

Stonewall Jackson's Slaves

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*All history becomes subjective; in other words
there is properly no history, only biography.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson²

I. Introduction

Thomas Jonathan “Stonewall” Jackson owned at least seven slaves before the Civil War. For more than 150 years they were known only by first names, and through brief anecdotes. Albert, Amy, and Emma were purchased by Jackson. Hetty, and her sons Cyrus and George, and a teenager named Ann, were given to Jackson and his wife, Mary Anna (Anna) Morrison Jackson, by her father as a marriage dowry. Almost nothing was known about their lives after the war, after they gained freedom.

The staff and volunteers of the Stonewall Jackson House museum wanted to learn more about them. What last names did they take? Where did they live? What did they do to earn a living? Did they marry and have children? Do they have living descendants? We have no photographs of them, no letters or journals that reflect their perspectives. Their humanity is referred to in passing through the documents and stories about Jackson’s life. They are seen dimly in the background, seemingly frozen in a time of slavery and war.

Those of us who research and interpret history have the privilege, and the obligation, to tell the stories about the people who lived it. For these once enslaved people it is especially important for several reasons. To embrace their personal stories provides a better understanding of life in slaveholding Virginia on the eve of war. They were an integral part of Jackson’s life before he became a legend. Five of them lived in the Washington Street house, labored for him there, and worked with him in the garden and his 18 acre “lot” east of town. They had a closer personal connection to him than all but a few people. Learning more about them gives us a richer and fuller understanding of Jackson’s life and personality. Even more importantly, they deserve to have their stories told.

Lastly, as Emerson put it, “there is properly no history, only biography.” It is difficult to comprehend the complexity and scope of historical events, especially something as abhorrent as slavery. We can never truly know what enslaved people experienced, but learning more about them as individuals helps us make a human connection. These individuals serve as representatives for the four million people who were enslaved when the war began. They are not special because the man who owned them came to be famous, but because he is famous their stories open a window to better understanding.

The quest to learn more about them was sparked by a conversation with Grace Abele, the Site Director for the Stonewall Jackson House museum, in fall 2017. What followed was a genealogical and historical journey that uncovered the post-war lives of Hetty,³ George, and Emma, living close to Anna’s childhood home in North Carolina,⁴ where the Jacksons married on July 16, 1857.⁵ The culmination of that journey was the honor that Grace and I had to meet some of their descendants.

The newly-discovered information, and the process for uncovering it, is set out in Section IV. Section II provides an overview of Jackson's complex relationship with blacks. Section III updates and summarizes what was previously known about the enslaved people owned by Jackson. This paper is a snapshot of what is known at this point, a hopeful beginning to further discovery and understanding.

Primary sources are used as much as possible, through both public records and the personal accounts of the Jacksons and their friends and family. It is a one-sided conversation to be sure, lacking the voice of the enslaved people. Some of the characterizations about blacks in these sources are crude and offensive to a modern reader, but using original sources is important to provide a meaningful perspective of that time and place.

II. Jackson's Relationship With Blacks

Most published material about Jackson understandably focuses on his military exploits. Success on the battlefield was his only claim to fame. His death in the wake of arguably his greatest military victory at Chancellorsville, and on the eve of the Confederacy's most notable military defeat at Gettysburg, elevated his martyrdom to mythic proportions. Yet his fame was not sought. He was in the most profound sense a simple and humble man. Nowhere was he happier than in Lexington, and he often expressed a desire to resume his life as a professor at the Virginia Military Institute.

J. T. L. Preston was a founder of VMI and professor of Latin there.⁶ He served for a time on Jackson's staff during the war,⁷ and, because he went back and forth from the field to VMI to fulfill his teaching duties, acted as Jackson's agent for business matters in Lexington. Preston, Jackson, and two other men were partners in the Lexington Tannery purchased in 1860.⁸ Preston's wife, Margaret (Maggie) Junkin Preston, was the older sister of Jackson's first wife, Elinor (Ellie) Junkin Jackson. Maggie, who became one of Jackson's closest friends after Ellie's death in 1854, was a well-known writer, called the "Poetess of the South."⁹ 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."¹⁰ Maggie recorded in her journal on April 6, 1863, less than a month before Jackson's wounding at Chancellorsville, "Brother Willy here to dinner today. Has just been on a little visit to General Jackson's army; preached there; says Jackson is longing to be out of the field, and at home once more."¹¹

Though much has been written about Jackson's pre-war life, his relationship with blacks, and his views on slavery itself, remain elusive, and controversial. A detailed analysis is well beyond the scope, or purpose, of this paper, but a brief overview helps to provide context, using the words of Jackson and those closest to him.

Thomas Jackson Arnold was Jackson's nephew, the oldest son of his sister Laura Arnold. He stayed with the Jacksons from October 1858 to June 1859, when he was 13, the same age as George.¹² In his recollections published in 1916 he quoted a letter to him dated January 26, 1861, that contains one of Jackson's few statements about his views on slavery and secession:

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.¹³

His reference to "servile insurrection" may have been an allusion to the impact on white southerners from John Brown's raid in October 1859. James I. Robertson, Jr., a Jackson biographer, described the "frenzied reactions" caused by rumors. He concluded that Jackson, as a "Democrat with inherent respect for states' rights," likely gave little thought to the "national picture." Because Virginia had "no military force save some militia units and the VMI cadets," the governor put the "corps on notice for a possible trip to Charles Town," the site for Brown's execution. Jackson was one of several VMI officials placed in command of cadets to "take charge of the execution itself."¹⁴ He described the execution matter-of-factly in a letter to Anna the same day. "I sent up the petition that he might be saved. Awful was the thought that he might in a few minutes receive the sentence, 'Depart, ye wicked, into everlasting fire!' I hope he was prepared to die, but I am doubtful. He refused to have a minister with him."¹⁵

Writing a quarter century after the Civil War, Anna deemed it necessary to protect Jackson's legacy and justify his role in the war.

It has been said that General Jackson "fought for slavery and the Southern Confederacy with the unshaken conviction that both were to endure." This statement is true with regard to the latter, but I am very confident that he would never have fought for the sole object of perpetuating slavery. It was for her *constitutional rights* that the South resisted the North, and slavery was only comprehended among those rights. He found the institution a responsible and troublesome one, and I have heard him say that he would prefer to see the negroes free, but he believed that the Bible taught that slavery was sanctioned by the Creator himself, who maketh men to differ, and instituted laws for the bond and the free. He therefore accepted slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, not as a thing desirable in itself, but as allowed by Providence for ends which it was not his business to determine. At the same time, the negroes had no truer friend, no greater benefactor. Those who were servants in his own house he treated with the greatest kindness, and never was more happy or more devoted to any work than that of teaching the colored children in his Sunday-school.¹⁶

In short, Jackson accepted the institution of slavery as the will of God, and his views were typical of many whites of that era.

Yet, the most important work of his life before the Civil War was the black Sabbath School he founded at Lexington Presbyterian Church in 1855. Between 80 and 100 blacks, all but a few of them enslaved, attended every Sunday afternoon, and he was even accused by local lawyers of violating Virginia law for teaching blacks to read in the school. He reluctantly left that work to go to war in April 1861, and his friends kept the school going for more than two decades after his death. It is a complex story and one that is explored in great detail in a separate paper by this author.¹⁷

III. WHAT WE KNEW

Most of the information about the enslaved people owned by Jackson is anecdotal and comes from letters and personal recollections by family members and friends. The most detailed accounts were by Anna in her two books. The best known to Jackson researchers is “Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson,” published in 1892.¹⁸ Her second book, “Memoir of Julia Jackson Christian, Daughter of Stonewall Jackson,” was published in 1910. Julia, the only child of Thomas Jackson to survive infancy, died in 1889 and the book was dedicated to her two children.¹⁹

The most thorough secondary source about Jackson’s slaves is a 1994 paper by a graduate fellow at the Stonewall Jackson House, Megan Haley (Newman) about the African-American experience in Lexington at the time.²⁰ It contains many detailed facts and citations to original sources that were very helpful to this research, and is referred to extensively in this paper, and is an excellent resource for understanding the conditions for blacks in Lexington at the time.

Previous works on Jackson’s life have cited two public records that mentioned his slaves. According to the slave schedule from the 1860 federal census “Thos. J. Jackson” owned four slaves, described as a male 40, a female 40, and two males 17 and 15 respectively. The adult male was Albert and the last three had to be Hetty and her sons. Ann had already been sold by the Jacksons, and Emma had not yet been purchased, but the omission of Amy has been a mystery. The schedule included a column for “No. of slave houses,” and Jackson reported that he owned one. See Exhibit A.²¹ The instructions for that schedule requested the census marshals to report the “number of slave tenements or dwellings on every farm and plantation, and in every family where slaves are held you will inquire what number of separate tenements are occupied by slaves.” The instructions concluded with the statement “We wish by this column to learn the number of occupied houses, the abode of slaves, belonging to each slaveholder.”²² It appears the intent was to determine the separate quarters for slaves, so some of Jackson’s slaves must have slept in the detached building in the back yard of his home on Washington Street.

The second public source, an inventory prepared for Jackson’s estate and dated June 5, 1863, included many items of personal property.²³ Itemized just after “1 desk” and before “1 ward robe” were:

1 negro woman, Hetty 40 years	\$1,100.00
1 negro girl, Emma	\$600.00
1 negro man, Cyrus 21 years	\$2,000.00
1 negro man, George 19 years	\$2,000.00

Amy died in the fall of 1861, and Albert’s omission may have been because he had gained his freedom by then, as discussed below. The remainder of this section summarizes what was previously known about each of the six enslaved people, in the order that Jackson acquired them.

Albert

Anna wrote that the first slave to be purchased was Albert, and that he begged Jackson to “buy him on the condition that he might be permitted to emancipate himself by a return of the purchase-money, as he would be able to pay it in annual instalments.” Jackson had to wait several years for the debt to be paid, and it was Anna’s “impression” that it was not fully paid when the war began. Albert hired himself out as a hotel waiter, and “was never an inmate of our family, except on one occasion, when he had a long spell of illness, and his master took him to his home to care for him as an act of humanity, for Albert had no family of his own. Every morning my husband paid him a call to see how

he was getting along and what he needed.”²⁴ After one of these visits, Jackson’s

[f]ace was so convulsed with laughter that he had to drop into a seat and give full vent to the explosion before he was able to explain the cause of it. Albert had been committed to the ministrations of our two maid-servants, with the expectation that he would be well cared for by these colored sisters; but probably he was not grateful enough for their services, or their tender mercies towards him may have grown cruel. At all events, he complained of their neglect and ill-treatment, which he summed up by saying that he *‘had never been so bedeviled by two women in his life!’* It was this disgusted and dolorous recital of his woes that had amused the major so intensely.²⁵

Thomas Jackson Arnold explained to Jackson biographer, Roy Bird Cook, in a 1931 letter, that his uncle “did buy Albert, a very reliable and industrious man, under an agreement by which Albert paid him back as he earned money. Albert had a good job that was paying him well.”²⁶ In his 1916 book, Arnold wrote that shortly after arriving in Lexington he was walking with his uncle,

[w]hen a negro man approached and accosted the Major. My uncle stopped and had some little conversation with him. I, of course heard the conversation, and when he had passed on I made some inquiries of him about the negro; he, in answer to my questions, said, ‘It is Albert, a negro man I bought some time ago, and I am letting him work out and pay for himself as he makes the money.’ He further stated that he got plenty of work and good wages. My impression is that he didn’t charge him interest, although I am not sure of this, and that the negro was getting along very well in his payments.²⁷

Albert was rented out to Rockbridge Alum Springs in 1859, and the Virginia Military Institute during the years 1858 to 1860. Exhibit C is a copy of a payment of \$120 from VMI to Jackson, signed by J. T. L. Preston and dated January 23, 1860.²⁸

Jackson wrote to Preston on December 22, 1862, that he was “much obliged to you for your kind offer respecting Albert, &c. Please hire him to any one with whom he desires to live.”²⁹ Preston replied on February 2, 1863, that “Mr. George Johnson paid me today \$125 dollars for Albert’s hire for the last year.” Johnson was the owner of a hotel in Lexington on Main Street.³⁰ Preston added that “Albert is of the opinion that he has fully paid you the sum stipulated by you, and that the hire for the past year (that just paid to me by Johnson) is coming to him. I promised that I would examine his papers for him.”³¹ Jackson’s estate inventory, prepared only four months later, did not list Albert.³² Preston may have concluded from his investigation that Albert had paid Jackson in full and was entitled to emancipation. The original court order books were reviewed in the Rockbridge County courthouse for the relevant time period. Several orders of emancipation based on petitions by blacks were found, but none for a man named Albert. Preston’s letter to Jackson appears to be the last definitive reference to Albert.

