

Out of Hiding
John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays
Angela Smythe
May 10, 2011

Dr. Moustafa (Mous) Chahine
A lifetime of excellence 1935-2011

“Always make progress...”

To his memory, I dedicate the progress made in “Out of Hiding”

In Asia Booth Clarke’s The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his Sister, Asia wrote, “[h]e left Richmond and unsought enrolled himself as one of the party going to search for and capture John Brown ... and I have been shown a picture of himself and others in their scout and sentinel dresses.”¹

Does the picture that Asia saw still exist?²

”Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”³ (“Hiding”) examined five pictures and determined that one individual in three particular pictures (original media ambrotype, designated in Hiding as RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3), could be the picture that Asia saw. Hiding compared the pictures with known ones of Booth and documented Booth's presence with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town

¹ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1938. Pg.111-112. The Unlocked Book remains the preeminent first hand narrative on John Wilkes Booth. Written in 1874 by his beloved sister, Asia Booth Clarke, who shared childhood and adolescence with him, this book provides the most comprehensive and continuous first hand narrative of Booth that survives. In the aftermath of the Lincoln Assassination, Asia left the United States in 1868 and lived the remainder of her life in England. During her self imposed exile, she wrote her recollections of John hoping that in time its publication would present a balanced view of her brother’s 26 years on earth, rather than the customary focus on his last infamous 12 days. Out of necessity, she kept her recollections hidden in a locked book and guarded it from her family’s destruction. On her deathbed in 1888, she trusted it to the writer E.J. Farjeon “to publish some time if he sees fit”. The time deemed as fit encompassed the passing of yet another generation, after the deaths of Edwin Booth and Robert Lincoln. The book was only published in 1938, 50 years after Asia’s death, 73 years after the deaths of John Wilkes Booth and Abraham Lincoln.

² It is important to clarify that Asia’s use of the term “picture” is what most people would have used during this era. The term “photograph” as we know it did not yet exist and the average person would be unlikely to use the correct technical term such as “ambrotype” or “daguerreotype”.

³ “Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”, web published on May 10, 2010: www.morningfourstars.com/JWB/Hiding_In_Plain_Sight

during the John Brown militia deployment in 1859. Hiding concluded by suggesting the need for additional research into these pictures and facts pertaining to John Wilkes Booth's participation in this deployment as a means of determining if Booth is in these pictures. This supplement continues where Hiding left off.

Specifically, this supplement presents:

- A detailed provenance for each of the pictures
- The identification of one picture from which vintage prints were made and which Asia could have had an opportunity to see
- A closer look at the pictures themselves to determine what they can reveal, both about the men depicted (biographical information is supplied in the Appendix) and the place and purpose for which they were taken
- A timeline addressing these pictures' history demonstrating how false assumptions about them led to wrong conclusions, which over time became accepted as fact

I. THE PROVENANCE OF THE PICTURES

In Hiding, the aspect of an ambrotype as a unique picture, one per customer, was discussed. However, since Hiding's publication a further review of the wet plate collodion process available at that time revealed the ability to make salt or albumen prints, thus providing for multiple copies. This was accomplished by making a glass negative from the ambrotype. In light of this fact, Hiding's initial focus was widened to address the possibility of vintage prints for each of these three ambrotypes.

All three original ambrotypes of RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3 examined in Hiding are extant and each is accounted for in this supplement. However, RG#1 is unique in that it alone exists in additional vintage media, including a glass negative from which several series of vintage prints were made, and which still exist.



RG#1
Original Ambrotype
Owned by
William Colavita
Richmond Virginia



RG#2
Original Ambrotype
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77



RG#3
Original Owned by
Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr.

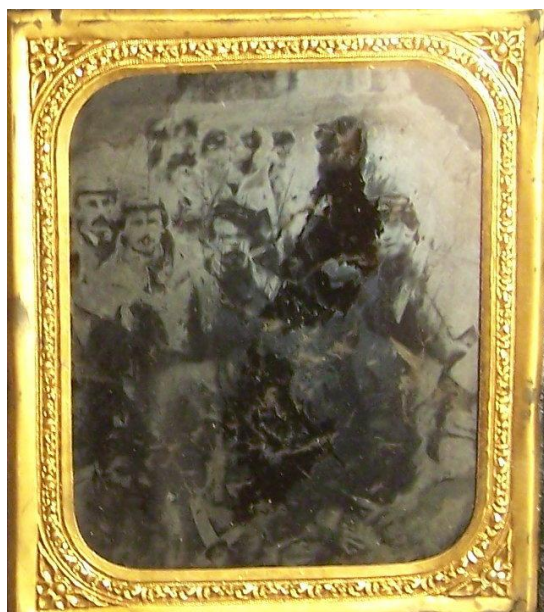
Analysis of RG#1

RG#1 exists in the following media:

1. Original sixth plate ambrotype (2.5” x 3.5”)
2. One vintage full (whole) plate glass negative (6.5” x 8.5”)
3. Two known vintage prints made from the glass negative at different times⁴, one albumen and one silver bromide
4. Possible other vintage prints
5. One black and white modern print
6. Countless reproductions of what has now become the iconic group picture of its time, as discussed in the section entitled “History of the Pictures as they Appeared in Publication”

⁴ In this era, it was not uncommon to re-photograph ambrotypes and ferrotypes by making a glass negative and then using that negative to make paper prints. An ambrotype (for RG#1, a sixth plate size) was removed from the case, secured to a board, and the camera placed in front of it. If a larger camera was used, the final size of the collodion negative would be larger (for RG#1, a full or whole plate size). Once a negative was made it could be used to produce innumerable albumen or salted paper prints, or later other types of prints as more modern processes evolved.

The Original Ambrotype of RG#1



RG#1
Original Ambrotype
William Colavita
Richmond, Virginia

The original ambrotype, previously attributed to Lewis Dinkle in 1859, is owned today by William Colavita of Richmond Virginia, the great-great grandson of Julian Alluisi. The ambrotype is a sixth plate (2.5" x 3.5"), severely damaged, and without a case; but still within a brass mat that obscures some of the detail found on the glass negative and on all prints made from it. The ambrotype has never before appeared in print and is included in this supplement through the kind courtesy of William Colavita.

Of the three companion pictures, RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3, Julian Alluisi only appears in RG#1. Julian Alluisi has been identified in undamaged prints of RG#1 as the man wearing the distinctive tall black shako hat. His absence in the other two pictures and the fact he was not a Richmond Gray could easily lead to the conclusion that Alluisi was randomly included; but was he?

Why was Julian Alluisi in RG#1 with the Richmond Grays?

Research has uncovered that Alluisi was not a random stranger to the Grays, caught merely by chance with them in a picture. Alluisi, although a member of another militia company, probably knew the men for a variety of other reasons.

Italian born Giuliano Alluisi was listed in the 1859 Richmond City Directory as Julian Alluis, a proprietor of Alluis & Company Lager Beer Saloon where he also boarded (Alluisi was misspelled in the directory as Alluis). The directory does not list Alluisi's partners in his lager beer saloon, but assuming a German partner would be reasonable as many were owned by Germans. German immigrant J. Gottfried Lange, noted to have run a well established lager beer saloon in Richmond, sent supplies to the Richmond Grays during the John Brown Deployment consisting of barrels of lager, large amounts of Swiss cheese, canned sardines, loaves of black bread and 500 cigars.⁵

Saloons like Alluisi's served as a working man's social club, providing not only food and drink but a gathering place to discuss events of the day, political and social. Besides the lager beer, typical bill of fare in such an establishment included pretzels, mustard, soda crackers, oysters, wurst and sauerkraut. The 1859 Richmond City Directory listed a staggering 73 saloons, the highest number of businesses listed.

Alluisi's militia company, the Virginia Rifles, was previously known as the German Rifles, many of its members were German immigrants. German immigrants also belonged to the Richmond Grays. Because Julian Alluisi is credited with speaking seven languages, it can be assumed that German was most likely one of them, many of these German-speaking men were probably patrons of his saloon. Philip Whitlock whose native language was Polish, could have also been a patron of Alluisi's, Alluisi most likely spoke Polish having been in the employ of the Prince and Princess Mondanti of Poland before immigrating to America in 1851.

Alluisi's establishment was located on Franklin between 15th & 16th Streets. Richmond Gray Philip Whitlock boarded one block away on

⁵ Furgurson, Ernest B., *Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1996

Franklin between 13th and 14th Streets. The Richmond Grays' Military Hall was also located on Franklin.⁶

Thus, Alluisi owned a business conducive to social interaction, lived in a neighborhood where Richmond Grays lived and had their social hall, and spoke the native languages of the immigrants who belonged to the Richmond Grays.

***What makes RG#1 unique?
Of the 3, it alone exists in other vintage media***

Of the three ambrotypes, only Alluisi's exists in vintage prints. To make a print you must start by making a negative. During this era, a negative was made on glass.

The Glass Negative of RG#1



RG#1
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative Number 3648
Photographed by reflected light against a black
background



RG#1
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative Number 3648
Photographed by transmitted light

A wet collodian glass negative of RG#1 was made from making an enlarged copy of the ambrotype. When this was done, the decision was

made to recompose the image's focus more to the middle, thus eliminating some areas. This shifted focus appears only on the negative and not on the ambrotype. The glass negative is owned by the Valentine Richmond History Center (VRHC), who purchased it as part of the George S. Cook Collection in 1954.⁷ The glass negative was not made by the Cook Gallery, but was acquired from a previous Richmond photographic studio purchased by Cook. It is a full, sometimes referred to as a whole plate, glass negative measuring 6.5" x 8.5". On the top edge of the back of the plate, written in pencil left/right", author unknown, are the words, "Soldiers sent to keep order after John Brown's capture – Virginia troops".

When examining the glass negative under both reflected and transmitted light, the density range by the transmitted light suggests that the glass negative was made for the purpose of making albumen prints. It is also notable that a full or whole plate size negative produces 6.5" x 8.5" prints, a size suitable for framed display.

Further examination reveals an edge along the left side indicating that the image was offset and cropped (Note, the man in the center of the glass negative is left of center in the original ambrotype and the strip running vertically along the right side of the original ambrotype is missing from the glass negative.)

⁷ The George S. Cook Collection contains approximately 10,000 images.



RG#1
Original Ambrotype
Owned by William Colavita



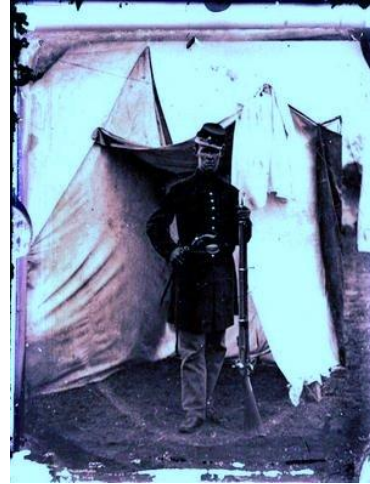
RG#1
Glass Negative superimposed over the original ambrotype. Reveals those portions of the ambrotype hidden behind the mat of the original ambrotype and the missing strip on the right hand side of the glass negative

Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative Number 3648

Although the glass negative shows that it has been damaged over time, there are no visible signs of deterioration that are seen on many unvarnished ambrotypes caused by airborne sulfides tarnishing the silver highlights of the ambrotype, which can start almost immediately once the ambrotype is placed within a brass mat. The longer an ambrotype remains in the mat, the greater the likelihood of a tarnish outline which follows the opening of the brass mat. Taken out of the mat, this outline will appear on the glass negative and every print made from it. To be free from the tarnish pattern caused by the mat, the glass negative of RG#1 would have had to been made at or near the time of the original ambrotype.



**RG#1 Glass Negative
Negative Number 3648
Valentine Richmond History Center
No mat Line**



A Glass Negative showing an oval mat line indicating the negative is copy of a Civil War era ambrotype

Similar mat damage is seen on RG#2 when it is removed from its brass mat.



**RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77**



**RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77
Cropped and photographed outside of the mat**

Notwithstanding the fact there are no visible signs of damage caused by a mat, the glass negative of RG#1 has been damaged over the years. Notably, the damage progression on the glass negative can be traced over time by matching the damage seen on the prints made from the negative.



RG#1
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative #3648
(Shows damaged areas on the glass negative – Red ellipses added)

Who commissioned making the glass negative?

Throughout this supplement, the ambrotype of RG#1 is referred to as Julian Alluisi's ambrotype. As discussed earlier, Alluisi most certainly could have known the members of the Richmond Grays seen in this ambrotype, either as patrons or neighbors. However, there is no conclusive proof concluding that the ambrotype was originally made for Alluisi. Conceivably, any of the men seen in the ambrotype could have been the original customer in Charles Town. Any of them could have wanted to use that ambrotype to make a glass negative from which to run prints. Any of them could have done so. Any of them could have then given the ambrotype to Alluisi who retained it.

Regardless of who the original customer was, the real question is who commissioned a glass negative to be made from the small ambrotype.

Who would have wanted a larger 6.5" x 8.5" framed print and why?

From the known occupations of the men in the ambrotype⁸, who would have wanted a larger framed print? Was it a beer saloon proprietor (Alluisi), a tailor's apprentice (Whitlock), a wallpaper hanger with a wife and five daughters (Phillips), a plough maker's apprentice (Woodson), an insurance underwriter (Alfriend), a teamster (Bossieux), a drug store clerk (Robins), or John Wilkes Booth?

Of all of these candidates, Booth had the necessary knowledge. As an actor from a famous stage family, he was familiar with having his picture taken; and thus would have known that prints could be made. Booth also had the necessary motive: He was proud of his "unsought" service at Charles Town and wanted a memento.

Who made the glass negative of RG#1?

We know that Julian Alluisi winds up in possession of the RG#1 ambrotype and that his militia company and the Richmond Grays returned from Charles Town on December 3rd arriving in Richmond on December 6th. Upon Alluisi's return, he or anyone in possession of this ambrotype could have taken RG#1 to any one of six studios listed below in the 1859 Richmond City Directory. Any of these studios could have made the glass negative from which John Wilkes Booth and others in the

⁸ Please see the Appendix for biographical information of the men identified in the picture.

ambrotype could have acquired prints. Again it should be stressed that a full/whole plate size print (6.5" x 8.5") would be intended to be framed.

Minnis, G.W. 107 Main Street

Osborn, A.W. 188 Main Street

Powers, E. M. 151 Main Street

Rees & Co. 139 Main Street

Smith, J. Thomas, 215 Main Street

Watson - 77 Main Street

The initial photographer would have retained the glass negative and it became part of the photographer's inventory which would be included in any subsequent sale of his studio, a common practice of the time.

How did the glass negative of RG#1 wind up in the George S. Cook Collection?

South Carolina based photographer George S. Cook relocated to Richmond in April 1880. In Richmond, Cook bought the businesses (and the negatives) of photographers who were retiring or moving from the city and thereby amassed the most complete photographic collection in the former Confederate capital. Many of the items that are part of the George S. Cook Collection are the work of earlier photographers, and as typical of that era, do not identify or credit the original photographer. These facts make it nearly impossible to determine the provenance of many of the thousands of items in the George S. Cook Collection.

Although George S. Cook could well have acquired the glass negative of RG#1 from any of the 1859 photographers listed above, the following timeline demonstrates, it was most likely from either Minis or Rees:

- **1857** – Petersburg Virginia photographer George W. Minnis opened his Richmond Gallery. Minnis is among those studios advertising in 1859
- **Dec. 1859 to early 1860** – Due to the lack of mat damage on the glass negative, this is the most likely time that the glass negative of RG#1 was made
- **May 31, 1860** – By the end of May, John Wilkes Booth left Richmond with no documented return to the city
- **1860** - Richmond native Julian Vannerson (Vannerson & Jones) closed his Washington DC Gallery and returned to Richmond and obtained some of Minnis' glass negatives
- **1865** - After the war, Vannerson & Minnis participated briefly in partnership (Vannerson & Minnis), but Minnis shortly thereafter returns to Petersburg, Va.⁹
- **1868** -Vannerson sold his business to the Davies family who operated the Lee Gallery. We know the Lee Gallery is identified in connection with one albumen print of RG#1 made from the glass negative (see details on following page)
- **1891** -The Lee Gallery was purchased by George S. Cook. Through this purchase, Cook acquired inventory from all previous studios which had been purchased by the Lee Gallery, including those of Minnis and Vannerson

Cook's son, Huestis Cook, eventually went into business with his father, and after his father's death, Huestis took over the Richmond studio. In

⁹ Ruggles, Jeffrey, *Photography in Virginia*, Virginia Historical Society 2008, page 84; Either by purchase, trade or borrowing, Vannerson obtained Minnis negatives. Of the Richmond Galleries, only Minnis and Vannerson had original negatives.

