

**Laura Arnold:  
Stonewall Jackson's Unionist Sister**  
Larry Spurgeon (2020)<sup>1</sup>

*"I was a Union woman from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet."*<sup>2</sup>



*Laura Arnold, circa 1865*<sup>3</sup>

Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson revealed his inner self to few people. One of them was his beloved younger sister Laura. Orphaned as children, they were extraordinarily close, yet according to lore, became estranged after the Civil War began because Laura supported the Union.

Laura was indeed an ardent Unionist, revered and honored by veterans for nursing soldiers in Beverly, Virginia (now West Virginia). Some details about her life after the war can be found in Jackson biographies. Accused by her husband of conduct “unbecoming a prudent and faithful married woman,” with Union officers, a divorce case lingered for years, and she lived four decades in an Ohio sanitarium. Almost nothing has been published in her own words. She has been an enigma.

My interest in Laura’s story was piqued by a letter to her from Jackson’s widow, Mary Anna (Anna). Dated September 21, 1864, 16 months after the general’s death, Anna bared her soul, detailing her husband’s last days, and expressing hope of visiting Laura soon. Why would Anna write such a letter late in the war, I wondered, if Thomas and Laura fell out years earlier? There are two possibilities; either Anna did not know of Laura’s Unionism, or, was aware of it, but did not care, in a sense, because of family connection. In either case, why is it assumed the relationship between Thomas and Laura was fractured? Does any direct evidence support it? I wanted to dig deep to understand the family dynamic.

My research focused as much as possible on primary sources, including family letters, personal accounts, and newspaper articles. Laura gave several interviews late in life, and she had a lot to say. She shared many of her brother’s traits - an indomitable will, stubbornness, and courage. A celebrity after the war, she was portrayed as intelligent, engaging, even sophisticated. Given her long and fascinating life, it is surprising she is all but forgotten today – but history tends to marginalize people in the shadows of iconic figures.

### **Childhood**

The early childhood of Stonewall Jackson has become the stuff of legend. A consensus narrative evolved over time, from stories passed down by Jackson family members and acquaintances, but those stories have gaps, errors, and myths. A thorough examination of the childhood of Thomas and Laura, and a new interpretation of the timeline, is set out in my paper “Stonewall Jackson in Fayette County.”<sup>4</sup>

The following is a summary of the key events.

The Jackson family “distinguished itself above almost every other family west of the mountains.”<sup>5</sup> John and Elizabeth Jackson emigrated from London in 1749 as indentured servants. Eventually they acquired several thousand acres near modern Buckhannon, West Virginia. By 1790, they moved to Clarksburg to live with their oldest son. George Jackson served in the Virginia Assembly, the Virginia convention to ratify the United States Constitution, the United States Congress, and the Ohio legislature. Among his fourteen children, by two wives, were members of Congress, judges, a governor and a lieutenant governor.<sup>6</sup> His oldest son, John George Jackson, who succeeded him in Congress in 1803,<sup>7</sup> was a Brigadier General in the Virginia Militia, a federal judge, a delegate to the Virginia legislature, and the husband of Dolley Madison’s older sister, Mary Payne.<sup>8</sup>

Edward Jackson, second son of the immigrants, and the grandfather of Thomas and Laura, was a surveyor, justice for two counties, militia officer, commissioner of revenue, and sheriff. His first wife, Mary Hadden, was the mother of six children, including Jonathan, born in 1790. Three years after Mary’s death Edward married Elizabeth Brake, who bore nine children, including Cummins, an important, though controversial, figure in Thomas’s life.<sup>9</sup> Edward and Elizabeth moved to Lewis County about 1801, to a bend in the West Fork River 23 miles south of Clarksburg,<sup>10</sup> where they amassed 1,500 acres, a site known ever since as Jackson’s Mill.<sup>11</sup>

Jonathan was a lawyer in Clarksburg, studying under his first cousin, John George Jackson.<sup>12</sup> In 1817, he married Julia Beckwith Neale, eight years his junior, whose father was a prominent merchant in Parkersburg, Virginia. Thomas Jackson was the couple’s third child, born in 1824, preceded by Elizabeth (1819), and Warren (1821).<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth and Jonathan died in March 1826 of typhoid fever. Laura Ann Jackson was born on March 27, the day after Jonathan’s death.<sup>14</sup>

The next few years were difficult for Julia. She sewed and taught school for money,<sup>15</sup> but eventually lost the house to Jonathan’s debts. His Masonic lodge provided a one-room cottage for the family, about 12 feet square “on the back part of a lot on an alley with only the ground it covered.”<sup>16</sup> To the opposition of some Jacksons, Julia married Captain Blake Baker Woodson on November 4, 1830.<sup>17</sup> A lawyer in Clarksburg, Blake was much older than Julia, born in the early 1770s. Jackson biographies provide little information about him, most of it unflattering. Blake was from a prominent family in Cumberland County, Virginia, a successful landowner, lawyer, and community leader. He was among those who petitioned the Virginia legislature in 1795 to extend the navigation of the Appomattox River,<sup>18</sup> and one of the trustees appointed in 1798 – the year Julia Neale was born – to lay out the town of Farmville.<sup>19</sup> In 1800, he was appointed to a committee to select presidential electors for the Republican Party ticket that nominated Thomas Jefferson,<sup>20</sup> and he represented Cumberland County in the Virginia House of Delegates during the 1807-1808 term.<sup>21</sup>

Blake’s first wife was Sarah (Sally) Taylor. Her brother, Creed Taylor (1766-1836), was married to Blake’s sister, Sarah Woodson, making the two men brothers-in-law twice over.<sup>22</sup> Creed served in the Virginia General Assembly and as Speaker of the Virginia Senate. In 1806 he succeeded the legendary George Wythe as judge of the Chancery Court in Richmond. He founded the second law school in Virginia, in Richmond, and later moved it to his estate near Farmville known as Needham.<sup>23</sup>

Blake and Sally had at least six children, and several were minors when Sally died about 1822. The author of a Woodson genealogy claimed that Blake’s move to Clarksburg was triggered by Sally’s death and a fire that destroyed their house,<sup>24</sup> but Blake’s world was already coming apart. Two court opinions in the 1820s reveal his financial problems – he had borrowed \$9,000 from the Bank of the United States and became insolvent.<sup>25</sup>

In May 1831, Blake was appointed the first Clerk of the Court for Fayette County, Virginia.<sup>26</sup> Blake and Julia moved to New Haven, renamed Ansted, a distance of 120 miles. Conflicting accounts of what happened to Julia’s three children were given by family members, but the most plausible scenario is that Thomas and Laura went with Blake and Julia, and Warren was sent to other relatives.<sup>27</sup> Based on family tradition, Julia soon had difficulty caring for the children because of declining health and pregnancy, and “within a few months after her arrival, consented to let their Grandmother Jackson

take them” to Jackson’s Mill.<sup>28</sup> Julia gave birth on October 7 to William Wirt Woodson, called Wirt,<sup>29</sup> and her health soon declined. The children were taken to her to say goodbye.<sup>30</sup> If the traditional timeline is accurate, Thomas and Laura, ages 7 and 5, made three trips of more than 100 miles on horseback, in wilderness, between July and November. Though embedded deeply in the Stonewall Jackson legend, it strains credulity to believe that all of the journeys took place.

Thomas and Laura were present when Julia died on December 3, 1831.<sup>31</sup> Most sources presume they were taken back to Jackson’s Mill shortly after Julia’s death – yet a fourth journey of 100 miles on horseback – but my research concluded that they lived with Blake in Fayette County until his death in spring 1833.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Neale, Julia’s father, stated in a letter that after Julia’s death Blake “still wished to keep the children,” and that after Blake’s death his son William wrote to Neale, asking him to come get the children.<sup>33</sup> Laura told her cousin years later that she and Thomas lived with Blake until his death.<sup>34</sup> Cummins Jackson traveled to Fayette County to pick up Thomas and Laura and take them back to Jackson’s Mill.<sup>35</sup>

Two years later, in August 1835, step-grandmother Elizabeth Brake Jackson died, and, with only bachelor uncles remaining at Jackson’s Mill, the decision was made to send the children to other relatives. Laura went to the home of Alfred Neale, Julia’s younger brother, and his wife Clementine. They lived on an island in the Ohio River near Parkersburg,<sup>36</sup> and provided a loving and stable home for Laura.<sup>37</sup> Her formative years were spent in sight of the state of Ohio, and her loyalty to the Union must be seen in this light. Thomas Jackson Arnold, Laura’s oldest child, observed that “the Jacksons (except the Parkersburg branch)” were Democrats. “One who did not live at that period can hardly imagine the intense bitterness that frequently existed between Whigs & Democrats,” he added,<sup>38</sup> and one of the principal issues dividing the two groups was states’ rights.

## **Marriage and Family**

Laura left the comfort and security of the Neales about the time she turned 18, and moved to Randolph County, Virginia, 140 miles east of Parkersburg. Grandmother Mary Hadden Jackson was from Randolph County, and her sister Margaret and husband Isaac White lived outside of Beverly, then the county seat.<sup>39</sup> Thomas Arnold mentioned the Whites in connection with events during the Civil War.<sup>40</sup> Soon after the move, in 1844, Laura married a man 24 years her senior, Jonathan Arnold, a native of Pennsylvania.<sup>41</sup> Laura was his third wife, the first two having died within a year of marriage.<sup>42</sup> Jonathan purchased a large two-story brick house on Main Street in Beverly, on the Staunton-Parkersburg Turnpike. The couple had four children: Thomas Jackson, born November 3, 1845; Anna Grace (Grace), born March 23, 1848; Stark William, born December 20, 1851; and Laura Zell, who was born December 9, 1853, and died a few months later.<sup>43</sup>

Jackson showed great affection for the children and concern about their education. He sent a poignant letter to 12-year-old Grace in 1860: “My Father and Mother died when I was very young, and I had to work for my living and education both; but your parents are both living and have given you a kind teacher and I trust that you will show them how thankful you are to them by studying hard.” He had not learned spelling well as a child, he added, and still struggled with it, even pointing out that he had to use a dictionary for some of the words in the letter.<sup>44</sup> In 1858, Jackson persuaded Laura to send thirteen-year-old Thomas to Lexington to be tutored. Laura traveled there the following summer with her two younger children to take Thomas home, and stayed for several weeks at the Jackson home on Washington Street.<sup>45</sup>

Jackson’s surviving letters to Laura have recurrent themes, notably religion and his health. He believed Laura had lost her faith, and perhaps through his gentle badgering, she became increasingly religious in the late 1850s. Jackson wrote her in 1858, “I have never believed that you would be lost. I have borne in mind that our sainted mother’s prayers would not be forgotten by our Heavenly Father.”<sup>46</sup> A month later he wrote that “I thank our heavenly father for having given you that peace which passeth all understanding and which the world can neither give nor take away... You may expect dark hours,

but never for one moment permit yourself to despond.”<sup>47</sup>

Thomas Arnold wrote about his memories of “Beverly in the Sixties.” Local businesses included a hat factory, two boot and shoe shops, two tailor shops, three saddleries, two blacksmiths, two gunsmiths, two hotels, six general stores, and a toy factory. Travel to and from Beverly was accomplished by “Tri-weekly stage coaches – drawn by four horses... from Staunton, from Weston and from Fairmount; making good time, horses being changed every 10 or 12 miles, going night and day...”<sup>48</sup> He described the political situation before the war: “A decided majority of the inhabitants were southern in sentiment, many of whom were opposed to secession; but there were a sufficient number holding opposite views to keep up warm discussions.” He commented wryly “there was too much drinking and entirely too much talking,” and later it was observed “of those who did the most talking, but few of them did any fighting; their principal work consisting in urging the other fellow to buckle on the armor of battle.”<sup>49</sup> Some things never change.

The political scene in 1860 was “Whigs vs. Democrats. The Republican party was unknown in Randolph County – Lincoln not receiving a single vote.”<sup>50</sup> Jonathan was an active member of the Whig party that carried the ticket in that county for Bell and Everett, a supporter of the Union at the beginning, and an opponent of Virginia’s secession, but he became “alienated by the Emancipation Proclamation, arbitrary arrests of civilians by the military, and other measures of the Lincoln administration, which he deemed, not without cause, to be unconstitutional,” and became a “Copperhead” by the fall of 1863.<sup>51</sup> Symbolically led by Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, it was a movement made up of Democrats in the north who opposed the war, and believed the Lincoln administration was violating the Constitution.<sup>52</sup>

Laura said the area was a Confederate district, and people were afraid to vote for the Union ticket.<sup>53</sup> Her views on slavery are unknown, but the family owned two enslaved people in 1850 and four in 1860.<sup>54</sup> Clementine Neale wrote to Laura in 1858 about one of them:

You wish to know what I would give for a good negro woman, do you mean to buy or hire? With a child I think fifty dollars a year – would be a great price but I would give it if she is very good perhaps a little more, you know we have to pay taxes and doctors’ bills, if she is free I would not like to take her without some certainty that she would stay, as I have a girl that I can keep though she does not suit me, you can tell pretty well what qualities I would like in a servant.<sup>55</sup>

Thomas mentioned “Negro servants” of the family, and Grace referred to a “colored woman” servant, known as Aunt Peggy.<sup>56</sup>

## War

The Civil War came early to Beverly. Residents awoke to the sound of artillery on June 3, 1861. Thomas Arnold was “familiar with this sound, having heard so much of it when the Cadets at V.M.I. had artillery drill, I having recently attended school in Lexington.” The artillery was at Philippi, 25 miles to the north, and retreating Confederate soldiers streamed into Beverly, “bringing word of the surprise and defeat,” and news that “the Federals were in hot pursuit.” Most citizens fled, anticipating fighting in the streets, and “probably not more than half a dozen” people remained, including Jonathan and Thomas. “My mother, I presume at my father’s instance, had taken the other children and the Negro servants to the Whites’, who resided west of the river, distant some two miles.” Union soldiers did not enter Beverly and after a few days the Confederates returned, reinforced. General Robert Garnett placed artillery at Laurel Hill and soldiers at the base of Rich Mountain, seven miles west of town, under the command of Major (later General) Pegram.<sup>57</sup>

The Battle of Rich Mountain was fought on July 11, 1861. Late that day many Confederate soldiers entered town “got supper as houses were freely opened to them, and towards morning resumed

their retreat southward.” The Union forces arrived late the next morning, led by Generals George B. McClellan and William Rosecrans. Thomas recalled the “rather unusual excitement in our family” that day. His parents had him take a soldier from the 1<sup>st</sup> Georgia Regiment, “who was just recovering from typhoid fever, on a horse, to the Whites, living on the west side of the river, to avoid capture.” Rather than return through the fields, a shorter route, he took the main road to “pick up some news,” and went out of his way to the Arnold farm. Soon he was “face to face with the Federal advance guard.” Questioned, and “placed under the charge of one of General McClellan’s mounted bodyguards,” as they rode into town, “passing immediately by our house, my parents were much surprised, if not excited.” Jonathan “got busy” and through a local friend, who acted as a guide for the Union forces in the advance to Beverly, “secured an order from General McClellan for my release.”<sup>58</sup>