Amy

Amy was the cook for the Jacksons in the Washington Street house. Anna described the circumstances for how she came to be acquired:

The next servant that came into his possession was an old woman, Amy, who was about to be sold for debt, and who sought from him a deliverance from her troubles. This was some time before our marriage, when he had no use for her services; but his kind heart was moved by her situation, and he yielded to her entreaties, and gave her a home in a good Christian family, until he had one of his own.³³

The statement that Amy was “to be sold for debt” could be interpreted in different ways. The tacit meaning is that Amy’s owner was in debt and intended to sell her privately. It is possible a creditor had initiated a legal procedure to have a sheriff seize personal property from Amy’s owner to be sold at auction to apply the proceeds to the debt. Slaves were by Virginia statute “personal estate,”³⁴ though they were not to be “distrained or levied upon” without the debtor’s consent if he had other “goods and chattels sufficient for the purpose.”³⁵ If the property to be sold was “slaves, mules, working-oxen, or horses, they shall be sold at the courthouse of the county or corporation, between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon.”³⁶ Since Jackson seems to have interceded directly this grim scenario is unlikely.

Another interpretation is that the debt may have been owed by Amy herself. Some sources have raised the possibility that under Lexington law a freedman could be sold into slavery for a debt, citing the Lexington Record Book 1835-1860.³⁷ The original book was reviewed, and some ordinances have language to support that reading.³⁸ An 1852 ordinance empowered the mayor to “draw upon the Treasurer for the amount due in the purchase of certain free negroes.”³⁹ It does not appear from the slave schedule to the 1860 federal census the town of Lexington “owned” any slaves,⁴⁰ so the more plausible meaning is the mayor was authorized to use city funds to hire freedmen to do work for the city.

An 1858 Lexington ordinance ordered the tax collector to take “necessary steps to collect the town tax from the Free Negroes, by advertising and selling them.”⁴¹ However, the ordinances that set out the actual procedure for enforcing non-payment of taxes do not mention a sale into slavery. Instead the penalty was for that person to be temporarily hired out. The Lexington Town Sergeant was required to report annually “a list of such free negroes and mulattoes as fail or refuse to pay their taxes, and who have not sufficient estate to make the same by distress and sale.” For those unable to pay the sergeant was authorized to hire them out in the same manner as provided by Virginia law for non-payment of taxes.⁴² A town is a “corporation” under Virginia law, and would not have had authority to change the legal status of a freedman unless expressly empowered by a Virginia statute.

Title 30 of 1849 Code of Virginia is entitled “Slaves and Free Negroes.” The first statute defined a slave as including “such free negroes as may be sold as slaves pursuant to law.”⁴³ This statute did not establish the legal power for such a sale, or describe the specific grounds for it. Rather it was an acknowledgement that if a freedman was sold into slavery pursuant to some other legal authority, she would be classified as a slave under Virginia law. The Virginia statutes concerning the consequences for a freedman unable to pay taxes provide for the same procedure used by the town of Lexington:

Any freedman failing to pay his taxes or levies for any year or years, and not having visible property out of which they may be made by distress, shall, by order of the county or corporation court, be hired out by its officer for such time as will suffice, at not less than ten cents a day, to raise the said taxes and levies, with a commission to the officer of five per cent.⁴⁴

If a person was hired out for a longer period of time than necessary to pay the tax, “the hiring to such excess shall be void, and the free negro may recover of the officer one dollar for every day thereof.”⁴⁵

Other Virginia statutes did provide for a sale of a freedman into slavery in certain circumstances. Any slave emancipated after May 1, 1806, could not remain in Virginia after one year of being emancipated “without lawful permission.” That permission could only be given if a majority of the “justices” in the county or town voted to grant it, after a posting of that request on the courthouse door for two months, and only if the “applicant produced satisfactory proof of his being of good character, sober, peaceable, orderly and industrious.”⁴⁶ The freedman was required to register every five years,

and the clerk of the court was to keep a register of those who were emancipated and given permission to live in that county.⁴⁷ A copy was given to the person who was emancipated, and she was to keep it as proof of that status.⁴⁸ Failure to produce papers could result in jailing. Inability to pay the jail fees could result in being hired out long enough to cover the costs.⁴⁹ Finally, a freedman who remained in the state in violation of a law that compelled expulsion could be found guilty and “judgment shall be given that he forfeit his freedom and be sold as a slave.”⁵⁰

To be clear, for a freedman to be hired out for non-payment of taxes involved a humiliating public gathering for bidders – something that defies the very meaning of freedom - but it was not a “sale” of a freedman into slavery. Given the circumstances, Amy was most likely a slave and her owner intended to sell her privately to pay the debt.

Anna described Amy’s impact on the family: “She proved her gratitude by serving him faithfully. She was one of the best of colored cooks, and was a real treasure to me in my new experience as a housekeeper.”⁵¹ When Jackson left for war, and Anna returned to North Carolina, it was necessary to make living arrangements for the slaves. He wrote to Maggie on October 23, 1861, thanking her for “the arrangements respecting Amy and Emma. Please have the kindness to go to Winny Buck’s occasionally and see that Amy is well cared for, and that not only she, but also Emma, is well clothed.”⁵² He enclosed money for their expenses.⁵³ Anna seemed to refer to Winny Buck in explaining that,

After our home was broken up by the war, old Aunt Amy languished and died in the house of a colored woman in Lexington, her master paying all her expenses of board, medical attendance, and comforts. She was not suffered to want for anything, a kind friend then looking after her, at his request, and providing for her suitable burial.⁵⁴

The “kind friend” was almost certainly Maggie. Winny Buck had probably been emancipated because of the reference to her “house,” though she was no listed in either the 1860 or 1870 census.⁵⁵

Maggie wrote Jackson about the details of Amy’s death in an undated letter: She died last night at midnight, without any fear, and, as I believe, with a simple reliance on Jesus for salvation. It was only the death of a poor slave – a most insignificant thing in men’s eyes – and yet may we not hope that there was joy in heaven over another ransomed soul – one in whom the Saviour saw the result of ‘his travail’ and was ‘satisfied.’ ... I called to see her a few minutes last Friday – found her sitting up, though suffering much. She told that me she wanted to thank you for that money, and to let you know about her. She expressed entire resignation to God’s will, and trust in Christ alone.... I knew that it would be your wish that she should have a well-ordered burial, so Dr. White attended, and my servants tell me that it is many a day since so large a colored funeral has been seen in Lexington. It may seem very needless to write so minutely about a poor old servant, but I am sure your true Christian feeling will appreciate all that I have told you of the humble faith of this saved soul, gathered from your own household. The cup of cold water you have ministered to this poor disciple may avail more in the Master’s eye than all the brilliant deeds with which you may glorify our country’s battlefields. So differently do man and his Maker judge!⁵⁶

Maggie’s last statement, that Jackson’s treatment of “a poor old servant” would, to “the Master’s eye,” exceed all of his military accomplishments, must have been deeply moving to him. He responded to Maggie from Winchester, Virginia on November 16, 1861, that “More than once your kind and touching letter respecting the Sainted Amy brought tears to my eyes.” He described Amy’s “zealous devotion to the cause of our Blessed Redeemer,” and expressed gratitude to Maggie for her Christian kindness,

asking her to let him know if the money he sent through Rev. White was not sufficient.⁵⁷

Rev. White, who presided over Amy's funeral, described Jackson's relationship with his own "servants."

His family worship was conducted with great regularity and correctness. He succeeded fully in securing the attendance of all his servants. In their religious instruction he succeeded wonderfully. His discipline was systematic and firm but very kind. In reference to this matter he often corrected his Pastor. His servants revered and loved him as they would have done a brother or father. Amid the most exciting and engrossing cares of the army he wrote regularly and fully to those to whom he had entrusted the care of his servants, asking the most minute inquiries as to the past, and giving the most minute instructions as to the future. On hearing of the death of one of his women, he wrote expressing his gratitude for the attentions bestowed upon her in her illness, and in her burial. He was emphatically the black man's friend.⁵⁸

The phrase "black man's friend," has passed into legend, and became the title of a book.⁵⁹

Rockbridge County kept detailed records for deaths at the time, but Amy's death was not recorded.⁶⁰ The black cemetery in Lexington was located on Washington Street between Marble Lane and Lewis Street, three blocks east of Jackson's house. In October 1880 the town council ordered the cessation of all burials, and a month later exchanged part of that land to William McLaughlin, a Lexington judge, and the same man who in 1858 had accused Jackson of violating Virginia law by having an "unlawful assembly." A board was appointed in 1881 to establish a new black cemetery called Evergreen. The bodies were to be moved but there was no governmental oversight, nor any records of the reburials. One author concluded that many bodies were never moved.⁶¹ Today the original cemetery is occupied by private homes, a sad and perpetual reminder that even in death blacks were marginalized long after the war.

Hetty

The Jacksons' granddaughter explained that "It was the custom at Cottage Home for Anna's father to give each child who married one or two favorite servants to take with them to their home."⁶² That version came from her grandmother, who explained it this way:

Hetty, our chambermaid and laundress, was an importation from North Carolina. She had been my nurse in infancy, and from this fact there had always existed between us a bond of mutual interest and attachment. As she wished to live with me, my father transferred to me the ownership of herself and her two boys. Hetty was sent as a nurse to our first child from her plantation-home in North Carolina to Lexington, and made the journey all alone, which was quite a feat for one so inexperienced as a 'corn-field hand,' in which capacity she had served for years.⁶³

The Jacksons' first child, Mary Graham, was born April 30, 1858, and died on May 25, only 26 days later.⁶⁴ Hetty presumably came to Lexington at about that time.