1954 The Valentine Richmond History Center acquired the George S. Cook Collection from Mary Latimer Cook, Huestis Cook's widow.

What prints were made of RG#1 using the glass negative?

The Albumen Print



RG#1
The Albumen Print
Virginia Historical Society
2001.230.367

The oldest known print of RG#1 is a faded albumen print mounted on a heavy board, which was donated to the Virginia Historical Society (VHS) on December 13, 1957 by Mr. J. Weinstein. The dimensions are as follows: Height (board) - 10"; Width (board) - 7.5"; Height (photo) - 7.4375"; Width (photo) - 5.375" - The right and left sides of the board have been trimmed. "The Lee Gallery, 920 Main Street, Richmond, VA." is embossed on the board below the photograph. A piece of paper pasted to the board below the photograph identifies the photograph as "The Grays at John Brown's Raid, 1859" and handwritten on the reverse,

“Members of Grays/John Brown Raid/1859;”Woodson, Aylett Reins – x mark;” “Alluisi, Julian – in blue;” “Acc: 12/13/57.”

There is at least a circumstantial argument to be made that this “Lee Gallery” print was intended for general public display because of the hand lettered label pasted to the front of the picture. Photographs in private settings tended not to be labeled because the likely audience already knew who was in the picture and what it depicted. If labeled, the identification was placed discretely on the back. Also, this picture was trimmed suggesting it was once in a frame, as expected of a print of this size. The picture may have been exposed to direct light for some length of time, accounting for its faded condition.

The Silver Bromide Print



RG#1
The Silver Bromide Print
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38

The silver bromide print is owned by the Virginia Historical Society (VHS), donor and date of donation unknown. According to VHS, the print has a neutral black tone and thus appears to be a gelatin silver

bromide print rather than a salt print. The X was marked on the print when 20th century museum staff identified the man so noted as being Aylett Reins Woodson. The dimensions are Height: 7"; Width: 5.375.

On the reverse side of the print is written, apparently by an unidentified museum staff member: "Group of men at Harper's Ferry" with the remarks of "Cook's Gallery" in Cook's writing.¹⁰ The staff member further writes, "Mr. Cook brought this picture to me. ¹¹ He said –It was the "Death Watch" – guarding John Brown at Harper's Ferry." Also written on the back, "(Julian Alluisi in blue See Virginia Cavalcade, Vol. 13, No. 2, pg. 27)." At the bottom is written, "Aylett R. Woodson with the X mark."

Originally, the picture was thought to be an early salt print made about 1860 due to the lack of a photographer's hallmark or address on the picture: Photographers only began to include their hallmark on their work about 1860. However, because this size print was intended to be framed, it is not surprising that there is no photographer's hallmark on it. Only a further examination of the picture by an expert can determine if it is a salt print or silver bromide.

A closer examination shows marks corresponding to damage on the glass negative that do not appear on the albumen print, which indicates that the albumen print predates this one.

*Were there additional vintage prints
made from the glass negative at other times?*

The 1888 Meyer Donation

In 1888 a photograph entitled "Photograph of Thirteen Members of the Richmond Grays who acted as Guards at the Execution of John Brown" was donated by an Alex. H. Meyer of Richmond. It appeared in the Catalogue of the Exhibit of the Relics and Antiquities at the Virginia

¹⁰ Which Mr. Cook is not stated.

¹¹ The inscriptions on the reverse are in three different hands; possibly Cook, the person who acquired the photo from Cook; and/or a VHS staff member at the time of the picture's donation. The identification of Philip Whitlock is not on the reverse of the photo. It is possible that someone added that information after the record in the database was initially created. The information identifying Julian Alluisi refers to the Virginia Cavalcade, Vol. 13, No. 2, pg. 27. The identification of Aylett Reins Woodson is in the hand of the person who acquired the photo from Cook.

Exposition held Oct. 3 – Nov. 21, 1888.¹² The Exhibition Catalogue provided no pictures of it or any of the other items exhibited.

Can the 1888 donated picture be the faded albumen print later donated by J. Weinstein, the silver bromide print, date and donor unknown, or yet another print?

Because the Lee Gallery's albumen print was most likely made for public display, there is at least a circumstantial argument that the 1888 donation, exhibited for public display, was the albumen print. As stated above, the albumen print was mounted on larger stock, appears to have been framed at one time, and bore a hand lettered label pasted to the front of the picture. However, with no picture identifying it in the 1888 Exhibition Catalogue, or any picture yet identified to be associated with it, that photograph remains a mystery.

Who was Alex H. Meyer and what was his connection to this picture?

Julius Meyer & Sons was a dry goods business operating in Richmond during the late 19th century, selling ready-made clothing, textiles and household items. The firm consisted of German immigrant Julius Meyer and his sons Henry, William and Alexander. Alexander H. Meyer (1867-1933) was a close family friend and relative of Richmond Gray Philip Whitlock who has previously been identified as being in each of the three RG pictures. Meyer was particularly close to Philip's nephew Daniel Whitlock, son of Philip's Brother Henry.¹³

Still Another Unidentified Vintage Print of RG#1

In "The Photographic History of the Civil War," Frances Trevelyn Miller, 1911, on page 145, there is a picture of RG#1 credited only to its

¹² The Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical and Tobacco Exposition contained an Exhibition on Relics and Antiquities.

¹³ Both Daniel Whitlock and Alex Meyer were ushers at Alex's sister Josephine Meyer's wedding in Nov. 1888. Daniel Whitlock served as Alex Meyer's Best Man at his wedding in 1890. Additionally, Julia Hamburger, Daniel Whitlock's wife's first husband was Henry Meyer, Alexander's brother. Daniel & Julia marry in 1891. In addition to the personal relationships, a close business connection also existed. On Nov. 25, 1890, Daniel Whitlock is appointed as one of two receivers taking charge of the Julius Meyer & Sons business and posted a bond for \$40,000 with Philip Whitlock and Alex Meyer serving as sureties.

During the 1888 Virginia Agricultural, Mechanical and Tobacco Exposition, which included the Exhibit of the Relics and Antiquities, Philip Whitlock who had become a very successful cigar manufacturer, had a model cigar factory on exhibit. During this time, he ran an advertisement in the Richmond Daily Times (Nov. 3) advising that his cigars (Old Virginia Cheroots) being made at that exhibition were the same that could be purchased for 5 to 10 cents throughout Richmond.

publisher, Review of Reviews Co.¹⁴ Captioned “Young Southerners at Richmond Making Light of War”, the description identified it as “... Boys in Gray just before Bull Run.” Comparing the prints below with the damage pattern shown on the glass negative, it can be determined that the Albumen and Review of Reviews prints were made before the plate was damaged in certain areas. This same damage pattern found on the glass negative is replicated on the silver bromide print and every subsequent print made from the negative thereafter.



RG#1
Albumen Print
 2001.230.367
 Virginia Historical Society
*(No damage from the glass negative is seen on this print –
 – Red box added)*



RG#1
Review of Reviews – Photographic History of the Civil War
 1911
*(No damage from the glass negative is seen on this print –
 Red box added)*

¹⁴ Review of Reviews Co. (New York) is the publisher for The Photographic History of the Civil War, edited by Frances Trevelyn Miller, 1911. An article on the book appeared in Review of Reviews Vol. XLIV, July – Dec. 1911 (page 459-470) which advertised the 10 volume set, (3,500 pages with 3,688 illustrations) for \$31.00



RG#1
Silver Bromide Print
2010.1.38 Virginia Historical Society
*(Corresponding damage seen on the glass negative
appears on this print – Red box added)*



RG#1
Glass Negative
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative #3648
(Damage appears on the glass negative – Red box added)

Modern Copy Print



RG#1
Modern Copy Print
Virginia Historical Society
2001.230.366

The modern copy print, shown above, is a black and white print of RG#1 commissioned and owned by VHS. The damage pattern observed on this print is much more advanced than on the silver bromide print, indicating additional damage to the glass negative after the silver bromide print was made.

Analysis of RG#2

All photographs taken of the RG#2 ambrotype, with or without brass mat, are modern photographic copies of the ambrotype. No vintage prints or glass negatives are known to exist.

1. Original sixth plate ambrotype (2.5" x 3.5")
2. Modern photographic copies of the ambrotype, one with and one without a mat: 4" x 6"

The Original Ambrotype of RG#2



RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77

In 1959, Mrs. Julia E. Saunders, daughter of Aylett Reins Woodson, donated the original sixth plate ambrotype to the Virginia Historical Society. A letter accompanied the donation recounting the donor family's oral history that the photograph was "Said to be the Death Watch of John Brown's Execution" and identified Mrs. Saunders' father, Aylett Reins Woodson, in the picture. The ambrotype remained in its mat but was missing the front portion of the case. Modern photographs of it have been taken by the Virginia Historical Society, both with and without the mat.

Supporting the photograph's description, "Said to be the Death Watch of John Brown's Execution" is a note that accompanied the Oath of Allegiance filed by Woodson's second wife, Frances Ann "Fannie" Holdsworth (1838-1875) on October 19, 1865. The note states that Ms. Holdsworth married Aylett R. Woodson (1833-1888) later the same day and that Woodson had been a member of the death watch of John Brown.¹⁵

¹⁵From [Library of Virginia](#), Call Number 20698

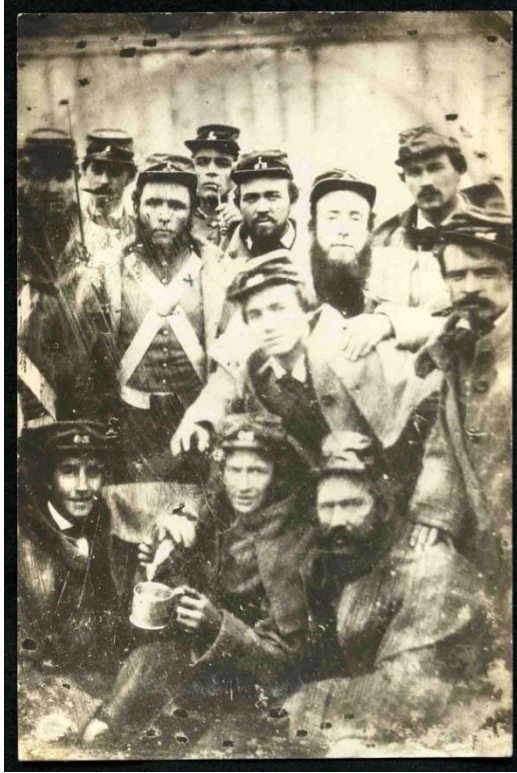
Oath of Allegiance, 19 October 1865, of Frances "Fannie" Ann Holdsworth (1838-1875) of Richmond, Virginia, sworn to the United States after the Civil War. An accompanying note states that she married Aylett R. Woodson (1833-1888) later the same day and that Woodson had been a member of the death watch of John Brown. James H. Dooley (1841-1922), notary public, wrote and attested this oath. Cite As Fannie A. Holdsworth. Oath of Allegiance, 19 October 1865. Accession 20698. Personal papers collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Modern Copy Photograph

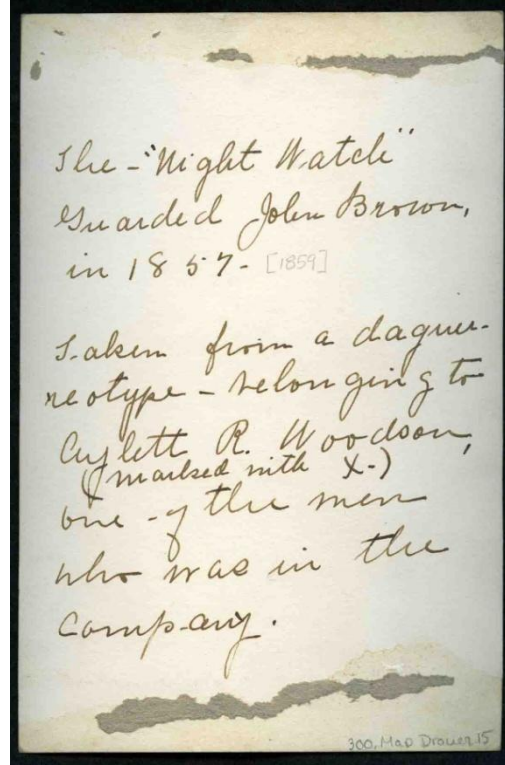


RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77

In 1936, Mrs. Saunders donated a 4" x 6" modern photographic copy of the ambrotype, without mat, to the United Daughters of the Confederacy ("UDOC") for their use in the "Virginia House". On the reverse side is written, "[t]he "Night Watch" Guarded John Brown"" along with information identifying Mrs. Saunders' father, Aylett Reins Woodson. There is evidence on the back that this picture had once been mounted in a scrap book, but that it was later removed. The Museum of the Confederacy now holds this item in its collection.



RG#2
Julia E. Saunders Donation
Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond Virginia
1st Va. Infantry
Modern Copy Photograph (front side)



RG#2
Julia E. Saunders Donation
Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond Virginia
1st Va. Infantry
Modern Copy Photograph (reverse side)

Analysis of RG#3

All photographs taken of the RG#3 ambrotype are within its brass mat and are black and white modern photographic copies made by Professor Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr. No vintage prints or glass negatives are known to exist.¹⁶

1. Original sixth plate ambrotype (2.5" x 3.5")
2. Modern copy photographs

¹⁶ An earlier Valentine Richmond History Center file reference to a plate coming from its 1954 purchase of the George S. Cook Collection pertaining to RG#3 was mislabeled; the only item provided was Professor Cecil Eby's 1974 donation of the modern copy photograph.



RG#3
Owned by Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr.

The Original Ambrotype of RG#3

The ambrotype of RG#3 is in the possession of Professor Cecil De Grotte Eby Jr., long time resident and local historian of Charles Town, West Virginia. The Eby family has a long uninterrupted history in the area dating back to the early 1800's. In 1971, Professor Eby inherited the RG#3 ambrotype from his aunt, Winifred Eby. The ambrotype, in its closed and intact case, was in Winifred Eby's curio cabinet for as long as Professor Eby could remember. Professor Eby stated that his aunt had no recollection of how she came to own this ambrotype or anything about it. This fact suggests that she most likely inherited it from an earlier Eby generation that resided in Charles Town. However, according to Professor Eby, none of the Charles Town Eby family served in the militia or the Civil War, nor is there a known family or business connection with photographer Lewis Dinkle.

How did the Eby family come to possess RG#3?

The likeliest scenario accounting for how this ambrotype came to be in the Eby family’s possession arises from:

(1) Winifred Eby’s grandfather, Henry Line Eby¹⁷, who owned a home on George Street within two blocks of the John Brown Jail, and

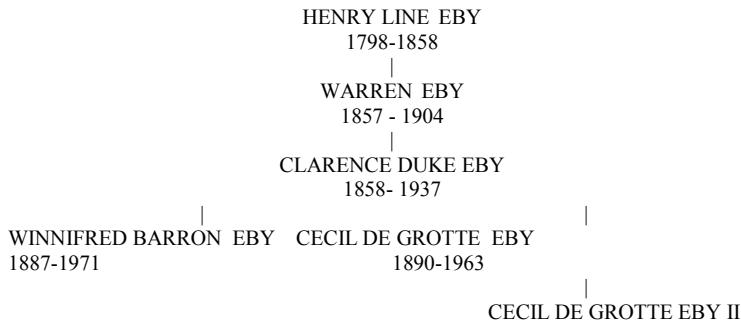
(2) Professor Cecil Eby believes that during the John Brown deployment, the Henry Line Eby home was amongst the many in Charles Town used to billet militia troops, possibly even members of the Richmond Grays.

That fact and belief provide the most plausible explanation, that in 1859 this ambrotype was either left in the Eby home or given to a household member.

What do we know about the Eby home on George Street?

Henry Line Eby served as the Charles Town Railroad Station Master. He died in 1858, one year before the John Brown deployment. However his widow Catherine survived him until 1863 and in the 1860 Federal census Catherine, age 68 in 1859, was still living in that house on George Street.