McClellan visited the Arnold home “on at least two occasions to see my parents, my mother’s brother having been a classmate of his at West Point.” McClellan also wanted to check on Major Pegram, who had been allowed to stay at the Arnold home under parole until further orders from Washington about his case. Thomas was complimentary about McClellan’s military ability, even quoting Robert E. Lee’s statement to him after the war, that McClellan was the best of the Union generals.<sup>59</sup>

The Beverly area experienced limited military action, but was under Union occupation for the duration of the war. From the Battle of Rich Mountain,

[f]or the period of four years, with two brief intervals, one at the time of the Imboden raid in the spring of 1863, and the other following the Rosser fight in 1865, Beverly was paralyzed or blighted - the inhabitants virtually prisoners - guards constantly stationed night and day on each of the four roads leading from town; soldiers on the streets all day, daily; patrols on the streets at night; citizens not permitted to pass the guards on the roads leading from town without a written pass from Headquarters bearing the signature of the Adjutant, countersigned by the Commander of the Post.<sup>60</sup>

Normal civil authorities were largely displaced.<sup>61</sup> Thomas recalled some Union officers favorably, though others were sharply criticized. He described the delicate balance for townspeople:

We generally had in the house some sick Federal officer, as did a number of other families in the town. They were supplied with a male orderly or nurse from the hospital, who got his meals - the invalid's meals being supplied by the family. Aside from a natural feeling of humanity to aid the sick, there was some advantage in this. It saved a family from being annoyed with soldiers. Then again officers were entitled to draw several rations in proportion to their rank. They could draw all this in flour, meats, etc., from the United States Commissary, at wholesale cost. Families could in that way obtain supplies that were sometimes difficult to get. As other officers would visit the sick, members of the family would naturally get acquainted, and that aided in getting a pass.<sup>62</sup>

Laura explained the circumstances of her wartime service as a nurse to a newspaper correspondent in 1890. The first out-of-state regiment to arrive in Beverly was the 1<sup>st</sup> Georgia. It had trained in Pensacola, transferred by train to Staunton, Virginia, and marched across the mountains, through snow, to Beverly. Many were sick, and the first soldier she treated in her house was a “poor sick Georgia boy,” no doubt the same soldier escorted out of Beverly by Thomas. A “Southern Hospital” was set up a quarter mile south of town, and she went there to “see how they were getting along.” The doctor did not have medicine, so she took him to her house to get some, and took some of the sickest soldiers there. Three Confederate soldiers were there when McClellan’s army came through town. Union officers wanted to use her house for accommodations, but she declined because “I didn’t feel able to have the care of so many.”<sup>63</sup>

Laura said the first Union soldier she nursed was Captain Miller from Lafayette, Indiana, wounded at the Battle of Rich Mountain. She fixed up a room for him, and he was in Beverly for eleven months. She later learned that he became a colonel and died of lung trouble. She had men in her “hospital” from the “Sixth Ohio, Ninth Indiana, from Pennsylvania, Michigan and elsewhere.”<sup>64</sup>

As the legend of General Stonewall Jackson grew, newspapers throughout the United States, and overseas, clamored for information. Unknown to the public before the war, this natural military genius, pious, humble, and eccentric, fascinated people everywhere, as did the Union support of his sister. In September 1861, an Ohio paper reported that acting “Almost alone, amidst a disloyal community, she unflinchingly declared her devotion to the flag, not only by word but act.”<sup>65</sup> An Indiana paper wrote in October 1862, that Laura had “married a wealthy citizen of Beverly, Va.,” and,

She has the reputation of being a woman of rare excellence – charitable, kind, and loyal. She devotes a great deal of her money, time and labor to the comfort of our sick and wounded soldiers in hospital in Beverly. Her devotion to the cause of our Government is perhaps as great as her brother’s hostility.<sup>66</sup>

A letter from Laura to Jonathan, dated October 5, 1862, from Parkersburg, focused on the children, who were with her at “General Jackson’s.” John Jay Jackson, son of John George Jackson, was a West Point graduate who served on General Andrew Jackson’s staff in the Seminole Wars, and later as Brigadier General in the Virginia militia. He was a delegate to the Richmond Convention in 1861, where he voted against secession.<sup>67</sup> Laura informed Jonathan that Grace was to start private school the following Monday, and Thomas would be studying under the Episcopal minister. She planned to take Stark home for the winter because the expenses were about the same, and wanted Jonathan to let her know how and when to get home. She could provide some money for the schooling, but asked Jonathan to do so.<sup>68</sup>

George W. Ellis, an assistant surgeon for the Union army, wrote to Laura on May 20, 1863, ten days after the death of General Jackson. “We lost three Generals and the Rebels lost your renowned and illustrious brother “Stonewall” Jackson who was indeed a host within himself.”

The wounded were in proportion. Twenty thousand brave Americans boy loyal & rebel were put “hors du Combat” in this terrible and fruitless fight we took eight pieces of Artillery again but they were retaken by the enemy. It was a great and a dreadful battle without any decisive results. We were finally repulsed after gaining several victories, but the rebels also barely escaped total annihilation. It was by the Splendid Generalship of Lee that they were saved but their loss in Stonewall Jackson is irreparable to their tottering cause. Your brother fought like a lion with super-human courage, perseverance and daring. He stood like a Stone-wall in the midst of battle and faltered not amid booming cannon & leaden hail, & bursting bomb. It was his indomitable heroism that turned the scale in favor of the rebel.<sup>69</sup>

Ellis offered a personal touch at the end:

Give my love to your husband and to your children. Kiss your noble daughter for me. I love that girl for her mother’s sake for she was an administering Angel to the Sick and wounded Soldiers. Both friend & foe whenever in pain, Sorrow and distress were equally refreshed by your loving-kindness. I love your daughter because your blood and the noble blood of Stonewall Jackson, courses through her azure veins.<sup>70</sup>

This letter, from a Union soldier who knew the Arnold family, demonstrates the respect Union soldiers had for General Jackson.

An incident in October 1863 brought things to a boiling point between Laura and Jonathan. He locked a storehouse and refused to turn over the key. She went to his bedroom to question him. Grace heard Jonathan “cursing very hard,” followed by a noise that sounded like Laura falling, and then Jonathan threatening to blow Laura’s brains out. Another witness testified that Jonathan “had hold” of Laura, and she complained of a hurting shoulder and bruised leg. Jonathan called Laura an “(expletive) Millspaugh.” Laura went to the sheriff, but he did not want to get involved. Meanwhile, Jonathan told Grace he was leaving and asked her to come with him. She refused because Laura’s health was poor and, “had always been my friend in the family.” Historian Albert Castel believed the friction between Laura and Jonathan was also due to the many boarders she invited in. Jonathan had to “sleep in the dining room,” and had to put up with soldiers wandering around the house, and calling to see the sister of the famous Stonewall.”<sup>71</sup>



*Theodore Millspaugh* <sup>72</sup>

Theodore Millspaugh was an assistant surgeon who boarded with the Arnolds. A dozen years younger than Laura, he was a native of Ulster County, New York.<sup>73</sup> He received a medical degree in 1861 and spent two months in the United States General Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia, with the Sanitary Commission. In June 1862 he joined General Fremont’s army in the Shenandoah, as an assistant surgeon,<sup>74</sup> and later the 5<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Cavalry, that spent time in Beverly. After the war he returned to Ulster County to practice medicine and served in the New York legislature for a time.<sup>75</sup> He died in 1912.<sup>76</sup>

A week after the incident, Jonathan was arrested by Union officials, purportedly because he tried to leave town without a pass. General William W. Averell ordered him to Clarksburg, and then Columbus, Ohio, to a prison at Camp Chase. The charge was “disloyalty,” but General Benjamin F. Kelley, the commander at Clarksburg, who knew the Arnolds, found the charge frivolous. He paroled Jonathan, but required him to stay in Clarksburg, and he was not allowed to return home until late 1864. Jonathan blamed Laura for his ordeal.<sup>77</sup> A Kansas newspaper article in July 1864 stated that Laura, a loyal Union woman, “had her husband arrested recently on a charge of disloyalty.”<sup>78</sup>

After Jonathan’s death a West Virginia newspaper printed “A Very Sad Story.” It quoted a former officer with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia infantry that “Fouler calumny was never uttered against a pure and noble woman.” He had been a “constant visitor” to the Arnold home during the war, with other Union officers. He said that the Arnolds had a fine estate, a “large and well-appointed mansion,” and Jonathan owned a great deal of fine stock, and “was one of the best known men in his vicinity.” His version of the arrest was that Jonathan would ride off for four or five days, and it was suspected that he was giving comfort to the enemy. Jonathan blamed Laura for the arrest, but “it was not true.” The unnamed veteran was present when Rosecrans captured Lt. Col. John Pegram during the battle of Rich Mountain, near Beverly, and Pegram became deranged and was cared for in the Arnold home.<sup>79</sup>

A Wheeling, West Virginia newspaper reported in June 1864 that Laura had been in town for a

couple of weeks. “We learn that Mrs. Arnold’s husband has been arrested some time since upon charges of disloyalty, preferred by his wife.” She was described as a “strong supporter of the Federal Government and is, therefore, not very popular with the friends of her deceased brother.”<sup>80</sup>

In November 1864 an Ohio newspaper reported that the 8<sup>th</sup> Ohio “had a brisk engagement at Beverly, Va. on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Oct., with the 62d Virginia (Rebels).” Casualties for the 62<sup>nd</sup> Virginia were 19 killed, 26 wounded, and 100 prisoners taken. The 8<sup>th</sup> Ohio had 8 killed, 28 wounded, and 17 prisoners taken. Lieutenant Folger Howell was among those killed, and before the battle “he had formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Arnold, the sister of Gen. (Stonewall) Jackson, who invited him to her home, promising to nurse and take care of him, as far as was in her power to supply the place of mother and sister. This she tenderly and faithfully fulfilled.”<sup>81</sup>

The last military action of significance in the Beverly area, the “Rosser Raid,” occurred on January 11, 1865. Approximately 1,100 soldiers with the 8<sup>th</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> Ohio regiments were quartered in town, most of the men living in huts. The commander was Colonel Youart of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ohio. Thomas described him as “kindly and just to everyone,” and there were “many sensible good men in his regiment; they seemed to be of the better class.” Before dawn, with below zero temperatures and snow on the ground, 300 Confederate soldiers, led by General Thomas I. Rosser, attacked the Union forces. The “battle” lasted a half hour and it was estimated that as many as 800 Union soldiers were captured. Many others escaped.<sup>82</sup>

## The Divorce Case

The best source for the facts about the Arnold v. Arnold “divorce” case is the original court file. I visited the Randolph County Courthouse in Elkins, West Virginia, to review it, only to learn divorce files are not available to the public, except court orders.<sup>83</sup> The West Virginia legislature overhauled its domestic relations statutes in 2001,<sup>84</sup> and “all pleadings, exhibits or other documents, other than orders, that are contained in the court file are confidential and not open for public inspection either during the pendency of the case or after the case is closed.”<sup>85</sup>

Albert Castel wrote an article about the scandal for Blue and Gray Magazine in 1994, and fortunately, was able to review the original court file.<sup>86</sup> Two years later a longer version of the piece was included in his collection of essays about the war.<sup>87</sup> This section is based upon Castel’s work, and the primary sources still available - the final order of divorce in the court file, and copies of items from that file, including some witness depositions.

Jonathan’s arrest and banishment to Clarksburg was the last straw for him, and the marriage was effectively over. It is difficult to determine where Laura lived after Jonathan returned to Beverly in late 1864, but she was destitute and worked through a friend to attempt reconciliation. When Jonathan refused, Laura asked him for \$2,000 a year in financial support. He replied that was too much, and Laura responded that he had a lot of land. He offered to convey to her 1/3, (by dower law she had a 1/3 interest in the land), but needing income, she declined the offer and initiated court proceedings.<sup>88</sup> She explained her situation to a sympathetic cousin:

You will remember in my last conversation with you at your Sister’s house (Oct 65) that you told me that I had exhausted every honorable method to obtain a compromise, & that you could not have done as much. That nothing more was left me, now, but the law. You advised me to institute suit at once. I done so commenced a suit for separation & alimony... a year ago. Since then I have offered to withdraw my suit if Mr. Arnold would settle on me a sufficient sum to support me decently.<sup>89</sup>

Laura continued that Jonathan was “void of love for family or connection,” and “I buried my wrongs for the sake of my family & relations for a long time, & given him (by so doing) the advantage.” She did not explain what she meant by “wrongs,” but the tone is desperate. By not coming forward much



earlier, she believed, her position had been undermined. She asked her cousin to make a statement that in the summer or fall of 1864 he had received a letter from her, “stating my destitute situation – sick – with no money scarcely for three months & my two children with me to provide for.” Laura wanted to know if during Jonathan’s absence from the family he “ever said any thing in your hearing reflecting discredit on his wife. Did he at any time suffer another to speak disparagingly of his wife? If so did he resent it?” She asked him to let Mr. Poundstone (her lawyer) know if anyone could testify to anything.<sup>90</sup>

Jonathan filed a “cross-bill,” or in modern terms, a counterclaim, seeking a divorce on the grounds of conduct “unbecoming a prudent and faithful married woman.” Castel thought the applicable law allowed a divorce for either adultery or infidelity, and that Jonathan chose the latter ground, presumably because it was not as difficult to prove as adultery.<sup>91</sup>

West Virginia “seceded” from the state of Virginia in 1863. The initial state constitution included a provision that “Such parts of the common law and of the laws of the State of Virginia as are in force within the boundaries of the State of West Virginia, when this Constitution goes into operation, and are not repugnant thereto, shall be and continue the law of this State until altered or repealed by the Legislature.”<sup>92</sup> West Virginia did not enact any statutes covering divorce until after Laura filed the initial pleading,<sup>93</sup> so Virginia law was controlling.

Virginia’s code of 1849 recognized two types of divorce. The first was a “divorce from the bond of matrimony,” with three possible grounds: (1) being sentenced to prison; (2) impotency at the time of marriage, and (3) adultery.<sup>94</sup> The statute did not mention “infidelity,” so if Jonathan’s lawyer used the words “conduct unbecoming a married woman,” it was to support a claim of adultery. The second was “divorce from bed and board,” in Latin “a mensa et thoro,” defined as “pertaining to or noting a divorce that forbids spouses to live together but does not dissolve the marriage bond.”<sup>95</sup> It was a partial or conditional divorce, and the parties could not remarry. The grounds included “cruelty, reasonable apprehension for bodily hurt, abandonment, or desertion.”<sup>96</sup> Laura’s use of the term “separation,” means the lawsuit she filed was for a divorce of this type, based on abandonment and/or desertion. The judge could order temporary maintenance to the wife during the pendency of the divorce case.

