] Regardless, Jackson immediately resolved to master public prayer once he determined it to be his Christian duty, and eventually succeeded.

Neither Jackson nor his legend can be properly understood without considering his Christian faith. Dabney, himself a minister, describes religion as the "…most important feature of Jackson's character ..."[21] Davis also asserts a strong position on Jackson's Christianity, claiming that the source of many of the myths concerning his eccentricities stem from a misunderstanding of his faith.[22] Just as he overcame his difficulties in West Point and later with public speaking, Jackson exhibited hard work, discipline, and method in his search for religion. The search did not commence until well into adulthood. Although he attended Baptist services with the family of his childhood

---

[19]Mary Anna Jackson, 61-62.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Dabney, 83.
[22] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 169.

friend, Joseph Lightburn, and observed the syncretic religion of the African slaves on Cummins Jackson's farm, Thomas Jackson received little religious training during his childhood.[23] At the age of 8 years, Jackson visited his dying mother, to whom he made the promise that he would someday join a church.[24] Jackson's fulfillment of this early promise to his dying mother would have to wait until after his service in the Mexican War.

Once that conflict had ended, Jackson began to search for the proper religion in defeated Mexico. Intrigued by the piety of the local adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, he conducted several interviews with the Archbishop of Mexico in order to decide if he could adhere to that faith's doctrine.[25] Mary Anna Jackson reports that although her husband "…believed him [the Archbishop] to be a sincere and devout man, and was impressed with his learning and affability… the venerable prelate failed to convince him of the truth of the tenets of his belief."[26] While in Mexico, a fellow officer, Lieutenant Francis Taylor, began to speak to him concerning Christianity.[27] Convinced by Taylor and the Mexican Catholics of the merits of the Christian religion, Jackson sought the sacrament of baptism. His methodical searching of Scriptures, however, had yet to guide him to the proper denomination. As a solution, he applied for baptism at St. John's Episcopal Church in New York City, while stationed at Fort Taylor, with the stipulation that he would be free to continue to explore the various churches without

---

[23] *Still Standing: The Stonewall Jackson Story*, DVD, directed by Kenneth Carpenter (Franklin Springs, 2007).
[24] Ibid.
[25] Mary Anna Jackson, 48-49; *Still Standing*.
[26] Mary Anna Jackson, 48-49.
[27] Ibid., *Still Standing*.

obligation to any one of them.[28] Jackson employed his usual method of careful study in order to pick the proper denomination.

Today, historians remember Jackson as an ardent adherent of the Presbyterian Church. With any number of traits to pick for a single entry on the famous Stonewall, the authors of one modern college textbook chose to describe Jackson as "…a deeply religious Calvinist…"[29] Surprisingly, Jackson almost overlooked Presbyterianism because he originally favored the Arminian system of free will. His search for the proper denomination continued into his professorship at VMI, where he encountered the Lexington Presbyterian Church. After attending services of all the available denominations in Lexington, Dabney writes that Jackson chose to attend the Presbyterian Church. During a private meeting, probably not unlike those conducted with the Archbishop in Mexico, Reverend White of the Lexington church assured him that Jackson could continue to follow his own beliefs on predestination as a member of the Presbyterian Church, and so he joined on 22 November, 1851. [30] Mary Anna Jackson writes that in part, "…the simplicity of the Presbyterian form of worship…" and the learnedness of its clergy drew him to the denomination.[31] Later, through the study of scripture, Jackson converted to the Calvinist system of doctrine, completely transforming to the Lexington church's belief system.[32] Jackson did not inherit his religion from older

---

[28] Dabney, 60; Mary Anna Jackson, 49-50. Mrs. Jackson bases the location of St. John's on an entry in the church's records, which she believes to be in error, listing the baptism of "Thomas Jefferson Jackson." This seems likely not only because the man's rank and the date match that of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, but also because one of the sponsors listed is a Colonel Taylor, Jackson's mentor from Mexico and the commander of Fort Taylor at the time—see Col. G.F.R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1943), 41.
[29] James West Davidson, et. al., *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*, Vol. 1, 5th ed., (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005), 493.
[30] Dabney, 83-85. Robertson, *Maxims*, 17.
[31] Mary Anna Jackson, 58.
[32] Dabney, 83-85.

relatives—rather, he applied the study of scriptures to find the denomination which he believed to conform more closely to the Bible than any other. Just as Jackson succeeded at West Point and overcame his difficulties with public speaking and prayer, he also used hard work, study, and strict method to discover his religion.