¹⁷ Henry Line Eby was Professor Cecil Eby’s great-great grandfather. Professor Eby’s father was Cecil De Grotte Eby Sr., Winifred’s brother. Henry Line Eby(1798-1858), father of Warren Eby (1857-1904), grandfather of Clarence Duke Eby



Charles Town's Town Center was comprised of four blocks. These blocks housed the municipal buildings, among them the jail and courthouse. They also contained mixed use residential and business buildings. In the 1859 drawing shown below, the front of the jail is seen from Washington Street with Sadler's Carpentry the third building from the corner. Also seen is the jail wall running down George Street.



John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project

The 1859 drawing shown below depicts John Brown on his way to the scaffold on December 2nd. The procession had turned right from Washington Street and is shown proceeding down George Street. The jail and wall are seen in the upper left hand corner, and an outlying building can be seen inside the jail yard perimeter.



John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project

Professor Eby believes that the Henry Line Eby home along George Street can be seen in this drawing. That home, along with others was razed in the 1890s in order to widen and extend George Street. There is a remarkable, multi-generation Eby family history of living on that small street. Even with the razing of that particular home, the Eby family continued to reside on George Street: Professor Eby's father, Cecil De Grotte Eby, Sr., who died in 1963, and his beloved "Aunt Winnie" who died in 1971, both lived on George Street at the time of their deaths.

II. A Closer Look at the Pictures - What do they Reveal?

Why are these same men grouped together?

RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3 included roughly the same men who comprised a group of Richmond Grays assigned to guard the jail that housed John Brown.¹⁸

At the conclusion of John Brown's trial, reports of organized rescue attempts and threats of armed insurrection prompted Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise to call for the Virginia Militia to be deployed until John Brown's scheduled execution on December 2nd. The Richmond Grays were dispatched to Charles Town on November 19, 1859.¹⁹ According to The Richmond Dispatch of Nov. 23, 1859, eighty-six of them arrived in Charles Town.²⁰

Fears, alarms and escalating security dominated the two weeks preceding John Brown's execution. In his diary, Edmund Ruffin records his arrival in Charles Town on Sunday, November 27th, on the same train as the Virginia Military Institute Cadets.²¹ Throughout his stay in Charles Town, Ruffin echoes the public's and Governor Wise's concern that a large body of "desperadoes" might be sent to attempt to rescue John Brown. Ruffin writes that some feared many of these "desperadoes" might have already infiltrated the town under the guise of spectators.²² Ruffin recounts Virginia Military Institute ("VMI") Superintendant Smith's opinion that if

¹⁸ The Jefferson County Jail at Charles Town is the jail that housed John Brown.

¹⁹ Detailed information on the Virginia militia present at Charles Town is provided in Hiding, Background of Deployment.

²⁰ Research from Hiding indicated that at least 80 men from the Richmond Grays initially responded to the November call up and that a total of 94 Richmond Grays eventually served at Charles Town.

²¹ The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vol. 1; Toward Independence, Oct. 1858- April 1, 1861, Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough, Louisiana State University Press, Bat Rouge, 1972

Edmund Ruffin (Jan. 5 1794 – June 17, 1865) - Perhaps most famous for firing the ceremonial first shot of the Civil War at Ft. Sumter, Ruffin was antebellum Virginia's most noted agronomist who advocated the adoption of new methods vital for crop rotation and fertilization. Ruffin was an ardent and early supporter of southern independence and a devoted and meticulous diarist. The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vols. 1-3 chronicles the years from 1856 to 1865. Vol. 1 (totaling 610 pages) provides his invaluable first hand impressions and observations while in Charles Town from Nov. 27 – December 8, 1859, including his donning of a VMI Cadet uniform to be present at the execution of John Brown on December 2nd. The VMI Cadets would form an oblique line at the scaffold along with the Richmond Grays, and John Wilkes Booth.

²² Shortly after his arrival in Charles Town, Ruffin is met by Wells Hawks and invited to lodge at Hawk's home. As discussed in Hiding, this is the same residence where son Arthur "Sunshine" Hawks would recall seeing John Wilkes Booth reciting for his father's guests. The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vol. 1; Toward Independence, Oct. 1858- April 1, 1861, Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough, Louisiana State University Press, Bat Rouge, 1972, page 362

any rescue were attempted, it would begin by setting fire to the town.²³ Ruffin comments that the patrol duty in the town and the surrounding country was strict and that on November 28th “usual false alarms caused several sentinels on their posts to challenge and fire at some supposed object.”

Ruffin’s diary also corroborates stories of rockets being fired in the mountains as a supposed means of communication by Brown’s supporters. In his diary for Nov. 29th Ruffin provided an explanation of these mysterious rockets or signal lights seen in the distance. According to Ruffin, Capt. George Randolph was dispatched to investigate one such report and that Randolph advised him that “... the supposed rockets were merely sparks of distant chimneys seen over intervening houses which prevented their sources from being seen. The imagination of the viewers placing these lights as far off as the mountains, of course, enlarged the sizes in proportion to the distance, the resemblance being enough to deceive.”²⁴ On the same day, Ruffin again referred to the threat of an attempted armed rescue by as many as 2,000 “desperadoes”.

Security measures would have certainly entailed specific sentry duty posts being established within Charles Town. It is likely that the heaviest concentration of guards would have been posted at the jail that housed John Brown, the target of any organized rescue attempt. John Brown’s fellow prisoner, John E. Cook, in a letter to his brother and sister dated November 21, 1859, mentioned that a guard was posted in the hall outside his prison cell soon after dark, and that the guard was changed every hour.²⁵ Ruffin’s entry on December 1st, the day prior to Brown’s execution, stated that “[t]he sentries yesterday were placed for day as well as nights, & those on the routes ordered to arrest every person not known.”²⁶ As an added precaution, guards also were stationed outside the perimeter of the jail wall.

²³ Francis H. Smith was Superintendent of The Virginia Military Institute (VMI) for half a century (1840-1889). At the time of the John Brown Deployment he held the rank of Colonel in the Virginia State Militia and was commanding officer at John Brown’s Execution.

²⁴ *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vol. 1: Toward Independence, Oct. 1858- April 1, 1861*, Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough, Louisiana State University Press, Bat Rouge, 1972, page 366

²⁵ *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Thursday, Dec. 1, 1859

²⁶ *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Vol. 1: Toward Independence, Oct. 1858- April 1, 1861*, Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough, Louisiana State University Press, Bat Rouge, 1972, page 366

How are these men described?

Of the eighty-six Richmond Grays at Charles Town, only one group of twelve, a subgroup of the eighty-six, are seen in each of the of the three RG pictures. While the pictures have been identified as “Soldiers sent to keep order after John Brown’s capture – Virginia troops”; “The Grays at John Brown’s Raid, 1859”; “Photograph of Thirteen Members of the Richmond Grays who acted as guards at the execution of John Brown”; “The Death Watch of John Brown’s Execution”; and “The “Night Watch” Guarded John Brown”, evidence suggests the most reasonable, complete and accurate description of this group would be “The Richmond Grays Who Guarded the John Brown Jail.”

What was John Wilkes Booth Doing in Charles Town?

In The Unlocked Book, Asia Booth Clarke writes of her brother, “he was exposed to dangers and hardships; he was a scout and I have been shown a picture of himself and others in their scout and sentinel dresses.”²⁷

Firsthand references from Charles Town corroborate both of these descriptions, scout and sentinel (guard.)

Was John Wilkes Booth one of the Richmond Grays who guarded the John Brown Jail?

Two first hand sources confirm that John Wilkes Booth was assigned guard duty with one of those sources placing him at the jail.

- In Edmund Morrison Alfriend's “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth”, Alfriend wrote, “[w]hile at Charlestown the Richmond Grays occupied as their quarters an old tin factory, **and here John Wilkes Booth slept every night when he was not doing duty as a**

²⁷ Contemporary 19th Century definitions taken from 4 vol. The Modern World Dictionary of the English Language, P.F. Collier & Sons, Publisher (New York) Copyright 1894 by Syndicated Publishing Company:

Vol. 4, pg. 4200

Definition of Sentinel: One who keeps watch or guard to prevent surprise; specifically a soldier posted to watch or guard an army, camp or other place from surprise; a sentry

Vol. 4, pg. 4152

Definition of Scout: To watch the movements or actions of an enemy. To watch as a scout, to spy, to observe closely.

sentinel [*emphasis added*] with Wirt Harrison, on a straw pallet, which was laid next to my own.”²⁸

- The wife of the Rev. Charles E. Ambler, rector of Zion Episcopal Church during the John Brown Deployment, wrote in her diary, “John Wilkes Booth(e), who is here as one of the guards of the John Brown jail...”²⁹

Booth’s guard duty at the jail is indirectly supported in several accounts of the day. In a 1906 article on John Brown’s trial published in Harpers Magazine it is reported that on the evening of December 1st, John Wilkes Booth was among the two companies of militia quartered in the court room, across from the jail, who slept upon their blankets on the floor and benches of the dismantled court room.³⁰ This date, the evening before Brown’s execution, coincides with the same day that Ruffin wrote “[t]he sentries yesterday were placed *for day as well as nights...*” [*emphasis added*] This reference again provides first hand confirmation that the Richmond Grays and others guarded the immediate vicinity of the jail.

A newspaper article published on April 29, 1865 states that Booth visited John Brown in jail.³¹ Guard detail at the jail would have certainly provided Booth with an opportunity to visit the prisoners.³² Recollections attributed to the nephew of Charles Town’s Sheriff James Campbell recounts that Campbell told him that the day prior to Brown’s execution December 1st, that Booth, a handsome, fresh, black-eyed youth of 20 years, came and asked his (Campbell’s) permission to go and see the Brown raid prisoners in their cells.³³ This corresponds with the date provided in the 1906 Harpers Magazine story that has Booth spending that same night among two companies of men sleeping across the street at the courthouse.

²⁸ Alfriend, Edward M. “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth, by Edward M. Alfriend,” *The Era*, Oct. 1901, pg. 604

²⁹ Alfriend, John S., *History of Zion Episcopal Church, Saint Andrew’s Parish, Charles Town, West Virginia*, 1973, published as a memorial to the author, John Shadrach Alfriend.

³⁰ Hill, Frederick Travor, *Harpers Magazine*, Volume 113, June 1906 to November 1906, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906; Article entitled: Decisive Battles of the Law, The Commonwealth vs. Brown, pg. 264, reference itself is on the last page 279

³¹ “J Wilkes Booth. Interesting Reminiscences of the Assassin - Sketch of His Theatrical Career”, April 29, 1865 *Philadelphia Inquirer*

³² Redpath, James, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown*, 1860, pg. 381 states that during Brown’s incarceration that two militia companies paid him a visit (the Continentals and Fredericksburg Guards) whom he received cordially.

³³ “The Hanging of John Brown”, May 2, 1897, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

How do we know that John Wilkes Booth was a scout?

In his [A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth](#), published in 1883, Major William H. Caskie wrote “[i]n camp the actor, by strict attention to duty, natural modesty and gentlemanly conduct, wormed himself into the good graces of the officers, many of whom, as for instance, General Turner Ashby, Colonel Dick Ashby, the general’s brother, Major Bird Washington and Captain Horner, afterwards won distinction.”^{34 35}

Like Edmund Ruffin’s diary entry of November 29th, William E. Caskie’s recollections also mentioned a report of mysterious lights in the distance, suspected to be signals issuing from armed camps in the mountains to their supporters secreted in Charles Town bent on rescuing John Brown from jail.

However, in Caskie’s account of this event, Booth asks permission to be sent to investigate the report and with some of the officers vouching for his integrity, General Taliaferro consents.³⁶ Booth returns and states that these were merely sparks from the chimney of a little cabin occupied by an old couple who were burning wood to keep warm. General Taliaferro sends a subsequent scout patrol who verified Booth’s initial report. Taliaferro was then satisfied with this explanation of the matter and the excitement blew over as suddenly as it had arisen.

Ruffin’s diary and Caskie’s article, although published almost 100 years apart, both agree about the same signal lights and scouts who returned and reported that the lights were sparks from a distant chimney.

Further credence to the veracity of Caskie’s article is supported by its use of names known historically to have interacted with Booth at Charles Town:

³⁴ William Henderson Caskie (1834 - 1900) Captain in the Hampden Artillery (CSA), appointed to Moseley's Artillery Battalion as Major and served until War's end. After the war (1881) was a cartoonist and contributor for the Austin Texas Siftings Magazine

³⁵ “[A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth](#)”, August 04, 1883, [Texas Siftings](#). Major Bird Washington; “Bird” was a family nickname from his wife’s family. Major Bird (Bushwell Bassett) Washington was the same “Major B.B. Washington” who provides the personally inscribed John Brown pike to Booth, recounted by Asia in *The Unlocked Book*.

Wells, Albert, [The Pedigree and History of the Washington Family](#), New York Society Library, 1879, pg. 258

Wayland, John W., [The Washingtons and Their Homes](#), pg. 337; Matthew Burwell Bassett (1830-1868) known as “Bird”

³⁶ General William Booth Taliaferro commanded the militia at Harper’s Ferry following John Brown’s Capture. (No relation to John Wilkes Booth)

- Major W. (William) E. Caskie was the brother of Richmond Grays Regimental Quartermaster Robert A. Caskie, who wrote the endorsement for Booth's April 1860 pay voucher for his militia service with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town, previously discussed in Hiding³⁷. Both Caskie brothers were at Charles Town. William E. Caskie served as a private in Turner Ashby's Command.³⁸
- Caskie's article also confirms the Richmond Grays' association with Turner Ashby mentioned in Richmond Gray George W. Libby's recollections published in *The Confederate Veteran*, "John Brown and John Wilkes Booth". Libby wrote that the Grays "... were quartered in a one story building, in the backyard of which the Black Horse Troop, commanded by the gallant Turner Ashby, had its supply wagon, which contained a runlet of mountain dew, which they dispensed liberally."³⁹
- Caskie's article includes a little known, but correct nickname for Major B.B. ("Bird") Washington. Caskie's unique and personal knowledge of this fact attests to his recollections being authentic.

Caskie's article and Ruffin's diary support the possibility that John Wilkes Booth went on at least one of the scouting patrols dispatched to investigate the distant single lights and corroborates Booth's sister Asia's account that Booth was a scout.⁴⁰

We know that Booth provided dramatic readings at the Episcopal Meeting House⁴¹ and Hiding assumed that the presentation of the John Brown Pike inscribed by Major B.B. Washington to Booth, as also mentioned by Asia in her book, was in recognition of that effort. However, in light of the

³⁷ Robert A. Caskie served as Regimental Quartermaster and Booth served as Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant

³⁸ Holtzer, Harold, Boritt, Gabor S., The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause 1987, University of North Carolina Press, Pg. 25

³⁹ Libby George W., "John Brown and John Wilkes Booth", *The Confederate Veteran*, 37, April 1930, pg. 138-139

⁴⁰ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. pg.111-112.

⁴¹ Alfriend, John S., History of Zion Episcopal Church, Saint Andrew's Parish, Charles Town, West Virginia, 1973, published as a memorial to the author, John Shadrach Alfriend.

Caskie article, it may also have been given in recognition of Booth's involvement in the scouting patrol described.

When we consider Booth's own words: "When I aided in the capture and the execution of John Brown..." there is more service implied than merely standing in formation around John Brown's scaffold during the execution itself. While Booth's use of the term "capture" over the years had been construed as exaggeration, taken in light of Caskie's informed recollections, the possibility of Booth's expanded participation exists. Booth could have performed duties which included at least one documented scouting party in addition to his doing guard duty at the John Brown jail.⁴²

Where were the pictures taken?

All three pictures were taken along George Street across from the John Brown jail with the jail yard wall seen in the background

How do we know it is the John Brown Jail Wall in the background?

The angle of the camera perspective indicates that the photographer set up his tripod on an elevation approximately 3 feet above the ground, looking down into the group. This ratio would indicate the tall structure seen in the background was approximately 14-16 feet in height. The approximate 3 foot elevation could be attributed to a porch elevated above the street. In an article from the *Richmond Whig*, dated Nov. 25, 1859, detailed in "Hiding," a daguerreotype man and his wagon were seen in the street taking photographs. The correspondent wrote that a party of Richmond Grays "was observed in the street, in front of a daguerreotype wagon, three lying, [perhaps meaning "sitting"] on the ground, and three others in standing position who were having their photographs taken to send to their families and friends behind them in the event of their not being able to return to them until after the close of the war." This remark of a war

⁴² Rhodehamel, John & Taper, Louise, *Right or Wrong. God Judge Me, the writings of John Wilkes Booth*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1997, pg. 148 and also pg. 124: "To Whom It May Concern Letter" (written in Philadelphia, Nov. 1864) Left locked in a safe at his sister Asia's home in Philadelphia sometime (most probably Feb. 10, 1865). The letter was opened and read on April 15, 1865.

