

**"Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays"**

**Part One  
"Chasing a Shadow from Richmond"**

**By Angela Smythe  
May 10, 2013**

*A continuation of the research originally presented in  
"Has he been Hiding in Plain Sight" (2010) and updated in  
"Out of Hiding" (2011)*

***Dedicated to Asia Booth Clarke's enduring love for a brother from who while  
parted by death in 1865, she could never be separated***

Of all the recollections of John Wilkes Booth, the one written in 1874 by his sister Asia Booth Clarke in her secreted manuscript, The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his Sister, remains the most significant and comprehensive of any who knew him. Within its suppressed pages, Asia recalled her demonized brother, John Wilkes Booth, as a human being. It was Asia's hope that in some distant day, the picture her words painted would "make that name less hated." When her manuscript was finally published in 1938, it alone revealed the existence of yet another picture, a tangible one, a group photograph taken in 1859 of John Wilkes Booth as a volunteer in the uniform of Richmond's antebellum militia defending Virginia.

*"He left Richmond and unsought enrolled himself as one of the party going to search for and capture John Brown. 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.**"<sup>1</sup> ***(Empasis added)****

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<sup>1</sup> Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pgs.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.

Few researchers are aware such a picture was taken, and rarely, if ever, have researchers considered the significance of finding it, perhaps seeking to avoid the uncomfortable conclusion this picture represents, John Wilkes Booth's fealty to Virginia.

*"When the John Brown raid occurred, Booth left the Richmond Theater for the scene of strife in a picked company with which he had affiliated for some time. From his connection with the militia on this occasion he was wont to trace his fealty to Virginia."*<sup>2</sup>

Since 2010, I have posed the question, "Has John Wilkes Booth been hiding from history in plain sight for the past 150 years, gazing out at us from the most iconic group image of his time?" The additional research provided in this two part article furthers the conclusion that the answer is yes.

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<sup>2</sup> Townsend, George Alfred. The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1865. Page 22.

Several years ago, I began my quest to find the picture Asia saw. In 2010, I wrote "*Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*," ("*Hiding*")<sup>3</sup> and began to follow the clues left behind in Asia's manuscript viewed within their historic context. I focused on three companion 6<sup>th</sup> plate ambrotypes documented to have been taken at Charles Town during this period, which I designated as Richmond Grays (RG) #1, #2 and #3, each of which matched Asia's description of the picture she saw.

In 2011, I continued my quest in "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*" ("*Out of Hiding*")<sup>4</sup>, which examined some of the distinctive facts surrounding the three small images, concentrating on the fact that one of the ambrotypes had been reproduced and enlarged by a then rarely used early glass plate negative process to make albumen prints. This rarity for its time and place led one of the prints (RG#1) to later be misidentified as "Young Southerners at Richmond Making Light of War" taken before Bull Run in Volume One of Francis Trevelyan Miller's 1911 Photographic History of the Civil War.<sup>5</sup> As a result of this error it would become one of the most widely recognized and reproduced pictures representing the American Civil War, ironically taken during a moment that many consider to be that war's true beginning, John Brown's invasion of Virginia in 1859.

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<sup>3</sup> Antebellum Richmond, "*Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2010 , <http://www.antebellumrichmond.com/hiding.html> >

<sup>4</sup> Antebellum Richmond, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>

<sup>5</sup> Miller, Francis Trevelyan, Sampson, Lanier, eds.,. Semi-Centennial Memorial, The Photographic History of the Civil War, In Ten Volumes. New York: The Review of Reviews Co., 1911. RG#1 image located in Volume One, Opening Battles, Pg. 145 <http://archive.org/details/photographichist01inmill>



YOUNG SOUTHERNERS AT RICHMOND MAKING LIGHT OF WAR  
Copyright by Stewart of Boston Co.

RG#1 as “Young Southerners at Richmond Making Light of War”  
Photographic History fo the Civil War  
Review of Reviews Company

*“Chasing a Shadow from Richmond” (“Shadow”)* chronicles the picture’s long lost story from its initial misidentification when it entered the publication stream to its emergence as the face of the American Civil War. During this picture’s amazing journey to reclaim its true identity, the faces of these young soldiers have entered our national consciousness. Shadows from the past, they have somehow transcended their own time to now represent a “Band of Brothers” for all time. It has been a rare privilege to accompany them thus far.

.... Angela Smythe, May 10, 2013

## CHASING A SHADOW FROM RICHMOND

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## INTRODUCTION

***“The shadows in the light of day  
Are never what you might suppose.  
Reality's a wrecking ball,  
It smashes everything you know...<sup>6</sup>”***

Over a hundred years ago, a vintage photograph of Richmond Grays (RG)#1 entered the publication stream as a result of journalist Roy Murdoch Mason's quest to obtain Southern photographs taken during the Civil War. In 1911 while Review of Reviews delayed publication, Mason was dispatched from New York on an 11<sup>th</sup> hour search for southern “war-time” photographs to be included in Volume One of its landmark Civil War Sesquicentennial publication of Francis Trevelyan Miller's ten volume Photographic History of the Civil War. Mason and the south through which he traveled likened his daunting task in pursuit of these elusive images as “Chasing a shadow 50 years old.”<sup>7</sup>

“*Shadow*” will start by tracing Mason's fateful meeting in Richmond with Edward Virginius Valentine, the man responsible for Mason finding the photograph, and will explain how, and why, that photograph entered publication history erroneously identified as Confederate Volunteers.

Picking up the threads almost 50 years later, “*Shadow*” will document how the meticulous research undertaken by William A. Albaugh III and Lee A. Wallace Jr. would finally correctly identified the men not as Confederate Volunteers in Richmond (1861), but antebellum militia men, Richmond Grays, at Charles Town in (1859).

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<sup>6</sup> Stephen Kellog and the Sixers. *Big Easy*. Everfine, 2007. CD.

<sup>7</sup> *Achievements of the Class of 1902 from Birth to the Years 1912* compiled by the Class Secretary James Wright, Assisted by the Class Secretaries Bureau, published after the Decennial Reunion for the Class. Yale University Press; 1913 “Some Points of View: Searching the South for Photographs” by Roy M. (Murdoch) Mason, Pages 15-31

## **THE MAKING OF AN ICON; “OUT OF ONE, MANY...”**

During the 1856-1861 early wet plate period, the predominant photographic format in Virginia was the ambrotype, a “one of a kind” medium. Appropriately deemed “An Icon of Remembrance<sup>8</sup>” the ambrotype was a cased glass negative with a black backing which caused the image to reverse to positive. “As with the earlier Daguerreotype, there was no separate negative in this process, and **without a negative, each image is a unique, non repeatable entity**”.<sup>9</sup> (***Empasis added***)