Jackson's religion would later influence his command style in the field: he expected to-the-letter obedience. Davis passes on one particular anecdote concerning an aide, Henry Kyd Douglas. On a cold, rainy, night, Jackson called on Douglas, new to the staff, to ride a dispatch a long distance to an officer in an uncertain location in territory where Douglas had never been. After riding all night and accomplishing his assigned task under miserable conditions, Douglas expected at least verbal praise, but Jackson hardly noticed. To Jackson, the officer had completed the requirements of his task, nothing extraordinary.[33] Douglas' self-glorifying account may be suspicious to historians, as discussed later, but other well-documented incidents highlight the same trait, demanding perfect obedience to orders.[34] On separate occasions, Jackson infamously court-martialed division commanders A.P. Hill and Richard Garnett, both for having disobeyed his direct orders. According to Davis, "it did not matter a whit that by so doing, they might have saved their commands from extinction. An order was an order—Jackson himself gave blind, unthinking obedience, and he expected the same from his men."[35] This trait extended directly from his faith. Dabney explains that he saw all authority as derived from heaven; much as kings from earlier centuries saw themselves as justly appointed by God, and so Jackson viewed anyone in authority as a

[33] Davis, *Commanders*, 192.
[34] Davis, *Cause Lost,* 166-167.
[35] Ibid., 170.

direct extension of God's will.[36] Disobedience to authority meant disobedience to God himself, and General Jackson would never accept that sort of disobedience from either himself or his subordinates.

At least one more prudent illustration of Jackson's Christian faith exists in his marriage to Eleanor Junkin, her death, and Jackson's subsequent tour of Europe. He married her on 4 August, 1853, less than two years after arriving in Lexington. Dabney describes Jackson as a "tender husband": undoubtedly, he loved her very much, but the relationship would not last long.[37] 'Ellie,' as he called her, died after giving birth, along with her stillborn child, only fourteen months after the wedding. The tragedy, quite understandably, shook Jackson's emotions and tested his relatively new faith. He obviously suffered from the unequaled tragedy of losing a young wife, and at such a potentially joyous occasion as childbirth. Although less resolute men may have become angry with his God, Jackson found solace in his faith. He did, however, begin to lose his passion to live, writing to a friend that, "…I desire no more days on earth… I with patience abide my time, knowing that it is not too distant when I expect to enter into the joy of *the Lord*."[38] Although religion comforted Jackson with the hope of an afterlife free of pain and grief, his temporal life failed to improve. His mourning became so bad "…as not only to distress, but seriously to alarm his friends."[39] On their advice, Jackson left Virginia during the summer of 1856 for a tour of Europe. The European tour serves

---

[36] Dabney, 87.
[37] Ibid., 115.
[38] Qtd. in Robertson, *The Man, the Soldier, the Legend*, 164; italics exist in the original. This quotation does not suggest that Jackson ever considered suicide—quite the contrary—Mary Anna Jackson reprints on page 85 a letter that he writes to his aunt: "…I feel that I do not wish to go before it is the will of God, who withholds no good thing from them that love Him."
[39] Dabney, 115.

as an example of two of Jackson's traits: his devout religion, and the intense methodical approach which he applied to most challenges.

First, the tour refreshed Jackson spiritually. Jackson observed the man-made wonders of the continent, but he drew much more inspiration from the beauty of the natural environment, which he considered the special creation of God. [40] Robertson states perfectly that "he could now put the loss of Ellie in perspective. She was gone, but so much of life remained."[41] The tour of Europe allowed Jackson to see the rest of the world, and brought him out of the state of depression and angst. Around this time, Jackson entered the last entry into his famous maxim book:

> Objects to be affected by Ellie's Death
> To eradicate ambition
> To eradicate resentment
> To produce humility
> If you desire to be more heavenly minded, think more of the things of Heaven and less of the things of Earth.[42]

Although Ellie's death tested Jackson's faith, he remained resolute in his reliance on the God of Christianity, and ultimately emerged with his strong Calvinist religious convictions intact.

Secondly, the European tour illustrates Jackson's intense methodical approach to most of his goals. Jackson did not take a leisurely vacation—he planned an arduous journey over five months before the conveniences of modern transportation. During this time, in a letter to his aunt, Jackson mentions 37 separate locations that he visited across England, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy—then back to England and home to

---

[40] Mary Anna Jackson, 85-87.
[41] Robertson, *The Man, the Soldier, the Legend*, 172.
[42] Robertson, *Maxims* 115-116. There is no way to discern exactly when Jackson wrote the entry, but whether he wrote it before or after his tour of Europe, the entry remains an excellent insight into the religious approach that Jackson applied of handling the grief of his wife's death.

Virginia.[43] In addition to his swift travel schedule, Jackson also structured each individual day—he did not simply ride a train across the continent and enjoy the view through a window. He kept up a grueling daily pace from 5:00 AM to 9:00 PM which assured that he would see all of the pertinent sites for each particular location within the allotted schedule. He spent the rest of the day "touring, sightseeing, and inspecting" under the direction of guidebooks, ensuring that Jackson missed no pertinent sight.[44] Even while touring Europe, Jackson adhered to the penchant for methodical study and schedule that marked his ascension at West Point, professorship at VMI, struggle to master public speaking and prayer, and search for religion.