Anna wrote more about Hetty than the others, given their relationship. She described Hetty's trip to Virginia to demonstrate her resourcefulness and spirit:

After travelling by stage-coach and railroad as far as Richmond... she had to change cars,

and being sorely bewildered in finding her train, she was asked where she was going, and her discouraged reply was: ‘Why, I’m going to *Virginia*, but the Lord knows whether I’ll ever get there or not!’ She did, however, turn up all right at the end of her destination, and was so rejoiced at finding her young mistress at last that her demonstrations were quite touching, as she laughed and cried by turns.⁶⁵

Anna characterized Hetty as an “energetic, impulsive, quick-tempered woman, with some fine traits but inclined to self-assertion, particularly as she felt her importance in being so much the senior of her new master and mistress.” Anna continued that Hetty

[s]oon realized, from the spirit which ‘commanded his household after him,’ that her only course must be that of implicit obedience.” After learning this lesson she toned down into a well-mannered, useful domestic, and indeed she became a factotum in the household, rendering valuable service in the house, garden, and upon the farm. The latter, however, was her favorite field of labor, for the freedom of the country was as sweet to her as to the birds of the air.⁶⁶

Anna never mentioned that her father gave them any slaves other than Hetty and her sons. In fact, Rev. Morrison gave the Jacksons one or more slaves that they later sold, as evidenced by two letters he wrote to Rufus Barringer, the husband of his daughter Eugenia.⁶⁷ In the first, dated January 4, 1855, he expressed his intent to give slaves to his children. “I have done the best I can, with my present stock, wishing to make the share about equal.”⁶⁸ Five years later, on December 27, 1859, Rev. Morrison wrote that “Both Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Jackson have sold some [slaves] we gave them. But it was from a conviction that they were too evil to be kept.”⁶⁹ He did not provide a specific number given to, or sold by, the Jacksons, and did not elaborate on the “evil” comment. Rev. Morrison did inform Barringer that he preferred slave families not be split up, because keeping them together benefits both the white and black families.⁷⁰

Robertson stated in a footnote that “Anna received five slaves as a wedding present, one source claimed, but Jackson promptly sold two of them.”⁷¹ His source was a 1989 paper about Jackson’s finances by a graduate fellow at the Stonewall Jackson House, Mark A. Snell. Snell had actually written that “Anna was given at least five, perhaps six slaves at the time of her marriage, but according to her father, Jackson sold two or three of them.” Snell did not indicate when the sales occurred,⁷² and his source, in turn, was Rev. Morrison’s 1859 letter to Barringer, but as noted, he had actually written that his two daughters had sold “some” slaves. Some means more than one, and probably not more than a handful, but it is not clear whether Rev. Morrison used the adjective “some” to mean Isabella and Anna combined, or that each of them sold multiple slaves. In either case, no primary source states the actual number of slaves either given to, or sold by, the Jacksons. No bill of sale or slave deed has been found in the courthouse records in either Lincoln County, North Carolina, or Rockbridge County, Virginia, regarding the transfer of ownership of slaves from Rev. Morrison to the Jacksons, or from the Jacksons to another person, though the public recording of these transactions may not have been uniform.

Three pieces of evidence establish that a young girl named Ann was also given to the Jacksons by Rev. Morrison. The first is a promissory note signed by Dan B. Jordan in January 1859 for the hire of Ann for calendar year 1859. Jordan was a bricklayer in Lexington who was married and had four young daughters.⁷³ A copy of the note is attached as Exhibit D, and it reads:

I promise to pay to T. J. Jackson twenty five dollars for the hire of Ann during the present year. I also obligate myself to furnish her with the usual annual amounts of servant’s clothing. Jany. 29, 1859. Dan B. Jordan⁷⁴

The second source is from a book used for many years by the Graham and Morrison families to record the names and birth years of their slaves. Exhibit E is a copy of some handwritten lists from that book. Two of the lists contain most of the same names and appear to be the Morrison slaves. Some of the names are crossed out to reflect a death or a sale, and both of those lists provide the birth information for Hetty (1819), Cyrus (February 10, 1843), and George (April 20, 1845).⁷⁵

The connection to the Graham family was that Rev. Morrison's wife, Mary Graham Morrison, was the daughter of General Joseph Graham (1759-1836). Graham sold land near his estate in Lincoln County to Rev. Morrison in 1834 for \$3,000 which became Cottage Home.⁷⁶ He was an officer in the Revolutionary War, rising to the rank of general by age 21, was wounded seven times, and later became a major general in the War of 1812. He established an iron furnace with partners in Lincoln County at a place called Vesuvius where he also built his large home. His son William A. Graham, served as Governor and United States Senator from North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy in the Fillmore administration, and was the Whig candidate for vice-president in 1852, on the ticket with General Winfield Scott.⁷⁷ Anna described a trip to Washington D.C. in 1853 to visit her uncle, and a "select social tea at the White House," where she was hosted by President Fillmore's daughter.⁷⁸

Robert Hall Morrison (1798-1889) was a Presbyterian minister and a graduate of the University of North Carolina, third in a class that included future president James K. Polk, who ranked first. He pastored churches in Fayetteville and Charlotte, North Carolina, and helped to found Davidson College, north of Charlotte, becoming its first president. In the late 1830s he developed a serious throat problem and retired, moving his family to Cottage Home in about 1840. After recovering his voice he served as a minister for three churches in Lincoln County. He was the father-in-law to three Civil War generals – Jackson, D. H. Hill, and Rufus Barringer.⁷⁹

Just above George's name in both of the "Morrison" lists was "Ann," born April 1, 1845, only three weeks older than George. Her name is crossed out on one list, without explanation, but the names of Cyrus and George were not.⁸⁰ If she was the person Jackson hired out to Jordan, she may have made the trip to Lexington with Cyrus and George. The amount for Ann's hire, \$25 for an entire year, seems very low, compared to what Jackson received for Albert's hire, \$120 per year. But Ann was a domestic servant for a family of modest means, and if she was the Ann from North Carolina, would have been only 13 at the time.

Rev. Morrison reported in the 1850 slave schedule that he owned 38 slaves, listed by age and gender.⁸¹ Included are a female age 31 (consistent with Hetty's birth in 1819); a male age 7 (Cyrus); and two males and a female age 5 – the same age as George and Ann. The 1860 slave schedule shows that Morrison owned 27 slaves, and no female of Ann's age is listed.⁸² If Ann was one of the Morrison slaves, it is curious why Jackson would have gone to the trouble of bringing her to Lexington with no apparent need for her services. Perhaps he sold her during 1859, since Rev. Morrison's statement that Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Jackson had sold "some" slaves was made in December, nearly a year after Jordan's promissory note. Jackson's bank book includes a deposit of \$660 on July 7, 1859, consisting of a check and a \$360 note.⁸³

The clinching evidence is a statement by Thomas Jackson Arnold in his 1931 letter to wrote to Cook. Arnold made the point that another author on Jackson had made him out to be an abolitionist, and he stressed to Cook that Jackson bought slaves, and "In 1859 he sold a negro girl, who was incorrigible; she had been given to Mrs. Jackson with several other slaves by her father."⁸⁴ Arnold was staying with the Jacksons through mid-summer 1859, so he would have known about it first-hand. The reference to the girl being "incorrigible" ties into Rev. Morrison's statement about the "evil" the slaves would do.

There has been speculation the Jacksons used the money from the sale of slaves to apply towards the \$3,000 purchase price for the Washington Street house in 1858. His “bank book” for the years leading up to the war details deposits and expenses. Snell explained that Jackson paid cash for the house and did not need a loan. The balance of his bank account on January 1, 1859 was \$3,275.37. Snell concluded that most of that was from his salary, dividends, and “discounts” earned, and that he transferred funds from other financial institutions. Though Jackson’s account was “drained” to pay for the house, according to Snell it was largely replenished by June of 1859.⁸⁵

Hetty probably remained in Lexington until near the time of Julia’s birth, November 23, 1862.⁸⁶ Anna described Hetty’s journey from Lexington to North Carolina:

That she was fully equal to taking care of herself is instanced by the following: On her return to North Carolina during the war, she was again travelling alone, and while changing trains she saw a man pick up her little, old hair trunk – her own personal property, containing all her valuables – and suspecting his honesty, with a determination to stand up for her rights, she called out to him peremptorily: *‘Put down that trunk; that’s General Jackson’s trunk!’*⁸⁷

In his December 22, 1862 letter, Jackson asked Preston to “please ascertain whether Hetty has been hired, and if not, may I trouble you to do it for me?”⁸⁸ Either Hetty was not present for Julia’s birth, or as Haley observed, Jackson may have been unaware that Hetty had returned to North Carolina.⁸⁹ Hetty must have been at Cottage Home by early 1863, because Jackson wrote to Anna on January 17, 1863, that “I am also gratified that Hetty is doing well. Remember me to her, and tell her that, as I didn’t give her a present last Christmas, I intend giving her two next.”⁹⁰

Jackson wrote to Anna in April 1863 about visiting him, anxious to see his five-month old daughter. Anna described that visit at length, explaining that she traveled with Julia and “her nurse, Hetty,” arriving at Guinea Station in Virginia on April 20. “Hetty and I were all anxiety to have our baby present her best appearance for her father’s first sight of her.”⁹¹ The Jacksons spent several days together and on April 29 Thomas learned that General Hooker’s troops had crossed the river and a battle was imminent. He believed Anna should leave immediately for Richmond.⁹²

Only three days later, on Saturday, May 2, Jackson was wounded during the Battle of Chancellorsville. Anna’s brother Joseph Morrison, Jackson’s aide-de-camp, was sent to Richmond to inform her about Jackson’s injuries.⁹³ Joseph, Anna, Hetty, Julia, and a friend from Richmond, Mrs. Moses D. Hoge, arrived at the Chandler House, where Jackson had been taken, on Thursday, May 7.⁹⁴ Anna wrote that the “last connection with little Julia and her father was her appearance at his death-bed scene.” Mrs. Hoge “was taking care of my baby while I was watching in the sick room. She, with Hetty following, brought the child into the room, when he had almost ceased to notice anything.”⁹⁵ Anna wrote that Hetty was “devoted to her master, was the nurse to his infant child at the time of his death, and was a sincere mourner for him, her tears flowing freely; and she said she had lost her best friend.”⁹⁶

The only post-war fact previously known about any of Jackson’s slaves came from Anna:

I would gladly have kept and supported her for the rest of her life, but she was allured by her freedom to seek greater independence and gain, severing a tie which had been one (seemingly at least) of mutual attachment and confidence. She only acted as did the majority of the freedmen, who could not feel that they were free until they had left their former masters. The sturdy old woman lived to be over ninety years of age, and it is hoped that the prayers and example of her master proved a benediction to her during all

the remaining years of her life.⁹⁷

This passage was written when Anna was nearing 80, in 1910. It implies that Hetty had passed away, but it could be read to mean that Anna had heard from someone that Hetty had reached the age of 90.

Cyrus and George

Anna described Cyrus and George as “between the ages of twelve and sixteen,” and “pure, unadulterated Africans.” She added that “Major Jackson used to say that if these boys were left to themselves they would be sure to go back to barbarism; and yet he was unwearying in his efforts to elevate them. At his request I taught them to read, and he required them to attend regularly family worship, Sunday-school, and church.”⁹⁸ She described Jackson’s treatment of the “servants,” as she called them.

He was a very strict but kind master, giving to his servants ‘that which is just and equal,’ but exacting of them prompt obedience. He thought the best rule for both parents and masters was, after making prohibitory laws and knowing they were understood, never to threaten, but punish, for first offences, and make such an impression that the offence would not be repeated.

When a servant left a room without closing the door, he would wait until he had reached the kitchen, and then call him back to shut it, thereby giving him extra trouble, which generally insured his remembrance the next time. His training made the colored servants as polite and punctual as that race is capable of being, and his system soon showed its good effects. They realized if they did their duty they would receive the best of treatment from him. At Christmas he was generous in presents, and frequently gave them small amounts of money.⁹⁹

Anna’s description of Jackson’s discipline for Cyrus and George echoes her comments about Hetty learning to obey, as well as Rev. White’s statement that Jackson was “firm” with his “servants.”

While Anna was in New York receiving medical attention in the spring of 1859, Jackson wrote that “George came to me to-day, saying he had filled all the wood-boxes, and asked permission to go fishing, which was granted.” On April 27 he informed her about the fruit trees and that George brought from the farm a new calf that morning.¹⁰⁰ In February 1861 Anna left to “attend the wedding of my sister Susan, who married Mr. A. C. Avery, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.” Jackson wrote Anna on February 23 that “On Saturday I sent your boy, George, with your horse and wagon down to Thompson’s landing, and brought up a barrel of nice Richmond sweet potatoes.” On March 16 he explained that “George left for C _____’s on the morning of March 1st, and I haven’t seen his delectable face since.”¹⁰¹ Jackson rarely mentioned Cyrus in his letters, raising a question about whether he may have been hired out to someone else during much of that time. The reference to “C’s” may have meant the place Cyrus was living.