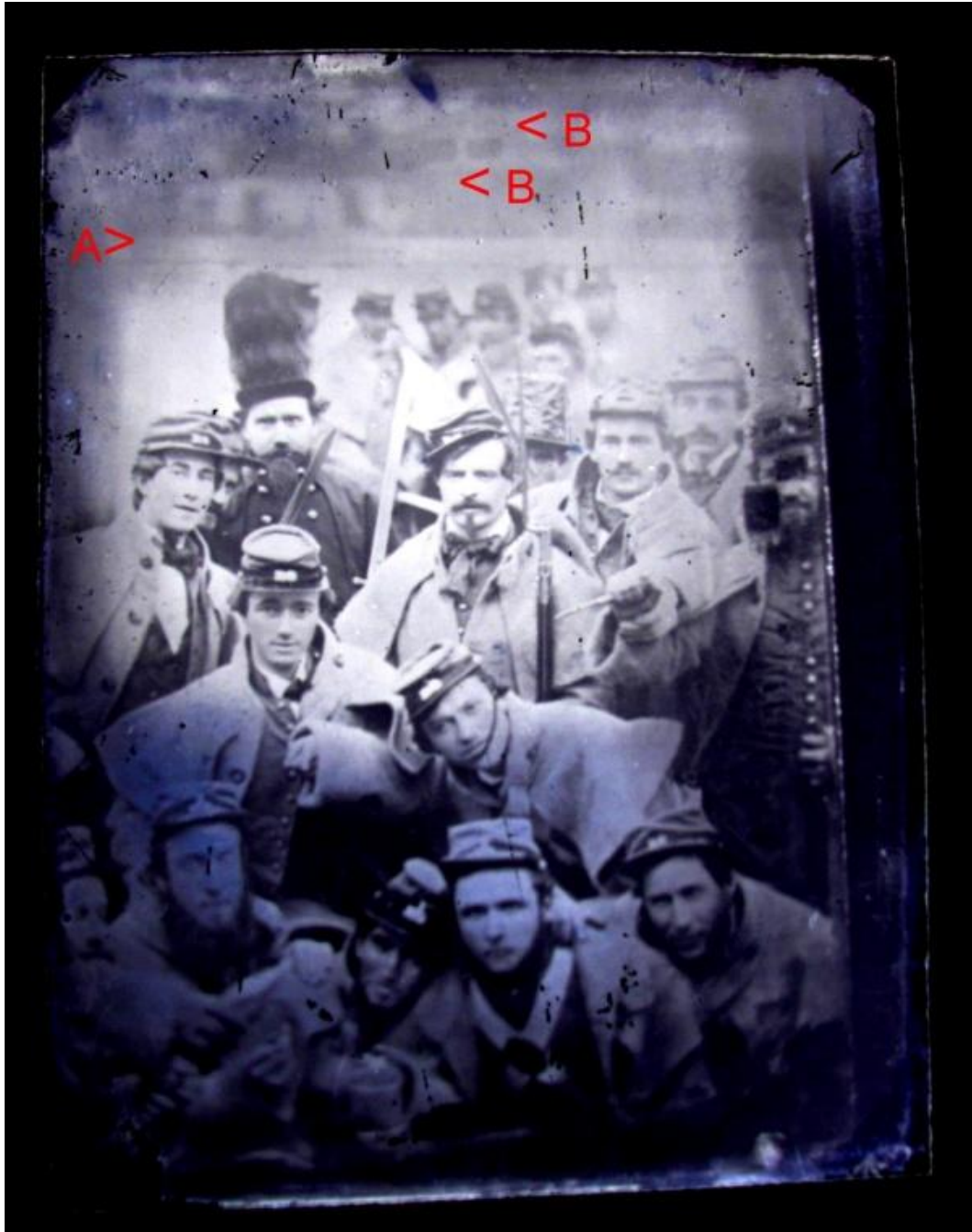
assumed that the John Brown deployment could possibly lead to an escalating armed conflict.⁴³

Making a wet plate collodion ambrotype required a series of steps from coating to developing, to be done before the plate dried, a process of no more than 10 minutes to complete everything. For field use, it required a portable darkroom, a wagon. Using his wagon as a portable dark room, Dinkle could have shot these pictures not only from a studio in the store where he was clerking part time, but from any storefront or ground location within Charles Town.

Subsequent to Hiding, a closer examination of uncropped views of (1) RG#1, usually tightly cropped to focus on the men in this compelling picture, (2) RG#2, photographed both within and without its mat, but usually shown within its mat, and (3) RG#3, only shown within its mat, reveals that a unique cap can be seen running horizontally along the top of the structure seen behind and looming over the men. In two of the pictures, RG#2 and RG#3, uniformly spaced vertical lines can be discerned in this same structure. Upon casual observation of cropped pictures, this structure resembled a slat style wooden fence.

⁴³ "From Harper's Ferry." Letter dated 25 November 1859, Richmond Whig, 27 November 1859.

However the full views of the pictures which disclose the horizontal cap confirm that the structure was not a fence, but a wall. In the full view of RG#1, additional buildings can be seen beyond the wall that are not visible in any of the cropped versions.



RG#1
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative #3648
(A = Wall with cap added; B = Buildings seen behind the wall added)



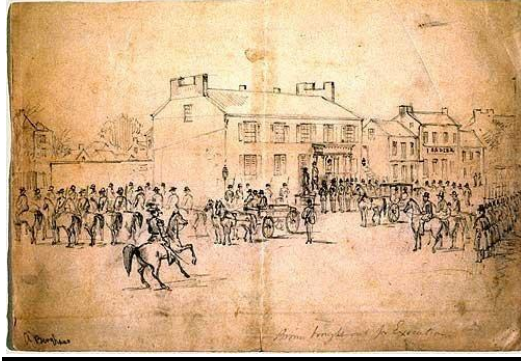
RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77
(A = Wall with cap added)



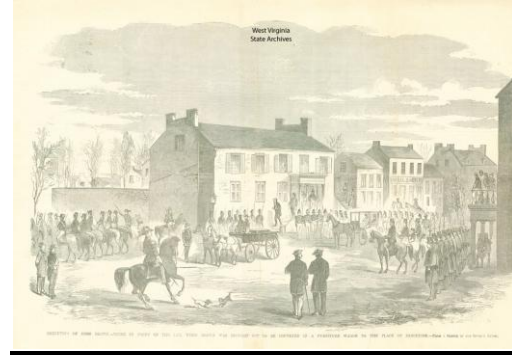
RG#3
Owned by
Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr.
(A = Wall with cap added)

From 1859 historic drawings of Charles Town, the only wall meeting this description would be that of the perimeter wall surrounding the Jefferson County Jail. This was the facility that housed John Brown and his fellow prisoners following the October 16-18, 1859 raid at nearby Harper's Ferry⁴⁴.

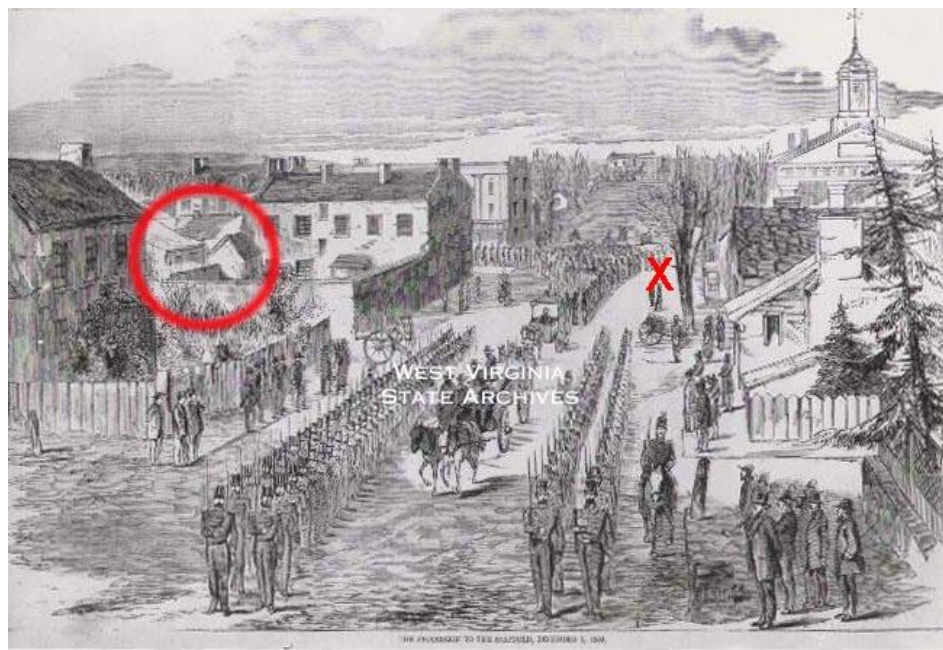
⁴⁴ Charles Town was named after Charles Washington, George Washington's youngest brother. The town was incorporated in 1786. Many of the streets reflect names from Washington's family (George, Samuel and Charles Streets) or patriotic sentiments (Congress and Liberty Streets.)The lots on the town square formed by George and Washington Streets were dedicated to be used for public buildings. In 1803 the Jefferson County Courthouse became the first of the public buildings to occupy the Town Square. This courthouse would be the setting for the trial of John Brown and his fellow prisoners. In 1809, the Jefferson County Jail and the Market House became the second and third public buildings to occupy the Town Square. The Market House provided a venue for produce display and a meeting place for the town council. The fourth corner (southeast corner of George and Washington) was occupied by an office complex known as "Lawyer's Row." All of these buildings can be seen in the contemporary drawings. The public lots were the four corners and entailed half of a full lot. The remaining half was sold/purchased privately. Sadler's Cabinetry Shop occupied property next to the Jail, Sappington's Hotel was next to the Market House, the Carter House Hotel was next to "Lawyer's Row". Courtesy Douglas Perkins, Director, Charles Town Library



Drawing #1
 John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project (same scene - rough sketch)



Drawing #2
 John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project (same scene - finished artwork)



Drawing #3
 John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project
 (Red Circle and Red X added)

The original jail house and wall that held Brown and his fellow prisoners⁴⁵ can be seen in all three contemporary newspaper drawings

⁴⁵ John Brown, John Copeland, Edwin Coppoc, Shields Green, and Aaron Stevens were taken to the Jefferson County jail in Charles Town on October 19, 1859, after their apprehension following the disastrous raid at Harpers Ferry. They appeared before the court and were arraigned on October 25. On the 26th, they were charged with treason against the Commonwealth of Virginia, inciting slaves to rebel, and the murders of Harpers Ferry Mayor Fontaine Beckham along with George Turner, Thomas Boerly, Heyward Shepherd, and Luke Quinn. Brown's followers, John E. Cook and Albert Hazlett, had initially escaped but were captured in Pennsylvania a week after the raid and were housed there as well. In separate trials, all were convicted and executed by hanging. Brown on Dec. 2nd, with Copeland, Coppoc, Green and Cook on Dec. 16th, 1859. The two remaining prisoners, Stevens and Hazlett, were hung on March 16,

done in 1859. Two pictures represent the same scene, the initial rough sketch, Drawing #1, and finished artwork, Drawing #2. Both drawings depict John Brown exiting the jail at Washington Street via the covered entrance with stairs paralleling the street (The original jail had only the covered entrance on Washington Street.) The two story structure shows five windows facing out on Washington Street. On the finished artwork, Market House can be seen immediately across from the jail building on Washington Street.

Drawing #3 provides a perspective of the execution party after exiting the jail on Washington Street and turning down George Street on its way to the execution site located on a private farm outside of the town limits.⁴⁶ Market House can be seen across from the jail along Washington Street with the Jefferson County Courthouse visible in the upper right hand corner. This drawing also affords a valuable view into the rear portion of the jail yard and building, evidencing five windows fronting onto Congress Street, the street behind the jail.

Additionally, the drawing discloses a small covered rear porch leading from the jail into the perimeter wall yard and the existence of at least one small building within the walled compound itself, perhaps a sentry point or storage area, which appears too large to be merely a “necessary” or privy. The distinctive jail yard perimeter wall with its horizontal cap can also be seen. The New York Herald Tribune in “The Charles Town Executions”, dated December 17, 1859, described the wall as a smooth brick wall of about 15 feet, indicating that it was covered with plaster. This description matches the wall seen in the RG pictures.

Drawing #3 clearly shows the jail wall’s construction and scale. When compared against those of the surrounding wood slat fences its purpose is

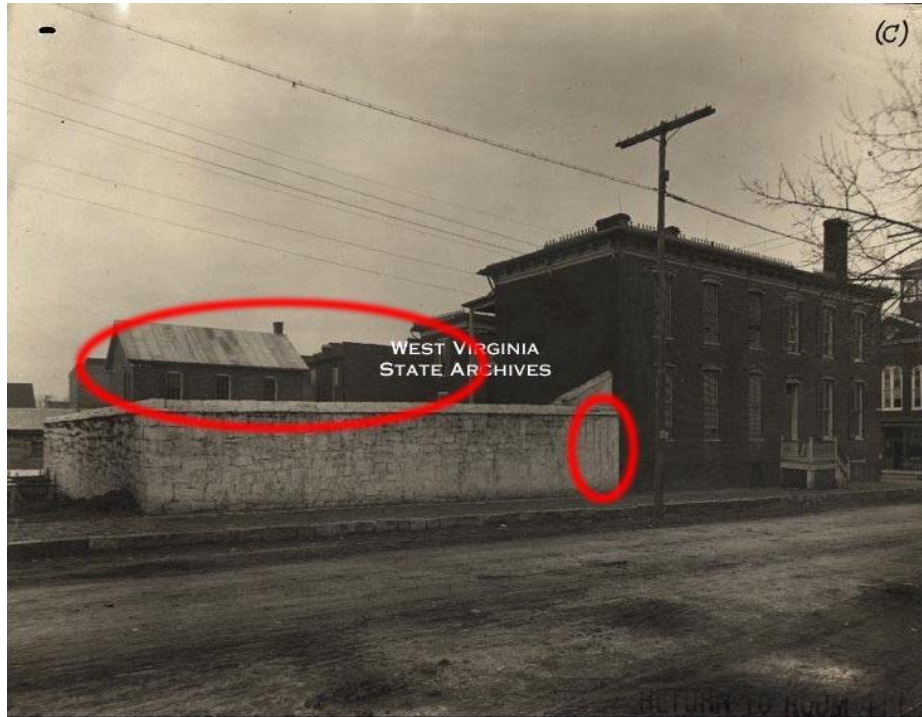
1860. The highest level of security during this time span was during the incarceration of John Brown until his execution on December 2, 1859.

⁴⁶ The sketch of John Brown in the wagon heading south on George Street clearly shows buildings across George Street fronting the jail and the wall itself.

Recollections of the Southern History Association, Vol. 1., Press of the Fredenwald Company, Baltimore, 1897, pg. 165. The recollection of Andrew Hunter, Virginia’s prosecuting attorney at the John Brown trial confirms that the wagon conveying Brown to his execution turned the corner of Washington Street on to George Street on its Dec. 2, 1859 procession to the scaffold “...and the procession moved around the corner of the jail and out George Street to the field.”

obvious. It was designed and constructed to contain prisoners and not act as a mere privacy screen or property border.

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, in Drawing #3 on the left hand side of the jail wall, circled in red, there is a group of buildings, which generally match those seen beyond the wall in RG#1. Furthermore, the red “X” corresponds to the position on George Street from where both the wall and buildings would have both been visible.



John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project
(Red Ellipses Added)

What can a closer look at this wall tell us?

There are no photographs of the original jail as it appeared in 1859. The jail was damaged during the war and was reconstructed in 1874. The above photograph is of the east side of the reconstructed Jefferson County Jail taken near the corner of George and Washington Streets between 1874 and 1919. On the extreme right hand side of the picture, the corner of the Market House is visible. The Jefferson County Courthouse is located on the northeast corner and is not visible. This side view of the 1874 structure shows the addition of a side entrance along George Street that did not exist in the 1859 structure.