In “*Hiding*” this characteristic of an ambrotype as a unique non repeatable entity, “one per customer”, was discussed in detail. From all the ambrotypes taken by Lewis Dinkle at Charles Town that could possibly contain John Wilkes Booth, three were identified as possible candidates, Richmond Grays (RG) #1, #2 and #3.<sup>10</sup>

**RG#1 is unique for its time 1859-1860 in that there was a separate negative prepared from the original ambrotype, which produced albumen prints. Had this not been done, the moment it captured would have been lost forever.**

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<sup>8</sup> Kagan, Neil. Time Life Great Photographs of the Civil War, Birmingham, Alabama; Oxmoor House Inc., 2003, pg.. 220

<sup>9</sup> “The Ambrotype, a wet-plate collodion process introduced as early as 1847 but not commercially available until the early 1850’s eventually displaced the Daguerreotype. To capture an image, a sheet of clear glass would be hand-coated with iodized collodion, a mixture of gun cotton (an explosive created by treating cotton fibers with nitric and sulfuric acids) dissolved in a mixture of ether and alcohol into which a quantity of iodine or bromine had been added. While still wet, the collodion-coated plate would be dipped in a silver nitrate solution producing silver iodide in the collodion. Now fully light sensitive, the still-wet plate would be placed in the focal plane of a camera and exposed to the subject for anywhere from a few seconds to up to a minute or more, depending on the environmental conditions at the time of exposure. To develop the image, the plate would be washed with a solution of iron protosulphate or pyrogallic acid, washed in a stop bath of hyposulphite of soda or potassium cyanide, and rinsed in distilled water. The delicate image surface of the plate, now light insensitive, needed protection and would be either sealed in another sheet of glass, or varnished and then placed in a case with a black interior. The black interior was necessary to invert the image tones, producing a positive image. As with the Daguerreotype, there is no separate negative in this process. Without a negative, each image is a unique, non repeatable entity.” (Welling, William. Photography in America; The Formative Years, 1839-1800. New York: Cromwell, 1978. Pgs. 92, 126, As quoted in Andrew D. Lytle’s Baton Rouge, Photographs 1863-1910, Edited by Mark. E. Martin, Louisiana State University Press, 2008, pg. xvii)

<sup>10</sup> To date, 12 ambrotypes taken by Lewis Dinkle have been identified

## **RG#1's SHADOW STEPS INTO HISTORY:**

### **FRANCIS TREVELYAN MILLER'S PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR (1911)**

Just before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the development of the halftone printing process enabled photographs to be easily included in books and periodicals. Publishers began to tap and exploit new markets. One of the largest markets was the generation of Americans born after the American Civil War who had not experienced firsthand its pain and loss and were interested in seeing its war time photographs.

The first of the Civil War books utilizing war photographs appeared in 1894, The Memorial War Book<sup>11</sup> by Major George F. Williams, which showcased photographs by noted northern war time photographers Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner. Published in New York by Lovell Brothers Company and written by a Union Major, the book drew “upon historical records and personal narratives of the men who served in the Great Struggle”. The 2,000 “magnificent engravings” taken by Brady and Alexander were touted as “being the only original photographs taken during the war of the Rebellion; making a complete panorama of this greatest event in history.” This northern presentation of the Civil War, absent the southern experience, was repeated in each subsequent “pictorial history book” and was met with widespread anger in a south, which continued to decry the perpetuation of what it deemed a false history written, illustrated, and published exclusively by northern men.

By 1911, The Review of Reviews Company and New York historian Francis Trevelyan Miller hoped to finally provide a balanced view of the war in the monumental 10-volume publication of The Photographic History of the Civil War. Editor in Chief Miller and his New York editorial staff consisting of 46 of the most eminent American historians spent years contacting veterans to provide accompanying text to the core of the publication, the thousands of photographs amassed by Mathew Brady. Anxious to appease the alienated southern market, Review of Reviews Company engaged the services of Charles D. Lanier as Secretary and Robert S. Lanier as Managing Editor, both sons of the venerated Southern poet Sidney Lanier. Their job was to assure a justifiably suspicious South that its armies would have adequate representation in the forthcoming volumes both in narratives and illustrations.

On the eve of the war's semi-centennial commemoration, Miller and Review of Reviews initiated an extensive pre-publication marketing campaign promising that its forthcoming publication would provide the broadest possible view of the war by balancing both sides

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<sup>11</sup> William, Major George F. The Memorial War Book. New York: Lovell Brothers Company, 1894.

photographically<sup>12</sup>. However, on the eve of publishing its first volume (Opening Battles), it became apparent that the book was woefully short of containing the very southern photographs which it had promised to include.<sup>13</sup>

Faced with a marketing disaster, one of Miller's representatives, yet another northerner, journalist and photographer Roy Murdoch Mason, was hastily dispatched from 13 Astor Place on an emergency tour of the South to obtain as many surviving Confederate photographs as he could in a desperate bid to fulfill the publisher's promise.

**“CHASING A SHADOW 50 YEARS OLD”**  
**ROY MURDOCH MASON AND HIS JOURNEY SOUTH IN 1911**

“Chasing a shadow fifty years old” is the way 32-year-old Roy Mason described his search for civil war photographs, which took him through the Southern States during February and March of 1911. Mason's six week quest would take him from Baltimore and Washington and then south through two dozen cities including Richmond, Lynchburg, Columbia, Charlottesville, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Macon, Atlanta, Montgomery, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Jackson, Nashville, and finally to Frankfort, Kentucky. Mason later recounted this search in his 1913 article “Some Points of View: Searching the South for Photographs” that “[t]he object of my trip excited general interest and the local newspapers in every city I visited published interviews with me, nicknaming my quest “Chasing a shadow fifty years old.”

According to Mason in “Chasing a shadow fifty years old.”:

*“[t]he personal touch became necessary, the presence of a man on the spot who could tell at a glance whether the photograph was one that was wanted, one that the history lacked, or a duplicate of the vast collection already in the hands of the editors. My quarry was any and all photographs of war scenes taken by Southerners within the Confederate lines during the war. **My restrictions were that the photographs had to be prints from the original negative, and not “retouched” or altered in any way, and that they had to be authenticated – that is, I had to learn when, where and by “whom they were taken, and what the subject represented.”(Empasis added)***

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<sup>12</sup> “The First Photographic History of the Civil War”. *The American Review of Reviews, An International Magazine*, Edited by Albert Shaw, Vol. XLII, July – December 1910. Pgs. 73-84

<sup>13</sup> Notably, Andrew D. Lytle's Baton Rouge; Photographs 1863-1910, Edited by Mark E. Martin, The Hill Collection, Holdings of the LSU Libraries, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 2008, pg. xiv

### “Have you any War-Time Photographs?”

Before visiting each city, Mason would advertise his quest for photographs requesting readers to write to him care of the hotel where he would be staying:

*“Have you any wartime Photographs 61-65?”*

*“Must be original photos, direct from nature – no drawings, re-photos, sketches, wood cuts, maps or plans wanted. Soldiers in camps, marching, cooking, ditching, lounging, driving, with ships and wagon trains, headquarters, fortifications, entrenchments, hospitals, prisoners, gunboats and other war vessels are subjects wanted.”*

Mason’s methodology for soliciting these photographs was further elaborated in an article which covered his later journey through New Orleans:

*“Mr. Mason will call on a number of people here, who if they do not themselves own photographs that would be of service to him, can put him in touch with those who have them...He borrows the photograph and gives bond for its safe return, so those owners of these valuable relics are guaranteed against loss. **This procedure is necessary because the halftone plates are made direct from the photograph itself. A reproduction of the photograph would not be of service, because as a rule most of these photographs are pretty well faded, anyhow they would lose still more in reproduction.**” (News And Notables At The New Orleans Hotels, Times-Picayune (New Orleans, LA) February 13, 1911) **(Emphasis added)***

Mason’s quest was further aided by an article that appeared in *Confederate Veteran* in April 1911, which reiterated the American Review of Reviews Company’s desire “to secure Confederate photographs to illustrate their *Photographic History of the Civil War* and a request[ed it’s readers] to cooperate [so that] the South and its armies [would] have adequate representation.” Veteran readers were specifically asked “to do what they [could-Review of Reviews] especially [wanted] scenes of camp and battle, Confederate fortifications, and other works.” The article ended with the assurance that “Mr. Robert Lanier, son of our Sidney Lanier, is connected with this work, and in correspondence with him he makes a special plea for pictures that will properly represent the Southern soldier.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “War Time Photographs”, *Confederate Veteran*, Number Four, April 1911, Pg. 183.

In advance of his trip to Richmond, his first stop after starting his journey from Baltimore and Washington, D.C., Mason's standard advertisement appeared in the Richmond Times Dispatch on January 24, 1911.

## Have You Any War-Time Photographs

Taken in '61-'65?

Must be original photos, direct from nature—no drawings, re-photos, sketches, wood cuts, maps or plans wanted. Soldiers in camps, marching, cooking, ditching, lounging, driving, with ships and wagon trains, headquarters, fortifications, entrenchments, hospitals, prisoners, gunboats and other war vessels are subjects wanted. Write ROY MASON, The Jefferson, Richmond, Va.

In "*Chasing a shadow fifty years old*," Mason states:

*"The work of my quest, at first haphazard and following many blind leads to a fruitless end, soon systematized itself. There were the libraries, the museums, historical societies, arsenals, armories, private collectors, the oldest photographers in every city or their successors, memorial halls of the United Confederate Veterans and the Daughters of the Confederacy<sup>15</sup>, and the florists.*

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<sup>15</sup> While Mason would be provided valuable assistance by the Daughters of the Confederacy in some of the cities he visited, in Richmond his request for their assistance fell on deaf ears. The Richmond Chapter had decided to take no official action in the matter leaving it merely to each member "to do as she saw fit about sending photographs." (Richmond Times Dispatch, April 13, 1911)

Mason continues:

*It was in Richmond, Va., my second real stop since Washington, D.C., had already been covered, that I made the discovery that many photographers made a practice of selling the old glass plates, which have cluttered up their shelves for decades, to florists. The latter use them to roof over their hothouses, the weather soon destroys all trace of the chemicals and thus many valuable records are lost. Why is it that so many photographers have suffered from fires? Again and again I found photographers, still known as “daguerreotypists” during the first two years of the war, although they were already using the glass plates from which many prints could be made, who had been burned out since the war. By ones and twos and dozens, the tale of authenticated photographs taken during the war grew.”*

Very early on in his journey during the approximate week that Mason spent at Richmond’s Jefferson Hotel (late January – early February) while “Chasing a Shadow”, he would find RG #1. Of his find Mason wrote:

*“In Richmond there were two war-time photographers, Davis<sup>16</sup> and **Cook**. The latter’s main gallery during the war was in Charleston, South Carolina. The two Davis, father and son, were Northerners who came to Richmond just before the war and remained there throughout the four years of conflict. **I traced the Davis (Davies) collection to its ultimate possessor<sup>17</sup>, but practically all of the war-time photographs had disappeared.**”*

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<sup>16</sup> Correction: Davies, not Davis. The Lee Gallery was operated by John W. Davies and his son William W. Davies 1869-1891 at which point it was purchased by George S. Cook. Davies had taken over the studio formerly operated by Julian Vannerson, a prominent Confederate-era photographer. Mason was wrong about when the Davies moved to Richmond. For a detailed listing of successive Richmond photographers from 1857 to 1891 see “*Out of Hiding*”)

<sup>17</sup> Huestis P. Cook

## CLUES AMONGST THE SHADOWS

As set forth in “*Out of Hiding*” the photographer in Richmond circa 1859 who prepared the glass plate negative from the original ambrotype would have preserved the negative. It would have been retained in his inventory and included in any subsequent sale of his studio, a common practice of the time. In April 1880, South Carolina based photographer George S. Cook (b.1819 - d.1902) relocated to Richmond and began to buy the businesses (and the inventory of negatives) of photographers who were retiring or moving from the city. In 1891, he would purchase Richmond’s famed “war time” Lee Gallery, owned by John W. Davies and his son William W. Davies; and thus amassed the most complete photographic collection of the former Confederate capital held in one location. It is nearly impossible to determine the provenance of many of the thousands of negatives<sup>18</sup> amassed within the Cook Collection, which in 1911 was controlled by George’s son, Huestis P. Cook (b. 1868 – d. 1951).

At the time of Mason’s visit to Richmond, Huestic Cook’s extensive collection of negatives representing the photographic treasures of Richmond were stored in the gallery he had inherited from his father at 913 East Main Street.<sup>19</sup> Huestis Cook graciously accommodated all requests for inquiries, sharing the information from the collection’s thousands of plates with all interested parties.<sup>20</sup> From Mason’s story it is obvious that he was seeking the war time photographs ultimately possessed by Cook, but taken by his predecessors: Pictures taken during the war years by Julian Vannerson and whose glass plate negatives the Davies had subsequently acquired in 1869.<sup>21</sup> Mason found Cook, but learned “almost all of the war time photographs had disappeared.” In Richmond, Mason specifically sought and required original photographs of soldiers taken during the war that had not yet previously been circulated and not the plates that generated them to reproduce new ones for his use in 1911.

From Mason’s narrative, we know while at Huestis Cook’s gallery, he may have seen RG#1’s glass plate negative and others, but alas no photographs.