Jackson wrote to Anna on May 8, 1861, from Harper’s Ferry, about his living arrangements. In his next letter he advised Anna “to make every necessary provision for the servants, and arrange all our home interests, so that I could return to my father’s sheltering roof in North Carolina.” She explained that “Our servants, under my supervision, had up to this time remained at home; but without the firm guidance and restraint of their master, the excitement of the times proved so demoralizing to them that he deemed it best for me to provide them with good homes among the permanent residents.” Anna must have made arrangements for the slaves soon afterwards, because on May 27 Jackson wrote her from

Harper's Ferry that he was "very thankful to an ever-kind Providence for enabling you so satisfactorily to arrange our home matters. I just love my business little woman."¹⁰² She did not provide the date for her return to North Carolina, but a June 8, 1861 entry in Jackson's bank book was for a payment of \$200 to "Mrs. Jackson."¹⁰³ She explained after "packing our furniture and closing our house, my burdened, anxious heart found sweet relief and comfort upon reaching the home of my kind parents."¹⁰⁴

In her first book Anna referred to undated letters from Jackson to a "gentleman in Lexington," expressing his "desire, if practicable, that my boys shall have the opportunity of attending the colored Sabbath-school in Lexington, if it is still in operation."¹⁰⁵ Jackson continued that he was

[g]lad to hear that they are both well, and I trust, through the blessing of an overruling Providence, they will serve you faithfully. It is gratifying to know that they are in such good hands as yours... Should you not need George, please hire him to some suitable person, with the condition that, if in or near town, he be required to attend Sabbath-school; and wherever he may be, let him be required to attend church at suitable times, as I am very desirous that the spiritual interests of my servants shall be attended too... I thank you for your kindness in taking such good care of my lot.¹⁰⁶

This quote is actually a compilation of two different letters, as revealed by the recent discovery of a newspaper article that quotes from three letters from Jackson during the war. Entitled "Stonewall Jackson and His Slaves," the article was printed in several newspapers in 1883, including the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune. The first paragraph stated that a correspondent had furnished the Pittsburgh Commercial newspaper "with some letters written by Stonewall Jackson," and "which may have general interest even at this late day." The article quotes portions of three letters. The first two letters were written in Winchester and dated December 3, 1861 and December 12, 1861.¹⁰⁷ The first letter states in relevant part:

Yours of the 28th ult. has come to hand, and I am much obliged for your kindness in taking such good care of my lot. Any expense that you may be at for keeping up the fences, &c., let me know and I will settle it. I did not expect to hear of the grass having taken well. Please sell the wheat and deposit the proceeds in the Bank of Rockbridge. You can retain Cy another year on the same terms as present. And should you desire George you can also have him on your own terms. Please let me know whether you desire him, and what he is worth in the event you keep him. Should you not need him, please hire him to some suitable person, with the condition that, if near or in town, he be required to attend church at suitable times...¹⁰⁸

Though Anna quoted part of this letter, she omitted the reference to Cyrus and George.

The third letter is addressed to "S. J. Campbell," and postmarked Caroline County, December 20, 1862. Jackson thanked Campbell for his kindness, and wrote "Please hire out the boys at a good place for another year." He instructed Campbell to pay the money from their hiring out to the "R. I. White, Treasurer Building Fund Association, as part of my contribution for the coming year."¹⁰⁹ These letters reveal that Campbell hired both Cyrus and George for calendar year 1861, and possibly 1862, and that he was handling the farming interests for Jackson's 18-acre lot each of town. The December 1862 letter indicates that Campbell did not wish to hire them for 1863.

According to the 1860 census, S. J. Campbell was a farmer in District 4 of Rockbridge County, born in 1828, married with three small children.¹¹⁰ The census reflects that Campbell's real estate was valued at \$35,000, and his personal estate was worth \$27,000, so he was a very successful farmer. He

also owned 10 slaves in 1860.¹¹¹ According to a Library of Congress map of Rockbridge County in the 1860s made by William Gilham, Jackson's friend and VMI colleague, S. J. Campbell lived just southwest of what was then the city limits of Lexington, and District 4 boundary was just to the south of his farm.¹¹²

Anna quoted from a letter written to her by Jackson on February 7, 1863. "Jim has returned from Lexington, and brought a letter from 'Cy'..., asking permission to take unto himself a wife, to which I intend to give my consent, provided you or his mother do not object."¹¹³ Marriages between slaves were not legally recognized before the end of the war. A roster of marriages for the years 1863 to 1870 is maintained in the Rockbridge County Courthouse, but none match Cyrus. The U. S. Freedmen's Bureau was formed after the war to hire freed slaves to assist with the transition. The Virginia Freedmen's Bureau Office Records include a Register of Marriages in Rockbridge County, 1866. The purpose was to officially record the informal marriages between slaves. No Cyrus of the appropriate age was found.¹¹⁴

Two references to a Cyrus Jackson are found in the Freedmen Bureau's records. One was dated October 1867, and stated that a Cyrus Jackson was permanently disabled with rheumatism.¹¹⁵ A Freedmen's Bureau list dated August 21, 1865, of people hired to do work, includes a Cyrus Jackson in the 2nd District, based in Petersburg.¹¹⁶ Given the locations on the eastern side of Virginia it seems doubtful that either reference is to the Cyrus who spent the war in Lexington.

Anna wrote to her sister-in-law Laura Arnold on September 12, 1864, that "My home in Lexington is rented, & the boys hired there. Hetty is Julia's nurse, & perfectly devoted to her. Aunt Amy has been dead two years."¹¹⁷ That was the last known reference to either Cyrus or George.

Emma

Until now, little was known about Emma. Anna called her the "one other little servant in the family" that Thomas

[t]ook under his sheltering roof at the solicitation of an aged lady in town, to whom the child became a care after having been left an orphan. The arrangement was made during my absence from home, and without my knowledge, my husband thinking that, although Emma was of the tender age of only four years, she would make a nice little maid for me in the future. On my return he took great pleasure in surprising me with this new present, which, by the way, proved rather a troublesome one at first, but with the lapse of time she became useful, though never a treasure. She was not bright, but he persevered in drilling her into memorizing a child's catechism, and it was a most amusing picture to see her standing before him with a fixed attention, as if she were straining every nerve, and reciting her answers with the drop of a courtesy at each word. She had not been taught to do this, but it was such an effort for her to learn that she assumed this motion involuntarily.¹¹⁸

Anna was clearly not pleased that Jackson purchased her, as reflected in a statement by Thomas Jackson Arnold to Cook that "In 1860 he [Jackson] bought a negro girl as a present to Mrs. Jackson, to be her maid, unbeknown to Mrs. Jackson. Mrs. Jackson told me she never had such a pest by torment in all her life."¹¹⁹

The identity of Emma's previous "owner" is not known for certain, but Haley provided a plausible scenario, citing an "unexplained entry" in Jackson's bankbook for \$50¹²⁰ to a "Mrs.

Hougawout.”¹²¹ Haley suggested that her connection to Jackson should be pursued. That scenario will be explored in Section IV. The only other reference to Emma during the Lexington years is from Jackson’s letter to Maggie concerning the arrangements for Amy and Emma to be placed with Winny Buck.

IV. WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

Like all historical research, tracing the lives of Jackson’s slaves was a journey with surprising finds and disappointing gaps. It was inspired by a comment from Grace Abele that perhaps some of Jackson’s slaves took his surname after the war. Genealogy resources like ancestry.com, newspapers.com, and familysearch.org allow access to a breadth and depth of research that was once impossible. A census search was performed that very night, using the surname Jackson, focusing on Rockbridge County, Virginia, and the Charlotte, North Carolina area.

Hetty, George, and Emma were all found in that initial search session. All three had taken the name Jackson and were living near Cottage Home after the Civil War. Research over the following days turned up additional information about them and some of their descendants. George’s grave was found on findagrave.com.¹²² He is buried in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery west of Lowesville, North Carolina, only 1.4 miles from the site for Cottage Home – on the same road. We concluded that some of his descendants are living in the area, so we made contact with the minister of that church, Bishop Franklin Lowery. He was enthusiastic about our research and very helpful. In comparing names with him, we discovered that some members of the church are descendants of Hetty and George. He invited us to visit and in December 2017, Grace and I traveled to Lincoln County and had the pleasure of meeting several of those descendants.

Biographical information is limited for the post-war time period, especially for blacks. A federal census was taken every 10 years, but the 1890 census was largely destroyed by fire, creating a twenty-year gap of critical information. Official records for marriages and deaths were not standard until the late 1800s and early 1900s. A number of original sources were examined for this research, including some not previously cited. Research revealed the value of one important source - personal property tax records. Residents were taxed annually for all personal property and slaves were considered “personal property.”

The statutory procedure was detailed and elaborate. The tax commissioner was to begin February 1 each year to “ascertain all the persons and personal property” subject to taxation or county levies. To accomplish that, he was to “call upon every person in his district,” for a list of taxable items, and the list was to be read by the commissioner to the taxpayer, for the purpose of making corrections. Those answers were always to be under oath.¹²³

The original tax records for the years 1853 through 1860 in the Clerk of the Court’s office at the Rockbridge County Courthouse were reviewed on two occasions, and contain valuable clues about the enslaved people in Jackson’s home.¹²⁴ The tax books are very large and some are in poor condition. Each book contains information for two tax years – e.g., “1859-1860.” The printed form includes columns for things like watches, clocks, gold-silver plate and jewelry, household and kitchen furniture, money, securities - and slaves. The taxpayer was required to report “Slaves who have attained the age of 16 years,” and separately, “Slaves who have attained the age of 12 years,” meaning those who were 12 to 15. No names, specific ages, or gender – just the number of slaves for each age group.¹²⁵

Exhibit F is a table that compiles information for Jackson. He did not report ownership of any slaves in either 1853 or 1854, and his name was not found for 1855. For the 1856 and 1857 tax years his

name was next to George Junkin, Ellie's father. Junkin was the president of Washington College, and the couple lived with the Junkin family in the president's house on campus. Junkin graciously asked Jackson to continue living there after Ellie's death in 1854, and he did so until his engagement to Anna in the spring of 1857, when he moved into the Lexington Hotel on Main Street.¹²⁶ Jackson reported one adult slave (16 and over) in both 1856 and 1857, presumably Albert. Inexplicably, no slaves were reported by him in 1858.¹²⁷ Hetty may not have arrived in Lexington until Mary Graham Jackson's birth in late April, yet at a minimum Albert and Amy should have been reported.

The book for the tax years 1859 and 1860 is confusing. The first section, covering 1859, has no reference to Jackson, but just below the entry for 1860, dated March 15, is the statement "same for 1859." The Virginia statutes provided that if the taxpayer was "absent from his residence at the time the commissioner calls," he was required to furnish the commissioner with a list by June 1, verified by affidavit, and a failure to do so would result in a ten dollar fine. If the list was provided too late to be "placed upon the commissioner's book of personal property for the year," it would be "entered upon the book of the next year along with the list of the next year." The taxpayer would be assessed interest on the amount due the previous year.¹²⁸ Jackson must have neglected to submit a list by June 1, 1859, and the information for that year was included in the 1860 report.

The line for 1859 listed one adult slave and two who were 12 to 15. The latter two are Cyrus and George, but at least three adult slaves should have been reported – Albert, Amy, and Hetty – and the promissory note for Ann's hire was dated a few months before the tax record date. In stark contrast, the entry for 1860 reported **four** adults and one person 12 to 15. Three of the four adults would have been Cyrus, who turned 17 that year, Albert, and Hetty. If the fourth adult was Amy it represented the only time that she was reported by Jackson for either the federal census or the personal property tax lists.¹²⁹

The personal property tax information is important because it reflects six additional reports by Jackson for his slaves, over a period of seven years. Yet the numbers do not add up. Perhaps there is an explanation for the under-reporting, because given Jackson's reputation for rectitude and precision it is difficult to believe that he deliberately misstated information. The remainder of this section will summarize what has been learned.