In this picture, one section of the jail wall, red ellipse on the right, displays the same unique vertical “lines” previously observed in the Richmond Grays pictures with the distinctive horizontal cap topping the wall. The source for the vertical lines seen at uniform intervals remains unknown. Whatever their source, the combination of a high block wall, brick or stone, along with these vertical lines and horizontal wall cap are unique and are clearly shown in the RG pictures, as well as in the photograph above along George Street where the wall adjoins the building at the corner. This perspective from George Street shows an additional cluster of buildings, red ellipse on left, which appear in the background above and behind the jail wall, a detail which can also be seen in the background of RG#1.



Old Jail Yard (Photo predates 1919)
Image of America: Charles Town
Page 24



Jail being razed (1919)
Image of America: Charles Town
Page 108

Two more photographs provide additional views of the jail wall.⁴⁷ One provides a view into the prison yard. The other photograph is of the jail being razed in 1919. It provides a dimensional view of the wall along George Street as the structure was being hand demolished, showing a brick/stone wall complete with a distinctive cap, again as seen in the three RG pictures. It also provides a view into the jail yard and shows a small outlying building, reflecting the structure shown previously in Drawing #3 of the original 1859 jail. It is unknown if this was the same small building or a new one stemming from the 1874 reconstruction.

⁴⁷ Nasby, Dolly, *Images of America; Charles Town*, Charleston S.C., Chicago, IL, Portsmouth, NH, San Francisco, CA, Arcadia Publishing, 2004, pg. 24 & 108

Why is George Street so important?

Approximately 1,500 militia men were called up by Governor Henry A. Wise as a consequence of the John Brown Raid and were billeted throughout the city of Charles Town. According to a New York Herald article entitled “*The Excitement in Virginia*”, dated November 27, 1859, “A great many of the homes have been converted into barracks in order to accommodate the soldiers who number about four hundred.” As discussed previously, Professor Cecil Eby, who owns the ambrotype of RG#3, believes that an Eby family home along George Street was among them. Militia units that arrived in Charles Town included the Richmond Grays, the Young Guard, the German Rifles (Virginia Rifles), the Morgan Continentals, Company F and the Alexandria Riflemen.

The 1860 Federal census of Charles Town identified all household inhabitants by name, age, occupation, order of visitation, and date of visitation. The census route commenced on the north east edge of town and proceeded south westerly. By identifying known locations, such as the Jail, the Eby home, the home of the caretaker for the Episcopal Church, Judge Andrew Hunter’s home, etc., the corresponding date taken, and the individual household visitation number, we are able to identify the approximate locations of many other households mentioned in connection with the deployment and their proximity to each other and the jail.

How do we know that Booth was on George Street?

The Jefferson County Museum holds several “thank you letters” that accompanied gifts bestowed in return for families billeting troops.⁴⁸ These letters included one sent from a group of five Richmond Grays addressed to Mrs. Keyes, which contained the signature of Edward Morrison Alfriend. The letter was dated and sent along with the gift after their return to Richmond. We know from Alfriend’s personal recollections referenced in *Hiding*⁴⁹ that he and John Wilkes Booth were billeted in what Alfriend described as an old tin factory.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Jefferson County Museum indicates that in addition to the gift to Mrs. Keyes’ of silver goblets by the Richmond Grays, a Mrs. Asquith of Charles Town was given a silver tea set by another group of Richmond Grays in gratitude for her hospitality. Other recipients of gifts for billeting troops in Charles Town in 1859 included a Mrs. White, Mrs. Rutherford and a Mrs. Brown.

⁴⁹ Alfriend, Edward M., “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth by Edward M. Alfriend,” The Era, October 1901, pg 604. “While at Charlestown the Richmond Grays occupied as their quarters an old tin factory, and here John Wilkes Booth slept every night when he was not doing duty as a sentinel with Wirt Harrison, on a straw pallet, which was laid next to my own.”

However, the letter to Mrs. Keyes, signed by Alfriend, confirms that he could not have slept every night at the factory during this deployment. Clearly, some of Alfriend's nights were spent at the home of Mrs. Keyes, which we know from the census was adjacent to John Brown's jail.⁵¹ Thus, it is fair to conclude that Edward M. Alfriend, Booth and others when watching the jail, were billeted closer to the jail. A 1906 article on John Brown's trial published in Harpers Magazine attested to John Wilkes Booth spending the night of December 1st quartered in the court room across from the jail. Other nights could have been spent among any of the many private residences that were used to billet troops, including the Eby home along George Street.

The Arthur "Sunshine" Hawks' recollections discussed in Hiding, state that Richmond Gray John Wilkes Booth provided dramatic readings in the Hawks' front parlor. From the 1860 census it appears that the Hawks family home was next door to the Henry Line Eby home, which was on George Street within two blocks of the jail. Thus, we know that Booth was within the immediate vicinity of the jail when at "Sunshine" Hawks' home.

Mrs. Asquith, another Charles Town widow who was the recipient of a gift from the Richmond Grays for providing lodging, resided next door to one of the two hotels in Charles Town, either the Carter House or Sappington Hotel. Jailor Avis is listed in the same immediate vicinity, so the hotels, and the Asquith home, must have also been near the jail.

Libby George W., "John Brown and John Wilkes Booth", *The Confederate Veteran*, 37, April 1930, pg. 138-139. Libby's recollection in *Confederate Veteran* states that it was a one story building with Turner Ashby's Black Horse Troop stationed in the rear.

However, the factory referenced by Alfriend may have not been an abandoned tin factory. A factory/foundry owned by G.F.S. Zimmerman operated in Charles Town from 1849 to 1854. G.F.S. Zimmerman held a patent for a machine that provided threshing, cleaning and bagging grain in one operation (Preliminary report on the eighth census. 1860. By Jos. C. G. Kennedy, superintendent. United States. Census Office., Kennedy, J. C. G. (Joseph Camp Griffith), 1813-1887.) Zimmerman's "metal" factory was located on the railroad line about 50 yards east of the Charles Town station house where Henry Line Eby was Station Master. In 1854, Zimmerman moved his operation to St. Joseph, Missouri and his Charles Town factory was abandoned by 1855. In an effort to preserve the traditions and social life brought from Tidewater Virginia by the Washingtons and their contemporaries, Charles Town discouraged the establishment of industrial plants (*West Virginia: A Guide to the Mountain State*, Federal Writers Project, American Guide Series, Oxford University Press, New York 1941, page 196), and thus Charles Town's scarcity of factories further enhances the likelihood that Zimmerman's abandoned building is the "tin factory" which Alfriend described.

⁵⁰ Giblin, James Cross, *Good Brother, Bad Brother: The story of Edwin Booth and John Wilkes Booth*, Clarion Books, 2005, New York, New York, pg. 56; Another reference that describes the factory as an old abandoned tin factory.

⁵¹ From the 1860 Federal Census, Charles Town Jailor John Avis (page 170, visitation number 1200) lived in the front portion of the jail along Washington Street. This same page (visitation number 1203) shows Mrs. Keyes' residence within two households along Washington Street.

How the Ambrotype of RG#3 could have stayed on George Street

Mrs. Keyes and Mrs. Asquith were both widows, and both the Keyes and Asquith homes were documented to have billeted members of the Richmond Grays. Professor Cecil Eby believes that the home of Henry Line Eby's widow Catherine on George Street may have also been used for this purpose. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that John Wilkes Booth could have been amongst a group of Richmond Grays billeted at the Eby home, and that he could even have presented RG#3 to Mrs. Catherine Eby as a memento in gratitude for her hospitality or it simply could have been inadvertently left behind. When Catherine Eby died in 1863, her knowledge of the identities of all 12 men seen in that very small 2.5" x 3.5" ambrotype was lost to posterity. Also lost was the knowledge that correctly dated the ambrotype to the 1859 John Brown deployment. Its true significance was only rediscovered generations later by Professor Eby when he inherited RG#3 from his "Aunt Winnie."

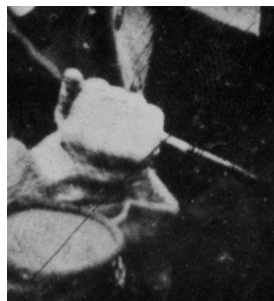
Are there additional clues to the identities of the men seen in these pictures?

In Hiding the actions undertaken by two specific individuals in RG#3 were discussed. In RG#3, one of the men "Attacking Man" (TBD for Booth) is seen dramatically posing with a uniquely shaped knife, held at the throat of another man, while his arm is being held by "Restraining Man" (TBD for Edward Morrison Alfriend.) The pose of "Attacking Man" was remarked as being indicative of an actor on stage (Booth), with the rest of the men providing "scenic background/framing" in that dramatic tableau. Of the three pictures, only RG#3 is so dramatically "staged."

While the profile of the TBD for Booth in RG#3 is blurred by motion, the man's dramatic actions remain indicative of those of an actor. The theory that the other TBD is Edward Morrison Alfriend was based initially by comparing a clearer picture of this same man in RG#2 with credited photographs of Alfriend taken in his later years.

However, the possible identities of "Attacking Man" and "Restraining Man" are strengthened by the reversal of their roles in RG#1 and the fact

that Alfriend was also noted to be an actor during this time period⁵². A close inspection of the glass negative of RG#1 shows "Attacking Man" holding "Restraining Man's" wrist and "Restraining Man" is now holding the knife. From the reversal of these roles, we can safely surmise that of the three ambrotypes, RG#1 and RG#3 were taken sequentially. We can also conclude that that these two men are the same men in both pictures, were on familiar terms with each other, both were engaged in theatrical horseplay, and that it is the same unique knife in both pictures.



RG#3
Original Ambrotype
Owned by Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr.
(Cropped)

RG#1
Glass Negative
Valentine Richmond History Center
Negative #3648
(Cropped)

⁵² Kauffman, Michael W., *American Brutus*, Random House Publishing Group: New York, (2004) pg. 100, 127 Kauffman identifies Alfriend as an actor. Also see Alfriend Biography herein.

In Alfriend's "Recollections of John Wilkes Booth," written for The Era in 1901, he wrote of serving with fellow Richmond Gray John Wilkes Booth during the 1859 John Brown Deployment in Charles Town. In that article, Alfriend stated that he knew Booth well and discussed Booth's theatrical career and social life in Richmond. From the article, it is clear that Alfriend's relationship with Booth started before the Richmond Grays' deployment to Charles Town and continued after their return.

***The Lewis Dinkle Factor:
How many ambrotypes did Dinkle claim to have made?***

Charles Town photographer Lewis Dinkle boasted in a local April 9, 1860 advertisement that he had taken an incredible 7,000 ambrotypes at his gallery over the past six months, which works out to 39 ambrotypes each day including weekends, holidays, winter months, come rain or shine, and all the while working also as a clerk.⁵³ Assuming he worked eight hours a day, every day, this works out to approximately five each hour, or one every twelve minutes.

Realistically, how many ambrotypes could Lewis Dinkle have made?

Dinkle's ridiculous claim aside, he would not have had the supplies necessary to make thousands or even hundreds of ambrotypes during the John Brown deployment of 1859 at Charles Town. First due to Virginia Governor Wise's ban on photographers coming into the area (no pictures were allowed of John Brown, the trial or the execution) it is unlikely that Dinkle could have traveled outside of Charles Town and then been permitted to return bringing in additional photographic supplies. Second, Lewis Dinkle had no advance warning of Governor Wise's decision to send troops to Charles Town in late November of 1859. The majority of 1500 men sent to Charles Town were only there for approximately a two-week period between November and December 1859. Thus, Dinkle had no reason or opportunity to stockpile enough supplies to take thousands or even hundreds of pictures during this time, and would have been limited to the supplies he had on hand.

⁵³ Virginia Free Press, 1860 (published in Charlestown, Virginia) Lewis Dinkle did not work as a photographer full time and does not advertise a salon until this March 1860 advertisement.

How much inventory would a part time rural photographer have on hand from which to make ambrotypes during the two-week period that the Richmond Grays were in Charles Town?

1860 Federal census information for rural Jefferson County indicated a total population for Charles Town of 1,376 in a county where 27% of the population was slaves and at least two thirds were children. Of that population, one would have to rule out as potential customers of Dinkle those people who did not want their ambrotype taken and those people that already had an ambrotype taken. Thus, a reasonable estimate of the total number of potential clients for Dinkle under ordinary circumstances would be between 100 to 200 people at any one time. Of that total, only a small number of those could be expected to have their ambrotype taken within a few months. Surely a part time ambrotypist would not retain more supplies than necessary to accommodate his anticipated needs.⁵⁴

How many ambrotypes did Dinkle take during this period?

For the reasons stated above, Dinkle's on hand inventory of existing photographic supplies most likely limits the number of ambrotypes that he could have taken during this period to no more than 100, assuming no wasted plates or chemicals, but more likely between 50 -100.

How do we know that Booth was not in another ambrotype?

By considering the most likely number of ambrotypes that Dinkle could have taken during the Charles Town deployment, we know that the picture, which Asia saw of John Wilkes Booth, was not one of thousands taken at Charles Town, as Dinkle boasted, but more likely one of fifty. Of the ambrotypes taken, we know of nine. Three were taken of roughly the same group of men, which contained one individual who bears a credible resemblance to John Wilkes Booth. Like John Wilkes Booth, this individual was described as guarding the John Brown Jail. Like John Wilkes Booth, this individual must have known a man who resembled Edward Morison Alfriend, who is also seen in these three pictures

⁵⁴A working ambrotypist would have at least 500 mls (17 fluid ounces) of collodion on hand. If the ambrotypes were sixth plate (which was most common) and if his skills were well developed (no waste) this amount would make approximately 90 sixth plate size ambrotypes. (It took approx. 5 mls to coat one 1/6 size plate.) He would have also had to have had on hand a supply of fixer (potassium cyanide) which needed changing every few days and the ambrotype mats, frames and glass plates themselves which would require storage.

interacting with him. Like John Wilkes Booth, this individual must have served with Philip Whitlock, Miles T. Phillips, Cyrus Bossieux, and Aylett Reins Woodson, and coincidentally been in the same three ambrotypes with them. If John Wilkes Booth did not have his picture taken with these men, then what group would he have had it taken with?

What made RG#1 so special to someone?

General Taliaferro appears in three different group ambrotypes while at Charles Town. In one group ambrotype, he poses with Obadiah Jennings Wise, Virginia Governor Wise's son. Despite these individuals' importance, no known vintage negative or prints were made of these ambrotypes. RG#1 was the exception and not the rule.

Thus we can conclude that someone in RG#1 knew the other men in this ambrotype, wanted a larger print or prints, and knew such a process existed to make them.

Why would Booth have been that someone?

The most likely candidate remains one particular young man, John Wilkes Booth, who as an actor was familiar with having his picture taken. Booth had also considered a career in the military and throughout his life was proud of, and spoke about, his "unsought" service at Charles Town.

III. History of the pictures as they appeared in publication

How could John Wilkes Booth remain hidden for all these years in these pictures, especially when you consider the iconic and widely reproduced nature of RG#1?

False assumptions about these pictures led to wrong conclusions, which when repeated over time became accepted fact.

Following Ken Burns' 1990 documentary, "The Civil War" and Burns' use of RG#1, the issue was raised whether Booth was the "man in the middle" of RG#1. John Wilkes Booth was correctly determined not to be the "man in the middle" and an article discussing this appeared in Smithsonian nine years later, but that article ended the inquiry. The conclusion that Booth was not the man in the middle led to the assumption that he could not be elsewhere in this picture, or in its two companion pictures. This assumption, without confirmation, led to the accepted belief that the pictures had been comprehensively researched. Repeated over time this became accepted fact.

The following timeline of the history of these pictures explains how John Wilkes Booth could have been overlooked for so long, hidden amongst misidentifications and false assumptions.

TIMELINE

Date	Description	Impact
1859	RG#1, RG#2 & RG#3 Original ambrotypes were taken at Charles Town (Nov – Dec)	Single, unique pictures
1860	RG#1 Full/whole plate size glass negative was made in Richmond from which vintage prints were made	RG#1 was capable of being reproduced as prints Full/whole plate size negative indicates prints were intended to be framed
?	RG#1 Albumen Print	Vintage print of RG#1 Full/whole plate size print indicates it was intended to be framed
?	RG#1 Silver Bromide Print	Vintage print of RG#1 Full/whole plate size print indicates it was intended to be framed

1888	<p>Unknown, possibly a print of RG#1</p> <p>A photograph was donated to the Exhibit of Relics and Antiquities at the Virginia Exposition, Oct. 3- Nov. 21, 1888, it was captioned in the accompanying catalogue as “Photograph of Thirteen Members of the Richmond Grays who acted as guards at the execution of John Brown.” Donated by Alex. Meyer of Richmond.</p>	<p>Apparent vintage print of RG#1. However, the Exhibition Catalogue⁵⁵ provides no pictures of it or the other items on exhibit. The whereabouts of this picture is unknown.</p>
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⁵⁵ Catalogue of the Exhibit of Relics and Antiquities at the Virginia Exposition, Oct.3-Nov. 21, 1888; Richmond VA, Wm. Ellis Jones, Book and Job Printer (1988), page 27.