Jackson's many tedious rules serve as another illustration of his rigid, structured approach. Though Jackson amended his now-famous code over the years, he rarely, if ever, breached those rules—any researcher would be hard pressed to find a solid example to the contrary, as he notoriously refused to break them. As early as 1850, he wrote in a letter to his sister that, "it is probable that I am more particular in my rules than any person of your acquaintance."[45] He held them in high importance, and they covered topics ranging from health and dietary habits to Sabbath restrictions and study routines. If, for example, a letter from his fiancée and future second wife, Mary Anna Morrison, arrived on a Saturday evening after the beginning of the Sabbath, he would place the letter aside and not open it until Monday morning, preferring to reserve Sunday entirely for spiritual concerns.[46] Furthermore, he abhorred the postal service's practice of

---

[43] Mary Anna Jackson, 85-87.
[44] Robertson, *Man, Soldier, Legend*, 171.
[45] Qtd. in Robertson, *Maxims*, 14.
[46] Robertson, *Man, Soldier, Legend*, 177. Jackson's high regard for the Sabbath day does not in itself distinguish him from his peers in the 1850s, but the extent to which he exerted himself, at least during his civilian life, to eliminate even the smallest secular trace contributes to his modern popular image as a stern, unwavering Presbyterian Calvinist.

continuing work on Sundays, and so he always made certain to mail a letter at the beginning of the week so as to assure that it would not be carried on the Holy Day, if possible.[47] In most cases, he equated the breaking of a rule with an infringement upon morality, even if a particular rule had no direct moral implication. For example, except for a short passage of scripture, he would not read after dark, believing that the weak light of a flame strained his eyes. Concerning this rule, he once proclaimed that "…if I thus incapacitate myself [through loss of eyesight], by acts not really necessary, for my duties to my employers and my pupils in the institute, I shall commit sin."[48] Even in cases that would not constitute such a direct crime, he refused to commit even one act against his rules: "…it would become a precedent for another, and thus my rule would be broken down, and health would be injured, which would be a sin."[49] Hence, he adhered strictly to his rules, refusing to compromise in any small manner; this precise rigidity marked Jackson as different from his peers and contributed to his remembrance as a particularly eccentric man.

One final example of Jackson's methodical personality tendencies exists in his intense program of reading. Although an affinity for reading may not differentiate Jackson from his fellow military officers and college professors, the material that he read confirms the image of a methodical man with an ongoing program of self improvement. As professor of artillery tactics he of course read countless volumes on the subject, but the works that he read purely for self-edification and enjoyment reveal much more about the man's personality and, once again, his systematic approach.

---

[47] Mary Anna Jackson, 71, 75.
[48] Qtd. in Dabney, 75.
[49] Dabney, 75.

Jackson devoted a large section of his reading to personal improvement, both sacred and secular. First, Jackson read long and hard from the Holy Bible. His ardent study of that text did not cease with his selection of a church. Robertson stresses the importance of Jackson's intense study of the Bible, and his wife notes that "…the many pencil marks upon it showed with what care he bent over its pages."[50] He read and quoted the scriptures over and over: most assuredly, Jackson's religion cannot be properly understood without acknowledging the extent to which he relied on the reading of the Christian Bible. Reading the scriptures molded Jackson in his years before the Civil War, and here he used the systematic approach that he also applied to so many other areas of his life. Jackson also read from secular texts. He relied heavily on Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son, and noting the many pencil markings on the book's pages, Robertson concludes that Jackson "…read it and re-read it."[51] Other titles from his library also suggest a substantial commitment to improving social elegance and intellectual advancement, including O.S. Foster's *Memory and Intellectual Improvement Applied to Self-education and Juvenile Instruction*, as well as *Principles of Courtesy* and *Seventy Times Seven, or, The Law of Kindness* by George Winfred Hervey.[52] Titles like these suggest that Jackson embarked on a dedicated journey of self-improvement based on readings of the scripture and secular books, as well as practical applications such as his public speaking endeavors.

Jackson wrote down several points from the books that he had read into his famous maxim book. Some dispute remains over the book's actual level of importance to Jackson's quest for personal improvement and character development. Robertson, who

---

[50] Robertson, *Maxims*, 20; Mary Anna Jackson, 109.
[51] Robertson, *Maxims*, 20.
[52] Ibid.

has edited the only publically distributed printing of Jackson's maxims, places high importance on the book.[53] Robertson claims that the compilation of quotations, thoughts, and other selections served Jackson as a working guidebook where he could teach and improve himself socially and morally.[54] Wallace Hettle, however, disagrees, claiming that because the book contains only a few pages of material copied chiefly from two sources, Jackson could have conceivably written the whole thing in one afternoon and then promptly forgotten about it.[55] In reality, there exists no simple panacea to understanding Jackson's character and personality, although the notebook's importance probably ranks higher than Hettle suggests. That Jackson took the time to write it indicates the importance he placed upon the maxims contained therein, whether or not he ever read them again.