Emma Jackson Cherry

Anna's explanation for how Jackson came to acquire Emma provides several clues: it occurred when Anna was absent from home; it was in response to the "solicitation of an aged lady in town;" and Emma was about four years of age and an orphan.¹³⁰ And Thomas Jackson Arnold stated that the purchase took place in 1860.¹³¹

Jackson did not report Emma for the 1860 federal slave schedule that was dated June 2. Since she was born in about 1856, as explained below, she was likely purchased in the latter half of that year. The Jacksons traveled together most of that summer, including a visit to the Round Hill "hydropathic establishment," in Northampton, Massachusetts, one of his favorite places to go for "the waters." Anna wrote that "Major Jackson's health improved wonderfully" there, and that she "too was greatly benefited by this novel treatment. I had gone there without a particle of faith in hydropathy, but as I was not strong, my husband persuaded me to try it, and it was astonishing how rapidly my strength developed." She continued that "at the suggestion of the doctor, but sorely against my own will, I was left behind for a month after my husband had to return to his professional duties."¹³²

She referred to several letters from Jackson after his return to VMI. On September 25, he discussed how Anna was to travel back to Lexington. Three days later, he wrote that he expected to "set

off with your rockaway and ‘Bay.’”¹³³ His bank book reflects several entries for mid-October. He withdrew \$415.15 on October 8 and paid \$50 to J. L. Campbell, a professor at Washington College, on October 15. Inserted between those two entries was an undated \$50 payment to Abigail Haughawout. A “note” for \$150 was recorded on October 20. All of those transactions would have required his presence at the bank in Lexington. Since the next entry in his bank book was November 26, a gap of five weeks, his trip north to meet Anna took place between October 20 and November 26.¹³⁴ Anna left home again in February 1861 to attend a wedding for her sister Susan. She quoted several letters that Jackson wrote to her between February 18 and March 16.¹³⁵ It is possible Emma was purchased then, but it seems more likely that it was the previous October. If so, Emma lived with the Jacksons in Lexington for about six months.

The 1860 census showed Abigail Haughawout as 73, born in Ireland, and living with the William N. Bumpas family.¹³⁶ The 1850 slave schedule reported that she owned four slaves - a 25 year old female, and three males.¹³⁷ Her name was not included in the 1860 slave schedule,¹³⁸ but the personal property tax lists for Rockbridge County show that she owned at least one slave age 16 and over each year from 1854 through 1858.¹³⁹ Abigail Haughawout died in 1871 and one of the executors of her estate was John Letcher, Virginia’s “war time governor.”¹⁴⁰ She is buried in the Stonewall Jackson Cemetery in Lexington.¹⁴¹ The circumstantial evidence suggests that she was the aged woman who sold a four-year old orphan to Jackson.

Anna wrote that the “first ten years of Julia’s life were spent in the home of her grandfather, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Morrison, in Lincoln County, North Carolina,” followed by a move to Charlotte so Julia could continue her education.¹⁴² One of the first census searches for this project was for Rev. Morrison’s household in 1870. Living with him were Anna, Julia, 7, and Emma Jackson, age 14, a domestic servant. Emma’s race was reported as “M” for mulatto, and she was born in Virginia. The box for “cannot read” was checked next to her name.¹⁴³

Perhaps she took Emma to Cottage Home after Jackson’s funeral, since at that point it was clear to her that she and Julia would not return to Lexington to live. Emma would have been only 9 when the war ended, and she became essentially a ward of the family. It appears that she remained in the household until her marriage at age 18 to Pinckney Cherry on July 26, 1874. The marriage certificate stated that both Emma and “Pink” were residents of Cottage Home.¹⁴⁴ However, the term Cottage Home also referred to a postal district known as “Cottage Home,” and Robert H. Morrison was appointed the first postmaster in 1841. The Cottage Home postal designation existed until 1876.¹⁴⁵ The marriage certificate had a line for Emma’s father that read “---- Adam, living.” The line on the form for her mother states that she was dead. No first name was given, instead the name “~~Adam~~” was lined through.

The 1880 census for Catawba Springs Township, Lincoln County, shows Pinckney and Emma Cherry and three sons; John, 5, Robert, 3, and Adolphus, 1.¹⁴⁶ Emma and both of her parents were born in Virginia. Emma was only 23 at the time. Nothing else has been found concerning Emma, her husband, or her two older sons. The 1900 census for Catawba Springs shows Dolph Cherry as single.¹⁴⁷ In 1910 he was married to Henryetter with a stepson and a five month old daughter, Eunice.¹⁴⁸ He married Nannie Phinx on May 28, 1913, and the information for his parents on the marriage certificate is blank.¹⁴⁹ His son John Hollen Cherry was born March 3, 1915.¹⁵⁰ Dolph died of “Labor Pneumonia,” on March 31, 1916, at 38, and was buried in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery. The death certificate stated that his father was Pink Cherry, but the “Maiden Name of Mother” was “unknown,” indicating that Emma died many years before.¹⁵¹ To date, nothing further about Emma’s descendants has been found.

George Washington Jackson, Sr.

The earliest public record for George is the 1880 census for Catawba Springs, Lincoln County, North Carolina. George Jackson was 35. He and wife Lizzie, 27, had three children; Georgannah, 9, Sidney, 4, and Lucinda, 2.¹⁵² The boxes for “Cannot Read” and “Cannot Write” are not checked for George, and Georgannah was attending school. Also living with the family was George’s mother, Hettie Jackson, listed as age 69, though given ages in census records are notoriously inaccurate.

Lizzie’s maiden name was Dellinger, according to the death certificate for their son John Preston Jackson.¹⁵³ Because there were, and still are, many Dellingers in the Lowesville area, and since Georgannah was born about 1871 in North Carolina, George had probably returned to the area by 1870 and married Lizzie at about that time. Lizzie died in the early 1880s because George married Nancy E. Stowe on March 2, 1885. The marriage certificate stated that his mother was Hettie Jackson, living in Lowesville. See Exhibit H.¹⁵⁴ His father’s first name was Randle, and a last name is given but hard to discern. Randle was deceased.

George Jackson was born in April 1845 according to the 1900 census, consistent with the Graham/Morrison entry that his birth was April 20, 1845. His wife Nancy was born in May 1864, and for the columns “Mother for how many children” and “Number of these children living” is the number “6.” Six children were listed with them; Sidney, John, Frank, Adline, George, and Obelle. The first two were Lizzie’s sons. George and Lizzie’s other two children – Georgannah and Lucinda – must have been deceased. All of the older children and both parents could read and write. Also living with George and Nancy in 1900 was a granddaughter, Eulala Lineberger, age 6.¹⁵⁵ Georgannah married Tom Lineberger in 1889 so Eulala was her daughter.¹⁵⁶

Hetty was not found in the 1900 census but was listed in the household of George W. Jackson, at 94, in the 1910 census. She had given birth to four children and one was living, so Cyrus was deceased. For the first time George’s middle initial “W” was used in the census records. The middle name for his son George W. Jackson, Jr., was “Washington.” That would indicate that George Sr. had the middle name of Washington as well.¹⁵⁷ In addition, an article about the Gold Hill Baptist Church referred to George Sr., as George Washington Jackson. The article described him as one of the best known members of the church and a member of the Lowesville District school committee in 1889.¹⁵⁸

The last census to mention George was 1920. Living with him were Nancy and grandson John Jackson, age 7.¹⁵⁹ The date of the census was February 9, but George had died on February 2, 1920, one week earlier, at the age of 74. According to the death certificate his father was Randle Jackson, though the reference to Jackson is not correct, and his mother’s maiden name was “Hettie Graham.” See Exhibit I.¹⁶⁰ The reference to Graham was significant to us because of the Graham/Morrison connection. We surmised that General Graham had given Hetty to Rev. Morrison to serve as Anna’s nurse. He is buried in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery near Lowesville, North Carolina, 1.4 miles from the site of Cottage Home, on the same road.¹⁶¹

Nancy Emily Jackson died on December 20, 1958, at the age of 95, almost 100 years after George was given to the Jacksons. We have spoken to people who knew her, and several who knew George’s children.¹⁶² They were not aware of a connection to Stonewall Jackson. Obelle Jackson Hunter, the youngest child of George W. Jackson, Sr., died in 1996, at the age of 98.¹⁶³

George Washington Jackson, Sr. was born on the Morrison estate in Lincoln County, North Carolina, into slavery. As a 13 year old he traveled to Lexington, Virginia, to live in the house of his new owner, Thomas Jackson. He turned 16 the day before Jackson left for war and was 20 when the

war ended. He lived a long and productive life, a respected member of his church and community. He was married twice and had at least eight children. Many of his descendants live in the same area.

Harriet “Hetty” Graham Jackson

The only post-war information about Jackson’s slaves previously known came from Anna’s account about Hetty, written in 1910. It provides a sense of Hetty’s spirit. Though Anna wanted to support her “for the rest of her life,” Hetty was “allured by her freedom to seek greater independence and gain.” Wistfully Anna added that the “sturdy old woman lived to be over ninety years of age.”¹⁶⁴

The seminal moment in this research came in a search of original documents in the Lincoln County courthouse. The Grantee index for deeds contained a reference to Robert H. Morrison with the notation “B of S.” The original deed book was pulled, and the reference was to a “Bill of Sale” for a slave from Joseph Graham to Rev. Morrison. That was unexpected, and Grace and I joked that maybe we could find something similar for Hetty. Moments later the original Bill of Sale for a transfer of ownership for three slaves from Joseph Graham to R. H. Morrison was found, dated September 23, 1834, the same day General Graham signed the deed for the land that became Cottage Home. See Exhibit K. The key language is:

[f]or and in consideration of the Natural love and affection which I have and do bear for my Daughter Mary Morrison and her Husband Robert H. Morrison of the County of Mecklenburg in the state of North Carolina and for divers Other good causes and considerations met thereunto moving Have given Granted confirmed and delivered and by these presents doth give grant confirm & Deliver to my said son in law Robert H. Morrison the following Negro Slaves viz. August Aged 57 years and valued at \$450. Ephraim age 14 years and valued \$475. And Harriet or Hetty aged 16 years and valued \$450.¹⁶⁵

Her name was Harriet. When George’s family was asked about his mother’s maiden name for his death certificate, they gave the name “Graham,” because Hetty was originally a slave owned by that family.¹⁶⁶ As a teenage girl she became a nurse to Anna, who was then three, when the Morrisons were living in the Charlotte area. This document confirmed that the mother of the George W. Jackson buried in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery was the same Hetty who was one of Jackson’s slaves.

What a remarkable life. The first half of her life was spent in slavery, the last half in freedom. Born during the first term of President James Monroe, the 5th president, she was still alive in 1910, during the administration of the 27th president, William Howard Taft. She began life owned by a man who had been an officer in the Revolutionary War and he gave her to the first president of Davidson College, who in turn gave her to Stonewall Jackson. She was the only one of Jackson’s slaves to see him after achieving a fame he did not seek, and was among the few people in the small house where he died, telling Anna she had lost her best friend.¹⁶⁷ And she lived to see cars and airplanes.

EPILOGUE

At least seven people began their lives in slavery and came to be owned for a time by Stonewall Jackson. Three are known to have experienced freedom, and all three chose Jackson for a surname. Freedom did not mean the end of racism or gaining full rights as citizens. No doubt they struggled to eke out a living and faced innumerable obstacles during Reconstruction. But they lived on their own terms, as demonstrated when Hetty declined Anna’s offer to live with her.