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<sup>18</sup> In 1883 George S. Cook’s collection of negatives stored in his Gallery’s negative room at 913 E. Main Street in Richmond was reported to number between 30,000 to 40,000 plates: “The Studios of America, No. 11 – George S. Cook’s Gallery, Richmond, Va,” *The Photographic Times and American Photographer*, Vol. XIII, 1883, Pgs. 571-572

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> “*Storehouse of the Past*”, Richmond Times Dispatch, June 27, 1937)

<sup>21</sup> Supra footnote 15

However, Mason was not done:

**“Elsewhere in Richmond I was more fortunate....”**

*“A famous sculptor referred me to one of his friends who was known to be a collector of war-time mementos. I called and found the finest type of an old Southern gentleman, who told me, with a quiver of pride in his voice, that “Stonewall” Jackson had once doffed his hat to him. When I made my mission known he brought in an armful of albums. A glance at them made me gasp with amazement. **Here was truth. Here, indeed, was my mission fulfilled.** The house, though richly and tastefully furnished, showed signs of the straightened circumstances which were common to all in the South after the war. He gladly agreed to loan the treasured photographs, and it would have been blasphemy to offer him recompense. Even gratitude was at a discount. He was seeing justice done to the South in the history which was preparing.”**(Emphasis Added)***

So who was the famous sculptor and the anonymous donor?

## The Two “Famous Sculptors in Richmond”



**Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel**  
1844 - 1917



**Edward Virginius Valentine**  
1838 – 1930

In Richmond in 1911, there could be only two candidates for Mason’s famous sculptor, both of them internationally known, Edward Virginius Valentine<sup>22</sup> and Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel<sup>23</sup>. European émigré Ezekiel made his home in Rome and worked from his famed studio located in the Baths of Diocletian; and although he did return for periodic visits and delivered commissions to America, he was not in America during Mason’s visit to Richmond. Eliminating Ezekiel leaves only 73 year old Edward Virginius Valentine, a lifelong Richmond resident and the South’s most celebrated sculptor.

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<sup>22</sup> For a description of Valentine’s Studio in Richmond see: “*A Plea to save two old landmarks, The Valentine Studio and Poe Residence*”, Richmond Times Dispatch . December 29, 1935, For More - [CTRL+CLICK TO READ](#)

<sup>23</sup> Sir Moses Jacob Exekiel’s remarkable life. A MUST READ - [CTRL+CLICK TO READ](#)

## Edward Virginius Valentine

Besides being Richmond's most famous living sculptor, Valentine presided uncontested as its "first citizen" and official historian.<sup>24</sup> But why the anonymity in Mason's recollection?

Because Valentine insisted:

"Mr. Valentine is interrogated almost daily by newspaper writers and others seeking all kinds of information relating to local history...and he is ever most gracious in complying with these requests. Usually he asks that if he is to be quoted please to omit his name..."<sup>25</sup> (Emphasis added)

Valentine's requests for anonymity were because he was writing his own "History of the City of Richmond." Valentine died without completing his history<sup>26</sup> and by orders of his executors, the majority of his diaries were destroyed in 1930.<sup>27</sup>

### "The Finest Type of old Southern Gentleman – The Donor"

Who was "[t]he finest type of old Southern Gentleman" who so selflessly chose to remain anonymous? Mason's recollection provides these scant, but intriguing clues:

- He was a friend of Valentine's
- He was known to be a collector of war-time mementos
- He was described as the finest type of an "Old Southern gentleman" to whom Stonewall Jackson (b. January 21, 1824 – d. May 10, 1863) had once doffed his hat. (The donor is likely a contemporary of Jackson's, born between 1824-1840)
- In 1911 he was living in a once elegant home in decline
- He produced an armful of albums but among them he had what Mason was seeking, photographs of Confederate Soldiers, enough to make Mason gasp with amazement that "here was truth, here indeed was my mission fulfilled"
- The man while living in apparently straightened circumstances refused compensation
- Like Valentine, he too choose to remain anonymous seeking no credit, but unlike Valentine his reasoning was only that justice be done to the south in the forthcoming publication

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<sup>24</sup> "*Edward V. Valentine*", Richmond Times Dispatch, October 20, 1930

<sup>25</sup> "*Noted Richmond Sculptor Writing his Memoirs*", Richmond Times Dispatch, June 29, 1924

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> "*Mr. Valentine's Diary*", Petersburg Daily News Record, October 29, 1930

From these facts, there are currently too many potential candidates to identify the donor with any reasonable certainty. Because RG#1 was given and received as a “War-Time Photograph”, it is obvious that its donor, while a local authority on the war, was not aware of the picture’s 1859 origin. Mason of course was in no position to discern the difference, but the donor, if in fact a long-time Richmond resident, should have been.

That being stated, we can conclude that the donor:

- Was not in the photograph
- Had not served in the 1859 John Brown Deployment
- Was not a relative of any of the men seen in the photograph (Immediate family would have known the picture had been taken in Charles Town in 1859, as later demonstrated by the families of Aylett Reins Woodson and Julian Alluisi.)
- He was not a close friend of anyone seen in the photograph or their family (32 years earlier, another albumen print of RG#1 had been correctly identified when “Photograph of Thirteen Members of the Richmond Grays who acted as Guards at the Execution of John Brown” appeared on display during the 1888 Richmond Exposition, donated, by Alex H. Meyer. Alexander H. Meyer (1867-1933) was a close family friend and relative of Richmond Gray Philip Whitlock, a man known to be present at Charles Town and who provided a recollection of John Wilkes Booth’s participation there with the Grays.

Absent a personal connection to the photograph in his album, the donor understandably assumed the “RG” (Richmond Grays) military insignia depicted that unit during the war, and thus were “Young Confederates.”

Whoever the donor was, Mason, knowing that Cook’s collection housed the inventories of all preceding Richmond photographers, would have most likely verified the photograph’s authenticity by searching for its corresponding glass plate negative in the most likely location, Cook’s collection.

*“My restrictions were that the photographs had to be prints from the original negative, and not “retouched” or altered in any way, and that they had to be authenticated – that is, I had to learn when, where and by “whom they were taken, and what the subject represented.”*

### **Cook had the Negative, so Why Didn’t Cook Receive Credit in Review of Reviews?**

***Why didn’t Hustis P. Cook receive credit in Review of Reviews for the RG#1 if he owned the negative?*** Because, Mason needed a photograph.

As Mason explained:

*“This procedure is necessary because the halftone plates are made direct*

*from the photograph itself. A reproduction of the photograph would not be of service, because as a rule most of these photographs are pretty well faded, anyhow they would lose still more in reproduction.”<sup>28</sup>*

Thus, it can be reasonably concluded that Cook, although he owned the negative, did not have a print to provide Mason at the time of his visit to Richmond. And, why should he? This plate, one amongst thousands in his collection which neither he nor his father took, and was of little or no importance to Husetis P. Cook. In 1911, Cook’s photographic interests lay elsewhere, notably to record the vanishing features of Old Virginia, its street scenes, buildings, chronicling the architectural heritage of a world passing away, and with documenting the current world around him, photographing Virginia’s agricultural and industrial scenes. Mason’s inquiry of Cook would have been one of many which Cook routinely received.<sup>29</sup> Despite the picture’s subsequent fame, at that time it was only important to Mason and his need to provide it to his publisher. Any conversation held between Mason and Cook likely consisted of Cook verifying that the glass plate (negative) which made Mason’s “war-time photograph” was indeed in the Cook collection acquired from a previous Richmond photographic studio.