The origins of these proverbs reveal their worth to Jackson as well as the manner in which he used them. Hettle states that the maxim books derives most of its material from two sources: William Alcott's 1833 *The Young Man's Guide* and Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*.[56] Robertson adds Lord Chesterfield's letters as another important guide that Jackson utilized.[57] Chesterfield and Alcott dedicated their works specifically to self-improvement: the former employs the wisdom of the eighteenth century, while the latter represents a contemporary publication. Franklin had written the passages that Jackson copied from *Autobiography* for his own personal edification: "…I conceiv'd the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection. I wished to live

---

[53] The original resides at Tulane University. Robertson's version includes half a page or so of commentary on each maxim, as well as an extensive introduction explaining his version of the volume's importance to Jackson's development.
[54] Robertson, *Maxims*, 14.
[55] Wallace Hettle, "The Minister, the Martyr, and the Maxim: Robert Lewis Dabney and Stonewall Jackson," *Civil War History* 49 (December 2003): 366.
[56] Ibid., 365-366.
[57] Robertson, *Maxims*, 20.

without committing any fault at any time…"[58] To help himself accomplish this task, Franklin created what he considered to be a more or less complete list of the thirteen virtues that men might live by, and a short description for each one: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquility, chastity, and humility, in that order.[59] That Jackson copied the entire list verbatim indicates his desire to follow a similar goal as Franklin. The maxim book obviously served to further Jackson's methodized system of self-improvement, even if historians cannot agree on its precise level of importance.

Manner and Timing of Jackson's Death, and the Social Climate of the Post-War South

Thus far, the discussion has focused on those attributes of Jackson which distinguished him from his peers and contributed to his eccentric reputation. Although not all of the aforementioned subjects mark Jackson as particularly odd, they built his image as a hard, methodical Calvinist, unbending in his obedience to God and determined to improve his own character and social skills. This classic image of Jackson forms the basis for his popular memory, but unfortunately other factors would continue to shape that memory long after Jackson's death in 1863. Situational factors in the belligerent and post-war South would continue to expand and exaggerate the Jackson legend long after the man himself had ceased his own contributions.

Jackson brilliantly guided his troops during the war, and no serious author has sought to detract from that reputation. However, the timing of his victories and defeats compared to the overall situation of the South added to Jackson's popularity even while he remained alive. Gary W. Gallagher notes that Jackson's victories occurred at

---

[58] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (USA: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 120.
[59] Franklin, 121-123. Jackson inexplicably failed to copy Franklin's descriptions of both chastity and humility, although he included both tenets.

important points in Confederate military history, highlighted by the South's general defeat. His brilliant Shenandoah Valley Campaign "…had broken a spell of defeat in the Western Theater, in the Trans-Mississippi, and along the Atlantic coast."[60] In a later work, Gallagher writes that this timing elevated Jackson's reputation; on the other hand, when Jackson bungled his role in the Seven Day's Battles, as some accuse, Lee's general victory overshadowed any backlash over Jackson's mistakes.[61] These coincidences magnified Stonewall Jackson's victories and at the same time minimized his shortcomings.

Gallagher also points out that the timing of Jackson's death contributed to his post-war fame. Jackson died at the height of not only his own apex of accomplishment, but at the very height of the Confederacy itself.[62] His death at Chancellorsville occurred just before the widely accepted 'turning point' of Gettysburg. Generations of Americans, and especially Southerners, believed that if only Jackson had been at Gettysburg, then the South could have won the battle and continued on to win its war for independence. Jackson died before the North could decisively defeat him—while Lee and Longstreet lived to surrender at Appomattox, Jackson never did. According to Gallager, death in battle obscures "questionable aspects of a general's record."[63] He offers the examples of northern General Reynolds, whose death on the first day of Gettysburg made him a hero for all eternity. On the other hand, Longstreet's survival made him the scapegoat of the Confederacy.[64] Jackson's death ensured that his fame and regard would only increase.

---

[60] Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997), 138.
[61] Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals in War and in Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1998), 110-111.
[62] Ibid., 111-112.
[63] Ibid., 113-114.
[64] Ibid.

In fact, his regard would increase to the point that at least one man would attempt to forge Jackson into a Christian martyr. Wallace Hettle claims in his article concerning Robert Dabney that the latter's 1866 biography of Stonewall attempted to mold Jackson into a hero who had died not only for a secular cause, but in defense of the sacred. According to Hettle, several small publications made short-lived claims about southern martyrdom, but Robert Dabney "…offered a sermon that provide the first systemic theological arguments that soldiers fighting for the Confederacy could achieve the status of Christian martyrs…"[65] Dabney argued that Jackson's piety and pure courage made him a fighter for the Lord Almighty regardless of the secular nature of his cause—only Christ could have molded Jackson into such a virtuous example of courage.[66] Not even most Southerners would promote the Confederate dead to the standing of Christian martyrdom, and his idea would not catch on. However, Hettle affirms that Dabney's efforts did much to increase Jackson's reputation in the eyes of the South. Southerners saw him as an exemplar of Christian virtue in the highest tradition of southern values. In his 1895 history of the Confederacy, intended to teach the heritage of the South to its children, Joseph T. Derry does not specifically reference Jackson's character, but the drawing with which Derry chooses to illustrate the general shows him on his knees inside his tent, obviously praying, with the caption, "Jackson preparing for battle."[67] The South remembered Jackson as deeply religious man.