The process for gathering the information in this paper came in fits and starts. As it evolved our level of certainty about whether they were the “right people” increased, and the Bill of Sale transferring Hetty from General Graham to Rev. Morrison was the last piece of the puzzle. Yet, we also knew that some would wonder why the people who knew George’s wife and children were not aware of a connection to Stonewall Jackson.

Historical research never ends, nor should it. After months of work, and late in the process of writing this paper, I did yet another online search, this time for old newspapers. It was tedious and time consuming, but ultimately rewarded. It led to the discovery of two short newspaper items that provide a fitting coda to this project.¹⁶⁸

The Lincoln County News, June 6, 1911

Aunt Hettie Jackson once a slave of Stonewall Jackson died yesterday at the age of 105.

The Lincoln County News, February 9, 1920/Gastonia Gazette, February 12, 1920

George Jackson, colored, age 75 years, died last week at his home in East Lincoln. He was one of the few remaining ex-slaves of this section. He was proud to tell that he had been the servant of Stonewall Jackson.

I would like to think that George was proud to have known Major Thomas J. Jackson of Lexington, a church deacon and Sunday school teacher for both blacks and whites. Of one thing I am certain, Thomas J. Jackson would have been very proud of George W. Jackson, Sr.

EXHIBITS

A	1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 2, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www. Ancestry.com)
B	Appraisement of the Estate of Gen. Thos. J. Jackson, Made June 5, 1863. Clerk of the Court's office, Rockbridge County Courthouse, Will Book 17, p. 204
C	Copy of a Payment of \$120 to Maj. Jackson, dated January 23, 1860, from VMI. Retrieved from http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15821coll4/id/641
D	Promissory Note dated January 29, 1859, from Dan B. Jordan to T. J. Jackson
E	Excerpt from the Graham/Morrison book, copy in the Stonewall Jackson House, Folder on Jackson's Slaves. Original in Collection of North Caroliniana presented by Mr. and Mrs. James O. Moore. VC097, G74a, 1782. The Library of North Carolina, Rare Books. [Cp 326.9 G74]. Also attached as is a typed version of the names on the lists of the slaves.
F	Table compiling information about Thomas J. Jackson for the years 1853 – 1860, from the "List of Taxable Persons, Property, &c., Rockbridge County, Virginia," Clerk of the Court's office, Rockbridge, County Courthouse, reviewed in December 2017 and January 2018.
G	Marriage of Pink Cherry to Emma Jackson, North Carolina, Index to Marriage Bonds, 1741-1868 (retrieved from www. ancestry.com)
H	Marriage Certificate for George Jackson and Nancy E. Stowe, dated March 23, 1885, North Carolina Marriage Records, 1741-1911 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
I	Death Certificate for George Jackson, February 2, 1920 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com , North Carolina, Death Certificates, 1909-1976)
J	Photograph of George W. Jackson's tombstone in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery near Lowesville, North Carolina (retrieved from https://www.findagrave.com)
K	Bill of Sale, September 23, 1834, from Joseph Graham to Robert H. Morrison, retrieved from the Deed Records at the Lincoln County Courthouse, Lincolnton, North Carolina.

EXHIBIT A

Page No. 7

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SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in the Lexington in the County of Rockbridge State of Va, enumerated by me, on the 2nd day of June, 1860. J. B. Borchert Esq. Marshal.

1	2	DESCRIPTION.			6	7	8	9	1	2	DESCRIPTION.			6	7	8	9
		Age.	Sex.	Color.							Age.	Sex.	Color.				
1	1	33	M	M						1	22	F	B				
2	1	21	F	B						1	20	F	B				1
3	1	1	F	B				2	2	1	40	M	B				
4	1	14	F	B				1		1	40	F	B				
5	1	16	M	B				1		1	19	M	B				
6	1	14	M	B				1		1	18	M	B				1
7	1	23	F	B						1	35	F	B				

EXHIBIT B

Supp. Appraisement of the estate of Genl. Tho^s J. Jackson made June 5. 1863

1 map of county of Rockbridge	5 00	Am. bro. accy	7 62 75
1 rag carpet	35 00	2 maters	5 00
4 common ditto	3 00	1 degro	6 00
3 " patch carpets	20 00	1 negro woman Betty Jones	11 00
1 patch carpet	50 00	1 " girl Emma	6 00
1 " " "	90 00	1 " man Cyrus	21 00
3 pieces of ticking	6 00	1 " " George	19 00
1 piano cover	5 00	1 wood rick	10 00
1 gun door mat	3 00	1 marble top washstand	10 00
1 " " "	50 00	" "	6 00
1 common bedstead	3 00	1 bedstead	10 00
pillows	20 00	1 hairy mattress	20 00
3 bolsters	10 00	2 other mattresses	20 00

EXHIBIT C

Virginia Military Institute,

Jan 23 1860

TREASURER VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE:

Pay to Major Jackson or Order
One hundred & twenty Dollars Cents,
Reisen
 and charge L. M. D. hire of alkali

Wm L. Preston City Superintendent.

No. 49

\$ 120

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

EXHIBIT D

I promise to pay to T. J. Jackson
 twenty five dollars for the
 hire of Ann during the
 present year. I also obligate
 myself to furnish her with
 the usual annual amount
 of servants' clothing.

Jan 29, 1859

Karl B. Jordan

EXHIBIT E

Quash, Born in _____	1784.
Agnes, Born Dead _____	1777.
Rose, Born _____	1794.
+ Bagwell, Born _____	1798
Mary, Born _____	1801.
Levi, Born _____	1802.
Hannah Born _____	1810.
Hetty, Born _____	1819.
Ephraim, Born _____	1822.
Albert Born Aug 7 th	1841.
Phanny Born Feb 27 th	1842.
Charles Born July 17 th	1842.
Corius, Born Feb. 10 th	1843
Becky Born Jan 2 nd	1843.
Dilly, Born November 3 rd	1843
William Born December 6.	1844
John Born January 10th	1845
John Born April 1.	1845
George Born April 20 th	1845
Mark Born June 12 th	1845

EXHIBIT F

LIST OF TAXABLE PERSONS, PROPERTY, &C., ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA

The following is a table compiling information kept in the Rockbridge County Clerk of the Court's office, for personal property taxes for the years 1853 to 1860. Each book covers two years, with information for each year separated into parts (e.g., 1859-1860). Jackson was listed for each year except 1855, though the handwriting for that year is quite faded and difficult to read. This table does not include the information for the value of Jackson's property, his income, or the amount of tax he owed, only the information about his slaves.

Date	Page	Line #	Name	<i>Slaves who have attained the age of 16 years</i>	<i>Slaves who have attained the age of 12 years</i>
May 5, 1853	20	30	Thos. J. Jackson		
June 8, 1854	19	26	T. J. Jackson		
May 5, 1856	19	22	T.S. (?) Jackson (above George Junkin)	1	
Apr. 23, 1857	19	26	Maj. T.S. Jackson (after George Junkin)	1	
Apr. 5, 1858	19	20	T.J. Jackson		
(1859)	20	14	T.J. Jackson	1	2
Mar. 15, 1860	20	14	T.J. Jackson	4	1

EXHIBIT G

State of North Carolina,) Office of the Register of Deeds,

June 22nd

State of North Carolina,) Office of the Register of Deeds,

Lenoir COUNTY,) July 26th 1874.

To any Ordained Minister of any Religious Denomination,

Or any Justice of the Peace for said County:

1. Pink Cherry having applied to me for a LICENSE for the Marriage
of 2. Pink Cherry of 3. Gollage Horns, aged 21 years,
color 4. Black, the son of 5. Lewis Cherry and 6. Lot Cherry
the father now living, the mother 7. living, resident of 8. Beathie Ford
And 9. Emma Jackson of 10. Gollage Horns, aged 18 years,
color 11. Black daughter of 12. Adam and 13. _____
the father 14. living the mother 15. dead, resident of 16. _____

And the written consent of _____ the _____
said _____ to the proposed marriage having been filed with me,
And there being no legal impediment to such marriage known to me, you are hereby authorized, at
any time within one year from the date hereof, to celebrate the proposed Marriage at any place within
the said County.
You are required within two months after you shall have celebrated such marriage to return this
License to me, at my office with your signature subscribed to the certificate under this License, and with
the blanks therein filled according to the facts, under penalty of forfeiting two hundred dollars to the
use of any person who shall sue for the same.

D. R. Brown
By W. H. Cobb Deputy Register of Deeds.

- 1. Name of person applying for license
- 2. Name of man to be married, in full
- 3. Residence
- 4. Age
- 5. Whether colored
- 6. Father of man to be married
- 7. Mother of man to be married
- 8. Living or dead
- 9. Living or dead
- 10. Residence if known, if not state unknown
- 11. Name of woman to be married, in full
- 12. Residence
- 13. Age
- 14. White or colored
- 15. Father's name
- 16. Mother's name
- 17. Living or dead
- 18. Living or dead
- 19. Residence if known, if not state unknown
- 20. If both parties are over 18 years of age, state out

State of North Carolina,

Lincoln County,

1. Robt Nixon Justice of the Peace
united in matrimony 2. Pink Cherry and 3. Emma Jackson
the parties licensed above, on the 26th day of July 1874, at 4. R. Nixon
5. Catawba Springs

Township, in said County according to law.

*WITNESSES PRESENT AT MARRIAGE:

Woods Pope
Henry Cherry
Rufus Cherry

Robt Nixon JP

- 1 Name of person officiating
- 2 If minister, of what denomination, if Justice of the Peace, no state
- 3 Name of man married
- 4 Name of woman married
- 5 Place of Marriage
- 6 Township
- *At least three persons present at marriage must sign as witnesses

EXHIBIT H

State of North Carolina, }
 Lincoln COUNTY. } Office of Register of Deeds,
 March 2nd 1885

To any Ordained Minister of any Religious Denomination or any Justice of the Peace of said County:

I, George Jackson, having applied to me for a **LICENSE** for the Marriage of Arise of of Lincoln Co. N.C., aged 34 years, color Black, the son of Randy Stame and Nettie Jackson the father now dead, the mother living, resident of Yonerville N.C. And Fanny E. Stame of Lincoln Co. aged 20 years, color Black, daughter of Henry Stame and Abeline Stame the father dead, the mother living, resident of Yonerville N.C.

* ~~And the written consent of~~ _____ the _____ of the said _____ to the proposed marriage having been filed with me.

And there being no legal impediment to such marriage known to me, you are hereby authorized, at any time within one year from the date hereof, to celebrate the proposed marriage at any place within the said county.

You are required, within two months after you shall have celebrated such marriage, to return this License to me, at my office, with your signature subscribed to the certificate under this License, and with the blanks therein filled according to the facts, under penalty of forfeiting two hundred dollars to the use of any person who shall sue for the same.

H. E. Ransom
 Register of Deeds.

1. Name of person applying for license.	8. Living or dead.	15. Father's name.
2. Name of man to be married in full.	9. Living or dead.	16. Mother's name.
3. Residence.	10. Residence if known, if not, state unknown.	17. Living or dead.
4. Age.	11. Name of woman to be married in full.	18. Living or dead.
5. White or colored.	12. Residence.	19. Residence if known, if not, state unknown.
6. Father of man to be married.	13. Age.	*If both parties are over 18 years of age, strike out.
7. Mother of man to be married.	14. White or colored.	

Edwards, Broughton & Co., Steam Printers and Binders, Raleigh, N. C.

_____, being duly sworn, says: That the parties applying for License are of lawful age, and that so far as he is informed and believes, there is no lawful cause or impediment forbidding said marriage.

Witness: _____

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
 Lincoln COUNTY. }

I, B. A. Lowe,
 united in Matrimony G. M. Jackson & Fanny E. Stame
 the parties licensed above, on the 5th day of March, at Yonerville
Catawba Springs S.
 Township, in said County, according to law.