<p>1911</p>	<p>RG#1</p> <p>Review of Reviews Co. published the landmark 10 Vol. Photographic History of the Civil War. RG#1 appeared captioned as “Confederate volunteers at Bull Run”</p>	<p>This is the first time that RG#1 is published, but unfortunately enters history erroneously as “Confederate volunteers at Bull Run”</p> <p>One explanation for it being mistaken as Confederates at Bull Run in 1861 was because it was found on an unexpected media (negative or print) for the time. Pictures prior to the Civil War were more likely to have been unique ambrotypes.</p> <p>The publication does not state the source of the picture, only the publisher, Review of Reviews Company is credited.</p>
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1936	<p>RG#2</p> <p>Mrs. Julia E. Saunders donated a modern copy photograph of the ambrotype (without mat) to the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDOC)</p>	<p>Mrs. Saunders identified her father, Aylett Reins Woodson in the picture. The handwritten note on the back reads: The “Night Watch Guarded John Brown”. This is the first time that Woodson is identified in any of these pictures.</p>
1938	<p>Asia Booth Clarke’s manuscript, <u>The Unlocked Book</u>, was finally published.</p>	<p>This is the first time that someone would know to look for a picture of Booth in uniform at Charles Town</p>

1954	<p data-bbox="542 197 634 233">RG#1</p> <p data-bbox="542 268 878 562">The George S. Cook Collection was purchased by the Valentine Richmond History Center, which acquired the glass negative of RG#1.</p> <p data-bbox="542 598 927 892">The 6.5"x 8.5" full/whole plate size glass negative of RG#1 (George S. Cook Collection #3648) was part of 10,000 plates purchased from the Cook Studio in 1954.⁵⁶</p>	<p data-bbox="989 197 1333 919">A note on the negative is written in pencil (in a rather contemporary script) along the top edge and left/right edge. It reads "Soldiers sent to keep order after John Brown's capture – Virginia troops". Subsequently, (exact date unknown) the Valentine staff identified Julian Alluisi and Aylett Reins Woodson as being in the picture.</p>
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⁵⁶ The collection was purchased directly from Mrs. Cook by the Valentine Richmond History Center for \$4,000 (using a fund accumulated over the years in a donation box in the museum). Although several institutions vied for the collection, Mrs. Louise Catterall, long-time librarian at the Valentine Richmond History Center, was able to negotiate successfully for the purchase. The purchase received considerable local press coverage, and the Richmond News Leader reported that local architectural historian Mary Wingfield Scott had agreed to organize the collection while soliciting help from Richmonders to identify photographs.

<p>May 9, 1956</p>	<p>Researcher and author Harold Klein wrote eminent John Brown historian Boyd Stutler⁵⁷ (1889-1970) inquiring about John Wilkes Booth's participation at John Brown's hanging and his deployment with the Richmond Grays. He asks if a photo was taken at the hanging and, if so, were the RICHMOND GRAYS (caps his emphasis) in that picture.</p>	<p>The first documented specific search for a picture of John Wilkes Booth in the uniform of the Richmond Grays taken at Charles Town in 1859.</p> <p>Klein in 1959 was preparing a pictorial biography of John Wilkes Booth which apparently was never published.⁵⁸ The location of his research papers remains unknown.</p>
<p>May 14, 1956</p>	<p>Boyd Stutler responded to Klein's letter verifying Booth's presence with the Richmond Grays, but does not address the possibility of a photograph of Booth at Charles Town, only that no photographs were allowed at the execution.</p>	<p>During the 1950's, information took more time to circulate, thus there was a delay in tying RG#2 to its companion picture RG#1. Furthermore, RG#1 was still misidentified as Bull Run Confederate volunteers, and RG#3 was in private hands and not yet identified.</p>

⁵⁷ John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project; <http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/jb.aspx> ; Record ID#3181, RP06-0050 A-C Klein – Stutler

⁵⁸ *Civil War history: Volume 5* State University of Iowa. Libraries, State University of Iowa, 1959; "Harold Klein of Pikesville, Maryland, is preparing a pictorial biography of John Wilkes Booth. A fellow Marylander, Samuel H. Miller, is near completion of his study of Colonel Henry C. Pate, Fifth Virginia Cavalry..."

<p>Dec. 13, 1957</p>	<p>RG#1 The Albumen Print</p> <p>2001.230.367 was donated to the Virginia Historical Society (VHS) by Mr. J. Weinstein of Richmond.</p>	<p>A piece of paper pasted to the board below the photograph identifies it as “The Grays at John Brown’s Raid 1859.” On the reverse side is written “Member of Grays/John Brown Raid/1859.” Woodson, Aylett Reins (who had been previously identified from the earlier 1936 donation of RG#2), is X marked, Alluisi, Julian, in blue.</p> <p>1957 was the first definite association of the Richmond Grays being in RG#1</p>
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<p>Donation Date Is Unknown</p>	<p>RG#1</p> <p>Silver Bromide print was donated to VHS</p> <p>2010.1.38</p>	<p>The inscription on the reverse is in three different hands; possibly Cook, the person who acquired the photo from Cook and a previous (decades ago) museum staff member.</p> <p>The staff member wrote on the reverse, “Cook’s Gallery (his writing): <i>Group of Men at Harper’s Ferry</i> with notation: Mr. Cook brought this picture to me – he said “It was the “Death watch” – guarding John Brown – at Harper’s Ferry”</p> <p>The same staff member also wrote, “Julian Alluisi in blue – see Virginia Cavalcade, Vol. 13, No. 2, pg. 27 and Aylett R. Woodson with X mark.”</p> <p>Note: That article was published in 1963 so the donation must have preceded the article.</p>
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<p>1959</p>	<p>RG#2</p> <p>Original ambrotype was donated to the Virginia Historical Society by Aylett Reins Woodson's daughter Mrs. Julia E. Saunders.</p>	<p>Mrs. Saunders provided a letter that detailed her family's oral history about this ambrotype, that it was taken at Charles Town, and was "said to be the 'Death-watch' of John Brown's execution." Because RG#2 was documented as being taken at Charles Town, its companion picture RG#1 could now be correctly documented as such rather than Confederate Volunteers at Bull Run.</p> <p>With roughly the same 12 individuals seen in both pictures (RG#2 and RG#1) just with positions changed slightly - Mrs. Saunders' identification of her father in RG#2 would now lead to Woodson being identified in RG#2's companion picture RG#1</p>
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1963	<p>RG#1</p> <p>Virginia Cavalcade (Vol. 13, No. 2 - Autumn 1963) The article was entitled: The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers and was written by Lee A. Wallace, Jr. (1922-1997)</p>	<p>Lee A. Wallace correctly identified RG#1 <u>in print</u> as Richmond Grays at Charles Town with Julian Alluisi, Virginia Rifles, identified.</p>
1969	<p>RG#1 & RG#2</p> <p>RG#1 and RG#2 appear together in <u>Richmond Volunteers: 1861-1865</u>, Louis H. Manarin, Lee A. Wallace, Jr. RG#1 was credited to <u>Photographic History of the Civil War; Members of the Richmond Grays</u>. RG#2 was credited to the Museum of the Confederacy.</p> <p>Ironically, on the same page with RG#2, Wallace included an unrelated photograph of John Wilkes Booth and discussed Booth's accompanying the Richmond Grays to Charles Town.</p>	<p>Lee A. Wallace, [the same author who first correctly identified RG#1 in print (1963) as Richmond Grays at Charles Town and identified Julian Alluisi in the picture] for the first time indicated that the picture was originally made from an ambrotype then owned by the Colavita family in Richmond (Philip Colavita Jr., Julian Alluisi's Great Grandson) and that the ambrotype was extant.</p> <p>Both RG#1 and RG#2 are for the first time both correctly identified in print as being Richmond Grays taken at Charles Town in 1859.</p>

<p>1973</p>	<p><i>The Life of Philip Whitlock, Written by Himself</i> was donated to the Virginia Historical Society by Philip Whitlock's Great Grandson Philip Klaus, Sr.</p>	<p>Although no photographs were provided with the manuscript, it is important to include its 1973 donation.</p> <p>Written between 1908 and 1913, Philip Whitlock's manuscript covers the dates 1843-1913 and recounts John Wilkes Booth's time spent with Whitlock as part of the Richmond Grays during the John Brown Deployment. Whitlock wrote that he and Booth were mustered together in line due to similar heights and were standing next to each other at the scaffold when John Brown was hanged.</p> <p>It should be noted that this story also appeared in Whitlock's 1919 Obituary, almost 60 years earlier than the manuscript donation.</p>
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<p>1974</p>	<p>RG#3</p> <p>In 1971 Prof. Cecil Eby of Charles Town inherited the ambrotype of RG#3 from his Aunt Winifred Eby. In 1974, Prof. Eby donated a photographic copy of RG#3 to the Valentine Richmond History Center.</p>	<p>At first Prof. Eby assumed the ambrotype depicted civil war soldiers. Once he saw RG#1 and RG#2, he realized his ambrotype (RG#3) was a companion picture from the 1859 John Brown Deployment.</p> <p>Because Lewis Dinkle had been previously credited for one of the pictures, he was attributed as the likely photographer for all three pictures.</p>
<p>1981</p>	<p>RG#1, 2& 3</p> <p><u>Images of War: 1861-1865 Vol. I Shadows of the Storm</u> was published. William C. Davis, editor</p>	<p>All three RG pictures for the first time appeared together in print.</p> <p>Copies of RG#3 from this book made their way into other collections and publications, including the collection of the late Edwin Fitzpatrick whose collection provided further proliferation of this picture.</p>

<p>1984</p>	<p>RG#1 & RG#2</p> <p><u>1st Virginia Infantry</u> (3rd Edition)</p> <p>Lee A. Wallace, Jr. H.E. Howard, 1985</p>	<p>Lee A. Wallace Jr., the same author who first correctly identified RG#1 in print as Richmond Grays at Charles Town and identified Julian Alluisi in that picture, identified Aylett Reins Woodson in both RG#1 and RG#2 (page 64), and included a portion of Richmond Grays Philip Whitlock's autobiography, which discussed being at Charles Town with Booth (pg. 7)</p>
<p>1990</p>	<p>RG#1, RG#2</p> <p>Ken Burns PBS Documentary "The Civil War" Episode One (The Cause) was released and its companion book (1990) was published.</p>	<p>In Episode One, Burns' combination of a tight camera focus on the men in the center of RG#1 along with the accompanying narration about Booth being present in Charles Town lead some to believe that Burns was implying that Booth was the man seen in the middle of the picture. This ignited a controversy.</p>

1999	A Smithsonian Article, “ <i>Who are These Guys?</i> ” was published as a result of the controversy arising from Ken Burns’ documentary.	<p>This short two-page article was the only one published that addressed Booth in the context of this controversy. However, it only considered the individual with the moustache and goatee framed in the middle as possibly being Booth.⁵⁹</p> <p>The conclusion that Booth was not the man in the middle of one picture lead to the assumption that he could not be elsewhere in RG#1, or in the two the companion pictures, RG#2 & RG#3. This assumption became accepted fact, and repeated over time, it became accepted history.</p>
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⁵⁹ Graves, Ralph. “Who Are These Guys?”, Smithsonian, January 1999, pg. 110

<p>2000 (Approx)</p>	<p>Philip Whitlock's identification in RG#1 appeared on the Jewish American History Foundation website. As the same man is also seen in RG#2 and RG#3, Philip Whitlock was identified as being in all three pictures.</p>	<p>Philip Whitlock's unpublished manuscript: Philip Whitlock by Himself had previously been donated to the Virginia Historical Society in 1973.</p> <p>Whitlock's identification is not on the back of VHS' picture (2010.1.38) where the identifications for both Alluisi and Woodson are written.</p> <p>There is a note written in pencil on one of the Valentine Richmond History Center's contemporary prints of RG#1 which is unattributed that identifies Whitlock.</p>
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<p>May 10, 2010</p>	<p>RG#1, RG#2 & RG#3</p> <p>“Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”</p>	<p>Hiding undertook the first comprehensive investigation into 3 pictures taken during the Richmond Grays deployment in Charles Town to ascertain if any of them might be the group photograph containing John Wilkes Booth that Asia Booth Clarke mentioned in her memoirs of her brother.</p> <p>Hiding concluded that the 10+ year’s earlier controversy and limited investigation that correctly dismissed Booth as not being the man in the middle in RG#1 did not address the possibility that he could be elsewhere in RG#1 or in its two companion pictures, RG#2 and RG#3.</p>
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III. Summary of Facts and Conclusion

What was the focus of this search?

The search for John Wilkes Booth in these pictures was prompted by Asia Booth Clarke's The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his Sister, statement that "[h]e left Richmond and unsought enrolled himself as one of the party going to search for and capture John Brown ... and I have been shown a picture of himself and others in their scout and sentinel dresses. " ⁶⁰

This supplement and its original study simply sought to follow Asia Booth Clarke's own words in search of the picture that she saw of her brother, John Wilkes Booth, taken during the time he spent with the Richmond Grays during those crisp autumn months of November and December 1859.

Hiding – May 10, 2010

- Asia Booth Clarke was shown a group picture that contained her brother, John Wilkes Booth, serving in the Virginia militia at Charles Town during the John Brown Deployment
- John Wilkes Booth served with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town during this deployment
- There were three pictures that were composed roughly of the same twelve members of the Richmond Grays with whom Booth would have served at Charles Town
- That John Wilkes Booth would have appeared in a group photograph

⁶⁰ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pg.111-112. The Unlocked Book remains the preeminent first hand narrative on John Wilkes Booth. Written in 1874 by his beloved sister, Asia Booth Clarke, whose shared childhood and adolescence, the book provides the most comprehensive and continuous first hand narrative of Booth that has survived. In the aftermath of the Lincoln Assassination, Asia left the United States in 1868 and lived the remainder of her life in England. During her self imposed exile, she wrote her recollections of John, hoping that in time, its publication would present a balanced view of her brother's 26 years on earth, rather than the customary focus on his last infamous 12 days. Out of necessity, she kept her recollections hidden in a locked book and guarded it from her family's destruction. On her deathbed in 1888, she trusted it to the writer E.J. Farjeon "to publish some time if he sees fit". The time deemed as fit encompassed the passing of yet another generation, after the deaths of Edwin Booth and Robert Lincoln. The book was only published in 1938, 50 years after Asia's death, 73 years after the death of John Wilkes Booth and Abraham Lincoln.

with members of the same militia unit, the Richmond Grays, with which he served

- The three pictures contained an individual who visually compared well with known pictures of John Wilkes Booth
- That individual appeared showcased in one of the pictures, RG#3, in a tableau staged for dramatic effect
- One individual identified in the pictures left a manuscript verifying that John Wilkes Booth served with him in the Richmond Grays at Charles Town
- Dismissing John Wilkes Booth as being the “man in the middle” in one of the three pictures could no longer, without adequate investigation, justify dismissing him from being elsewhere in the three pictures

Out of Hiding – May 10, 2011

- Asia could have only seen a picture taken by Lewis Dinkle in Charles Town between Nov. 20 – Dec. 3, 1859
- Lewis Dinkle, a part time rural ambrotypist, could realistically make no more than 50 -100 ambrotypes from his limited on-hand supply of photographic materials
- Asia indicated Booth served as both “Scout” and “Sentinel” in Charles Town
- Booth served as a scout at least once while in Charles Town
- That the contemporary definition of “Sentinel” would equate to “Guard”
- The Richmond Grays provided guard duty at John Brown’s jail
- Booth provided guard duty with the Richmond Grays at John Brown’s jail
- These three pictures are of the Richmond Grays that guarded the John

Brown jail

- Family members of men documented in the pictures identified them as guards that guarded John Brown
- Historically the pictures have been captioned as such
- These three pictures were taken with John Brown's jail wall in the background
- These three pictures were taken along George Street facing John Brown's Jail
- John Wilkes Booth has been documented to be on George Street
- The ancestral home of the owner of the ambrotype for RG#3 was documented to have been on George Street within two blocks from John Brown's jail
- The Richmond Grays returned to Richmond on December 6th, 1859
- The ability to make albumen prints from glass negatives existed in 1859
- A glass negative was made from RG#1
- The glass negative of RG#1 was made in Richmond soon after the Richmond Grays' returned from Charles Town
- This glass negative was used to run multiple vintage prints of the original ambrotype of RG#1, the full/whole size plate indicates the resulting prints were intended to be framed
- Booth could have had one of these framed prints
- Asia could have seen that framed print
- At least three vintage prints still exist, which were made in Richmond at different times

- Another print, most likely also made from the glass negative, was donated to an 1888 Richmond Exhibition by a close associate of a man identified to be in the picture, a man who also documented in writing that John Wilkes Booth served with him as a Richmond Gray at Charles Town
- A timeline addressing these three pictures' history in print demonstrating how the initial misidentification of one (RG#1) led to a delay in identifying its own significance and as a companion picture to the other two (RG#2 and RG#3), how this delay allowed Booth's presence to go unnoticed, and how a false assumption that the most iconic of the pictures (RG#1) had been comprehensively researched dismissed Booth from being included in any of the pictures

What is the conclusion?