West Virginia enacted its first divorce law in 1867, modeled in part on Virginia law.<sup>97</sup> The statutory grounds for a divorce from the bond of matrimony were expanded to include willful abandonment or desertion for three years. West Virginia also recognized “A divorce from bed and board,” and the statutory grounds included cruel or inhuman treatment, reasonable apprehension of bodily hurt, abandonment, and desertion.<sup>98</sup>

The VMI archives contain many Arnold family letters, most of them written by Stark to Laura. Stark was an engaging writer, and his letters provide insight into the family drama. By March 1866, he was a clerk for the Department of Interior in Washington, D. C., only fourteen at the time.<sup>99</sup> Initially he boarded with federal judge John C. Underwood and his wife Maria Jackson Underwood, in Alexandria, Virginia. Maria was a cousin to Thomas and Laura Jackson on both sides of the family. Judge Underwood was a native of New York, and a fervent abolitionist. In one of the strange ironies of history, he presided over the cases that indicted Jefferson Davis.<sup>100</sup>

Stark referred to the divorce case in several letters. In June 1866, he wrote:

Ma did they do any thing with your case at the last court, and have they raised your funds any higher yet. I hope so and does father send your money regular and does he ever send Sister any and does he let her have enough to buy her things keep her comfortable, and leave her a little spending money. If they have not increased your funds some, I think it must be pretty hard for you to get along, but now as my salary is \$60, per month, I wish to let you and Sister have some money regular...<sup>101</sup>

By “funds” Stark meant provisional alimony awarded to Laura by the judge. A year later he told her he “was ‘sorry you have so much Trouble in running here & there after your witnesses, and so much Trouble with Your suit. But I hope it will turn out right after all.’”<sup>102</sup>

Stark often sent money to Laura, usually \$25 at a time. He informed her in July 1867 that Thomas had visited him in Washington, and had borrowed money from him, so he asked if Laura could go without money for a time.<sup>103</sup> She had traveled to Springfield, Ohio to visit Grace and her new husband, Major Charles H. Evans. Stark asked if she had “succeeded in getting the testimony you wished,” and wondered if she thought “Sister’s and my testimony had better be taken? It may do some good, and I suppose brother Thos.’ has been taken for father.” Stark had received a letter from Thomas, reporting that he was still boarding with Jonathan at the “Hanshaws,” and will likely continue there this winter unless I should happen to get married.” Stark did not know if Thomas was joking.<sup>104</sup>

Stark and a “Mr. Stratton,” gave testimony in Washington in May 1868. He informed her that Col. Clarke “wishes me to say that he has taken the case in charge and will see that it is done right.” Colonel William Penn Clarke, a native of Iowa, became the Chief Clerk for the Department of Interior in May 1866,<sup>105</sup> and resumed his law practice in Washington in 1867.<sup>106</sup> Col. Clarke would like to go to Beverly himself, Stark wrote, but had plans to travel to the south.<sup>107</sup> Stark later wrote letters to Laura on the letterhead of the Cooley & Clarke law firm, so he seems to have clerked for the firm. Col. Clarke bowed out of the case entirely by June – he had too many cases that had been delayed due to winter.<sup>108</sup>

Stark wrote in November that he was sorry that “someone named Crisp (?)” (Jonathan’s lawyer) was continually insulting her, and sorry that Thomas did not resent the insults more than he did. Stark even suggested that Thomas should have “satisfaction” out of the man. “I think it is a shame for a son to allow such things to transpire, as it might be said, right before his eyes. O? my dear Mother, I wish I could be with you through all your troubles, and make up for the lost affection of my brother.”<sup>109</sup>

A month before the presidential inauguration in 1869, Col. Clarke introduced Stark to president elect, Ulysses S. Grant, and vice-president elect, Schulyer Colfax.<sup>110</sup> He “weathered” the inauguration with Col. Clarke.<sup>111</sup> Stark also called upon outgoing governor and newly-elected United States Senator from West Virginia, Arthur Boreman, who gave him an “excellent letter” to the new Secretary of Interior. The senator “seems as if he knows something in regard to our family troubles,” he wrote, and mentioned Thomas in the letter, commenting that he was on the wrong side.<sup>112</sup> Stark informed Laura in April 1870 that Col. Clarke said Jonathan could be held in contempt of court for non-payment (of alimony), but not until the next term of court.<sup>113</sup>

The trial finally took place in May 1870, in a store on Main Street, because the courthouse had burned. The following information represents Castel’s summary of testimony from a few of Jonathan’s witnesses. Presumably the direct quotes were from papers in the original divorce records:

John Harper, 63, had known the Arnolds for 40 years, and in the winter of 1862-63, “I went to Mr. Arnold’s house to see him and went to the south wing of the house and opened the door and there was no person there. Then I went to the north wing and opened the door, and I then went to their house, and I saw no person but Mrs. Arnold and a man sitting on a lounge. He was sitting on the right side of her and had his right leg over her lap. He had his arm around her neck and shoulders and she had her arm around him and she was leaning over towards him with their faces right together as close as they could get. I asked [where was] Mr. Arnold and she answer[ed] upstairs. I seen no change in her countenance [sic] nor confusion no way.”

John Flanagan, 28, a former soldier in the 10<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Infantry, saw Laura come out of a room, and shortly thereafter a Union officer came out. On another occasion he went to the Arnold house, “could not find any person, so I opened a door and looked in and there I seen Mrs. Arnold laying on a bed and an officer of the United States Army was laying on top of the said Mrs. Arnold. I also [sic] Saw her clothes up a short distance. The officer was Captain James N. Ewing of Co. G. 10<sup>th</sup> Regt W. Va. V[olunteers].”

Silas R. Moore, a middle-aged veteran of the 10<sup>th</sup> West Virginia testified that one night on guard duty he “looked in a window [of the Arnold’s house] which had curtains up and saw Mrs. Arnold and a captain sitting with arms around each others shoulders.”

Thomas Williams, former corporal with the 10<sup>th</sup> West Virginia, said that during the summer and early fall of 1863, he saw Laura and “Adjutant Mark (Mork) of the 28<sup>th</sup> Ohio on the porch or portico.” He “wasn’t sure it was the adjutant and haint positive it was Mrs. Arnold for it was not light enough for me to see. I saw them go through an operation which is commonly called screwing. I don’t know what you call it in school. At several other times I saw Mrs. Arnold with officers. I have seen Mrs. Arnold and officers hugged upon and arm in arm at frequent times.” He described one of the officers as a captain in the 28<sup>th</sup> Ohio, about 5’5” or 5’6”, 150 to 160 pounds, with dark hair, a red face and a “little bunch of whiskers on his chin.”<sup>114</sup>

Laura’s witnesses spoke of her good reputation and discounted the rumors. Mork gave testimony in Cincinnati, denying improper conduct with Laura. Another witness said the “lounge” on which Laura allegedly embraced an officer was too small to accommodate two people. General Kelley testified that he made Laura’s acquaintance in 1862, and her “reputation was as good as any lady’s could be.” He described the circumstances of Jonathan’s arrest:

[i]n the fall of 1863 Mr. Arnold was arrested in Beverly by order of Genl. Averill and sent to my head quarters at Clarksburg under a charge of disloyalty with a request that he be sent to Camp Chase. I was so little impressed with the truth of the charges preferred against Mr. Arnold that I declined sending him to Camp Chase but paroled him and permitted him to remain in Clarksburg. I have no recollection of any paper accompanying the charges signed by Mrs. Arnold subsequently I rec a letter from Mrs. Arnold I think about the summer of 1864, in which she stated that if Mr. Arnold was held as a prisoner through any influence of hers she desired his release at once.<sup>115</sup>

A Miss Bougham testified that she boarded at the Arnold home in October 1863, and never saw Laura riding out late at night, except to the hospital. Oliver Bougham said he knew Laura while in the army at Beverly, and her “character for respectability and virtue [w]as unimpeachable.” He did not recall hearing “anything said derogatory to her character while in Beverly.”<sup>116</sup>

Laura’s lawyer used her medical condition as a defense to Jonathan’s claims. Her physician in Beverly testified that long before the war she suffered an “ulceration of the uteri,” and had a “falling womb.” An expert witness, Dr. George Mendenhall, a professor of obstetrics at Miami Medical College in Cincinnati, examined Laura in October 1867, and concluded her uterus was “inflamed & very tender,” her condition chronic, and that intercourse would be painful for her.<sup>117</sup> From these facts Castel concluded it was impossible for Laura to be the lusty woman portrayed. “It also provides the probable reason for the estrangement between Jonathan and Laura: frustration on his part.” He pointed to a statement by a servant, Ellen McCarty, that Jonathan had persistently attempted to seduce her, and that the couple had separate bedrooms.

Judge J. W. Harrison issued his decision on August 27.

[i]t is adjudged, ordered and decreed, that said cross bill be dismissed, that [t]he prayer of the original bill be granted and the complainant therein be divorced from the defendant a mensa et thoro, and the defendant to the original bill pay the costs of both suits as taxed by the clerk: and it is further adjudged, ordered and decreed, that said Jonathan Arnold pay to the said Laura as alimony \$400.00 per year during their joint lives to be paid quarterly on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of January, April, July and October and liberty is reserved to said

Laura to apply to the Court whenever necessary to enforce the said payment, and leave is reserved to both parties to apply whenever necessary for a modification of this decree.<sup>118</sup>

Translated, Judge Harrison sustained Laura's original complaint for divorce "a mensa et thoro." It was a legal separation, not a full divorce, and the Arnolds could not remarry. He dismissed Jonathan's request for a divorce from matrimony, which had the legal effect of finding insufficient evidence on the adultery claim. Laura was awarded \$400 per year, with the proviso that she could request more later.

Laura won the case in a technical legal sense, but not in the court of public opinion. Many people in Beverly supported the Confederacy, but some of the most damning witnesses against her were Union veterans. Witness testimony is notoriously unreliable, and motives hard to fathom, but Castel aptly summarized the absurdity of the testimony against her:

Besides, only a woman utterly devoid of common sense would be so unconcerned when discovered by a close friend (Harper) of her husband while she was kissing a lover, or engage in relations on an open porch exposed to view by any chance passerby (such as Williams) from a nearby troop encampment, or not bother to close the curtains or lock the door while entertaining a lover (Harper's, Flanagan's, and Williams' testimony) or sequester herself in her bedroom with a man for more than two hours while a party was taking place in the house (White's statement). Laura was too intelligent, and placed too much a value on her status as a lady, to be such a woman.<sup>119</sup>

Laura was probably innocent of adultery, but guilty of being naïve. She was the sister of Stonewall Jackson, and one of the most affluent and prominent people in town. Given her relative youth, dynamic personality, and enthusiastic Union support, it is not surprising Union officers were drawn to her company. Many were businessmen and professionals from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York, and she would have relished the conversation, and the attention. The comings and goings of officers caused imaginations to run wild, both for local townspeople and ordinary soldiers. Like her famous brother, Laura could be oblivious to the perceptions of others, sometimes to her detriment.

### **Relationship with Thomas Jackson**

The presumed fracture in the relationship between Laura and her brother is based upon the absence of surviving letters between them during the war.<sup>120</sup> None of Laura's letters to Jackson survived, either because he did not save them, or Anna destroyed them later. Jackson's pre-war letters to Laura do survive, because she kept them to the end of her life, and her son Thomas wrote a book about his uncle based on the letters.<sup>121</sup> The originals are in the VMI Archives, and available for online review in its Digital Collection.<sup>122</sup>

The last letter to Laura in the collection is dated April 6, 1861.<sup>123</sup> One week later Jackson wrote to Grace: "I wish I could see you with me again, but as I don't expect to have that pleasure this spring, I hope to see you in Beverly next summer." He urged her to "write to me often, Your affectionate uncle Thomas."<sup>124</sup> Four days later Virginia seceded, and four days after that Jackson left Lexington to go to war. Jackson was as affectionate as ever to Laura and her family on the eve of war, with no sign that politics had affected their relationship.

It is almost certain that Laura expressed her views about secession to him, given their frequent letters, close relationship, and her outspoken nature. Jackson laid out his position in letters leading up to the war. On December 29, 1860, he informed Laura "I am anxious to hear from the native part of my state, I am strong for the Union at present, and if things become no worse I hope to continue so. I think that the majority in this county are for the union; but in counties bordering on us there is a strong secession feeling."<sup>125</sup> Four weeks later he went into more detail to Thomas:

In this county there is a strong Union feeling, and the union party have unanimously nominated Samuel McDowell Moore and Jas. B. Dorman as delegates to the convention, and I expect that they will be elected by a large majority. I am in favor of making a thorough trial for peace, and if we fail in this, and the state is invaded, to defend it with a terrific resistance... I desire to see the state use every influence she possesses in order to procure an honorable adjustment of our troubles, but if after having done so 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. People who are anxious to bring on war don't know what they are bargaining for - they don't see all the horrors that must accompany such an event. For myself I have never as yet been induced to believe that Virginia will even have to leave the Union. I feel pretty well satisfied that the Northern people love the Union more than they do their peculiar notions of slavery, and that they will prove it to us when satisfied that we are in earnest about leaving the Confederacy unless they do us justice.<sup>126</sup>

On February 2, 1861, he addressed the secession process in Virginia to Laura:

I am much gratified to see a strong Union feeling in my portion of the state, but it may go a little further than I think it ought, though I hope not. For my own part I intend to vote for the Union candidates for the convention and I desire to see every honorable means used for peace, and I believe that Providence will bless such means with the fruits of peace. I hope that the majority of the votes will be in favor of referring the action of the Convention to the people for their final decision of the question involved, as this will not only be an additional safeguard to our own liberties but will give time for an amicable adjustment of our difficulties. But if after we have done all that we can do for an honorable preservation of the Union, there shall be a determination on the part of the Free States to deprive us of our rights which the fair interpretation of the Constitution, as already decided by the Federal Court, guarantees to us, I am in favor of secession.<sup>127</sup>

Anna confirmed Jackson's support for the Union in her book, *Life and Letters of "Stonewall" Jackson*. While visiting her family in North Carolina she received a letter from her husband dated March 16, 1861. "At this time Major Jackson was strongly for the Union, but at the same time he was a firm States'-rights man." She added that "He never was a secessionist, and maintained that it was better for the South to fight for her rights *in the Union than out of it*."<sup>128</sup>

Laura was inconsistent about whether she and Jackson corresponded during the war. She told a newspaper correspondent in 1888 that she did not "correspond with her brother," after the war began, but followed his success with mixed pride and regret.<sup>129</sup> Two years later she claimed to have had communication from him after McClellan came to Beverly in July 1861. She had intended to visit him that fall, and "His wife wrote to me that she was going to visit him and wanted to meet me." But, Laura continued, "When Thomas saw what [Anna] wrote he said in a letter to me not to think of crossing the lines, and that his wife shouldn't come."<sup>130</sup>

Anna did write to Laura during the war. In the September 1864 letter, mentioned before, Anna referred to previous correspondence between them, including a letter from Laura in November 1862, shortly after Julia's birth.<sup>131</sup> The other extant letter is dated September 9, 1861, the very day that Anna arrived at Camp Harman, near Fairfax, Virginia, on her first visit to her husband. Anna informed Laura a battle was not imminent, and that General Joseph Johnston, whom she met that day, said the troops would winter near Baltimore or Washington. Anna closed, "I hope you will write to me soon dear Laura – Direct to Manassas Junction."<sup>132</sup> Jackson was with Anna, so it is very unlikely she would have written

such a cheerful and affectionate letter, one that essentially mapped out winter plans for the Army of Northern Virginia, if the couple had concerns about Laura's allegiance.