This does not imply that Jackson's devout religion has been exaggerated. Davis has remarked that, "religion is the surest guide to understanding Jackson in his last ten

---

[65] Hettle, 363.
[66] Ibid., 364.
[67] Joseph T. Derry, *Story of the Confederate States* (Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1996), 152.

years…"[68] A hero's reputation for religious zeal does not in itself prove that the individual actually exhibited the level of religious faith that popular history would suggest. After all, many painted images of George Washington recall that figure in prayerful posture even though his traditional orthodoxy and zeal may not have been so stellar.[69] However, many authoritative sources document Jackson's strict religiousness. Any attempt to understand his character and actions without taking into account his Christian faith misses a major factor, perhaps the most vital factor, in Thomas Jackson's life. However, Dabney's work succeeded in bringing Jackson's religion to the forefront of his popular recollection—thus increasing his general popularity.

Jackson's memory as a devout Christian held severe importance to the Lost Cause movement. Edward Pollard's book *The Lost Cause*, from whence the movement received its name, argued as one of its tenets that the South should strive to maintain its own "distinctive Southern culture."[70] As Southerners searched for a way to assert their culture and renew their sectional pride, the Lost Cause concept took off as an explanation that the Confederate cause had been just. The experiment had been doomed to failure from the start of the conflict by unfortunate circumstances and the 'unfair' advantages of the North, but defeat in battle could not contest the South's moral superiority. The persistent idea held that regardless of the outcome of the war, southern people still held moral superiority over Americans in the North. Allan T. Nolan writes in a section labeled, "The Saints Go Marching In," that Lost Cause authors judged their leaders on

---

[68] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 169.
[69] See, for example, chapter 5 of David Holmes, *Faiths of the Founding Fathers* (New York: Oxford U P, 2006), entitled "The Religious Views of George Washington." Holmes successfully dispels the myth that Washington was devoutly orthodox in his Christian views and practices. No such work exists concerning Jackson. All evidence suggests the accuracy of the popular view of the devoutly religious Stonewall.
[70] Neil Schmitz, "At the Stonewall Jackson Shrine," *Arizona Quarterly* 59 (Summer 2003):16.

the basis of Christianity, and chose to exalt those who exhibited saintly behavior.[71] Securing champions like Stonewall Jackson, especially as austere examples of Christianity and moral perfection, became an important part of the Lost Cause movement, and its advocates no doubt exaggerated their heroes' characteristics. In this manner, the Lost Cause movement further elevated the memory of Stonewall Jackson, advancing his reputation long after he himself had ceased to add to it.

Jackson's popularity and legend would grow not only in the post-war South, but in the North as well. Just as Jackson had thrilled southern newspaper readers with tales of his victories, so he had also terrified Northerners. Gallagher quotes a Washington, D.C. newspaper, the *Daily Morning Chronicle*, in an article concerning Jackson shortly after his death:

> While we are only too glad to be rid, in any way, of so terrible a foe, our sense of relief is not unmingled with emotions of sorrow and sympathy at the death of so brave a man. Every man who possesses the slightest particle of magnanimity must admire the qualities for which Stonewall Jackson was celebrated—his heroism, his bravery, his sublime devotion, his purity of character. He is not the first instance of a good man devoting himself to a bad cause.[72]

Lincoln himself sent a letter to the editor, expressing agreement with the obituary.[73] Even many northerners held a certain fascination with Stonewall Jackson. In fact, one author, Markenfield Addey, undeterred by wartime geographical limitations on research, published a biography of General Jackson in New York City in 1863, while Jackson himself had only been dead for a few months. Of course, Addey had no access to

---

[71] Allan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Allan T. Nolan (Bloomington, IN: Indiana U P, 2000), 18-19.
[72] Qtd. in Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals*, 104.
[73] Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals*, 104-105.

important primary sources in the belligerent South.[74] His book, titled, *"Stonewall Jackson." The Life and military Career of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army.*, includes only twelve short pages concerning Jackson's pre-war life.[75] To his credit, his facts appear accurate, if not numerous. Davis remarks that "…curiosity and admiration for the general were already on the rise…" in the North.[76] Addey's little volume serves as evidence of that assertion.[77] Although the biography has no value as research material, and consists mostly of strictly factual material such as dates, and anecdotes probably garnered from newspapers, its very publication serves as evidence of curiosity about Jackson even in the North.