The initial research asked the question, "*If John Wilkes Booth could be hiding in plain sight*" in an extant picture of the Richmond Grays and concluded that he possibly was. The initial research, together with this supplement, is the first known comprehensive study done on this subject. An objective evaluation of all of the facts presented in this study converge on Booth being in these pictures and that Asia saw her brother in an approximate 6" x 8" framed vintage print of RG#1.

Closing Remarks

April 12, 2011 marked the sesquicentennial of the firing on Ft. Sumter, officially marking the start of the Civil War. An event which as Shelby Foote so eloquently said forever changed our national sense of self from the United States "are" to the United States "is." 150 years later both sides of that divide, and we as a nation, still want, or perhaps even need, its heroes and villains to be painted only in single colors. The popular depiction of Booth for so long scripted as pure villain, dramatically and perfectly fits a subconscious need by both sides of that conflict to have an unaffiliated villain close out the events of 1865.

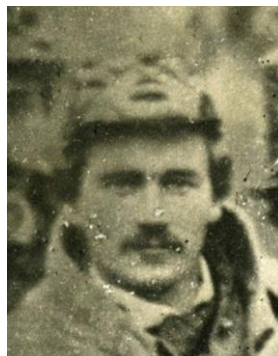
Booth's own passionate Southern sentiments notwithstanding, his assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 14, 1865 made him anathema to both the South and North. Even to this day, a documented picture of John Wilkes Booth serving Virginia in the uniform of the

Richmond Grays creates a dilemma: the South will never claim him as their own and neither side wants to accept seeing him serving in uniform.

Perhaps one means to transcend the Civil War is to acknowledge that its heroes and villains were comprised of many colors. Viewed without these gradations, history, and we, can never know them as complete human beings, missing the insight necessary to truly understand the passions and events that determined and drove their war. Hopefully any subliminal need for Booth to remain the complete villain, his lifetime indelibly linked solely to the Lincoln assassination, will not prejudice acceptance of the comprehensive results presented in both research papers, the combination of which convincingly supports Booth's presence in these pictures.

Based on the facts presented, acknowledging Booth in these pictures will neither diminish nor detract from either side: Lincoln's legacy will endure as will the gallantry of Jackson and Stuart; Lorena will still sound just as haunting; the Battle Hymn of the Republic just as soul stirring; Lee's dignity in defeat and Grant's humanity in victory at Appomattox will remain intact; and slavery will retain its innate evil with freedom an inherent right. Booth's presence in a picture from 1859 serving Virginia will detract from no one and will negate nothing; it will neither mute triumph nor lessen tragedy. It will alter no one's sacrifice. It may, however, allow a posterity sufficiently removed from these events to view John Wilkes Booth as his sister Asia hoped a future generation could, within the context of her brother's entire life and not just the last 12 days of it.

It is never too late to do justice to history. It is hoped that the results originally presented in Hiding and augmented in this supplement have served that purpose, and that after 150 years the possibility of John Wilkes Booth being hidden amongst these Richmond Grays is now finally "Out of Hiding."



Credits/Acknowledgments

David Smythe

Steven Broberg
William Colavita
Cecil De Grotte Eby, Jr.
Mark Greenough
Philip Klaus
Susan Klaus
Jeffrey Ruggles

Beth Ahabah
Bonnie Eisenman

Center for Civil War Photography
Bob Zeller

Charles Town Library
P. Douglas Perks

George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography & Film
Mark Osterman, Process Historian

Jefferson County Museum
Sue Collins

Jewish American History Foundation

Museum of the Confederacy
Drury Welford

Valentine Richmond History Center
Meghan Glass Hughes

Virginia Historical Society
Heather Beattie
Jamison Davis
L. Paige Newman
Katherine Wilkins

West Virginia Memory Project
Debra Basham

APPENDIX
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Edward Morrison Alfriend

Date of Birth

October 25, 1837, Richmond, Virginia

Age in 1859: 22

Date of Death

October 24, 1901, New York City, New York



RG#2
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77
Cropped



Edwin Morison Alfriend
Age approximately 60

Edward Morrison Alfriend was born in Richmond on October 25, 1837. He was the eldest son of Thomas Morrison Alfriend and Mary Jane Eger Alfriend. Thomas Morrison Alfriend, Edward Alfriend's father, was a prominent Richmond businessman, President of the Virginia Fire and Marine Insurance Company and founder of his own insurance company, Thomas M. Alfriend & Sons.

Edward Alfriend, or "Ned" as he was known to his family and friends, was educated in Richmond and joined his father's firm as an insurance underwriter in the late 1850s. During this time, Alfriend dabbled in both the literary and dramatic arts, regularly attended Richmond's Marshall Theatre, and is referred to as an actor by some sources⁶¹.

⁶¹ Kauffman, Michael W., *American Brutus*, Random House Publishing Group: New York, (2004) pg. 100, 127.

Edward Alfriend served in Virginia's antebellum Richmond Grays, accompanied them during their 1859 deployment to Charles Town. Years later, Alfriend wrote an article that described Richmond Grays volunteer John Wilkes Booth's participation with him at Charles Town. On June 10, 1861, at the age of 23, Alfriend was commissioned as a 1st lieutenant in the Richmond Zouaves, Company E, of the 44th Virginia Infantry Division. He was promoted to Captain on May 1, 1862. He also served in the 19th Virginia Battalion Heavy Artillery E Company, serving in both cases in Stonewall Jackson's brigade.

Captain Alfriend distinguished himself on May 8, 1862 in the Battle of Sitlington's Hill when he went to the aid of Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston who was in danger of being killed or captured by Union soldiers. Despite this heroic act, Alfriend's career in the CSA was less than distinguished. On May 24, 1864, he was fined twenty-five days' pay for being absent without leave. When he returned to his company during the Shenandoah Valley Campaign, he contracted typhoid fever and went to Richmond to recuperate. Failing to return, he was arrested on January 4, 1865 and charged with being absent without leave and disobeying orders. On February 13, 1865, a court-martial convicted Alfriend on both charges and he was cashiered from the army. Alfriend mounted an appeal, and in March 1865 his appeal reached Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Several officers from Alfriend's brigade supported Alfriend's appeal, but the war ended as did his appeal.

After the war, Alfriend resumed his work in the family insurance business with his father and brother, Thomas Lee Alfriend Jr. Thomas M. Alfriend & Sons soon became well known throughout the Southern States and represented many leading companies including the Commercial Union and the Fire Association. The firm won wide recognition in the insurance industry, and in 1871, Virginia Governor Gilbert C. Walker named Edward Alfriend a delegate to the National Insurance Convention. Edward Alfriend later testified before a committee of the House of Delegates about a general insurance bill, which the 1871 convention had proposed.

Frank Alfriend, another one of Edward's brothers, became a literary success with his 1868 biography of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and it was perhaps Frank's acclaim that rekindled Edward's own interest in the literary and dramatic arts. In Richmond, Edward published

several articles in the *Old Dominion Magazine* and wrote in 1877 at least one play, “A Woman's Ordeal.”

In 1885 after his father died, Edward left Thomas M. Alfriend & Sons, and by the autumn of 1889 was living in New York City where he devoted his full attention to his literary and dramatic interests. There the self-styled “Colonel” Alfriend was described by one of his Northern associates as “a portly Southern gentleman with a walrus mustache”, a description that matches the two known depictions (a photograph and an illustration) of him during this period.

While in New York, Alfriend contributed articles to many of the popular periodicals of his day including *Cosmopolitan* and *Lippincott's*. He interviewed Edwin Booth for an article he was writing about the acting career of John Wilkes Booth. In Alfriend's subsequent “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth” written for *The Era* (1901), Alfriend recounted serving with fellow Richmond Gray John Wilkes Booth during the 1859 John Brown Deployment in Charles Town. Among other articles, Alfriend also authored his civil war era recollections in “Social Life in Richmond during the War” for *Cosmopolitan* (1891) and “Unpublished Recollections of Edgar Allan Poe,” for the *Literary Era* (1901).

Alfriend wrote at least fourteen plays, several of which were produced in New York City. His first staged play, “A Foregone Conclusion”, an adaptation of William Dean Howell's novel of the same name, opened at Palmer's Theatre in June 1890. Some of Alfriend's more popular plays included “The Louisianan” (1891); “Across the Potomac” (1892), written with noted theatrical manager, producer, and playwright Augustus Pitou; “The Diplomat” (1894); and “The Great Diamond Robbery” (1895).

“Colonel” Edward M. Alfriend's most successful play “The Great Diamond Robbery”, written in 1895 with noted critic Andrew Carpenter Wheeler, was still being produced 10 years later and was included in two anthologies about popular nineteenth-century plays. While “The Great Diamond Robbery” became one of the most popular plays of his era, most of Alfriend's work has not held up well over time, with several of his plays now lost. In 1891 Alfriend became engaged to, but never married, Henrietta Lander, a New York actress who appeared in several of his plays.

The last year of Alfriend's life was marked by some family

unpleasantness. In June of 1901, Alfriend's stepmother Sarah E. Alfriend filed suit in the Richmond Circuit Court against The Planters' National Bank in an effort to recover \$4,000 in bank stock belonging to her. She alleged Alfriend used the stock without her consent as collateral. Mrs. Alfriend prevailed. A few months later, on October 24, 1901 Edward Morrison Alfriend passed away unexpectedly from kidney failure at his residence at New York City's Ashland House Hotel.

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Mrs. Alfriend (His stepmother) Gets Her Bonds. Her Stepson Had Fledged Them with the Bank, She Says, without Her Consent - Date: 1891-06-05; Paper: New York Herald
http://imgcache.newsbank.com/cache/ean/fullsize/pl_001052011_1412_45468_964.pdf

Edward M. Alfriend 1863, Pearce Civil War Collection, Navarro College

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Ancestry.com

Julian Alluisi

Date of Birth: August 13, 1830, Coreglia Antelminelli, Italy

Age in 1859: 29

Date of Death: October 14, 1889, Richmond Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38
Cropped

Born Giuliano Alluisi at Coreglia Antelminelli, in the Tuscany Region, Province of Lucca, Italy. Alluisi's father was an engineer. Educated in a seminary, Alluisi became fluent in 7 languages. After convincing his father that a religious calling was not for him, Alluisi enrolled and graduated from the Royal Academy in Rome where he specialized in sculpture. After graduation Alluisi was employed as an interpreter by Prince and Princess Mondanti of Poland. Traveling in their employ Alluisi had the opportunity to further study the fine arts of other European countries. Alluisi was also credited as being in military service in Europe, perhaps as an extension of the position he had with Prince Mondanti.

In 1851, Alluisi left Italy and arrived in Washington, DC. He left Washington and travelled to Charleston, SC, but left Charleston in 1854 following an outbreak of yellow fever. He then settled in Richmond.

The 1859 Richmond City Directory listed him as Julian Alluis, a proprietor of Alluis & Company Lager Beer Saloon (Alluisi was misspelled in the directory as Alluis.) At this time, he boarded at his establishment, which was located on Franklin, between 15th & 16th

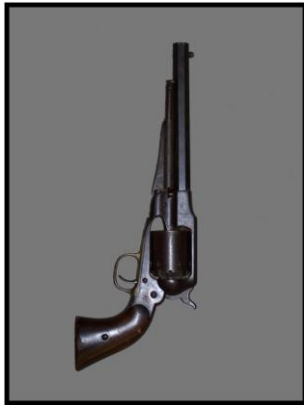
Streets. Boarding close by on Franklin between 13th and 14th streets was Richmond Gray Philip Whitlock. The Grays' Military Hall was also located on Franklin.

Alluisi performed prewar volunteer militia service with the German Rifles (Virginia Rifles), attached to the First Virginia Infantry Regiment as Company K. He was present during the deployment to Charles Town in 1859 following the John Brown Raid at Harpers Ferry and remained there until after Brown's execution on December 2, 1859.

Philip Colavita was Julian Alluisi's maternal grandson by Alluisi's daughter Giovaninna Alluisi and her husband Fillippo Colavita. In the 1960s, Philip inherited Alluisi's original ambrotype, which is the source for all of the iconic pictures RG#1 of the Richmond Grays; his two CSA medals, his sword and scabbard, and the pistol carried by Alluisi throughout the war. Upon Philip's death these items were inherited by his son, William Colavita.



Original Ambrotype of RG#1
William Colavita



Julian Alluisi' Pistol carried during
the Civil War
William Colavita



Julian Alluisi's Medals
Sword and Scabbard carried during the Civil War
William Colavita

On April 21, 1861, Alluisi enlisted for a year as a private with the Virginia Rifles. At the expiration of his enlistment, he became a lieutenant in Company K, 19th Regiment, Virginia Militia, and served gallantly throughout the remainder of the war. He was wounded at both Manassas and Seven Pines.

In 1866, Alluisi returned to Italy, married Filomena Antonelli and he and his wife returned to Richmond. As a master of seven languages, Alluisi volunteered gratis his unique linguistic services as interpreter to the courts of Richmond.

In 1868, Alluisi was offered a very large architectural ornamental assignment in Charlottesville, Va. The work lasted about three years and two of his children were born there. Upon completion of that assignment, Alluisi returned to Richmond with his family and lived there until his death on October 14, 1889 at the age of 59.



Julian Alluisi's Tombstone at Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia

Sources

Mr. William Colavita, Richmond, Virginia

Confederate Edged Weapons, William A. Albaugh, 1960

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History of the German Element in Virginia, Volume 2, By Herrmann Schuricht, 1900

Community Leaders of Virginia, Rev. 1976-1977, Harry Hone

Ancestry.com

Cyrus Bossieux

Date of Birth: May 20, 1835, Richmond Virginia

Age in 1859: 24

*Identified in "Honor Roll of the Richmond Grays" Panorama Picture
circa 1970*

Date of Death: July 9, 1906, Richmond Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38
Cropped



Museum of the Confederacy
Honor Roll of the Richmond Grays
Cropped

Of French origin, Cyrus Bossieux was one of five sons born to John (Jean) and Viola/Violetta/Violette (Barault) Bossieux.

Louis J. Bossieux (1813? – 1886)

John E. Bossieux (1821-1888)

Edmund Bossieux (1828 – 1922)

Virginus Bossieux (1835? – 1910)

Cyrus Bossieux (1835 – 1906)

Before immigrating to America, Jean/John Bossieux served on the staff of Paoli, the younger, during the Napoleonic Wars, and was wounded during Napoleon's 1812 retreat from Moscow. Bossieux and his wife arrived at Newburyport Massachusetts during the second quarter of 1822. At the time of his arrival, his stated occupation was "school master." In Richmond, John M. Bossieux operated a dance academy. John died in 1855 at the age of 70.

The 1859 Richmond City Directory listed Cyrus' brother Louis J. Bossieux as a confectioner, a proprietor of fruits & misc., and Louis J.

Bossieux's son, Louis F. Bossieux (1841-1907), was a clerk in his father's store.⁶² All three were deployed to Charles Town in 1859.

Cyrus Bossieux was a member of the antebellum militia unit the Richmond Grays, and was amongst its officers listed during their 1858 trip to New York City to escort the remains of former President James Monroe for reburial in his native Richmond.