Yet, Jackson had to know that Laura supported the Union, if not before the war, then not long after it began. Judge Gideon Camden of Clarksburg visited Jackson during the war, and later provided information to Robert L. Dabney, a Confederate Army chaplain and one of Jackson's first biographers. Camden wrote that Jackson always asked about the people back home, and "regretted that his sister entertained Union sentiments... but his expressions about her were kind but brief."<sup>133</sup> That conversation took place in November 1862 at White Post in Clarke County. Moreover, Laura's Unionism was publicized in newspapers early in the war.<sup>134</sup> Whether Jackson knew about those reports is unclear, since according to his military aide, Henry Kyd Douglas:

He read newspapers only for the facts they contained, when he read them at all. Their criticisms upon his movements or those of his associates he ignored. After a while he stopped reading them altogether. He was accustomed to ask some member of his staff if there was any important news in those that arrived and if so, to read it to him. The reason, I am sure, why he gave up reading the papers was that he was so modest that their broad compliments embarrassed and annoyed him. People with him, therefore, rarely ever told him what "all the world" was thinking and saying of him and his achievements. No man in the war was the subject of so many newspaper paragraphs that were purely fictitious, and he evidently had a suspicion of that.<sup>135</sup>

Jedediah Hotchkiss, the noted mapmaker, maintained a journal in the form of a diary that was not published until 1973. On March 23, 1863, while working on maps in Fauquier County, Virginia, Lieutenant Long of the 31<sup>st</sup> Virginia, "one of my Valley Mt. friends, came to see me today." Long said that "Gen. Jackson's sister, in Beverly, was a Union woman. She said she could take care of the wounded Feds. as fast as brother Thomas could wound them."<sup>136</sup> Robertson understandably found the statement attributed to Laura suspect,<sup>137</sup> but it affirms that Jackson's staff knew of Laura's Unionism, and her work as a nurse.

Another Jackson aide, James P. Smith, later a prominent Presbyterian minister and editor in Richmond, was quoted by a Richmond newspaper, three decades after the war, about a statement in the Columbus Dispatch attributed to Laura. "I am proud of my brother, but I believe he was a Confederate because he lived in the South." The interview with Laura is dubious, because the article erroneously claimed she lived in Pennsylvania during the war. Smith was indignant about Laura's claim, and dismissive about a woman he had never met:

I cannot believe that Mrs. Arnold is right in her assertion regarding General Jackson. While I do not recall of the general ever mentioning his family one way or the other, I know that he had a young sister up in West Virginia. Judging Mrs. Arnold, by my acquaintance with her brother, I should say that she is a lady of set convictions, hard to move when once formed. She, of course, was surrounded by northern sentiment, living as she did in Pennsylvania during the war, and probably gave in to sentiment. General Jackson was her mental superior, having been educated at West Point and later traveled a great deal, mingling with people of broad ideas. As an army officer he was cosmopolitan and his surroundings at Lexington had nothing to do with his casting his fortunes with the Confederates.<sup>138</sup>

Laura's feelings about the Union, and her brother's prominent role for the Confederacy, were well publicized during the war. A month after his death, several papers, including some in England, quoted Captain A. F. Duncan of the 14<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Cavalry, from a letter he wrote to his father in Dubuque, Iowa:

I met a sister of ‘Stonewall Jackson’ in Webster. She is a very pleasant and intelligent lady, and as good a Union woman as I ever saw. She is the wife of Mr. Arnold, who lives in Beverly. Mrs. Arnold fled to Webster when the rebels approached Beverley. When she heard of her brother’s death 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.<sup>139</sup>

The chaplain of the 14<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Cavalry, Captain A. G. Osborn, was quoted by several papers in September 1863. His regiment had been quartered in Beverly, where he met “one of the most accomplished ladies of the place,” Stonewall Jackson’s sister:

Her attachment to the cause of the Union is of the most uncompromising character. And as I boarded with her during my stay in Beverly, I had an opportunity for many a pleasant and interesting conversations with her. I found her better informed and more fully posted on governmental affairs than any other lady I have ever met since leaving Pennsylvania. – She says her brother Stonewall voted against secession, and seems to think that it was the surroundings that put him where he was. She loved him tenderly as an only brother; yet, engaged as he was in the rebel cause, she remarked to me that although it was with agony she said it, he had lived too long identified with the treasonable enemies of the best Government that God ever gave man.<sup>140</sup>

Even now Laura’s statements about her brother are stunning. Imagine how they were perceived in the midst of the war, by people of both sides.

The best exemplar of Laura’s ardent Unionism is a letter that she wrote to the President. Chaplain Edward D. Neill, D.D., presented a paper to the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1887. In early 1864 he was appointed to “read and dispose of all letters addressed to President Lincoln.” Twice daily a mail bag was brought to his office in the President’s Mansion. “While some letters provoked a smile, others stirred the higher emotions. A sister of the rebel general called Stonewall Jackson told her joy at seeing the Union troops around her farm in Virginia, and how gladly she looked upon the flag of the republic, and the blue uniforms of the officers.”<sup>141</sup> Lincoln must have enjoyed the irony.

Summing up, what was the nature of the relationship between Jackson and Laura after the war began? Their correspondence may have slowed, perhaps even stopped. At the least, it was awkward for him as a Confederate officer. Yet Anna and Laura continued to correspond, as he well knew. Moreover, the Jacksons named their daughter, born in November 1862, Julia Laura, a fact that influenced Castel’s belief that Laura “retained his affection and esteem.”<sup>142</sup> While Jackson may not have known the extreme form Laura’s Unionism took, he knew she supported the Union, and would not have been surprised. She was raised on an island in the Ohio River – Union country. His only known statement about the subject was that he regretted her Union sentiments, hardly sufficient grounds to conclude their relationship was broken.

### **Relationship with Anna Jackson**

My initial quest was inspired by Anna’s September 1864 letter to Laura. Its historical significance has been that Anna detailed her visit to Jackson’s camp in April 1863, just before the Battle of Chancellorsville, her trip from Richmond to Guinea Station, where he was taken after being wounded, and his last days. The letter is also important in understanding their relationship at that time. Anna had longed to reach out to Laura, recognizing that no one else could understand her anguish:

I would have written to you after the translation of our most precious one to Heaven, but I could not bear the thought of the sacred contents of such a letter, my telling of his dying

words & deathbed, being read by the enemy, & now I am going to try to get this letter thro the blockade & hope you will receive it. But oh! My dear sister, how shall I begin to tell you all. I know no other heart in this world has been wrung, next to my own, as your own has been by this overwhelming affliction. Oh! How often I have thoughts of you, & longed to see you, that we might weep together & that I might tell you all that you would so love to hear.<sup>143</sup>

She planned to forward the letter to a “gentleman in N.Y.,” and “I will get a friend of mine to put in a slip with directions for you to send a letter to me...”<sup>144</sup>

I wanted to know if the two women corresponded after the war. A popular book about Jackson claimed that no contact between them after that letter is known.<sup>145</sup> Fortunately, as I was soon to discover, Anna and Laura wrote to each other, sporadically, for more than forty years, and some of the original letters are in the Stonewall Jackson Papers in the VMI archives, in plain sight. Two letters written by Anna while in Lexington soon after the war make clear that Anna had only recently learned of Laura’s scandal. The first, dated October 21, is a blistering castigation of Laura:

I have received two notes from you since reaching Lexington, expressing a desire to see me, & telling of your contemplated trip South. A few weeks ago, my desire to see you was great, & I would have been delighted to have had a visit from you, but I am grieved to say that I have heard some things of you which have surprised & disturbed me beyond measure, & if they are true, I never want to see you again. You must excuse my writing you a candid letter, but I feel that it is my duty to tell you just what I have heard, & I do hope & pray that you will write me the whole truth, & be able to prove yourself innocent of all that is said of you.<sup>146</sup>

An acquaintance of Laura had called on Anna “& told me that you had separated from your husband, & had left home with a Federal officer.” She “could scarcely believe my senses, & felt indignant with the person for telling me such a story,” but the information was corroborated by two letters from people who were “entirely reliable,” entreating her to have nothing to do with Laura. Anna quoted from one of the letters: “Several times during the war, very unfavorable reports came to us of Mrs. Arnold’s conduct of her violent Unionism, her separation from her husband, & her intimacy with Federal officers. All these reports have been confirmed by refugees from Beverly.” The second letter was more equivocal: “There are various opinions & reports as to her character, some believe her virtuous, & some do not.”<sup>147</sup>

Can I believe it, that such things would ever be said of my pure, noble, sainted Husband’s only sister? Oh! You have no idea what a trial this is to me. I have always thought of you as good & pure like he was, & I thought you were so devoted to him, that you would never disgrace his spotless name by causing a breath of suspicion against your character. However I cannot allow myself to believe that you are guilty – I must think you are slandered there for of course your separation from you husband, & your “intimacy with Yankee Officers” would let loose the tongues of slander upon you, & excite the indignation of all pure, Southern people.<sup>148</sup>

Anna then turned to Laura’s Unionism:

I must say one thing to you, however, since you disapproved of my precious Husband’s cause, & differed with him in the conviction that he was doing his duty in defending his home & State from invasion, & turned all your sympathies from him in what he believed was a holy & righteous cause & now since he has sealed that devotion with his precious



life, I do not want to see you. There could be no congeniality of feeling between us, & an interview would be painful to both of us.<sup>149</sup>

A few weeks earlier she had written to Laura “a letter full of love & devotion to you & yours,” and “was anticipating a sad pleasure in pouring out my desolate heart to you, believing that you could sympathize with me as no one else could. Oh! What a disappointment & trial to receive such painful & distressing tidings from you at such a time!” Anna was “perplexed” about whether “even to write to you, but for the sake of my precious husband, who loved you so tenderly, I have concluded to write, with the hope that you may be able to convince me that some things at least of which I hear of you are untrue.” She would continue to pray and “have prayed beside my sainted Husband’s grave, that you might prove yourself to be innocent & kept from temptation & sin. Let me entreat you for his sake, & for the sake of your children, now old enough to be influenced by your conduct & example, to strive to do your duty to God, to them, & to your husband.” She begged Laura to write to her soon, with the “whole truth,” and expressed “love to the children – I would be glad to see Thomas while I am here, as I hear he has proved himself worthy of his noble uncle.”<sup>150</sup> She tacked on after her signature:

P.S. It has given me unalloyed pain to write this letter, but I felt that it was my duty to do it. Let me say one thing more – Remember how your dear brother prayed for you, & if he were now living, nothing would distress him more than for you to go astray, & I assure you that nothing distresses me more than to think that you would act in any way unworthy of him. Oh! Try to follow his whole example, & meet him in heaven.<sup>151</sup>

Anna did not want to believe the accusations, and was torn between reserving final judgment, and forever banning Laura from her life.

Though no reply from Laura has been found, she responded to Anna almost immediately, because on November 11, 1865, Anna wrote to Laura again: “Your letter requesting copies of the letters I have received has reached me.” Laura demanded to know the identities of the people who had spread the stories. Anna replied that the people who had written her were not from Beverly, and since one was a “dear friend of mine, a stranger to you, & merely telling me of reports she had heard about you, I do not feel like giving her name, & bringing it into court.” Her friend knew nothing of Laura, but was simply passing along information from “persons & soldiers coming from Beverly.” The second person had not written to Anna herself, but to Anna’s friend, who made enquiries about the reports. Anna was willing to show Laura the letters in person, and identified the man who told her about the situation.<sup>152</sup>

The gentleman who called on me & told of your separation from your husband was the Rev. Mr. Thomas, but he did not come for that special purpose – he did not mention your name until I asked him if he had heard from you; as he had lived in your town, it was natural that I should ask him about you, & he then told me that he was sorry to tell me that you had separated from your husband & people said had left your home with a Yankee Col.<sup>153</sup>

Anna insisted Rev. Thomas did not know the truth of the accusations, and meant no harm to Laura, he was just expressing what he had heard.

Reverend Enoch Thomas was not a neutral observer. He was the Presbyterian minister in Beverly, and a Confederate supporter, who fled Beverly at the time of the Battle of Rich Mountain.<sup>154</sup> In 1864, the governor of West Virginia issued a proclamation declaring the men who fled Beverly, including Rev. Thomas, enemies of the state, unless within sixty days they filed in the county court an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States.<sup>155</sup> Laura mentioned him by name in a newspaper interview, asserting that he was present when Jackson was ordered to take troops to Harper’s Ferry in 1861.<sup>156</sup> After the war he lived in Augusta County, Virginia, and died in 1879.<sup>157</sup>

Laura informed Anna she had filed a lawsuit seeking alimony and support. Anna was “very sorry to hear that you are going to law about your difficulties, as it will make them a great deal more public, & will exasperate your husband more against you.” She urged Laura to reconsider that approach, because “if you are perfectly innocent of all the charges against you, & have a clear conscience in the sight of God, you need not care or fear what man can say, & for the sake of your children & friends, I think you might [sic] to keep your affairs as quiet as possible.”<sup>158</sup> Anna pleaded “& do I beseech you, if you do go to law, not to bring my name into it in any way,” because “anxious as I am (& no one could be more so than I am) to see you vindicated before the world, still I do not think that is the way to do it. This is my opinion, & I trust you may be influenced by it.” She “would do anything in my power to help you in your distress, & wish I could bring peace & happiness back to your home.” She wanted to know with whom Laura was living, how she was being supported, and if Jonathan agreed to the children living with her. She was willing to meet Laura in Lexington.<sup>159</sup> The change in tone, and lack of condemnation, indicates Anna was partially persuaded by Laura’s denials.

No subsequent correspondence between them from 1865 until 1881 survives, though it is likely they did write to some extent. Anna informed Thomas in November 1868 that “I feel anxious to hear how your Mother, & Grace are getting on.” She asked if Grace was still living in Ohio and whether Laura was living with her, and “Has that suit ever been decided yet, & how did it result?” She wanted to know the “particulars of the family,” that “Every thing concerning them will interest me.”<sup>160</sup> A few months later she pointedly informed Thomas: “If it had not been for your Mother’s difficulties, I would long ago have sought to know his friends but I hope I may yet in the future find the way clear to take Julia & see those whom he loved, & who proved themselves worthy of him.”<sup>161</sup>

Anna’s angst can be seen in a letter to Aunt Clementine Neale in 1868:

I haven’t heard from Thos. Arnold for several months. I would be glad if you would tell me freely all you know of that family. I would rather know everything about them even if it is not pleasant. My interest in them is the deepest, & I do wish that their affairs would assume a more favorable aspect. I have often wondered why it was that the only sister of my noble husband should have such a history, & I am thankful that he never knew of her troubles. It is a great trial to me to give her up, & I often feel that perhaps I am doing wrong & acting contrary to what he would do in holding no intercourse with her. Please advise me in the matter for you know more of her than I do. I want to act as my husband would do if he were living & this is so hard to decide for I have heard so much about her that I cannot think he would ever have believed, & yet it seems hard in me to have nothing to do with his only sister & it is a real grief to me. This is confidential.<sup>162</sup>

Anna wrote Thomas in August 1871 that she planned to leave North Carolina the following week for Baltimore, and hoped to visit Parkersburg. She could not visit Beverly, where Thomas was living, because “my time is so limited, & it is easier for you to meet me at Parkersburg than for me to go to your home. If your Mother & Grace will be in W. Va. at that time, I would love to see them too, but if they can I would prefer their meeting me in Parkersburg.”