### **The Wrong Caption**

Along with the photograph obtained from “the finest type of old Southern Gentleman,” Mason conveyed to his editors what he had been told, albeit incorrectly: The picture was taken in Richmond early in the war before Bull Run.

The ultimate authority at Review of Reviews for captioning the photographs and accompanying text rested with Robert S. Lanier, but Volume One’s acknowledgements credited its photographic descriptions to writer and military historian James W. Barnes. Barnes, a graduate of Princeton’s class of 1891, like Mason and Miller, was a fellow northerner, a generation removed from the war. By July, the photograph appeared captioned as “Young Southerners at Richmond Making Light of War,” published on Page 145 in Miller’s Photographic History of the Civil War, Volume One, (Opening Battles.) Respecting both Valentine’s request for anonymity and the donor’s selfless wish for no recognition, the photograph’s credit simply states Review of Reviews Co.

The artistic license most likely used by Barnes in the photograph’s accompanying flowery text further obscured its correct provenance while dating it to “Just before Bull Run”.

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<sup>28</sup> “*News And Notables at The New Orleans Hotels*”, Times-Picayune (New Orleans, LA) February 13, 1911.

<sup>29</sup> “Storehouse of the Past”, Richmond Times Dispatch, June 27, 1937.

***Skylarking before the lens of the Confederate Photographer, we see the Boys in Gray just before Bull Run had taught them the meaning of a battle and elated them with the conviction of their own prowess. The young and confident troops on both sides approached this first severe lesson of the war in the same jocular spirit. There is not a serious face in the picture. The man flourishing the sword bayonet and the one with the dagger drawn are marking with mock heroics their bravado toward the coming struggle, while the one with the musket stands debonair as a comic-opera soldier. The pipe-clay cross belt and breast plate, the cock plumes in the shapo (sic<sup>30</sup>) of the officer, indicate that the group is of a uniformed military organization already in existence at the beginning of the war. There was no such paraphernalia in the outfit of Southern troops organized later, when simplicity was the order of the day in camp. (Emphasis added)***

While the photograph was used in numerous publications over the next 50 years, correcting the misidentification of its provenance would wait until 1962, a generation removed from its first appearance in print.

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<sup>30</sup> Shako is a tall, cylindrical military [cap](#), usually with a [visor](#), and sometimes tapered at the top. It is usually adorned with some kind of ornamental plate or [badge](#) on the front, metallic or otherwise, and often has a feather, plume or [pompon](#) attached at the top.

## **ANOTHER SHADOW FROM 1911**

During 1911, as part of the many commemorations of the war's sesquicentennial anniversary, the Syracuse Herald ran a series entitled, "The Civil War Fifty Years Ago Today." This series from a prominent northern syndicate, McClure's Associated Literary Press, was a competitor of The Review of Reviews Company. RG#1 appeared in the December 24<sup>th</sup> issue entitled, "December 24, 1861 - Half a Million Soldiers of the North and South Were Preparing to Celebrate Their First Christmas in Camp – Holiday Scenes by the Campfire."<sup>31</sup>

Interestingly, the Syracuse Herald's caption dated the picture to December 1861 and not Bull Run, and nowhere in the article is the Review of Reviews Company mentioned. Additionally, and perhaps of even more interest, H. (Heustis) P. Cook of Richmond was now credited as owning the original plate from which the "war-time Photo" was taken.



***"Confederate Volunteers" "From a war-time Photo; Negative in the Collection of H.P. Cook, Richmond. This interesting picture shows some of the Virginia Volunteers who enlisted at Richmond"***

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<sup>31</sup> The Civil War Fifty Years Ago Today; December 24 - "December 24, 1861 - Half a Million Soldiers of the North and South Were Preparing to Celebrate Their First Christmas in Camp – Holiday Scenes by the Campfire," Syracuse Herald, December 24, 1911.

## **Where did this new Shadow come from and why is Cook mentioned?**

One possibility is that McClure's independently from the Review of Reviews obtained an identical photographic print of RG#1, but with a different provenance indicating a December association. But why was Cook's name linked to the picture? ***The answer lies in the photographic evidence: The two prints are not identical. The Review of Reviews and the Syracuse Herald prints are cropped differently.***

From the photographic evidence, there are several reasons to conclude that in 1911 Cook made a print from RG#1's original glass negative, a silver bromide print, now owned by the Virginia Historical Society (VHS) (2010.1.38), and it was that print which the Syracuse Herald used in their publication.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Cropping**

The cropping seen in the Syracuse Herald print closely matches VHS's silver bromide print. In the Review of Reviews print, the horizontal cropping is tighter and shows no evidence of the plate damage seen in the silver bromide print. However, the cropping of the Review of Reviews print and lack of visible plate damage closely matches an albumen print, also in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society (2001.230.367.)

Two of the more significant areas that illustrate these similarities and differences (by tracking uniform buttons and plate damage) are shown below within the red boxes on the (P1) Albumen Print, (P2) Review of Reviews Print, (P3) Silver Bromide Print, and (P4) Syracuse Herald Print. **Note: The Syracuse Herald Print (P4) quality is too poor to track plate damage and only allows the cropping comparison to be used.**<sup>33</sup>