On April 21, 1861, Cyrus Bossieux enlisted with the Richmond Grays and subsequently assigned to the 12th Virginia Regiment. On February 24, 1862, Cyrus was promoted to Captain of the 4th Regiment, Virginia Artillery. In December 1862, he briefly served as commandant of the prison guards at Castle Thunder Prison in Richmond. After the battle at Rappahannock, he was made Captain of Company F, 25th Virginia Battalion and promoted to Major. Bossieux was wounded during the Dahlgren Raid (Jan. 1864.) Bossieux's military service covered his adult life, a period of nearly 43 years. He served as Captain and Commissary of Substance of the First Regiment for over 23 years. During that time he contributed time and funds to numerous volunteer organizations.

Bossieux was very well known as a businessman in Richmond and at one time was an owner of the Gallego Flour Mills. According to the Federal census, Cyrus Bossieux's occupation was that of "teamster," associated with transporting both goods and households from city to city. On July 9, 1906, Cyrus Bossieux died.

Sources

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<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038615/1906-07-10/ed-1/seq-3.pdf>

From the Richmond *Dispatch*, 12/20/1862, p. 2, c. 3

Visit of the Richmond Grays; Their Enthusiastic Reception by the National Guard and the City of New York New York Times, August 15, 1859

Ancestry.com

⁶² From Ron Listman's article and exhibition: *Flag of the Richmond Grays, 1859*

During the Civil War, the regimental flag of the Richmond Grays (its 13 red and white stripes caused confusion on the battlefield due to its similar appearance to the U.S. flag) was given to the wife of Captain Louis J. Bossieux, the Grays antebellum militia commander (Hiding's Lieutenant Louis J. Bossieux during the John Brown Deployment.) She kept it safe during the war and in the 1880's, the tattered red and white stripes were divided amongst all surviving members of the Richmond Grays. It is probable that many of the men mentioned in these biographies received one.

Miles T. (Turpin) Phillips

Date of Birth: April 12, 1823, Henrico, Virginia

Age in 1859: 36

Date of Death: July 26, 1898, Richmond, Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38
Cropped



Miles T. Phillips Obituary
Richmond Dispatch July 27, 1898

Miles T. Phillips' father, Mourning Phillips, fought in both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Phillips lived on his father's farm in Henrico before leaving for Richmond at the age of 15. Upon arriving in Richmond, he entered the wall paper/upholstery business, a trade he remained in for the rest of his life.

Phillips also worked as a box keeper at the Marshall Theatre in Richmond during the time John Wilkes Booth appeared there. Phillips' wallpaper business in 1860 was known as Phillips & Crawford: Jacob W. Crawford was both his partner and immediate neighbor. The business was located on Main & 8th Streets near the Marshall Theatre.

Miles T. Phillips was part of the Grays that visited New York City as part of a fraternal regimental visit in August 1859. He accompanied the Grays during their deployment to Charles Town in 1859 following the John Brown Raid at Harpers Ferry and remained there until after Brown's execution on December 2, 1859. His name appeared prominently in a rather humorous article entitled "Recent Affairs at Harpers Ferry" published on Dec. 3, 1859 in the New York Clipper. According to the story, Miles T. Phillips, a box keeper at the Richmond Theater, like so

many others, responded to the bell summoning militiamen to the train station to depart for deployment. Phillips left his wife and five daughters under the protection of a border, identified in the article only as “Charlie”, with instructions that during Phillip’s absence Charlie was to load up the musket to protect his family against any invading force. The story recounts that Charlie loaded the gun, but then locked it and him behind an inner door of the house leaving Phillips’ family on the other side. Charlie’s explanation was that if Brown’s supporters had stormed the house, then they would not have easily gotten him before he had a chance to use the gun. (The 1860 Federal census confirms that a Charles B. Brooks resided in the Phillips home.)

As a young man, Phillips enlisted in the Richmond Volunteer Fire Association, and in November 1860 was elected Captain of Fire Engine Company A. As a volunteer, Phillips risked his life numerous times in performance of his duties. In April 1861, Phillips enlisted as a private with the First Virginia Infantry (Williams Rifles) Company A, which later was designated the 12th Virginia Infantry, (Richmond Grays), Company G. Discharged on Aug. 8, 1862, Phillips resumed his duties as a volunteer fireman, narrowly escaping death during Richmond’s Great Evacuation Fire of 1865.

After the war, Phillips returned to the wallpaper business and was connected with the firm of George W. Anderson & Sons. Later he formed a partnership under the name of Phillips & Jennings. Phillips & Jennings subsequently dissolved and Phillips conducted the business under his name own name until joining the firm of P. A. Arthur & Co.

Phillips contributed to the formation of the the Richmond Grays’ Veteran Association. In May of 1888, he once again visited New York City with the Richmond Grays as part of a Decoration Day service. The New York papers noted that Phillips accompanied the Grays during both visits, some 30 years apart. In 1888 he served as an honorary pall bearer for fellow Richmond Gray Aylett Reins Woodson.

Miles T. Philips died on July 26, 1896. At the time of his death Phillips bore the distinction of being the only resident in Richmond who was the son of a Revolutionary War veteran. His fellow citizens fondly remembered “Captain Phillips” for his 40 years of service, being “ever ready to respond to either a fire or a fight.” Phillips was President of the

Richmond Grays Veteran Association. He was also one of the charter members of the R.E. Lee Camp and 1st Vice President of the Virginia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Phillips also held memberships in the Central Beneficial and Social Society, and the Ancient Order of Druids. Phillips was included in Samuel Bassett French's planned biographical dictionary to be called "Annals of Prominent Virginians of the 19th Century."

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Richmond Dispatch, July 4, 1889

Richmond Dispatch, July 27, 1898

Arrival of the Richmond Grays. They Come To Take Part in Decoration Day Exercise--A (News Article)

Date: 1888-05-29; Paper: New York Herald-Tribune

Ancestry.com

Albert Hartley (A.H.) Robins

Date of Birth: 1842, location unknown

Age in 1859: 17

*Identified in "Honor Roll of the Richmond Grays" Panorama Picture
circa 1870*

Date of Death: 1935, Richmond, Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38
Cropped



Museum of the Confederacy
Honor Roll of the Richmond Grays
Cropped

No information has been found linking Robins to militia service with the Richmond Grays in 1859, however comparing his documented identification in the post war Honor Roll of the Richmond Grays (his last name spelled Robbins) with that of an individual observed in all three RG pictures, a brief biography is included here.

In Richmond, Albert Hartley Robins worked as an apprentice pharmacist for Meade & Baker, a very prominent drug store in Richmond. On April 19, 1861, Robins enlisted with the Richmond Grays, Company A. Robins served during the war as a private, 1st Regiment, Virginia Infantry (Williams Rifles) Company A, and later with the 12th Regiment, Virginia Infantry, Company G.

In Richmond after the war in 1866, Robins operated A. H. Robins Apothecary, a drug store first located at 523 North Second Street and later relocated to 200 East Marshall Street. The drug store engaged in the sale of over the counter patent medicines. The business later evolved into an

“ethical” pharmaceutical enterprise (selling only to the medical profession: doctors, dentists, hospitals and pharmacies), run by his son, Claiborne Robins, who founded what became the 20th century pharmaceutical giant, A. H. Robins Company.

Robins died in Richmond in 1935.

Sources

This is A.H. Robins aka Albert Hartley Robins (1842-1935) in front of his drug store with his son
<http://ecrobins.com/>

Pharmaceutical Company Histories, Vol. 1
Gary L. Nelson, 1983

Ancestry.com

Philip Whitlock

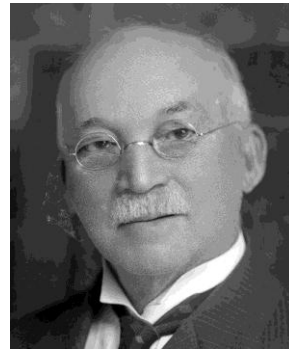
Date of Birth: March 14, 1838: Kovoal/Kowal, Russia (Modern Poland)

Age in 1859: 21

Date of Death: November 9, 1919, Richmond, Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38
Cropped



Virginia Historical Society
Philip Whitlock
1991.1.4830
Cropped

In 1853, 15 year old Philip Whitlock left Poland to join family members in America. His arduous journey across Eastern Europe took him to Berlin, Bremen, and Bremerhaven before sailing to New York City. After staying with relatives in New York, Whitlock moved to Richmond on August 4, 1854. In Richmond, he lived with his brother while he worked as a tailor's assistant for his sister-in-law's uncle, Prussian born tailor and family patriarch Ellis Morris of E. Morris & Company. His first commercial venture was a small store located in Richmond's Shockoe Valley neighborhood known as "Butcher Town."

Whitlock became an American Citizen in May 1859. About this same time, Whitlock joined the Richmond Grays and accompanied them during their August 1859 fraternal regimental visit to New York City. He was with the Grays during their deployment to Charles Town in 1859 following the John Brown Raid at Harpers Ferry and remained there until after Brown's execution on December 2, 1859. Later Whitlock would describe Richmond Grays volunteer John Wilkes Booth's militia participation at Charles Town in an unpublished autobiography "*The Life of Philip Whitlock, by Himself*"⁶³.

⁶³ In 1973, Philip Whitlock's great grandson, Philip Klaus, Sr., donated Philip Whitlock's autobiography, "The Life of Philip Whitlock, by Himself", to the Virginia Historical Society. Written between 1908 and 1913, it is approximately 200 pages long and

On April 19, 1861 Whitlock enlisted as a private in Company A (Richmond Grays) later designated Co. G, 12th Virginia Infantry. Detailed as a tailor, CS Clothing Depot 1862-1864, Whitlock worked in the quartermaster department. On November 17, 1863, Whitlock married Eva Abrams and his brother Herman married Eva's sister. Whitlock later purchased a tobacco shop at Franklin and Locusts Street while still holding his quartermaster job. He and his wife continued to operate the shop during the remainder of the war, and in his autobiography, he detailed efforts made to save his tobacco inventory during the last chaotic days of the war.

After the war, Whitlock's tobacco business prospered. His firm, P. Whitlock, helped establish Richmond as a major tobacco center. In 1885-1886 he manufactured "Old Virginia Cheroots"⁶⁴, the backbone of his business. These trademark cigars were manufactured at his factory in Richmond located at 2300 East Cary Street in Richmond's "Tobacco Row", an area long used for tobacco warehouses and manufacturing prior to the Civil War. During the war, many of the buildings in "Tobacco Row" were used as prisons. One such prison was the complex known as Castle Thunder, the Confederate Provost Marshall's prison (1862-1865) which housed civilian prisoners including captured Union spies, political prisoners and those charged with treason by the Confederacy during the War.

Due to Whitlock's success of his Old Virginia Cheroots, the pre-war tailor's assistant became one of post-war Richmond's most prominent

recounts Whitlock's recollections from 1843-1913. It addresses his life in Poland, activities in Richmond as both a tailor and as a tobacco manufacturer. It includes descriptions of Whitlock's service with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town during the 1859 John Brown Deployment and discusses his association with John Wilkes Booth during that time. Whitlock's obituary, which ran in the New York Tribune on Nov. 10, 1919, well before his manuscript was donated in 1973, stated that while doing guard duty as a member of the Richmond Grays at Harpers Ferry he witnessed the hanging of John Brown and was placed next to John Wilkes Booth at the scaffold.

Whitlock's manuscript also contains his service with the Richmond Grays as Company A of the 1st Virginia Infantry Regiment, later designated as Company G of the 12th Virginia Infantry Regiment. Whitlock writes about his duties with the Confederate Quartermaster's Department in Richmond and of his experiences running the blockade to New York in 1863, which coincidentally involved a "safe house" stay at the Surrattsville Tavern and target shooting with John Surrat. Whitlock described his fellow Jewish soldiers in his regiment and his struggles to support of the Confederacy while faced with the reality of eventual defeat.

⁶⁴ The **cheroot** or **stogie** is a cylindrical cigar with both ends clipped during manufacture. The word cheroot comes from French *cheroute*, from Tamil *curuttu/churuttu/shuruttu* - roll of tobacco. Since cheroots do not taper, they are inexpensive to roll mechanically, and the low cost makes them particularly popular. Mark Twain, one of the world's most famous cigar smokers was often photographed smoking or holding a cheroot, his favorite style of cigar.

businessman and recognized civic leaders. Besides operating his own successful tobacco business, Whitlock served as a Director for the South-Atlantic Life Insurance Company, American National Bank, Virginia Safe Deposit & Fidelity Company, and the Virginia Trust Company. Whitlock was also actively affiliated with the Mercantile Club, Hebrew Home for the Aged and Infirm (Vice President), Beth Ahabah Synagogue, Farmers & Miners Brotherhood, the Richmond Grays Veterans Association (appointed President on Nov. 9, 1902), and the R.E. Lee Camp No. 1. He was President of the Jefferson Club for 5 years and a Mason.

In April 1891, the American Tobacco Company bought Whitlock's tobacco business for the then phenomenal sum of \$300,000 and his factory became the P. Whitlock branch of the company. Whitlock retired from the tobacco industry in 1895, but his noted philanthropy continued through his numerous and generous charitable contributions for the remainder of his life. He died on November 19, 1919.

Sources

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Ashes of Glory, Ernest B. Furgurson

Whitlock Family Newsletter

The New York Tribune dated Nov. 10, 1919.

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Virginia Historical Society

"The Life of Philip Whitlock, Written by Himself"

American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond by Gregg D. Kimball

www.mycivilwar.com/pow/va-castle_thunder.htm

Ancestry.com

Aylett Reins Woodson

Date of Birth: February 15, 1833, in Henrico County

Age in 1859: 26

Date of Death: March 27, 1888, Richmond, Virginia



RG#1
Virginia Historical Society
1960.77
Cropped

Aylett Reins Woodson was the son of Leander Woodson, a well-known citizen in Richmond. As a young man, Woodson worked for plough maker William Palmer of A. Palmer Son & Co.

In 1857, Woodson joined the Young Guard of Richmond and then the Richmond Grays. He was with the Grays during their deployment to Charles Town in 1859 following the John Brown Raid at Harpers Ferry where he remained until after Brown's execution on December 2, 1859.

On April 19, 1861, Woodson joined the Richmond Grays, later designated Co. G, 12th Virginia Infantry Company A. In 1862, he enlisted in the Thomas Light Artillery and later in the 38th B. Virginia Light Artillery where promoted to Sergeant in 1864. By war's end, he had attained the rank of Lieutenant.

After the war, Woodson continued working for plough maker William Palmer until 1876, when Woodson was elected Richmond City Collector, a position he held until his death in 1888. Woodson was a member of the Henrico Union Lodge of Masons, Roane Lodge of Odd Fellows, Damon Lodge of The Knights of Pythius, Richmond Lodge of Knights of Honor, Lee Camp, Old First Virginia Regiment Association and the Old Grays Association. One year prior to his death, Woodson was elected Treasurer

of the Richmond Grays Veteran Association. At his funeral, Woodson's fellow Richmond Gray, Miles T. Phillips, served as an honorary pallbearer.

Woodson was married three times and widowed twice. Woodson's first wife, a Miss Smith, daughter of the Rev. Smith of Richmond, apparently died during, or as a result of, childbirth in 1861. On behalf of the Richmond Grays, Cyrus Bossieux authored a resolution of sympathy for Woodson, which the Richmond Dispatch published on May 27, 1861. Woodson married a second time after the war. On October 19, 1865, Woodson's second wife, Frances Ann "Fannie" Holdsworth (1838-1875), filed a note with her Oath of Allegiance stating that Woodson had been a member of the death watch of John Brown. His third wife was Olivia Burton.

In 1936 Mrs. Julia E. Saunders, daughter of Aylett Woodson and his second wife, Fannie Holdsworth, donated a modern photograph of RG#2 (photographed outside of its mat) to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, identified her father in the photograph, and "Night Watch Guarded John Brown" indicated on the reverse. In 1959, Mrs. Saunders donated the original ambrotype of RG#2 to the Virginia Historical Society, again identified her father in the picture, and provided a letter that recounted her family's oral tradition that the photograph was "said to be the "Death-watch' of John Brown's Execution."

Sources:

1st Virginia Infantry, Lee A. Wallace, Jr. 3rd Edition 1985

The Richmond Times Dispatch, March 28, 1888

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038614/1888-03-28/ed-1/seq-1/:words=Aylett+Woodson>

Richmond Dispatch. (Richmond, Va.) 1884-1903, December 10, 1887,
Daily Dispatch Vol. Xix — no.121 Richmond, Va. Monday, may 27, 1861 Price one Cent Richmond.

LVA Catalogs

Call Number 20698

Author Holdsworth, Frances Ann, 1838-1875.

Title: Oath of allegiance, 1865 Oct. 19.

Material: 1 leaf

Ancestry.com