Her passive/aggressive approach to Laura is evident in a letter to Clementine Neale in 1878:

I wish Tom would come out of that remote little primitive village of Beverly, but as long as his father lives, he can’t well leave there... I hear Grace’s health is very bad & is now in Beaufort, S.C. for a change. Sister Laura Arnold rarely writes to me. She must be an unhappy woman, cut off as she is from part of her family at least, & Mr. Arnold so set against her, but she still goes to Beverly & wants to go to his house, which is a great annoyance to him and to Tom as they are now divorced, and delicacy ought to keep her away.<sup>163</sup>

In January 1881, Anna wrote to Laura from Baltimore, thanking her for sending a beautiful Christmas present to Julia. She heard Stark was married and wanted to know more. Thomas's wife, Eugenia, had written Anna that they were settled in San Diego. Anna hoped to visit West Virginia the next summer: "I want you to see Julia, & I want her to know her Father's only sister, & nearest relative in the world."<sup>164</sup> The letter went unanswered for months. Anna wrote to a "Mrs. Jackson," expressing appreciation for the cordial invitation to visit West Virginia.

But I must explain why we are not going next week. I have written three letters to Mrs. Arnold, but have as yet heard not a word from her. I have, however, received a letter from Stark, in which he said his mother had had her entire wardrobe burnt, & he feared it would be so embarrassing to her to go to any strange place to meet me, that he urged me to go on to Buckhannon to see her. This I could not possibly do as my time would be so limited, & then I have not been quite well lately...<sup>165</sup>

Anna wrote again to Mrs. Jackson in August about her plan to travel west, asking to stay with her, apparently in Clarksburg. The letter was posted from Rockbridge Alum Springs, a popular water cure west of Lexington, her husband's favorite. Anna brought Julia there because of her throat, and explained the details of an intended visit with Laura in Clarksburg:

The Arnolds are very urgent for us to visit them at Beverly, but it is so out of the way & so difficult to get there, that I feel that I cannot undertake it. Mrs. Arnold has other relatives in Clarksburg, who no doubt would be glad to entertain her, so if you should have other guests, she might stay with some of her cousins. I would greatly prefer that we all should stay at the Hotel in Clarksburg.<sup>166</sup>

Laura finally replied to Anna in November. Apologizing for the delay, she had planned to visit Anna on her way back to Columbus, but due to her health was unable to do so. She hoped to hear from Anna and family, adding wistfully: "I look back to my pleasant visit at your house with pleasure, it was truly a delightful visit."<sup>167</sup> Anna wrote to Laura after Jonathan Arnold's death in 1883.

My dear Sister, I was very glad to hear from you once more, & to know that your health was as good as usual, after the care & fatigue of nursing Mr. Arnold. I was not surprised to hear of his death as I knew he was old & feeble. I hope your presence & kindness to him in his last illness, soothed & comforted him. The Northern papers published a very sensational account of your life & his death, which I enclose to you. I imagine it is very much of an exaggeration, for the papers rarely ever get anything right. Did Mr. Arnold ever manifest any interest in his future state, or did he die as he had lived? I wish you had told me more about your family.<sup>168</sup>

Anna informed Laura in 1886 that "we are housekeeping, & have become permanent residents here," and she could not find time for writing. She was referring to a house in Richmond that Julia and new husband Edmund Christian had taken. She added, "My husband's old war horse died today, & I felt very sad, as he was so tenderly associated with his master, & he was very dear to both Julia & myself." She supposed Little Sorrel's body would be preserved by a taxidermist.<sup>169</sup>

Laura wrote an undated letter, sometime after Julia's death in 1889 of typhoid fever. "I have never had your picture," and she wanted to have one of Mr. Christian, Anna, and Julia's two children. "I would then have a companion for brother Thomas's taken by Brady in Richmond in 1861." Laura continued that the "Army Picture, that is in the Life of Jackson" by a Virginian "you may have, I have it in a charm & lost it." She had sent a "daguerreotype that he gave me in 51, to him at Lexington, in the year 52 or 53 (at that time they had no artist = in the little city...)." <sup>170</sup>

Anna wrote two letters to Laura from the Hotel St. Stephen in New York City in May 1891. She was in the city to finish her book, “Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson,”<sup>171</sup> and was very anxious to “put the likeness of your Father in my book, & have only an old faded ambrotype from Stark’s miniature of him.” She had forgotten Stark’s address, and since he was living in New York state, she hoped he could deliver it to her. “I haven’t seen him since his childhood, & would be so glad to meet him again.” She closed, “With best love, I am Your Sister, M. A. Jackson.”<sup>172</sup>

Stark was a pastor at a church in Alleghany County, New York, and Anna thanked him for inviting her “to visit you & meet your Mother. I am much tempted to do so, & if I find that I can, I will write you in ample time.” She was “very, very desolate in this world, - alone & grief stricken, bereft of all my family, but yet God has left me many blessings & I have much to praise him for. I need only a more grateful, consecrated heart. Do write me upon your Mother’s arrival, & give much love to her & your own family for me.”<sup>173</sup> Two weeks later Anna informed Stark she would not be able to visit him; she did not want to travel to Bolivar, New York alone, had not seen her grandchildren since the previous October, and was not well:

Sometimes I am confined to my bed for days, & as your mother is a confirmed invalid, & you have a family of small children, I have come to the conclusion that it might be unwise for me to impose myself upon your household. I would love to meet your mother, yourself, & your family in your own home, but I do not think I can do so at this time.<sup>174</sup>

Though their post-war relationship was no doubt diminished, at least on Anna’s part, it does seem that time and aging softened feelings. A letter from Laura, written about 1904, began “My dear sister Anna, your letter has been the greatest comfort to me, truly your life & mine have been remarkable.” She assumed Anna’s two grandchildren were almost grown, and gratified to know they were “so strong & healthy.” Laura enclosed the most recent photograph of herself so they “can look at her shadow, if they are never permitted to see the live Aunt Laura.”<sup>175</sup> Anna replied on February 19, 1904, thanking Laura for the photograph: “I do not think I would have known it to be yours, if you had not sent it, but I dare say I have changed as much since we have met.” She reported that her grandson was at school in Georgia and her granddaughter with her in Charlotte. “I hope you will live to see them someday.”<sup>176</sup> It was not to be. Laura and Anna never saw each other after 1859.

### The Later Years



*Jonathan, Thomas, Eugenia, and Isabel at the Arnold home, c. 1877*<sup>177</sup>

Though Laura lived in West Virginia through the divorce trial,<sup>178</sup> she began to spend time at the Shepard Sanitarium, a water cure facility near Columbus, Ohio, and moved there permanently in the early 1880s.<sup>179</sup> Stark moved back to West Virginia in 1874, and Laura lived with him in a house in Buckhannon for a time, until her house burned, about 1881. Stark and his wife Elizabeth lived in the Arnold home in Beverly with Jonathan, and Elizabeth asked Jonathan for permission to ask Laura to move in. Jonathan replied “Madame, this is your house. Any guest of yours is welcome to come.” According to the family they visited from time to time until his death.<sup>180</sup> A newspaper reported after Stark’s death that Elizabeth “set herself the task of bringing about a reconciliation. With consummate tact and delicacy she accomplished this labor of love after two years.”<sup>181</sup>

After Jonathan’s death in 1883 the St. Louis Post-Dispatch ran a lengthy obituary, calling him the “wealthiest and one of the most distinguished men” of West Virginia, who had acquired his wealth in buying “hundreds of thousands of acres” of “wild lands,” before the war, “which ran his fortune up into the million row.” He was a “pronounced atheist, and died as he had lived.” His religious skepticism was “a continual source of grief to his wife,” who had taken “her mother’s religious convictions.”<sup>182</sup> The obituary also told a melodramatic story about a death-bed reconciliation that seems to contradict other accounts:

His wife came to his bedside, and through two weeks of delirium was an untiring watcher and nurse. He had never forgiven her, and in his delirium uttered upbraiding words which fell upon the ear of the patient watcher near him. The coming of death cleared his mind, and one evening he awoke to consciousness and his eyes alighted upon the wife he had thrust from him. It was a moment of terrible suspense to the few persons in the room. The old man in a feeble voice desired to be alone with her. Then in the chamber already darkened by the approach of dissolution a reconciliation took place, and the excluded watchers heard sobs from the room and entered to find husband and wife locked in a last and forgiving embrace, from which Mr. Arnold was released only to die.<sup>183</sup>

A West Virginia newspaper printed “A Very Sad Story,” citing an unnamed newspaper that used Jonathan’s death as a “fitting occasion for the revival of a scandal and slander, involving the dead man’s wife.” A former officer with the Second Virginia infantry told the reporter that “Fouler calumny was never uttered against a pure and noble woman.” He had been a “constant visitor” to the Arnold home during the war, with other Union officers. The Arnolds had a fine estate, a “large and well-appointed mansion,” and Jonathan owned a great deal of fine stock, and “was one of the best known men in his vicinity.” Jonathan would ride off for four or five days, and it was suspected that he was giving comfort to the enemy. He blamed Laura for the arrest, but “it was not true.”<sup>184</sup>

Thomas and Stark were the sole heirs in Jonathan’s Will, though Laura retained her dower right in the real estate.<sup>185</sup> Stark sold the house in Beverly a few months after his father’s death. In 1895, Stark and Thomas sold thousands of acres for \$350,000, equivalent to \$10.5 million in 2020. Laura was perpetually in financial straits, and signed over her dower rights in 1897 to her sons, in return for their contractual commitment to pay her, each, \$350 per year, with an increase to \$400 in four years.<sup>186</sup>

For more than 40 years Laura was acclaimed by Union veteran groups, and the subject of many newspaper articles. A book about the Sixth Ohio Regiment, published in 1868, related a story about Capt. Tatem of Company D, who “lay the victim of a raging fever” at the Arnold house, “occupying the same apartment with Adjutant Heron, who had also been stricken with the same disease.” Laura “merits an honorable place among the noble characters whose loyalty and self-sacrifice almost redeems the local history of many a doubtful border district during the rebellion.” Both Arnolds “were more than once made to feel the weight of rebel vengeance,” in the form of the “devastation of their property about Beverly,” which led them to stay “within the lines of permanent Union occupation.”<sup>187</sup>

A New York Tribune article in 1880, reprinted in other papers, discussed Laura’s connection to the 123<sup>rd</sup> Ohio Volunteer Infantry, describing her as a “faithful Unionist.” The regiment was at camp in

Huttonsville, ten miles south of Beverly. Two men, Thomas Keyes and William Chamberlin, had typhoid fever and were in the post hospital, with “no care, and no bed but the floor, and a few blankets for covering. It was either death or a change of quarters.” They went from house to house and found a “second Mary,” none other than the sister of General Jackson.

How kind, how affectionately she spoke of her brother. They were both left orphans at an early age. She opened her doors to our friends and expressed her union sentiments with freedom. She was intelligent and very communicative, and everything about the house bore ample evidence of refinement, such as was seldom seen in West Virginia at that time. Her benevolence and kind care of our brother soldiers saved their lives. The self-sacrificing devotion to the suffering around her was the free gift of this noble woman. To their dying day our soldier comrades will revere this kind ministering angel – the sister of Stonewall Jackson.<sup>188</sup>

Along with former Captain J. W. Chamberlin, Company A of the 123<sup>rd</sup>, they requested a pension for Laura.<sup>189</sup> In 1882, Laura was a guest at J. W. Chamberlin’s house in Tiffin, Ohio. At the start of the war Laura took up hospital work, but finding the duties “too arduous,” resigned her place at the hospital and “took Union soldiers – both sick and wounded – to her home and nursed them back to health there.” Among them was J. W. Chamberlin, “who feels that to her kindness he practically owes his life.”<sup>190</sup>

The Pittsburgh Post reported in 1888, that “Two Illustrious Ladies” had been invited to the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania annual meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.). One was the widow of General John Logan, and the other Laura Jackson Arnold, the sister of the “illustrious” General Jackson. She gave “invaluable assistance,” and “possessed some means, and these she gave freely to the sick and wounded in the hospitals.” In the process, she “made friends of a number of Pittsburghers,” including General William Blakeley and Major Howard Morton. Laura was “finely educated and very intelligent. She has spoken at various Grand Army gatherings, although naturally reluctant about so doing.”<sup>191</sup> The article provided a litany of “facts,” many of them so contrary to known facts that Laura was either suffering from a mental illness, or the reporter fabricated the stories. It claimed that Laura had been at the “pleasant Virginia home” of her brother at the start of the war. Knowing his “warlike spirits” she tried to dissuade him from taking sides, and “fearlessly” expressed her sentiments against secession, “although residing in a district alive with the war spirit.” She used several arguments to prevent him from “going out to war,” including that he was a family man and religious leader, but to no avail. When he did go to war, she felt “he could never be a brother to her again, and, it is said, intimated as much,” and she soon relocated to West Virginia. But the most bizarre, and blatantly false, story, concerned Jackson’s wounding and death:

One day the news of his fatal wounding at Chancellorsville came. Its arrival was tardy, and several days had elapsed since it happened. The newspaper said the gallant general might fight death away for a few days, but that recovery was impossible. This was too much for the sister. All the bitterness of the past gave way to a heart full of love, and the first train for Chancellorsville had her for an anxious passenger. She arrived at the hospital where her brother lay one Saturday night. In the quiet of the holy day that followed he passed away. He recognized his sister after so many years and circumstances had intervened, and it seemed to prepare him for death to have her with him again. Not a word about the war or Confederacy passed between them at this last meeting.<sup>192</sup>

The interview closed with Laura explaining that her oldest son lived in San Diego and her youngest son was in a four-year program at Drew Seminary in Madison, New Jersey. As for herself, “My nervous system was broken down by my experiences in the war, and I have been an invalid ever since.”<sup>193</sup>

The question of Laura's mental health is interesting. Her letters were sometimes clear and lucid, but at other times rambling, with missing words and errors. An undated, haunting document in Laura's handwriting, titled "Brother Tom's death," was written after 1890:

For weeks I was inconsolable, finally I retired to a vacant room, at night. Looking up to our father pouring out my bleeding heart to him. He answered my cry in sending my dear brother to me, he was robed in white with a (illegible word) resembling gold falling from his waist line down. Every night he came to me in that room. For quite a while until my mind was at perfect peace, I did rejoice that he was with me, and no longer in the conflict of the cruel war.<sup>194</sup>

Friends visited her in Buckhannon in 1890, she wrote, but she was too sick to see them. After they left "I discovered my room was full of floating objects resembling dust." These objects floated next to her bed, and hovered over her." The experience lasted all day. A newspaper blurb in 1890 stated she had been collecting papers and hoped to write a "true account" of Jackson's career someday, but due to "ill health for the past eight years," had so far been unable to do so.<sup>195</sup>