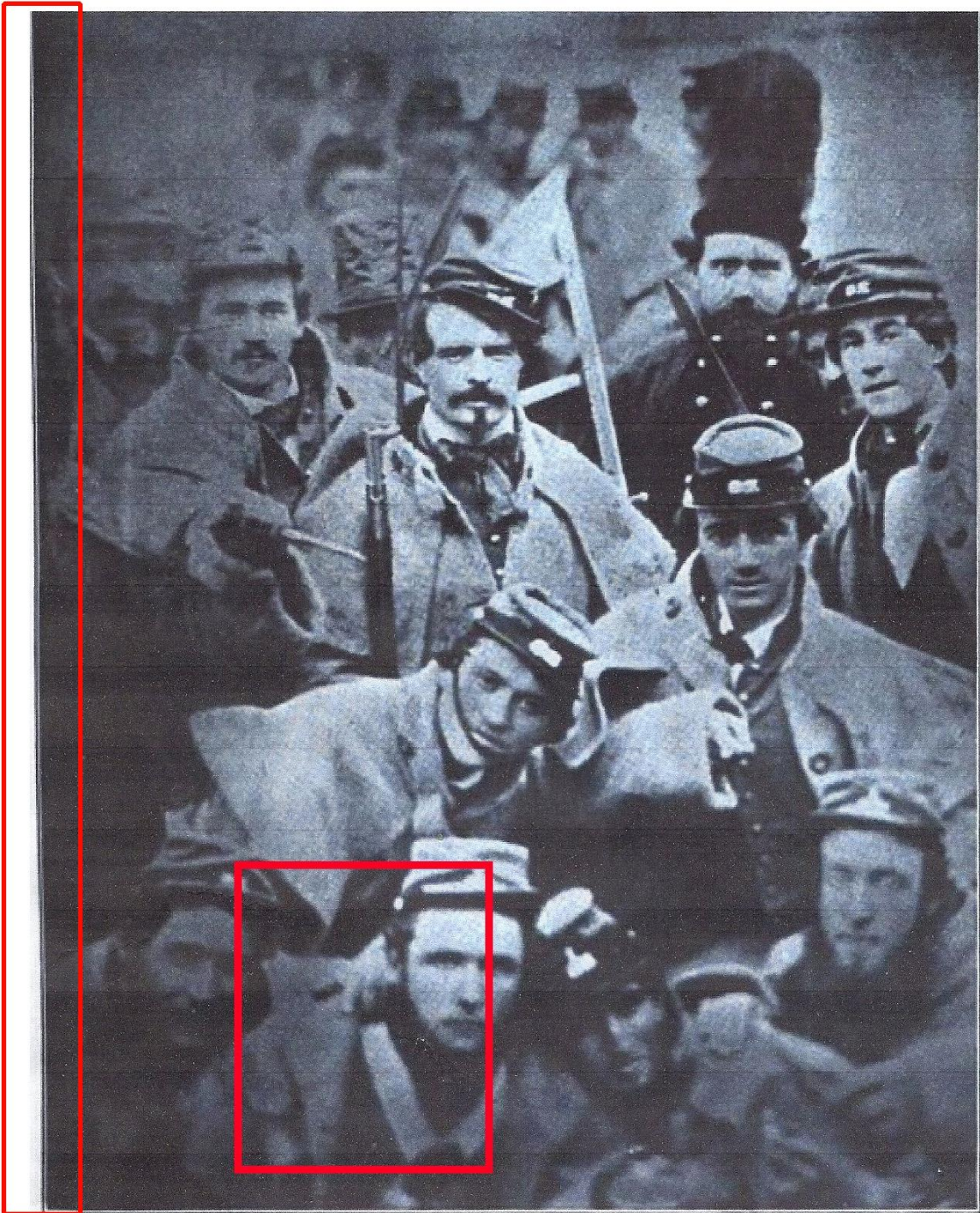
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<sup>32</sup> The silver bromide print is owned by the Virginia Historical Society (VHS), donor and date of donation unknown. The print has a neutral black tone and thus appears to be a gelatine silver 16 bromide print rather than a salt print.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed photographic analysis on the prints (P1), (P2) and (P3) see Antebellum Richmond, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>



(P1) The Albumn Print VHS 2001.230.367  
Uniform buttons absent from the lefthand side strip  
No plate damage visible in the red square  
P1 matches P2 but not P3 or P4



P2) The Review of Reviews Print  
Uniform buttons absent from the lefthand side strip  
No plate damage visible in the red square  
P2 matches P1 but not P3 or P4



(P3) The Silver Bromide Print VHS 2010.1.38  
Uniform buttons present in the lefthand side strip  
Plate damage visible in the red square  
P3 matches P4 but not P1 or P2



(P4) The Syracuse Herald Print  
Uniform buttons present in the lefthand side strip  
Plate damage unknown in Red Square due to poor resolution  
P4 cropping matches P3 but not P1 or P2

## More Reasons

- Silver bromide prints were the most common form of print making between 1895 and 1920.
- The information contained on the reverse side of the VHS silver bromide print itself supports the conclusion that Cook made the print.

According to VHS, the inscriptions on the back side appears to be in two, possibly three, different hands; including Cook's, and a previous (decades ago) museum staff member. The following is an editorialized transcription of the reverse side of the silver bromide print seen on the following page:

- At the time of the donation, a staff member wrote in pen on the reverse, "Cook's Gallery" with the notation to "please return" lined through. It is followed by (his writing, meaning Huestis P. Cook) "*Group of Men at Harper's Ferry*" written in pencil (undated) with the same staff member adding in pen: *Mr. Cook brought this picture to me – he said "It was the "Death watch" – guarding John Brown – at Harper's Ferry"*
- Another staff member then wrote in pencil, "*Julian Alluisi in blue – see Virginia Cavalcade, Vol. 13, No. 2, pg. 27*" (information from 1963) and again the original staff member wrote at the bottom in pen: "*Aylett R. Woodson with X mark.*" Corresponds to the 1957 donation of the Albumen Print of RG#1 to the Virginia Historical Society (2001.230.367) where the reverse noted that "Woodson, Aylett Reins is "X" marked with subsequent notations to this later appearing in print.

Cook's Is. alley  
~~near return~~

his return  
Group of men at  
Harper's Ferry.

Mr. Cook brought this picture  
to me - He said - "It was the 'Death  
Watch' - guarding John Brown -  
at Harper's Ferry."

(Julian Allmisi in blue.  
See Virginia Cavalcade, Vol. 13, No 2., p 27)

Cylett R. Wordsworth  
with the X marks

2010.1.38

When considering all the evidence, Cook made the silver bromide print sometime after Mason's visit in February 1911 and before the December 1911 publication of the Syracuse Herald. From the notations made on the back of the print, it is clear that Cook in 1911 did not know RG#1's creation date or the circumstances surrounding it when it was published in 1911, but later learned those facts by the time he donated the silver bromide print to the Virginia Historical Society, at a date sometime prior to his death in 1951.

When and how Cook learned of RG#1's provenance is unknown. He may have learned of the picture's origins in 1936 when a modern copy photograph<sup>34</sup> of RG#2 was donated to the United Daughters of the Confederacy by Mrs. Julia E. Saunders, the daughter of Aylett Reins Woodson who appears in both RG#1 and RG#2. The back side of the modern photograph of RG#2 provided by Mrs. Saunders correctly identified the men as being "The Night Watch Guarded John Brown." In 1954, the glass plate (negative) of RG#1 was acquired by the Valentine Richmond History Center from Heustis P. Cook's widow as part of the thousands of plates in the George S. Cook collection where it resides today.

Other than the photograph which ran in the Syracuse Herald in 1911, no information has been located to date which indicated that Cook in his lifetime either sought or received any photographic credit or rights associated with RG#1 or the silver bromide print.

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<sup>34</sup> It is important to note that the ambrotype for RG#2 existed as a single medium and was only replicated by modern photographic copies. For more information, see "*Out of Hiding*" Antebellum Richmond, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>

## STILL OTHER SHADOWS SEEN: 1934-1960



—Courtesy Review of Reviews Co.  
Skylarking before the lens of a Confederate photographer, these Boys in Gray in Richmond posed just before the battle of Ball Run. Such lads were quickly to become the veterans A. P. Hill and other Confederate officers led with such gallantry.