Early Jackson Biography and Historiography

Other biographers would not lessen Stonewall Jackson myths and legends, especially many of the early ones. Poor early biographies of many heroes can be found in abundance. Once again, George Washington forms a prime example: his elevation to the status of Father of His Country led to all sorts of invented stories and anecdotes concerning his religious observance of honesty, such as the infamous cherry-tree story, that under rigorous historical examination turn out to be bunk. Someone made up the story to accent his honesty, and glorify a national icon. Men like their heroes to be perfect, and so they often exaggerate their traits to the point of godliness. Jackson, while perhaps not suffering the same degree of abuse that Washington has been forced to

---

[74] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 162.
[75] Markenfield Addey, *"Stonewall Jackson." The Life and Military Career of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army* (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863), 13-24.
[76] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 162.
[77] Addey writes on page 7 that after Gettysburg, Lee, "…was fully able to estimate the loss he had sustained in the death of so distinguished a general"—evidence that even at this early date, men were already pondering the classic question of whether the South might have won the battle had Stonewall Jackson fought at Gettysburg.

endure, has not escaped such exxageration. Many Jackson biographers seem eager to invent, spread, and exaggerate facts and legends about their subject.

Jackson's hypochondria serves as an example of an aspect of the general which has been exaggerated and manipulated by mythology. Jackson suffered from a variety of medical symptoms: he thought that one arm and one leg had grown larger than the other, and had trouble with his throat, ears, eyes, and digestive system.[78] Many early biographers tend to exaggerate this aspect of Jackson. Davis counters the hypochondriac charge, stating that when compared to others at the time, especially considering the medical technology and knowledge in the 1850s and '60s, Jackson becomes completely normal; in fact, "…a great proportion of the population suffered more or less constantly."[79] While this may be true, modern physician Jack D. Welsh notes that "His various systemic complaints virtually ceased once active field duty started."[80] Mary Anna Jackson mentions his fight with dyspepsia, which she terms his "arch-enemy," and notes that Jackson indulged in mineral baths and gymnasium exercise to combat the condition with some success.[81] Overall, Jackson exhibited some signs of hypochondria, but this should be noted as a general trait of the human population of the time that he lived, rather than as a peculiar anomaly of Jackson's. Once again, this minor trait has been exaggerated—in reality, it does not remarkably distinguish Jackson from his peers, many of whom also had ideas about health which seem strange to modern minds.

A related exaggerated trait says that Jackson loved to suck the juice of lemons, and usually had a supply of them stashed somewhere in his belongings for convenient use

---

[78] Jack D. Welsh, *Medical Histories of Confederate Generals* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), 111.
[79] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 167.
[80] Welsh, 111.
[81] Mary Anna Jackson, 71.

on the battlefield. Davis, with a tone of irritation, debunks the myth in a quick paragraph. Claiming that Jackson ate many different fruits, he blames the exaggeration of this trait on early biographer John Esten Cooke, and states that while Jackson did eat a lot of lemons, "…many varieties of that fruit are almost as sweet as an orange and make wonderful eating all by themselves. Viewed in this light, was Jackson sucking on a lemon necessarily such a peculiar thing to do?"[82] Between raising one arm to equalize body fluids and using the other to wield his precious lemons, Jackson must have held his horse's reigns in his teeth. Another author, Col. G.F.R. Henderson, whose work is praised by Davis as the most valuable of all Stonewall biographies,[83] writes near the turn of the century that, "Cooke's Life of Jackson is still popular, and deservedly so…"[84] Hence, Cooke's myth-mongering volumes evidently enjoyed more than 35 years of circulation as authoritative bibliographies, spreading the lemon myth as well as others. Today, much of popular culture regards the lemon myth as fact, and it has appeared in media such as novels and computer games.

These and other small peculiarities like them may seem inconsequential. After all, plenty of men much more odd than Jackson never reach fame, but in the general's case, these tics and eccentricities contributed to an enigmatic element that added to the perception of his genius and caused him to stand even farther apart from his contemporaries. In this way, the myths and legends about his personal habits artificially

---

[82] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 166. Also see Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1940), 103-104.
[83] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 164-165. Davis' commentary pre-dates Robertson's comprehensive biography; Davis correctly predicts that it will become the "standard" work on the subject.
[84] Henderson, xvi. Henderson goes on to critique Cooke's limitations, but his mention here is evidence of Cooke's influence.

added to his reputation. Henderson, one of the first to recognize the mythological trend of exaggeration, writes that:

> As he rose to fame, men listened greedily to those who could speak of him from personal knowledge ; the anecdotes which they related were quickly distorted ; the slightest peculiarities of walk, speech, or gesture were greatly exaggerated ; and even Virginians seemed to vie with one another in representing the humble and kindhearted soldier as the most bigoted of Christians and the most pitiless of men.[85]

Henderson offers an absolutely correct assessment, describing exactly what has happened to Stonewall Jackson's memory in the 145 years since his death. Unfortunately, Henderson's realization would not halt the phenomenon of which he wrote. Henderson himself may have avoided major gaffs, but the flawed biographies would continue to be written and reprinted throughout the years, passing on the myths farther and farther into the next century.

Several early Jackson biographies did more to spread myths like Jackson's hypochondria and love of lemons. Several early works like Markenfield Addey's, as mentioned above, appeared so suddenly as to defy conventional research methods. Cooke's *The Life of Stonewall Jackson*, originally published in 1863, set the precedent for many authors who "…never let the truth get in the way of a good story…"[86] For example, concerning Jackson's resignation from the army in order to accept his professorship at VMI, Cooke claims that:

> The climate of the country [Mexico] had, however, told powerfully upon a frame at no time very robust. His health became so impaired that he was unable to discharge his duties—and, with the high sense of honor which marked his character, he, on the conclusion of peace, resigned his

[85] Henderson, 48.
[86] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 162.