*Witnesses present at Marriage:
W. A. Moore of _____
Abeline Morrison of _____
Abeline Morrison of _____

1 Name of person officiating. 2 If minister, of what denomination, if Justice of the Peace, so state. 3 Name of man married.
 4 Name of woman married. 5 Place of marriage. 6 Township. *At least three persons present at marriage must sign as witnesses.

EXHIBIT I

OF DEATH in plain terms, so that it may be properly classified. Exact statement of OCCUPATION is very important. See instructions on back of certificate.

B. V. S.—FORM 7

NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF HEALTH
BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS

4093
278

STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

1 PLACE OF DEATH Registration District No. 55-5724
 County Lenoir State N.C. Register No. _____
 Township Catawba or Village Lenoirville or _____
 City _____ No. _____ St. _____ Ward _____
 (If death occurred in a hospital or institution, give its NAME instead of street and number)

2 FULL NAME George Jackson 258
 (a) Residence No. _____ St. _____ Ward _____
 (Usual place of abode) (If nonresident give city or town and State)

Length of residence in city or town where death occurred yrs. mos. ds. How long in U. S. if of foreign birth? yrs. mos. ds.

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

3 Sex male 4 Color or Race Black 5 Single, Married, Widowed, or Divorced (write the word) married

5a If married, widowed, or divorced Husband of (or) Wife of Nancy Jackson

6 Date of birth (month, day, and year) _____

7 Age years Months Days If LESS than 1 day, hrs. or min. 75 10 25

8 Occupation of deceased (a) Trade, Profession, or particular kind of work farmer
 (b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer) _____
 (c) Name of employer Self

9 Birthplace (city or town) (State or country) N.C.

10 Name of Father Paul Jackson

11 Birthplace of Father (city or town) (State or country) N.C.

12 Maiden Name of Mother Winnie Jackson

13 Birthplace of Mother (city or town) (State or country) N.C.

14 Informant B. O. Kinchen
 (Address) _____

15 Filed _____ 19 _____

16 Date of Death (month, day, and year) Oct. 2 1920

17 I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from Jan. 13th 1920 to our visit 1920 that I saw him alive on Jan. 13th 1920 and that death occurred, on the date stated above, at 8:30 a.m.
 The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows:
Aortic Regurgitation
 (duration) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds.

Contributory (SECONDARY) _____ (duration) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds.

18 Where was disease contracted if not at place of death? _____
 Did an operation precede death? no Date of _____
 Was there an autopsy? no

What test confirmed diagnosis? gross
 (Signed) [Signature] M. D.
 19 (Address) Stanly, N.C.

*State the DISEASE CAUSING DEATH, or in deaths from VIOLENT CAUSES, state (1) MEANS AND NATURE OF INJURY, and (2) whether ACCIDENTAL, SUICIDAL, OR HOMICIDAL. (See reverse side for additional space.)

19 Place of Burial, Cremation, or removal Gold Hill Date of Burial 2/14 1920

20 Undertaker Tarrar Bros Address Stanly, N.C.

REGISTRAR

EXHIBIT J



EXHIBIT K

Know all men by these presents that I Joseph Graham of the County of Lenoir State of North Carolina for and in consideration of the natural love and affection which I have and do bear to my Daughter Mary Morrison and her Husband Robert H. Morrison of the County of Mecklenberg in the State of North Carolina and for divers other good causes and considerations me therunto moving Have given granted confirmed and delivered and by these presents doth give grant confirm & deliver to my said son in law Robert H. Morrison the following Negro Slaves viz August Aged 57 years and Valued at \$450. Ephraim aged 14 years and Valued \$475. and Harriet or Hetty aged 16 years and Valued at \$450. To Have & to Hold the said Negro Slaves and their future increase to the said Robert H. Morrison his Executors and Administrators and assigns absolutely & forever In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the 23rd day of September 1834

Test

J. D. Graham

J. Graham Seal

State of North Carolina

Lenoir County January 23rd 1834

The within Bill of Sale was duly proved in open Court by the oath of John D. Graham Recorded and ordered to be Registered

W. M. W.

M. W. Abernathy & Co

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Larry Spurgeon (BBA, JD), Senior Lecturer Emeritus, Wichita State University, resident of Rockbridge County, Virginia, and an interpreter at the Stonewall Jackson House. Grace Abele, Site Director, Stonewall Jackson House, has been invaluable to this project, providing enthusiastic support, contributing her vast knowledge of Jackson's life and resources, and spending many hours discussing and reviewing the work. I would also like to thank the following people: Denise Neas, Supervisor of Interpretation, Stonewall Jackson House; Bishop Franklin Lowery, Gold Hill Baptist Church, Stanley, North Carolina; Megan Haley Newman, PhD, Director, Corporate and Foundation Relations, VMI Foundation; Colonel Keith Gibson, Executive Director, VMI Museum System; the staff of the Special Collections and Archives, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University, and the staff of the VMI Archives.
- ² Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essay on History (1841), *The Essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Random House, Inc., 1944) 7
- ³ Her name is spelled "Hettie" in the censuses and in some other records. Thomas and Anna Jackson spelled it "Hetty," and that spelling will be used in this paper except where "Hettie" is used in the source cited.
- ⁴ The house was destroyed by a fire on May 4, 1908, along with "many valuable books and papers." *The Lincoln County News*, May 5, 1908 (retrieved from newspapers.com)
- ⁵ North Carolina, Index to Marriage Bonds, 1741-1868 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ⁶ Elizabeth Preston Allan, *The Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1903) 93
- ⁷ *Id.*, at 118-120
- ⁸ The Lexington Tannery was located near the intersection of Randolph and Henry streets in Lexington, and was purchased by a partnership of four men; Thomas Jackson, J. T. L. Preston, Jacob Fuller, and William Gilham. Information about this partnership can be found in papers filed in a lawsuit brought by Mary Anna Jackson as administratrix of her husband's estate against the other partners. See http://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/full_case_detail.asp?CFN=163-1874-042#img.
- ⁹ Mary Price Coulling, *Margaret Junkin Preston: A Biography* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1993) xiii-xiv
- ¹⁰ Elizabeth Preston Allan, n. 6, at 153
- ¹¹ *Id.*, at 161
- ¹² Thomas Jackson Arnold, *Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson – "Stonewall" Jackson* (Richmond: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916) (reprinted, Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1957) 266. Jackson wrote to Laura on October 23, 1858, that "Thomas reached here, as you expected, on last Saturday, and has been a very good boy." Laura traveled to Lexington from Beverly, Virginia (now West Virginia) in June with her two younger children to visit the Jacksons, and to take her son back home. *Id.*, at 270.
- ¹³ *Id.*, at 293-294
- ¹⁴ James I. Robertson, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: Macmillan Publishing USA, 1997) 167
- ¹⁵ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892) (reprinted, Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1995) 130-132
- ¹⁶ *Id.*, at 142-143
- ¹⁷ Larry Spurgeon, *Stonewall Jackson's Sabbath School* (2019)
- ¹⁸ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15
- ¹⁹ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian, Daughter of Stonewall Jackson* (Charlotte: Stone & Barringer Company, 1910)
- ²⁰ Megan Haley, Graduate Fellow, The Stonewall Jackson House, Lexington, Virginia, "*The African-American Experience in Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's Lexington* (1994)
- ²¹ Exhibit A, 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 2, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ²² 1860 Census: Instructions to the Marshals, Department of the Interior, Washington, 1860 (retrieved from <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/voliii/inst1860.shtml>)
- ²³ Exhibit B, Appraisement of the Estate of Gen. Thos. J. Jackson, Made June 5, 1863. This copy is from the original in the Clerk of the Court's office, Rockbridge County Courthouse, Will Book 17, p. 204. The Fiduciaries book in the Clerk of the Court's office has an entry dated June 1, 1863, stating that M. Anna Jackson was appointed the Administratrix for the Estate of General Thomas J. Jackson. Four men were named as securities, in the amount of \$8,000; "J. T. L. Preston, Jas. W. Massie, Wm. Gilham, and Jac. Fuller." On June 5, 1863, "M. Anna Jackson" was appointed guardian for Julia L. Jackson, with the same securities in the amount of \$5,000.
- ²⁴ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 114
- ²⁵ *Id.*
- ²⁶ Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, December 14, 1931. Cook, Roy Bird (1886-1961), Collector, Papers. A & M 1561, Box 5168, Folder 5-10, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries.

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- ²⁷ Thomas Jackson Arnold, n. 12, at 338-339
- ²⁸ Exhibit C, copy of a Payment of \$120 to Maj. Jackson, dated January 23, 1860, from VMI, retrieved from <http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15821coll4/id/641>
- ²⁹ Elizabeth Preston Allan, n. 6, at 153
- ³⁰ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 22-23, fn. 110-115
- ³¹ *Id.*, at 23-24, fn. 117, (the original of this letter is in the Roy Bird Cook Collection, West Virginia University)
- ³² See Exhibit B
- ³³ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 115
- ³⁴ The Code of Virginia, 1849, Title 30, Chapter 104, Section 5 (retrieved from <https://ia802607.us.archive.org/21/items/codevirginia00unkngoog/codevirginia00unkngoog.pdf>)
- ³⁵ *Id.*, Title 16, Chapter 49, Section 35
- ³⁶ *Id.*, Title 16, Chapter 49, Section 38
- ³⁷ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 24, and 70, fn. 119, citing W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Slavery in Antebellum Rockbridge County*, Mary Moody Northern Fellow at the Stonewall Jackson House, 1983, 63
- ³⁸ City of Lexington Record Book, 1835-1860, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University
- ³⁹ *Id.*, at 224
- ⁴⁰ 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 1-8, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ⁴¹ City of Lexington Record Book, 1835-1860, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University, at 289
- ⁴² *Id.*, at 106
- ⁴³ The Code of Virginia, 1849, Title 30, Chapter 103, Section 1 (retrieved from <https://ia802607.us.archive.org/21/items/codevirginia00unkngoog/codevirginia00unkngoog.pdf>)
- ⁴⁴ *Id.*, Title 30, Chapter 198, Section 15
- ⁴⁵ *Id.*
- ⁴⁶ *Id.*, Title 30, Chapter 107, Sections 1 and 2
- ⁴⁷ *Id.*, Title 30, Chapter 107, Section 6
- ⁴⁸ *Id.*, Title 30, Chapter 107, Sections 7 and 8
- ⁴⁹ *Id.*, Title 30, Chapter 107, Sections 11 and 12
- ⁵⁰ *Id.*, Title 54, Chapter 198, Section 26
- ⁵¹ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 115
- ⁵² Thomas Jackson Arnold, n. 12, at 337
- ⁵³ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 71-72, n. 125. She cited Thomas Jackson's personal account book, a copy of which is attached to her paper, indicating that he sent \$20.50 to Margaret Preston, to be delivered by Reverend William White, Jackson's personal pastor in Lexington, who was visiting Jackson at the time.
- ⁵⁴ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 115
- ⁵⁵ 1860 U.S. Census, Rockbridge County, Virginia, pop. sch., John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com); and 1870 U.S. Census Rockbridge County, Virginia, pop. sch., G. A. Baker (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ⁵⁶ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 115-116
- ⁵⁷ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 73-74, fn. 129
- ⁵⁸ Handwritten and undated account by "Rev. William S. White Re Reminiscences of Jackson, from the Charles William Dabney Papers, #1412, in the Southern Historical Collection, Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A copy is in the Roy Bird Cook Collection at the Stonewall Jackson House.
- ⁵⁹ Richard G. Williams, Jr., *Stonewall Jackson: The Black Man's Friend* (Nashville: Cumberland House, 2006)
- ⁶⁰ Rockbridge County, Virginia: Death Register, 1853-1870, Death Certificates, 1912-1917, Iberian Publishing Co., Athens, Georgia, 1991, compiled by Angela M. Ruley, reviewed in Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University
- ⁶¹ Richard G. Williams, Jr., n. 59
- ⁶² Julia Jackson Christian Preston, *A Patchwork Quilt of Memories* (1969) 20. This booklet was apparently not published. A copy is in the Stonewall Jackson House.
- ⁶³ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 116-117
- ⁶⁴ Rockbridge County Births, 1853-1877, and Rockbridge County, Virginia Death Register for 1853-1870, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University. The records state that the information was provided by Jackson himself.
- ⁶⁵ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 117
- ⁶⁶ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 9
- ⁶⁷ Eugenia died in 1858. Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 112.
- ⁶⁸ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 26, fn. 130, quoting from a letter in the Robert Hall Morrison Papers, #1131, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. A copy of this letter is in the Stonewall Jackson House collection, "TJJ- Slaves."