In 1934, RG#1, still identified as “Confederate Volunteers,” was again used in print, this time in connection with a newspaper serialization on CSA General A. P. Hill, which appeared October – November in the 1934 Richmond Times Dispatch’s Sunday Magazine section “Up Came Hill – Soldier of the South”, authored by William J. Robertson. The photograph was used in the last article in the series which ran on November 11, 1934, credited to the Review of Reviews’ 1911 publication.<sup>35</sup> Its original caption was slightly altered to include additional wrong information, further tying the the men to the incorrect timeframe, stating that, “[s]uch lads were quickly to become the veterans A.P. Hill and other Confederate officers led with such gallantry.”

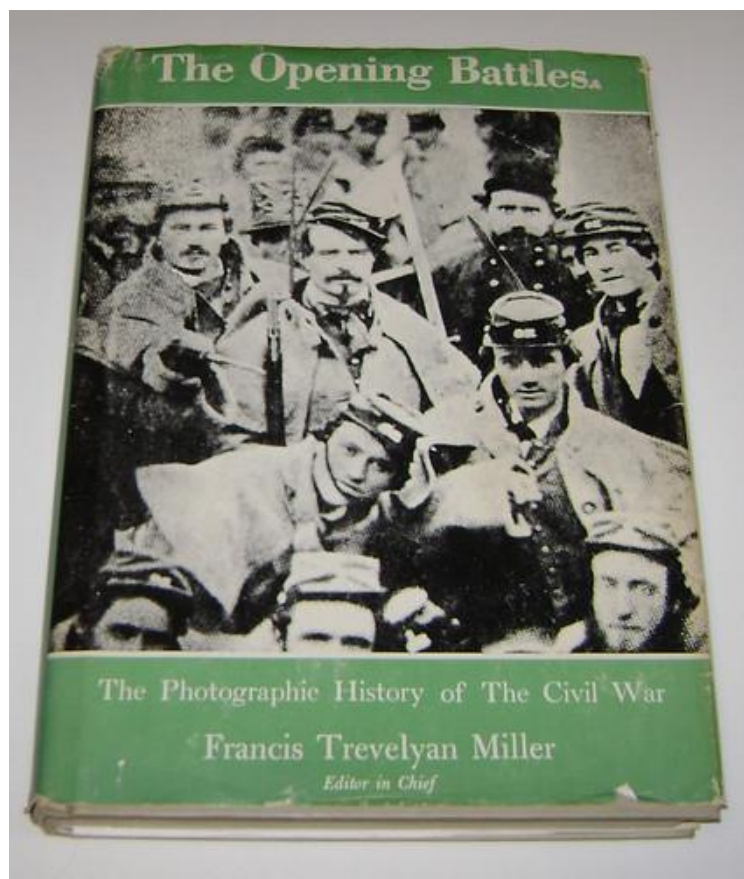
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<sup>35</sup> Robertson, William J. “Up came Hill – Soldier of the South” Richmond Times Dispatch November 11, 1934

**RG#1 as Cover Art for Volume One**  
**1957 Re-Issue of Miller's Photographic History of the Civil War**

In 1957 on the eve of the war's centennial, Castle Press published a reprint of Review of Reviews The Photographic History of the Civil War<sup>36</sup>, complete and unabridged with a new introduction by Henry Steele Commager. The editors choice of RG#1 as the cover for Volume One, "Opening Battles", greatly added to its availability to both casual readers and researchers in the only way possible during the pre-digital age.

By appearing as cover art, RG#1 will now immediately reach more eyes than merely appearing within its volume's hundreds of pages, rendering it the most widely recognized group picture of the early war years.



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<sup>36</sup> Miller, Francis Trevelyan. The Photographic History of the Civil War; The Opening Battles. New York: Castle Books, 1957. Edition published by arrangement with S. A. Barnes & Co, Inc. Special Contents of this Edition by Thomas Yoseloff, Inc.



In 1960, the *Civil War Times* will use the same photograph to accompany Glenn Tucker's article "First Bull Run" which appeared in Vol. II, No. 3 in June, 1960.<sup>37</sup> The men are again seen as "Confederate Volunteers Before Bull Run."<sup>38</sup> Although misidentified, RG#1 had become the face of the American Civil War. It would take another two years before RG#1 would be correctly identified as antebellum Virginia Militia Volunteers in Charles Town (1859).

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<sup>37</sup> Tucker, Glenn, "First Bull Run." *Civil War Times*, Vol. II, No. 3, June, 1960

<sup>38</sup> It is ironic to note that Glenn Tucker, whose widely cited misconceptions about John Wilkes Booth's participation in the John Brown deployment contained in his article "John Wilkes Booth at the John Brown Hanging" as corrected in "*Bound for Glory*", will in this article unknowingly also contribute to the continued misidentification of this image. (Tucker, Glenn, "John Wilkes Booth at the John Brown Hanging", *Lincoln Herald* Spring, 1976 Vol. 78, No. 1, pg 4, as discussed in detail in Antebellum Richmond, "*Bound For Glory, John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, the Journey To Charles Town 1859*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2012 :<http://antebellumrichmond.com/bound-for-glory.html>

## **RG#1 STEPS OUT OF THE SHADOWS: 1862-1970**

### **The Transition From Young Southerners at Richmond (1861) To Young Southerners at Charles Town (1859)**

When Miller's Photographic History of the Civil War was published in 1911, it was not known that the albumen print of RG#1 handed to Mason was the result of an early photographic process of making a print from an ambrotype, atypical for Richmond in 1859. In 1911, when the Syracuse Herald mentioned Cook's glass plate negative, it was assumed the plate was the original source of RG#1. As a result, no one was looking for an ambrotype, and even if they were, the ambrotype was badly damaged.

In the 1950's, the original ambrotype of RG#1 (a 2.5" x 3.5" 6<sup>th</sup> plate) was owned by Philip Colavita Jr. of Richmond Virginia. Philip Colavita was the grandson of Julian Alluisi, the bearded man seen in RG#1 wearing the distinctive tall Shako hat. Julian Alluisi's image in the ambrotype had been completely obliterated sometime after the glass plate negative was made. Nonetheless, the tiny ambrotype was retained amongst the most cherished relics of Julian Alluisi's descendants who still resided in Richmond.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For a biography on Julian Alluisi see "*Out of Hiding*", Appendix: Antebellum Richmond, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>



Comparative  
Colavita Ambrotype to RG#1 used in Review of Reviews  
Actual Sizes

In the 1950's, authors and historians William Albaugh III and Lee A. Wallace, Jr. shared not only a passion for southern history, but were both avid collectors of civil war artifacts including its images (ambrotypes and photographs), edged weapons and firearms. Albaugh was a prodigious collector, and Wallace, while he did not collect on the same grand scale as Albaugh, owned no fewer than 25 rifles from the 1860's era.<sup>40</sup>

In 1961, the Centennial commemoration of the beginning of the Civil War would create another intense surge of interest in the war; and both Albaugh and Wallace would be in the forefront of that resurgence. By 1961, both men had undoubtedly seen "Confederate Volunteers" in any number of publications including its initial appearance in Volume One of Miller's Photographic History of the Civil War, and on its cover from the 1957 re-issue. They probably had also seen RG#1 on the cover of the June 1960 issue of *The Civil War Times*. Undoubtedly, the widespread use of RG#1 as cover art thrust this photograph into the forefront of Albaugh's and Wallace's consciousness.