> commission. (Feb. 29, 1852.) Returning to Virginia, he obtained a Professorship in the Virginia Military Institute… [87]

Cooke's version compresses the timeline, skipping several years of Jackson's life, and suggests that Jackson left the army and then gained an appointment to VMI, rather than vice-versa—furthermore, the account of Jackson's reaction to Mexico completely fails to conform to truth. Mary Anna Jackson, obviously a much better source on her husband's pre-war life, writes a completely contradictory account:

> The delicious climate and beautiful scenery of Mexico, with its wealth of flowers and tropical fruits, so charmed him that he often said that if the people had been equal to their climate, and the civil and religious privileges had been as great as those of his own country, he would have preferred a home there to any other part of the world.[88]

This description hardly suggests that Mexico climate caused Jackson's health to suffer. Cooke also skips Jackson's post-war deployments and ignores the five-year time lapse between Mexico's surrender and Jackson's resignation. Most likely, in hastily writing his account he confused Mexico with Florida, whose climate did injure his physical condition.[89] Cooke published another work in 1866 with more accuracy on this last particular point, correcting the vague omissions of his previous work.[90] Regardless, Davis has no praise for the re-worked edition, referring to it as "another version" of the

---

[87] John E. Cooke, *The Life of Stonewall Jackson. From Official Papers, Contemporary Narratives, and Personal Acquaintance* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 15.
[88] Mary Anna Jackson, 47.
[89] Ibid., 49.
[90] John Esten Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866), 19. Interestingly, this author's particular copy, borrowed from the Penn State University Libraries contains several hand-written notes in the margins, written in fountain pen. The anonymous commentator surrounded Cooke's name on the title page with parentheses and wrote, "whose rhetoric gets the better of his facts and whose imagination invents facts." Later, on page 176, referring to cavalry officer Colonel Turner Ashby, whom Cooke treats with special praise, is written, "Ashby is forgotten + John Esten Cooke will be immortal as an ass if his book happens in ages to come to be dug out of his dusty corner of some library." Most intriguing, however, is the note on page 146, where, in dispute over certain details of the battle of McDowell, the reader declares, "I saw Genl Banks myself in the streets of Winchester and he stayed with his army until it encamped at Williamsport." Though this evidence is purely anecdotal, it confirms that at least one reader, an original observer of the war and possibly a Union veteran, was skeptical of Cooke's work from the beginning.

first work, and historians have gained little information from its contribution.[91] Unfortunately, Cooke's biographies served as major sources for several decades after publication.

Henry Kyd Douglas' *I Rode With Stonewall*, although not strictly a biography of Jackson, also passed on myths about the general. According to Douglas, Jackson holds a lemon all through Cold Harbor (Gaines Mill), and as Jackson consumes it, he uses it in much the same manner as another officer might smoke a pipe, gesturing with the lemon.[92] In the same paragraph, Douglas also mentions the general's habit of raising his right arm periodically to achieve equal distribution of fluids. Mythology has elevated these minor traits of Jackson to major defining characteristics. Davis essentially claims that Douglas used and abused his proximity to Jackson in order to convince publishers to print his book.[93] He never succeeded; the volume remained out of print until Douglas' nephew had it published in 1940, long after his uncle's death. Douglas, along with Cooke, falls into the category of men "…who in some way, perhaps subconsciously, sought to aggrandize themselves by exaggerating their intimacy with the general."[94] Unfortunately, historical truth would bear the cost of such aggrandizement.

Not all of Jackson's biographers exaggerated his eccentric traits. Several of the early biographies contained mostly truth, although they failed to squelch the myths propagated by other works. Dabney's *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. T.J. (Stonewall) Jackson* reached publication in 1866, three years after Jackson's death. Thankfully, Dabney deviates from the early tradition of poor biography—Davis notes the

---

[91] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 162.
[92] Douglas, 103-104.
[93] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 167.
[94] Ibid., 165.

work in particular as a useful source of primary documentation. [95] The author, however, glorifies his subject to a large extent. Dabney does not appear to lie outright, but he uses an excess of laudatory prose. While he reports Jackson's shortcomings, such as his poor teaching skills, he also creates excuses for him—in this case, Dabney claims that a man of excellent military ability naturally lacks the skills to teach, as they contradict the skills necessary for effective military command.[96] Dabney's work reads like an honest biographer who nonetheless wants to portray his friend in the most favorable manner possible. However, his hero worship, in the tradition of the Lost Cause, probably contributed in large fashion towards the concept of Jackson as a flawless saint. Regardless, modern historians have taken the proper approach to his work, weeding out the facts from his many words of praise.[97] Unfortunately, Dabney's positive example represents a break from the early tradition of Stonewall biography, and most other early works on Jackson contribute to the endless exaggerations, adding to the difficult task of sorting truth from myth.