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- ⁶⁹ Id., at 26, fn. 131, quoting from a letter found in Collection 2588-d, Box #6, Folder Heading “1855-1860,” Special Collections, Manuscript Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. A copy of this letter is in the Stonewall Jackson House collection, “TJJ-Slaves.”
- ⁷⁰ Id.
- ⁷¹ James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 14, at 819, fn. 15
- ⁷² Mark A. Snell, Graduate Fellow, The Stonewall Jackson House, *Bankers, Businessmen, and Benevolence: An Analysis of the Antebellum Finances of Thomas J. Jackson* (1989) 46-48
- ⁷³ 1860 U.S. Census, Rockbridge County, Virginia, pop. sch., p. 152, dwell. 978, fam. 978, John B. Brockenbrough, (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ⁷⁴ Exhibit D, from the Shaffner Collection. The original is in the Stonewall Jackson House collection.
- ⁷⁵ Exhibit E, Excerpt from the Graham/Morrison book, copy in the Stonewall Jackson House, Folder on Jackson’s Slaves. Original in Collection of North Caroliniana presented by Mr. and Mrs. James O. Moore. VC097, G74a, 1782. The Library of North Carolina, Rare Books. [Cp 326.9 G74]. See Megan Haley, n. 20.
- ⁷⁶ Deed from Joseph Graham to R. H. Morrison, dated September 23, 1834, recorded January 1835, copy retrieved from the deed records in the Lincoln County Courthouse, Lincolnton, North Carolina
- ⁷⁷ S. Robert Lathan, “*General Joseph Graham (1759-1836)*, from “*We Are Family* (Davidson Journal, Summer 2012, retrieved from <http://davidsonjournal.davidson.edu/2012/07/we-are-family/>). See National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, 1974, retrieved from <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/LN0012.pdf>. See also Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 91-93.
- ⁷⁸ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 92-93
- ⁷⁹ Id.
- ⁸⁰ Exhibit E
- ⁸¹ 1850 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Lincoln County, North Carolina, p. 93, (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ⁸² 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Lincoln County, North Carolina, p. 23, Mich. Richards (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com). The closest female slave in age was 18.
- ⁸³ Mark A. Snell, n. 72, Exhibit B, a listing of the deposits in Thomas Jackson’s bank book
- ⁸⁴ Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, December 14, 1931, n. 26
- ⁸⁵ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 92-93 at 36
- ⁸⁶ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 1
- ⁸⁷ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 117
- ⁸⁸ Elizabeth Preston Allan, n. 6, at 153
- ⁸⁹ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 27-28
- ⁹⁰ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 413-14
- ⁹¹ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 5-6
- ⁹² Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 430-431
- ⁹³ Id., at 450
- ⁹⁴ Id., at 462-463
- ⁹⁵ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 8
- ⁹⁶ Id., at 9
- ⁹⁷ Id., at 9-10
- ⁹⁸ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 118
- ⁹⁹ Id., at 118-119
- ¹⁰⁰ Id., at 122
- ¹⁰¹ Id., at 137-138
- ¹⁰² Id., at 158
- ¹⁰³ Mark A. Snell, n. 72, Appendix C
- ¹⁰⁴ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 151-152
- ¹⁰⁵ Id., at 207
- ¹⁰⁶ Id., at 207-208. See also Megan Haley, n. 20, at 82, fn. 157
- ¹⁰⁷ “Stonewall Jackson and His Slaves,” *New York Times*, December 24, 1883 (retrieved from <https://www.newspapers.com>)
- ¹⁰⁸ Id.
- ¹⁰⁹ Id.
- ¹¹⁰ 1860 U.S. Census, Rockbridge County, Virginia, pop. sch., p. 238, dwell. 1617, fam. 1617, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ¹¹¹ 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 31, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.Ancestry.com)
- ¹¹² <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3883r.la001339/?r=0.395,0.414,0.171,0.108,0>
- ¹¹³ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 415-416
- ¹¹⁴ Virginia Freedmen’s Bureau, Office Records, 1865-1872, Lexington (Assistant, Subassistant Commissioner), Roll 101, Register of Marriages in Rockbridge County, 1866 (retrieved from www.familysearch.org)

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- ¹¹⁵ Bureau, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, Headquarters, Asst. Commr., D. C. (retrieved from www.familysearch.org)
- ¹¹⁶ Virginia Freedmen's Bureau, Office Records, 1865-1872, Reports of persons hired, July 18, 1865 – April 18, 1866, 2nd District, p. 340, Line 50 (retrieved from www.familysearch.org)
- ¹¹⁷ Jackson, Mary Anna. Letter to Laura Arnold, September 12, 1864, VMI Archives, Manuscript Acc #102, Arnold Family Papers, Box 5.
- ¹¹⁸ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 119
- ¹¹⁹ Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, December 14, 1931, n. 26
- ¹²⁰ Mark A. Snell, n. 72, Exhibit C, a listing of the expenses in Thomas Jackson's bank book
- ¹²¹ Megan Haley, n. 20, at 83, fn. 158
- ¹²² <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/89560533/george-w-jackson>
- ¹²³ The Code of Virginia, 1849, Title 12, Chapter 35, Sections 58-60 (retrieved from <https://ia802607.us.archive.org/21/items/codevirginia00unkngoog/codevirginia00unkngoog.pdf>)
- ¹²⁴ The Clerk of the Court does not have personal property tax records for the years 1861 through 1864. While researching the Special Collections at the Leyburn Library at Washington and Lee University, I reviewed a folder that contained tax records dated March 4, 1862, signed and certified by Jacob M. Ruff, the "assessor for the Confederate war tax, for the Southwestern district of Rockbridge County." The form used was very similar to the county personal property tax records. It may be that the CSA taxation replaced the county taxes during the war.
- ¹²⁵ Exhibit F, a Table compiling information about Thomas J. Jackson for the years 1853 – 1860, from the "List of Taxable Persons, Property, &c., Rockbridge County, Virginia," Clerk of the Court's office, Rockbridge, County Courthouse, reviewed in December 2017 and January 2018
- ¹²⁶ James I. Robertson, Jr., n. 14 at 176. Jackson wrote to his sister Laura on February 26, 1857 that "I am still at Dr. Junkin's." Thomas Jackson Arnold, n. 12, at 252.
- ¹²⁷ Exhibit F
- ¹²⁸ The Code of Virginia, 1849, Title 12, Chapter 35, Sections 61-64 (retrieved from <https://ia802607.us.archive.org/21/items/codevirginia00unkngoog/codevirginia00unkngoog.pdf>)
- ¹²⁹ Exhibit F
- ¹³⁰ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 119
- ¹³¹ Arnold, Thomas Jackson. Letter to Roy Bird Cook, December 14, 1931, n. 26
- ¹³² Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 133-135
- ¹³³ *Id.*, at 135-136. The rockaway was a carriage they owned and Bay was the name of their horse.
- ¹³⁴ Mark A. Snell, n. 72, Exhibit C, a listing of the expenses in Thomas Jackson's bank book
- ¹³⁵ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 136-139
- ¹³⁶ 1860 U.S. Census, Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia, pop. sch., p. 2, dwell. 10, fam. 10, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹³⁷ 1850 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 6, H. Risk (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹³⁸ 1860 U.S. Census, Slave Schedule, Rockbridge County, Virginia, p. 2, John B. Brockenbrough (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹³⁹ Exhibit F
- ¹⁴⁰ Virginia, Wills and Probate Records, 1652-1983, (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴¹ <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/145439534/abigail-haughawout>
- ¹⁴² Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 11, 21
- ¹⁴³ 1870 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 46, dwell. 318, fam. 332, B. T. Grigg (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴⁴ Exhibit G, Marriage of Pink Cherry to Emma Jackson, North Carolina, Index to Marriage Bonds, 1741-1868 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴⁵ http://www.carolana.com/NC/Towns/Lincoln_POs_Sorted.htm
- ¹⁴⁶ 1880 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 38, dwell. 368, fam. 368, D. Matt Thompson (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴⁷ 1900 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 13, dwell. 219, fam. 228, James McIntosh (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴⁸ 1910 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 16, dwell. 175, fam. 182, Arthur S. Ballard (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁴⁹ North Carolina, Marriage Records, 1741-2011 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵⁰ Lincoln County, North Carolina births, Vol. 2, 1. 133, found in the Lincoln County, North Carolina Register of Deeds office
- ¹⁵¹ North Carolina, Death Indexes, 1906-1930 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵² 1880 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 42, dwell. 402, fam. 402, D. Matt Thompson (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵³ Death Certificate for John Preston Jackson, dated April 6, 1965, North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics (retrieved from www.ancestry.com, North Carolina, ~~Death~~ Death Certificates, 1909-1976)

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- ¹⁵⁴ Exhibit H, Marriage Certificate for George Jackson and Nancy E. Stowe, dated March 23, 1885, North Carolina Marriage Records, 1741-1911 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵⁵ 1900 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 59, dwell. 62, fam. 62, James McIntosh (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵⁶ North Carolina Marriage Records, 1741-1911 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵⁷ 1910 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 126, dwell. 148, fam. 149, Arthur S. Ballard (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁵⁸ Rudolph Young et al, "*Our Own Story: An African-American History of Lincoln County, North Carolina*," Volume Two, p. 43, found in the Genealogy section of the Lincoln County library in Lincolnton, North Carolina
- ¹⁵⁹ 1920 U.S. Census, Lincoln County, North Carolina, pop. sch., p. 111, dwell. 117, fam. 118, Ural R. Murphy (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁶⁰ Exhibit I, Death Certificate for George W. Jackson, dated May 10, 1971, North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics (retrieved from www.ancestry.com, North Carolina, Death Certificates, 1909-1976)
- ¹⁶¹ Exhibit J, Photograph of George W. Jackson's tombstone in the Gold Hill Baptist Church cemetery near Lowesville, North Carolina (retrieved from <https://www.findagrave.com>)
- ¹⁶² Death Certificate for Nancy Emily Jackson, dated January 6, 1959, North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics (retrieved from www.ancestry.com, North Carolina, Death Certificates, 1909-1976)
- ¹⁶³ North Carolina Death Indexes, 1908-2004 (retrieved from www.ancestry.com)
- ¹⁶⁴ Mary Anna Jackson, *Julia Jackson Christian*, n. 19, at 9-10
- ¹⁶⁵ Exhibit K, Bill of Sale, September 23, 1834, from Joseph Graham to Robert H. Morrison, retrieved from the Deed Records at the Lincoln County Courthouse, Lincolnton, North Carolina
- ¹⁶⁶ Death Certificate for George W. Jackson, Jr. dated May 10, 1971, North Carolina State Board of Health, Office of Vital Statistics (retrieved from www.ancestry.com, North Carolina, Death Certificates, 1909-1976)
- ¹⁶⁷ Mary Anna Jackson, *Life and Letters*, n. 15, at 118
- ¹⁶⁸ (retrieved from <https://www.newspapers.com>)