A hint about Laura's nervous condition can be seen in a letter to her in 1887 from Margaret (Maggie) Junkin Preston, the famous poet and novelist, and sister of Jackson's first wife Elinor. Laura had requested a copy of Maggie's novel Silverwood. The letter was typed by an "amanuensis," because of Maggie's failing eyesight. She explained the book was long out of print, and the only copy she had was purchased at a book sale. Maggie added "I hope your health may be soon restored; nervous prostration must be a painful thing to bear." Laura had mentioned a desire to return a "breast pin" that belonged to the Prestons. Maggie responded that "no doubt you will long outlive me," but it could be sent to her sister in Philadelphia.<sup>196</sup>

In 1890, a reporter with the Columbus Dispatch called on Laura at Dr. Shepard's Sanitarium. The original article has not been found, but it was reprinted in a Mississippi newspaper in 1897. The article described Laura as an "old lady whose health was broken down by hard service and trying experiences during the war of the Rebellion." She was "very bright and intelligent," with an excellent memory, and, as in other interviews, she stressed that both she and her brother were Union supporters.<sup>197</sup> He was a Union man, "'cradled at West Point,'" as was General Lee, she asserted, but for her brother it was the State's rights doctrine that led him. Laura claimed that letters she received from her brother during the war showed his Unionism. He wrote about the cruelty of war, that she should not cross the border until after the war, and to trust in God, "'the last words he ever wrote to me.'"<sup>198</sup>

Many soldiers of the 5th West Virginia Cavalry came from Pittsburgh. An article in a Pittsburgh paper in 1894, mentioned a recent reunion of the regiment. While it was "quartered near Beverly," Laura, "who, unlike her brother, favored the Union, paid the members many attentions. She nursed the wounded and gave them many delicacies." Col. Cathem, from West Virginia, informed the veterans that Laura was "on the point of death, and had commissioned him to bear a message of love and affection to the 'boys.'" The group issued resolutions "expressing gratitude for her loving care and assuring her that she was regarded as the mother of the regiment."<sup>199</sup>

The following year Laura traveled to Buckhannon to "attend the reunion of the 5<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Union regiment, of which she is the 'mother,' having been devoted to Union women during the war."<sup>200</sup> Thirty veterans of the regiment attended, and the event was "chiefly remarkable for the presence of its guest of honor." Laura was described as the "'mother of the regiment,' an honor bestowed on her several years ago because of her kindness to the regiment during the war. She received a perfect ovation."<sup>201</sup>

A Chillicothe, Ohio newspaper reported in 1896 that Laura was visiting her cousins, Judge and Mrs. H. W. Safford, at their estate Tanglewood. Titled "She Loved Her Country More," it described Laura as a "noble, generous and cultured woman." Judge Safford's brother, Dr. E. D. Safford, established a hospital at Beverly. Laura "generously consented to take charge of this institution, and

while the fearless struggle was on, many a union and confederate soldier's life was saved by the careful nursing which she gratuitously bestowed."<sup>202</sup>

The most professional article about Laura, one of the few to identify the reporter, was published in 1898. Lida Rose McCabe, a prominent author and contributor to major newspapers, interviewed Laura in fall 1897 at Shepard's. She "was graciously received by Mrs. Arnold, who has all the hospitable charm of manner characteristic of southern women." Laura was a "large, distinguished-looking woman, with strongly marked features," who was "So well preserved in her eyesight that she reads without glasses." Her voice was pleasant and she was a "bright conversationalist." McCabe found Laura's devotion to her brother touching.<sup>203</sup> McCabe asked how it came to be that they espoused different views. Claiming they were alike in politics, Laura said:

Loyalty to duty, as he conceived it, placed Thomas unwillingly in the confederate army. A clause in the state constitution of Virginia was the primary cause. That clause converted Virginia into a blood-stained battlefield. "We reserve," read the clause, "the right to withdraw from this compact if our rights as a free state are trampled upon." When the differences that led to secession arose Virginia elected to remain neutral, and when the war first broke out she declared that no army, of whatever side, should cross her borders.<sup>204</sup>

She claimed that Jackson "sought the governor's consent to resignation (sic) in favor of Maj. Preston, his brother-in-law, who was anxious to take command. My brother desired to return to his duties at the academy. He had the tastes of the scholar, and student life was more congenial to him than carnage."<sup>205</sup> J. T. L. Preston, husband of Maggie Preston, and principal founder of VMI, joined Jackson's army from time to time, but retained his teaching position at VMI through the war. Preston wrote to Maggie on December 22, 1862 that "General Jackson said to me last night, that he would much rather be at the Institute than in the army, and seemed to think fortunate those of us who are to go back."<sup>206</sup>

Laura received a letter in 1900 from Joseph N. Brown, a banker in Anderson, South Carolina, and a veteran of the 14<sup>th</sup> South Carolina Volunteers. His daughter Varnia had recently visited Laura, and Brown thanked her for giving Varnia a "piece of linen" that belonged to General Jackson. Varnia told him that Laura "would be pleased to know any of the incidents in connection with my service under him, and especially when I saw him the last time." Brown explained that he first served under Jackson, as a captain, at Gaines Mill, then at Antietam and Fredericksburg. Before Chancellorsville he was promoted to colonel.

The last time I saw him well was on the morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1863. The sun was little over an hour high when we were facing Genl Hooker's Army on the East Side towards Fredericksburg. The Field Officers – including mine had been sent to the rear for us to advance to the attack – just then Genl Jackson with an attendant perhaps only a courier rode up in the front of my Regiment, halted a moment, turned his horse, and made toward Chancellors in front of our line for some distance, reconnoitered the position of the Federal Army, and with his attendant rode back to our line, in 15 or 20 minutes and then toward our left – (South) and had a short interview with Genl Lee - soon after which we began that long march resulting in turning Genl Hooker's right flank, and gaining the last battle fought by your celebrated brother. I had only a glimpse of him later in the day.<sup>207</sup>

He heard the firing from the North Carolina regiment that resulted in General Jackson's wounds, only 200 yards away. An ambulance from Brown's regiment, led by Lt. John M. Miller, went immediately to the fallen general.

A history of the 87<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania, published in 1901, told how "the boys" erected tents on the edge of town,



[n]ear a church which was used as a hospital. In a neat little cottage near the church, a woman of marked intelligence resided. Her name was Mrs. Arnold. She often visited the invalid soldiers in the church, and brought them nourishing food. With tender solicitude for their welfare, she took a few of the sick into her own home. Two members of the regiment, on guard at the church, one day thanked her for the interest she was taking in their sick comrades. "I am only doing my duty," she said. Then she talked about the second battle of Bull Run, which had been fought a few days before, when many so many soldiers on both sides were killed and wounded. "My brother is an officer on the other side, but I hope he is safe. He thinks he is right, but I am in favor of the Union," continued Mrs. Arnold. "Who is your brother?" asked the guard. "General Jackson; he is called Stonewall Jackson now," and she moved into the hospital to give comfort and encouragement to the sick soldiers there. Mrs. Arnold visited the camp of the regiment when at Webster in May 1863. This was soon after the death of her brother who was killed at Chancellorsville.<sup>208</sup>

The 1903 reunion of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Ohio was held in Columbus. The surviving veterans went to the Shepard Sanitarium and presented flowers to Laura.<sup>209</sup> She was "very bright and entertaining," and her health was good. She loved to talk about people in Beverly. "Many a Union soldier was saved by her care and kindness."<sup>210</sup>

Laura's 83<sup>rd</sup> birthday in 1909 was reported in newspapers. She celebrated by taking a mile walk and receiving friends. She told "some interesting recollections of her noted brother." Her "earliest recollection of him is of being tied with him to a bed post in our home to prevent us from getting into the fire. Tom was two years older than I was, but that did not prevent him from playing with dolls with me, as we were thus held in captivity." He was studious as a child, and "serious, conscientious and religious" as a man. "I am sure that if he had lived he would have succeeded in whatever he undertook."<sup>211</sup>



*Last photo of Laura, Buckhannon, 1910<sup>212</sup>*

A widely-published article in 1910 stated that Laura was going back home to Buckhannon. In her eighty-fifth year and feeble, and "Believing that her days are few, Mrs. Arnold asked to be taken back to the home of her girlhood to die and be buried." Her son Thomas and Stark's widow, Elizabeth, went to Columbus to take her home.<sup>213</sup> She moved into the large Victorian home in Buckhannon built by Elizabeth after Stark's death.<sup>214</sup>

Laura Jackson Arnold died a year later, on September 24, 1911, in the Buckhannon city hospital, active until the last weeks.<sup>215</sup> An obituary quoted the resolution adopted at the 1894 reunion of the 5<sup>th</sup> West Virginia Cavalry and Battery G, 1<sup>st</sup> West Virginia Light Artillery: “That she is not only enshrined in our memories, but in our hearts, and indeed holds the position with us as the mother of the regiment, and our prayer is that her life may be spared for many years, and that her future may be filled with days of happiness.”<sup>216</sup>

Anna was notified by telegram.<sup>217</sup> The news was widely reported, from her hometown of Clarksburg to California.<sup>218</sup> An obituary in Cincinnati described her as “an ardent abolitionist” and “one of the angels of the battlefield,” who had been named the “mother” of both the 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Volunteer Infantry and the 32<sup>nd</sup> Ohio Volunteer Infantry. She had even received honorable mention as a heroine of the Civil War in the Congressional Record.<sup>219</sup>

Laura is buried near Stark and his family in the Heavner Cemetery north of Buckhannon. Time has ravaged her tombstone, the inscription now illegible, a sad but fitting metaphor for how she has faded into the mists of time.<sup>220</sup>

### Epilogue - Laura’s Children



*Thomas, Grace, and Stark*<sup>221</sup>

#### **Grace**

Grace supported the Union and sided with her mother throughout the divorce. A newspaper report of Jonathan’s death in 1883 described her as a “bright, beautiful girl, who inherited her mother’s graces of character,” but “Even she did not escape calumny,” a cryptic allusion to the false rumors surrounding Grace’s interaction with Union officers.

During the war Grace attended the female academy in Wheeling.<sup>222</sup> On December 18, 1866, at age 18, she married a former Union soldier, Major Charles H. Evans, who she met in Beverly.<sup>223</sup> They moved to Springfield, Ohio, and later Cincinnati, where Charles became superintendent of schools. Their only children, Stark and Charley, died in 1874. Stark Evans was visiting Uncle Stark Arnold in West Virginia when he came down with pneumonia.<sup>224</sup>

Grace’s health deteriorated soon after. In May 1876 she wrote her brother Thomas that she had a breast tumor and the doctors had advised her to have the breast removed at the hospital.<sup>225</sup> Charles wrote to Laura in March 1878 that Grace had taken a turn for the worse, and doctors said within a month would not be able to sit up. He suggested Laura come to visit: “I know when you come and see how changed she is you will not feel like leaving her again. Would to God I could take her place. Tis so strange that the good members of a family are nearly always taken and the bad ones left.”<sup>226</sup>

Grace died later that month, only 30.<sup>227</sup> The Cincinnati Daily Star published a reminiscence by

someone who had spent months with the Evans' family, and "can speak from personal knowledge of the personal attractions and character of this noble Christian woman." Though the niece of General Stonewall Jackson, "this fact was seldom discovered, and only known to intimate friends, for in her modesty it was never paraded." Few in her city knew she was a "heroine of the late rebellion, because "notwithstanding her uncle, and father and most of her relatives were rebels, she, with her mother and a younger brother, were true to their principles and the Union, and assisted and cared for many a boy in blue, one of whom she finally married, Major C. H. Evans." Laura was at her bedside at the end.<sup>228</sup>

## ***Stark***

Stark was a man of many parts, government clerk, attorney, politician, minister. His strong support for the Union was evident at age 10, in a letter to Grace away at school. "I hope you have not turned Secession yet I am union yet and hope that I never will turn."<sup>229</sup>

He described his position at the Department of Interior, in 1866, to Thomas. "I don't have much to do only carry messages around in this building to the different rooms."<sup>230</sup> Early letters expressed a concern that if he were to visit West Virginia, Jonathan might not let him return to his position. Laura had the same concern. Stark wrote to her on April 13, 1866, telling her not to worry about "father, taking me away from here," and that "he did not tell me plain up and down to come home." Jonathan had written that "if I was a little older and had a better education... he would be perfectly satisfied for me to stay." Jonathan offered to send money if needed, and expressed his wish for Stark to "fall back in the Mountains yet, that I had not been to school much for about five years."<sup>231</sup> Later he informed Laura that Jonathan "only talks to scare us. I guess, at least he does not say much to me, and if he does, I will get Secretary Harlan and Col. Clarke, or some friends to write to him."<sup>232</sup> James Harlan was a former United States Senator from Iowa, who was confirmed as the Secretary of the Interior in March 1865.<sup>233</sup> Despite his concerns, Stark visited Jonathan in the fall of 1866, and returned to his job.<sup>234</sup> Jonathan and Judge Underwood exchanged letters about Stark. In late 1865, the judge wrote:

I have the gratification to repeat the good opinion I expressed of your little son. He is a very studious thoughtful & considerate boy & if he were my son & I had your means I would give him a first rate education. The more I see him the better I like him. He is studious & a perfect little gentleman. Give him a good education & he will prove an honor to your declining years or I am greatly mistaken in his talents & character.<sup>235</sup>

Stark left the Underwoods in the summer of 1866 to board in Washington, at 512 G Street.<sup>236</sup> Judge Underwood informed Jonathan of the change, adding "He is remarkably steady & studious for a boy of his years does not use strong drink or tobacco in any form & I think there is little danger of his falling into bad habits – On the contrary I have the highest hopes that he will become a useful & good man a credit & honor to his family & friends."<sup>237</sup>

One of the most important artifacts in the Stonewall Jackson House museum is the Bible that Thomas Jackson purchased at Laura's request shortly before the war. Stark wrote to Laura on April 15, 1867: "I was the receiver of a Box to day from Charlotte..., containing the Bible that Uncle purchased for You. There was a note to me in it, from Mrs. J. G. Morrison saying that she understood you wished it sent to me. It is a very nice Bible and quite large."<sup>238</sup> Anna must have asked Laura to whom the Bible should be sent, and Laura suggested Stark, for unknown reasons, though his letters disclose a growing interest in religion.