Of all 19th century biographies, only two others, Mary Anna Jackson's 1892 *Life and Letters*, and Henderson's 1898 *Stonewall Jackson*, receive Davis' praise. Mary Anna Jackson, as expected, wrote an intimate account of her husband's personal life, and due to her special knowledge of the general, the book contains perhaps the most complete account of her husband's personal character. Davis notes that many of original copies of the letters reprinted in the biography have ceased to exist, making the volume an important primary source.[98] Henderson, as noted above, recognized the Jackson

---

[95] Ibid., 164.
[96] Dabney, 63-64.
[97] Hettle, 365.
[98] Davis, *Cause Lost*, 164.

mythological phenomenon. He obtained hordes of useful material from Jedediah Hotchkiss, Jackson's famed mapmaker.[99] These two nineteenth century biographers, and to some extent Dabney, kept the true image of Jackson alive for modern writers to discover. Most of the numerous others only added to the myths and exaggerated anecdotes.

One final work deserves mention: Robertson's definitive *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, The Soldier, The Legend*. Davis predicts one year in advance that as a result of Robertson's work, "much of the Jackson mythology will be laid to rest permanently."[100] Robertson's work serves as a proper capstone to Jackson biography. Yet, the biography has its critics—Nolan refers to Robertson as one of "the neo-Confederate writers of the Lost Cause in this century…," and accuses him of being "…if anything, more elaborate in [his] tributes to Jackson that were his early biographers."[101] Although Robertson's work rightly stands as the apex of Stonewall Jackson biography, even modern scholars seem to encounter difficulty separating the Jackson mythology from the historical reality.

Stonewall Jackson today remains possibly the most celebrated hero in Confederate history, standing second only to Robert E. Lee in stature. Partly contributing to this reputation as a Confederate conqueror and partly built by it, Stonewall Jackson's significance and memory has grown and been exalted somewhat beyond its original character's actual contribution. Although Thomas Jonathan Jackson deserves a reputation as an excellent military officer, several factors beyond his immediate control contributed to his subsequent remembrance in the South and beyond. The general's eccentric personality and odd habits ensured that he would be noticed, while conditions

---

[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 165.
[101] Nolan, 18.

in the belligerent and post-war South led to his exaltation as a Confederate hero of the Lost Cause. Finally, early biographers and other authors celebrated Jackson and his alleged eccentricities, resulting in further distortions of his reputation.

As the passing years further obscure the memory of the true Stonewall—as with all subjects—historians will never fully understand Thomas Jackson. Scholars may never discern the exact degree of his myths and legends compared with the real man. Yet, generations of men still continue to study Stonewall Jackson with fascination and awe in spite of the imperfections of historiography. Davis expresses hope to one day end the mythology surrounding General Jackson—a fine goal—yet, in Jackson's case, the legends and myths simply prove themselves much too irresistible for people to withstand them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Addey, Markenfield. *"Stonewall Jackson." The Life and Military Career of Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army.* New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863.

Cooke, John Esten. *The Life of Stonewall Jackson From Official Papers, Contemporary Narratives, and Personal Acquaintance*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971. (Original Publication: 1863).

——. *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866.

Dabney, R.L. *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. T.J. (Stonewall) Jackson*. Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1983. (Original Publication: New York: Blielock & Co., 1866.)

Davidson, James West, et. al. *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*. Vol.1, 5th ed. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005.

Davis, William C. *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1996.

——. *Rebels and Yankees: The Commanders of the Civil War*. London: Salamander Books LTD, 2001.

Derry, Joseph T. *Story of the Confederate States*. Harrisonburg VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1996. (Original Publication: 1895).

Douglas, Henry Kyd. *I Rode With Stonewall*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. USA: Houghton Mifflin, 1923.

Gallagher, Gary W. *Lee and His Generals in War and in Memory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1998.

——. *The Confederate War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Henderson, Col. G.F.R. *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*. Authorized American ed. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1943. (Original Publication: 1898.)

Holmes, David L. *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Jackson, Mary Anna. *The Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson)*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.

Nolan, Alan T. "The Anatomy of the Myth." In *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, edited by Gary W. Gallagher and Allan T. Nolan. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Robertson, James I, ed. *Stonewall Jackson's Book of Maxims*. Nashville: Cumberland House, 2002.

——. *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, The Soldier, The Legend*. New York: MacMillan Publishing USA, 1997.

Welsh, Jack D. *Medical Histories of Confederate Generals*. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1995.

Articles

Hettle, Wallace. "The Minister, the Martyr, and the Maxim: Robert Lewis Dabney and Stonewall Jackson." *Civil War History* 49, no. 4 (December 2003): 353-369.

Schmitz, Neil. "At the Stonewall Jackson Shrine." *Arizona Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 5-34.

Video

Still Standing: The Stonewall Jackson Story. Directed by Kenneth Carpenter. Franklin, TN: Franklin Springs, 2007.