Stark attended law school, at night, at Columbian College, graduating in 1872.<sup>239</sup> He informed Laura in 1873 that he had decided to resign as a government clerk if there was not a "radical change" in his health.<sup>240</sup> Two months later he told her he was moving to West Virginia to go into business with Thomas and open a law practice. He reasoned that it would be a comfort to Jonathan for him to live in Beverly, "now that he has reached that age at which he is likely to drop off at anytime."<sup>241</sup> He

established a law practice in West Virginia and his professional letterhead read: "Office of Stark W. Arnold, Attorney at Law (Late of Washington, D.C.).... Practices in Randolph, Upshur, and adjoining counties, and before the departments at Washington City. Special attention given to claims against the government."<sup>242</sup>

Stark married Elizabeth Gohen, daughter of newspaperman George Gohen, on Christmas 1880, in Cincinnati.<sup>243</sup> The couple had four children: Grace (1881-1974), Marie (1883-1961), Gohen (1885-1939), and Beatrice (1887-1983).<sup>244</sup> Elected to the West Virginia state senate in 1884,<sup>245</sup> Stark served two terms, and four terms as prosecuting attorney in Upshur County, a "Republican in a Democratic district."<sup>246</sup> Long interested in religion, Stark became an ordained minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1885.<sup>247</sup> Two years later he moved his family to Madison, New Jersey,<sup>248</sup> to enter the Drew Theological Seminary. Graduating in the class of 1890, he pastored a church in Bolivar, New York for three years, and then in Friendship, New York.<sup>249</sup>

Stark wrote to Laura on May 22, 1898, about a "sudden illness" that began ten weeks earlier. He had been "exceedingly weak," and only that week had felt up to preaching. Three months later, on August 17, 1898, Stark died at 46, in Ocean Grove, New Jersey.<sup>250</sup>

### ***Thomas***

In fall 1866, Thomas returned to Lexington to attend law school at Washington College. A day or two after his arrival, while

[s]tanding in front of the Lexington Hotel I saw on the opposite side of the street the handsomest man I had ever seen or have ever seen since; he was walking along the street, erect, military carriage, fine physique, gray cropped whiskers, a gray suit, a gray military soft hat. He entered a store. It occurred to me that it must be Genl. Lee. I crossed over & entered the store. He was buying a bushel of corn meal. I heard the merchant call him Genl. Lee.<sup>251</sup>

Over the next year Thomas visited the Lees "9 or 10 times," at the president's house on campus – the same house that Jackson and his first wife Elinor lived in, because her father, George Junkin, was then the president of the college. Thomas adored the entire family, but especially the youngest Lee daughter, whom he called "pretty bright & attractive." "I made an engagement with Miss Mildred for the Commencement exercise."<sup>252</sup>

Thomas returned to Beverly and lived with his father. In 1876, he married Eugenia Hill in Mecklenberg County, North Carolina. Eugenia was the 24-year-old daughter of General Daniel Harvey (D. H.) Hill, and Isabella Morrison Hill, Anna Jackson's sister.<sup>253</sup> The marriage was reported with all the expected gushing for a couple connected to two Confederate generals. Thomas was described as a "young lawyer of talent."<sup>254</sup>

Thomas and Eugenia had four children: Isabel (1877-1973); Daniel Harvey Hill (1879-1955); Thomas Jackson, Jr. (1883-1955); and Eugene (1890-1937).<sup>255</sup> He practiced law in West Virginia for a time, and engaged in farming and investing. The family moved to San Diego in 1880, where he practiced law and invested in real estate.<sup>256</sup> Unlike Stark, who was a staunch Republican, Thomas was a Democrat and appointed by President Grover Cleveland Collector of Customs for the Port of San Diego in 1886.<sup>257</sup> Two years later he lost the position when Benjamin Harrison defeated Cleveland in the 1888 presidential election, and his family returned to West Virginia. Thomas donated 30 acres in the 1890s in the Tygart Valley to establish a home for Confederate veterans.<sup>258</sup>

Thomas and Laura had a strained relationship, and few letters between them survive. An undated letter from Laura to Thomas, written after Grace's death, and possibly Stark's, began with the statement, "My dear son, it is a great pleasure to me after so long time to receive a letter from you." The letter is long and rambling, ranging from professions of love to scolding. The main thrust of the letter is

that she had long been in financial straits, and Thomas and Stark had not lived up to promises to support her.<sup>259</sup> To his credit, Thomas did not criticize Laura in his book about Jackson, or in his other writings, and his true feelings about her remain a mystery.

Late in life Thomas wrote articles for newspapers, and left behind handwritten reminiscences of the many notable people he had known. Roy Bird Cook, of West Virginia, and a biographer of Jackson, corresponded with Thomas in the 1920s and 1930s. Thomas lived in Florida for much of that time, and his letters are fascinating, for his unique knowledge, and clear-eyed, objective approach to history, as evidenced by his statement to Cook in 1928: “To be able to write from a non-partisan stand-point, is what all fair-minded people will hope for and expect from one occupying that position. Unless we use the utmost care in the selection of persons to fill such posts, what of History?”<sup>260</sup>

In 1931, a reunion was held at Washington College for the last surviving students who had attended the college when Robert E. Lee was president. Five of the seven survivors were able to attend, including Thomas Arnold. Two years later, on January 11, 1933, Thomas Jackson Arnold died at the age of 87, the last member of Laura’s family, and one of the last people to have known Stonewall Jackson.<sup>261</sup>



*1931 Reunion at Washington College – Thomas Arnold on the right<sup>262</sup>*

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Larry Spurgeon (BBA, JD): Senior Lecturer Emeritus, Wichita State University; resident of Rockbridge County, Virginia; and interpreter at the Stonewall Jackson House Museum in Lexington, Virginia.
- <sup>2</sup> Laura Arnold, from an interview in 1890 with the Columbus Dispatch. Reprinted in The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<http://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>3</sup> “Laura Arnold, of Beverly, Randolph County, W. Va.,” taken c. 1865 at Partridge’s Gallery, Wheeling, West Virginia. Identifier 038556, A & M 3399, West Virginia History Onview, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries (<https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/038556>)
- <sup>4</sup> Larry Spurgeon, *Stonewall Jackson in Fayette County* (2019)
- <sup>5</sup> Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson: The Legend and the Man to Valley V, Vol. One* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1959) 23
- <sup>6</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: Macmillan Publishing USA, 1997) 1-3, 14
- <sup>7</sup> The Sunday Telegram (Clarksburg, West Virginia), March 28, 1915 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). Cooper’s Clarksburg Register, February 13, 1857 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). Henry Haymond, *History of Harrison County, West Virginia* (Acme Publishing Company, Morgantown, W. Va., 1910), 387-388.
- <sup>8</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916) 41-42. The Genealogies of the Jackson, Junkin & Morrison Families, Compiled by Michael I. Shoop (Published by the Garland Gray Memorial Research Center, Stonewall Jackson House, and Historic Lexington Foundation, Lexington, Virginia, 1981) Plate 9.
- <sup>9</sup> The Genealogies of the Jackson, Junkin & Morrison Families, Compiled by Michael I. Shoop (Published by the Garland Gray Memorial Research Center, Stonewall Jackson House, and Historic Lexington Foundation, Lexington, Virginia, 1981) Plates 1-3
- <sup>10</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 4-5. Roy Bird Cook, *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson*, (Charleston: Charleston Printing Company, 1948) 16.
- <sup>11</sup> *Colonel Edward Jackson, 1759-1828, Revolutionary Soldier*, Compiled by Nancy Ann Jackson, PhD, and Linda Brake Meyers, (Franklin, NC: Genealogy Publishing Service, 1995) 379
- <sup>12</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 5
- <sup>13</sup> The Genealogies of the Jackson, Junkin & Morrison Families, n. 9, Plates 3 and 11
- <sup>14</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 5-7
- <sup>15</sup> Id., at 7
- <sup>16</sup> Camden, Gideon D. Letter to Rev. R. L. Dabney, November 21, 1863, Folder 62, PC-0014, Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College. Camden sold the property in 1859, at Laura’s insistence, after she had been conveyed her brother’s interest.
- <sup>17</sup> Marriage of Blake B. Woodson to Julia Jackson, November 30, 1830, West Virginia, Marriages Index, 1785-1971 (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>18</sup> Virginia Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 4, November 1994, Legislative Petitions From Virginia Counties, po. 277-278 (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>19</sup> Herbert Clarence Bradshaw, *A History of Prince Edward County, Virginia; from its formation in 1753, to the present* (Richmond: The Dietz Press Incorporated, 1955) 694
- <sup>20</sup> Vol. VI, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, January 1, 1797, to December 31, 1807* (Richmond: H.W. Flournoy, 1890) 78 (<https://www.books.google.com>)
- <sup>21</sup> *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1915-1916* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1917) 71 (<https://www.books.google.com>)
- <sup>22</sup> *Historical Genealogy of the Woodsons and Their Connections*, Compiled by Henry Morton Woodson, Memphis, Tennessee (Published by the author, 1915) 125-128
- <sup>23</sup> Richmond Enquirer, January 28, 1836 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). Gerald Evans Hopkins, *The Story of Cumberland County, Virginia* (Winchester, Virginia: Privately Issued, 1942), 65-67 (<https://www.familysearch.org>).
- <sup>24</sup> The obituary for their youngest son, William Cowan Woodson, stated that he was not yet four years of age when his mother died, and he was born in 1818. Greenbrier Independent, August 22, 1886, from The People of the Old Stone Cemetery: The Obituaries, 1853-1979. Researched and Compiled by Morgan Donnally Bunn (2017), The Archives, Greenbrier Historical Society.
- <sup>24</sup> *Historical Genealogy of the Woodsons and Their Connections*, Compiled by Henry Morton Woodson, Memphis, Tennessee (Published by the author, 1915) 125
- <sup>25</sup> *Redford v. Gibson*, Virginia Reports: Jefferson – 33 Grattan, 1730-1880 (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1900-1904) 333 (<https://books.google.com/books>). *Swan v. Bank of the United States*, Circuit Court of the United States; Reports of Cases Decided by the Honourable John Marshall, Late Chief Justice of the United States, in the Circuit Court of the United



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States, for the Circuit of Virginia and North Carolina, From 1802 to 1833 Inclusive, Vol. II, Edited by John W. Brockenbrough (Philadelphia: James Kay, Jun. & Brother, 1837).

<sup>26</sup> History of Fayette County, West Virginia, 153 (<https://www.ancestry.com>)

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold wrote Roy Bird Cook that his mother “told me often that her Mother took her and Thomas with her.” Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, December 17, 1930, quoted in *Colonel Edward Jackson, 1759-1828, Revolutionary Soldier*, Compiled by Nancy Ann Jackson, PhD, and Linda Brake Meyers, (Franklin, NC: Genealogy Publishing Service, 1995) 219-220. Laura recalled to her cousin, many years later, that Blake took “his wife and the two younger children, Thomas and Laura.” Recollections of Laura Arnold, dictated to a cousin in Buckhannon, West Virginia, and quoted in a letter from Beatrice Arnold Giffin, Laura’s granddaughter, in a letter to Roy Bird Cook dated January 30, 1948. Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Bound Volume Series, Book 9, Vol. 2-J, p. 32, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries. Neale, Thomas. Letter to Lewis Maxwell, June 6, 1833, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Bound Volume Series, Book 9, Vol. 2-J, pp. 17-21, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 27

<sup>29</sup> The Genealogies of the Jackson, Junkin & Morrison Families, n. 9, Plate 11. Woodson, Blake. Letter to William Woodson, December 6, 1831, Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F12, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 28

<sup>31</sup> Woodson, Blake. Letter to William Woodson, December 6, 1831, n. 27

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 28. Roy Bird Cook, n. 10, at 49. James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 11. Appraisement Bill of the Property of Blake B. Woodson, March 30, 1833, (Fayette County), West Virginia, Wills and Probate Records, 1724-1985 (<https://www.ancestry.com>). Since this appraisement was filed on March 30, Blake must have died shortly before.

<sup>33</sup> Neale, Thomas. Letter to Lewis Maxwell Cook, June 6, 1833, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Bound Volume Series, Book 9, Vol. 2-J, pp. 17-21, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries.

<sup>34</sup> Recollections of Laura Jackson Arnold, n. 27

<sup>35</sup> Neale, Thomas Neale. Letter to Lewis Maxwell, June 6, 1833, n. 33

<sup>36</sup> *Colonel Edward Jackson, 1759-1828, Revolutionary Soldier*, n. 11, at 80. Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 27-28. Lenoir Chambers, n. 5, at 39.

<sup>37</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 22

<sup>38</sup> Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Original handwritten notes, c. 1922, Folder 74, PC-0014, Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College.

<sup>39</sup> 1850 U.S. Census, Randolph County, Virginia, pop. sch., p. 76, dwell. 747, fam. 749, C.L.M. Lee (<https://www.ancestry.com>)

<sup>40</sup> Thomas J. Arnold, *Beverly in the Sixties* (originally published in The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine, November 1967) (<http://www.historicbeverly.org/bevsixties.htm>)

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/96635846/jonathan-arnold>

<sup>42</sup> West Virginia, Marriage Index, 1785-1971, and Public Member Trees (<https://www.ancestry.com>)

<sup>43</sup> The year of Stark’s birth varies among sources, as 1850 or 1851. His tombstone (<https://www.findagrave.com>), lists the date as 1850, and the official death record gave his age as 47. (New Jersey, Deaths and Burial Index, 1798-1971, <https://www.ancestry.com>). The correct date is 1851 because he wrote to his mother on December 20, 1868 that he had turned 17 that day. Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, December 20, 1868, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.

<sup>44</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Grace Arnold, February 25, 1860, VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>).

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 266-271

<sup>46</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Laura Arnold, February 8, 1858, VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>).

<sup>47</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 8, 1858; Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 21, Folder F4, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas J. Arnold, *Beverly in the Sixties*, n. 40

<sup>49</sup> Id.

<sup>50</sup> Id.

<sup>51</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996) 187-188

<sup>52</sup> Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln’s Opponents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 7-8

<sup>53</sup> The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)

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- <sup>54</sup> 1850 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Randolph County, Virginia, C. L. M. Lee; and 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Randolph County, Virginia, p. 2 (<https://www.ancestry.com>).
- <sup>55</sup> Neale, Clementine. Letter to Laura Arnold, November 19, 1858, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>56</sup> Thomas J. Arnold, *Beverly in the Sixties*, n. 40. Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 88.
- <sup>57</sup> Thomas J. Arnold, *Beverly in the Sixties*, n. 40
- <sup>58</sup> Id.
- <sup>59</sup> Id.
- <sup>60</sup> Id.
- <sup>61</sup> Id.
- <sup>62</sup> Id.
- <sup>63</sup> The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>64</sup> Id.
- <sup>65</sup> Charles Royster, *The Destructive War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) 47; quoting the Cincinnati Commercial, September 1861
- <sup>66</sup> The Weekly Republican (Plymouth, Indiana), October 2, 1862 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>67</sup> <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/chron/civilwarnotes/jacksonj.html>
- <sup>68</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to Jonathan Arnold, October 5, 1862, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>69</sup> Ellis, George W. Letter to Laura Arnold, May 20, 1863, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>70</sup> Id.
- <sup>71</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 188-189
- <sup>72</sup> *Fifth West Virginia Cavalry* - <http://www.lindapages.com/wvcw/5wvc/5wvc-2.htm>
- <sup>73</sup> William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and Family History of Western New York* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912) 1431. *The State Government for 1879: Memorial Volume for the New Capital*, Ed. by Charles G. Shanks (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1879) 121-122.
- <sup>74</sup> William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and Family History of Western New York* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912) 1431
- <sup>75</sup> *The State Government for 1879: Memorial Volume for the New Capital*, Edited by Charles G. Shanks (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1879) 121-122
- <sup>76</sup> New York, Death Index, 1852-1956 (<http://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>77</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 189-190
- <sup>78</sup> The Leavenworth (Kansas) Bulletin, July 20, 1864 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>79</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, July 28, 1883 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>80</sup> The Pittsburgh Daily Commercial, June 6, 1864 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>81</sup> Urbana (Champaign, Ohio) Union, November 16, 1864 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>82</sup> <http://www.historicbeverly.org/rossraid.html>
- <sup>83</sup> I visited the Randolph County Courthouse in Elkins, West Virginia, on December 4, 2018. The divorce files are kept in the Chancery records. The only document I was able to review, and transcribe, was the final order by the judge.
- <sup>84</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 185
- <sup>85</sup> WV Code, Section 48-1-303(b)
- <sup>86</sup> Albert Castel, *Arnold vs. Arnold: The Strange and Hitherto Untold Story of the Divorce of Stonewall Jackson's Sister*, Blue and Gray Magazine, 12 (October 1994)
- <sup>87</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51
- <sup>88</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 190-191. Castel wrote that Thomas Arnold "had left VMI following the secession of Virginia, and now was studying law with Col. David Goff, a local attorney and, significantly, a pro-Confederate who had spent the war in eastern Virginia." VMI records have no reference to Thomas Arnold as a student, but he attended law school at Washington College in Lexington after the war.
- <sup>89</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to James Jackson, January 22, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>90</sup> Id.
- <sup>91</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 190
- <sup>92</sup> Constitution of West Virginia, Article XI, Miscellaneous, Section 8, Ordinances and Acts of the Restored Government of Virginia, Virginia Laws and Statutes 1861-1863
- <sup>93</sup> Acts of the Legislature of West Virginia at its First Session, Commencing June 20, 1863, Ordinances and Acts of the Restored Government of Virginia, Virginia Laws and Statutes 1861-1863



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- <sup>94</sup> Code of Virginia – 1849, Chapter CIX, Section 6  
([https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA469&source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA469&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false))
- <sup>95</sup> <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/a-mensa-et-thoro>
- <sup>96</sup> Code of Virginia – 1849, Chapter CIX, Section 7  
([https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA469&source=gbs\\_toc\\_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=p1BRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA469&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false))
- <sup>97</sup> Donna J. Spindel, Women's Legal Rights in West Virginia, 1863-1984, West Virginia History, West Virginia Archives and History ([http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal\\_wvh/wvh51-3.html](http://www.wvculture.org/history/journal_wvh/wvh51-3.html))
- <sup>98</sup> The Amended Code of West Virginia; containing all the chapters of the code of 1868... Comp. by John A. Wart, Chapter LXIV, Section 6 (original from University of Michigan – Digitized by Google)  
(<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.35112105120085;view=1up;seq=538>)
- <sup>99</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 21, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>100</sup> [https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Underwood\\_John\\_C\\_1809-1873](https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Underwood_John_C_1809-1873)
- <sup>101</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, June 17, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>102</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 29, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>103</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, July 2, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>104</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, October 20, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>105</sup> The Philadelphia Inquirer, May 24, 1866 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>106</sup> The Charleston (South Carolina) Daily News, June 1, 1867 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). The Morning Democrat (Davenport, Iowa), September 11, 1867 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>107</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letters to Laura Arnold, May 4 and May 5, 1868, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>108</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, June 12, 1868, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>109</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, November 22, 1868, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>110</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, February 8, 1869, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>111</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 7, 1869, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>112</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 18, 1869, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>113</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 24, 1870, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>114</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 192-193
- <sup>115</sup> Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F14, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University
- <sup>116</sup> Id.
- <sup>117</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 193-194
- <sup>118</sup> Final Judgment in Arnold vs. Arnold, In Chancery, August 27, 1870 (Order Book, p. 200), Randolph County Courthouse, Elkins, West Virginia
- <sup>119</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 195
- <sup>120</sup> E.g., James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 233
- <sup>121</sup> Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson*, n. 8, at 13
- <sup>122</sup> VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>)
- <sup>123</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 6, 1861, VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>).
- <sup>124</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Grace Arnold, April 13, 1861, VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>).
- <sup>125</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Laura Jackson Arnold, December 29, 1860, VMI Archives Digital Collection (<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/search/collection/p15821coll4>).
- <sup>126</sup> Jackson, Thomas J. Letter to Thomas Jackson Arnold, January 26, 1861, Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – Stonewall Jackson* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916) 293.
- <sup>127</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 207, quoting a letter from Thomas J. Jackson to Laura Arnold, February 2, 1861 (Roy Bird Cook collection at West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University).

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- <sup>128</sup> Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892) (reprinted, Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1995) 138-139
- <sup>129</sup> Pittsburgh Daily Post, September 20, 1888 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>130</sup> The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>131</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, September 12, 1864, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>132</sup> Jackson, Mary Ann. Letter to Laura Arnold, September 9, 1861, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5. The original letter is in Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F2, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>133</sup> Camden, Gideon. Letter to Robert L. Dabney, November 25, 1863, Roy Bird Cook Collection, West Virginia University
- <sup>134</sup> Charles Royster, *The Destructive War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) 47; quoting the Cincinnati Commercial, September 1861.
- <sup>135</sup> Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940, 1968) 35
- <sup>136</sup> Jedediah Hotchkiss, *Make Me a Map Of the Valley: The Civil War Journal of Stonewall Jackson's Topographer* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973) 122
- <sup>137</sup> See also James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 6, at 690
- <sup>138</sup> Alexandria (Virginia) Gazette, August 31, 1895 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>139</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, June 8, 1863; and see e.g., Liverpool (England) Mercury, June 27, 1863 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>140</sup> Vermont Chronicle (Bellow Falls, Vermont) September 29, 1863 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>141</sup> From "Glimpses of the Nation's Struggles," a series of papers read before the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, in St. Paul, Minnesota, 1901; taken from a typewritten summary of references to Laura in books; Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F14, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>142</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 187
- <sup>143</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, September 12, 1864, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>144</sup> Id.
- <sup>145</sup> S. C. Gwynne, *Rebel Yell: The Violence, Passion, and Redemption of Stonewall Jackson* (New York: Scribner, 2014) 566
- <sup>146</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, October 21, 1865, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>147</sup> Id.
- <sup>148</sup> Id.
- <sup>149</sup> Id.
- <sup>150</sup> Id.
- <sup>151</sup> Id.
- <sup>152</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, November 11, 1865, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>153</sup> Id.
- <sup>154</sup> Thomas J. Arnold, *Beverly in the Sixties*, n. 40
- <sup>155</sup> The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer (May 4, 1864) (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>156</sup> Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 1, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>157</sup> Staunton (Virginia) Spectator, May 6, 1879 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>158</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, November 11, 1865, n. 152
- <sup>159</sup> Id.
- <sup>160</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Thomas Arnold, November 19, 1868, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>161</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Thomas Arnold, March 8, 1869, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>162</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Clementine Neale, June 4, 1869, Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 16, Folder F1, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>163</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Clementine Neale, April 24, 1877, Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 16, Folder F1, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>164</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, January 5, 1881, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>165</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Mrs. Jackson, April 13, 1881, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.

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- <sup>166</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Mrs. Jackson, August 10, 1881, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>167</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to Mary Anna Jackson, November 18, 1881, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>168</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, August 16, 1883, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>169</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 15, 1886, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>170</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to Mary Anna Jackson, undated, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>171</sup> Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson*, n. 128
- <sup>172</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, May 9, 1891, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>173</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Stark Arnold, May 18, 1891, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>174</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Stark Arnold, June 4, 1891, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>175</sup> Laura mentioned that her grandson, Gohen Arnold, who was born in 1885, had graduated from a seminary. Arnold, Laura. Letter to Mary Anna Jackson, undated, Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F12, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>176</sup> Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, February 19, 1904, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>177</sup> Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College
- <sup>178</sup> Several letters from Stark to Laura were posted to Beverly and Buckhannon during those years. See VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5. In 1870 Laura lived with George Buckey in Beverly, the owner of a boarding house. 1870 U.S. Census, Randolph County, Virginia, pop. sch., p. 407, dwell. 50, fam. 50, Cyrus Hill (<https://www.ancestry.com>).
- <sup>179</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to C. H. Evans, November 30, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5. Stark mentioned that Laura was at Dr. Shepard's and he did not yet have her address. Laura said in an 1897 interview that she had lived at Shepard's for about 15 years. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 1, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>180</sup> Albert Castel, *Winning and Losing in the Civil War: Essays and Stories*, n. 51, at 196
- <sup>181</sup> The Cincinnati Enquirer, August 18, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>182</sup> St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 1, 1883 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>183</sup> Id.
- <sup>184</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, July 28, 1883 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>185</sup> The Cincinnati Enquirer, August 18, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>186</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to Thomas Arnold, undated, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>187</sup> Excerpt from "The Story of a Regiment, A History of the Campaigns and Associations in the Field of the Sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry," by E. Hannaford (Cincinnati, published by the author, 1868), taken from a typewritten summary of references to Laura in books; Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F14, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>188</sup> The Topeka (Kansas) Daily Capital, November 8, 1880 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>189</sup> Id.
- <sup>190</sup> Democratic Northwest and Henry County News (Napoleon, Ohio), July 27, 1882 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>191</sup> Pittsburgh Daily Post, September 20, 1888 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>192</sup> Id.
- <sup>193</sup> The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>194</sup> Laura Arnold, undated, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5
- <sup>195</sup> Pittsburgh Dispatch, February 3, 1890 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>196</sup> Preston, Margaret. Letter to Laura Arnold, October 31, 1887, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>197</sup> The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, August 6, 1897 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>198</sup> Id.
- <sup>199</sup> Pittsburgh Press, September 13, 1894 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>200</sup> Portsmouth Daily Times (Portsmouth, Ohio), August 23, 1895 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>201</sup> Pittsburgh Daily Post, August 30, 1895 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>202</sup> The Fairmont West Virginian, April 29, 1910 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)

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- <sup>203</sup> Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 1, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>204</sup> Id.
- <sup>205</sup> Id.
- <sup>206</sup> Elizabeth Preston Allan, *The Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1903) 153
- <sup>207</sup> Brown, Joseph N. Letter to Laura Arnold, August 2, 1900, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>208</sup> Excerpt from “History of the Eight-Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers,” by George R. Prowell (York: 1901); taken from a typewritten summary of references to Laura in books; Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 10, Folder F14, West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University.
- <sup>209</sup> The Dayton (Ohio) Herald, September 4, 1903 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>210</sup> The National Tribune (Washington, D.C.), February 4, 1904 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>211</sup> The Indianapolis News, March 30, 1909 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>212</sup> Identifier 029304, A & M 1561, Roy Bird Cook Collection, West Virginia History Onview, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries (<https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/029304>)
- <sup>213</sup> The Fairmont West Virginian, April 29, 1910 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>214</sup> Phyllis Baxter, *Laura Jackson Arnold* (unpublished paper) 23
- <sup>215</sup> The Daily Telegram (Clarksburg, West Virginia), September 11, 1911 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>216</sup> The Cincinnati Enquirer, September 26, 1911 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>217</sup> The Charlotte News, September 25, 1911 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>218</sup> The Daily Telegram (Clarksburg, West Virginia), September 11, 1911; The Atlanta Constitution, September 26, 1911; The Watertown (Wisconsin) News, September 29, 1911; The Charlotte News, September 25, 1911; Oakland Tribune, September 25, 1911 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>219</sup> The Cincinnati Enquirer, September 26, 1911 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>220</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/10355562/laura-ann-arnold>
- <sup>221</sup> Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College
- <sup>222</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, July 28, 1883 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>223</sup> West Virginia, Compiled Marriage Records, 1863-1900 (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>224</sup> Evans, C. H. Evans. Letters to Stark Arnold, November 6 and November 27, 1874, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5
- <sup>225</sup> Evans, Grace Arnold. Letter to Thomas Arnold, May 11, 1876, Folder 26, PC-0014, Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College.
- <sup>226</sup> Evans, C. H. Evans. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 7, 1878, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>227</sup> The News Journal (Wilmington, Delaware), March 28, 1878 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>228</sup> The Cincinnati Daily Star, March 20, 1878 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>229</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Grace Arnold, January 10, 1862, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>230</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Thomas Jackson Arnold, November 27, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>231</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 13, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>232</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, July 7, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>233</sup> The Philadelphia Inquirer, March 10, 1865 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>234</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Thomas Jackson Arnold, October 18, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>235</sup> Underwood, John C. Letter to Jonathan Arnold, December 27, 1865, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>236</sup> Washington City Directory, 1868 (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>237</sup> Underwood, John C. Letter to Jonathan Arnold, July 13, 1866, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>238</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, April 15, 1867, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>239</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, June 1, 1872, and Commencement Announcement, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>240</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, March 6, 1873, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.

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- <sup>241</sup> Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, May 21, 1873, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>242</sup> Diploma from the Law Department of Columbia College, June 1874. Arnold, Stark. Letter to Laura Arnold, May 10, 1874, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>243</sup> Phyllis Baxter, *Laura Jackson Arnold* (unpublished paper) 18
- <sup>244</sup> <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/76009554/person/142099860466/facts>
- <sup>245</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, August 21, 1884 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>246</sup> The Cincinnati Enquirer, August 18, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). The Wheeling Daily Intelligencer, September 15, 1885 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>247</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, September 15, 1885 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>248</sup> The Wheeling (West Virginia) Daily Intelligencer, November 8, 1887 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>249</sup> Drew Theological Seminary, Alumni (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>250</sup> Monmouth Democrat (Freehold, New Jersey), August 25, 1898 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). New Jersey, Deaths and Burials Index, 1798-1971 (<https://www.ancestry.com>).
- <sup>251</sup> Thomas Arnold's handwritten Recollections of Lee and Jackson, Folder 76, PC-0014, Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College
- <sup>252</sup> Id.
- <sup>253</sup> Marriage Certificate for Thomas Jackson Arnold and Eugenia Hill, June 1, 1876, *North Carolina, Marriage Records, 1741-2001* (<https://www.ancestry.com>)
- <sup>254</sup> Charlotte Observer, reprinted in The Yazoo (Yazoo City, Mississippi) Herald, June 30, 1876 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>255</sup> The Genealogies of the Jackson, Junkin & Morrison Families, n. 9, Plate 22. See also <https://findagrave.com>.
- <sup>256</sup> Oakland (California) Tribune, January 11, 1933 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>257</sup> The Los Angeles Times, August 6, 1885 (<https://www.newspapers.com>). The Times-Picayune (New Orleans), December 1, 1890 (<https://www.newspapers.com>).
- <sup>258</sup> The Weekly Register (Point Pleasant, West Virginia) January 1, 1896 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>259</sup> Arnold, Laura. Letter to Thomas Arnold, undated, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Stonewall Jackson Papers, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- <sup>260</sup> Arnold, Thomas. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, August 28, 1928, Folder 68, PC-0014, Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College.
- <sup>261</sup> Oakland (California) Tribune, January 11, 1933 (<https://www.newspapers.com>)
- <sup>262</sup> Jackson-Arnold Collection, Russell-Arnold Archive, James H. Thomason Library, Presbyterian College