### **The Philip Colavita Jr., Albaugh and Wallace Connection**

William A. Albaugh III's book Confederate Edged Weapons<sup>41</sup> published in 1960 provided on pages 12-13, figure 8, a detailed drawing of the sword and scabbard owned by Julian Alluisi; then in the possession of his grandson, Philip Colavita, Jr. Albaugh mentioned the uniqueness of Julian Alluisi's sword saying of its style "that it was finely made and is the only sword of its type ever seen". Only drawings were included in the book, there were no pictures.

In the book's acknowledgments, Albaugh mentioned Philip Colavita Jr. of Richmond as among "those who have graciously permitted access to specimens which otherwise might have been unavailable." Amongst the other specimens that Philip Colavita Jr. owned and would have made available to Albaugh were Alluisi's revolver, rifle, medals, and the RG#1 ambrotype. Colavita knew that his grandfather had earlier served at

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<sup>40</sup> "*Civil War Historian, Collector of Artifacts Leaving Petersburg*" Petersburg Progress Index, Feb. 17, 1957.

Lee A. Wallace would bequest his John Brown Pike, circa 1859, to the Virginia Historical Society (Accession No. 1997, 167.1) [Wallace owned serial number 213 of the 954 manufactured by Charles Blair, a Connecticut blacksmith and used by Brown during his raid on Harper's Ferry.] John Wilkes Booth had been awarded one of these pikes for his service rendered at Charles Town, inscribed to him by Major B.B. Washington, as detailed in Asia Booth Clarke's The Unlocked Book. (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.

<sup>41</sup> Albaugh, William A. III, Confederate Edged Weapons, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960.

Charles Town in 1859 because his grandfather's rifle, which another family member still owned, had been issued to his grandfather shortly after he became a Richmond resident circa 1854.<sup>42</sup>

Albaugh also listed Lee A. Wallace among those acknowledged for extended thanks. It is obvious that Albaugh knew both Philip Colavita and Lee Wallace sometime earlier than the book's 1960 publication date, and that information about Alluisi's antebellum and CSA artifacts including the ambrotype, had been shared.

In the 1962 Winter issue of Military Collector & Historian, Lee Wallace and John P. Severin, wrote an article entitled "First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, Richmond, Va. 1860-61"<sup>43</sup>. In that article, they would describe the early dress of the First Regiment of Volunteers. Also found in the same issue, Wallace contributed a short article entitled, "Date of Young Southerners At Richmond..." Photograph (Photo. Hist. of the Civil War, I, p. 145.) where for the first time in print, the correct circumstances surrounding RG#1 were published.

"The men in the foreground can easily be identified as members of Company A, Richmond Grays, 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, but what about the bearded figure in dark uniform, wearing the dress cap with cock's feathers plume? **Here lies the key to the proper dating of the picture. He was Julian Alluisi, Company K, Virginia Rifles, and 1st Regiment of Virginia Volunteers. The original ambrotype, which measures 2.7 x 3.2 inches, is in the possession of Alluisi's grandson, Philip Colavita, Jr., Richmond Virginia.** ... On 23 February 1860, the Virginia Rifles voted to exchange their blue uniforms for gray, and on 12 April, 1860, the company made their first appearance in gray uniforms. **This places the date of the photograph before April 1860. It is most likely that the photograph was made in late 1859, when the Richmond Grays, Virginia Rifles, and other Richmond companies were called out for duty at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown.** Company letters on the Gray's caps are **plainly visible in the ambrotype**, and

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<sup>42</sup> Colavita, Philip Jr., History of the Colavita Family of Richmond, Virginia, 1979., VHS C571.C6807 1981)

<sup>43</sup> John P. Severin and Lee A. Wallace, Jr., "First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, Richmond, VA, 1860-1861," *MUIA* pl. 219, text, *Military Collector & Historian*, 14, no. 4 (Winter 1962): 127, © and permission of the Company of Military Historians.

Lee A. Wallace, Jr., "Date of "Young Southerners at Richmond ... 'Photograph (*Photo. Hist. of the Civil War*, I, p. 145)," *Military Collector & Historian*, 14, no. 4 (Winter 1962): 131-132, © and permission of the Company of Military Historians.

some of the caps have the regimental numeral above the letters.”  
**(Emphasis added)**

Lee A. Wallace’s wrote a longer article on this same subject, “The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers,” which appeared in *Virginia Cavalcade* Volume XIII, Number 2, Autumn 1963<sup>44</sup>, and included RG#1 captioned “Julian Alluisi, Virginia Rifles, in blue on page 27.” On page 30, Wallace would also mention John Wilkes Booth’s participation with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town, but did not connect Booth to RG#1.

This same information was contained in Lee A. Wallace’s book, “Richmond Virginia Volunteers 1861-1865”<sup>45</sup>, published in 1969. This was the first book to correctly identify the “Confederate Volunteers” from Richmond as 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Virginia Volunteers (Richmond Grays) at Charles Town, 1859. Copies of the book were presented by the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee<sup>46</sup> to the Valentine Richmond History Center in November 1970 as part of its last official act.

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<sup>44</sup> Wallace, Lee A., Jr., “The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers.” *Virginia Cavalcade*, Vol, 13, No.2, Autumn 1963: pgs. 23-31

<sup>45</sup> Manarin, Louis H., and Wallace, Lee A. Jr., Richmond Volunteers 1861-1865, Richmond, Va: Westover Press, 1969.

<sup>46</sup> For information related to the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee, see <http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaead/published/lva/vi02466.document>



### Members of the Richmond Grays

Accompanying the book's presentation to The Valentine, Virginius Dabney, journalist, writer, historian, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch (1936–1969) and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing, published two related articles in 1970 entitled: "*Richmond Volunteers: The Men, The Hardships and the Danger of the Civil War*" and "*The Civil War Revisited*."<sup>47</sup> The first article would include RG#1, now correctly captioned as "Members of the Richmond Grays" and would mention John Wilkes Booth accompanying them to Charles Town.

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<sup>47</sup> "*Richmond Volunteers: The Men, The Hardships and the Danger of the Civil War.*" Richmond Times Dispatch, November 15, 1970 and "*The Civil War Revisited*", Richmond Times Dispatch, November 18, 1970.

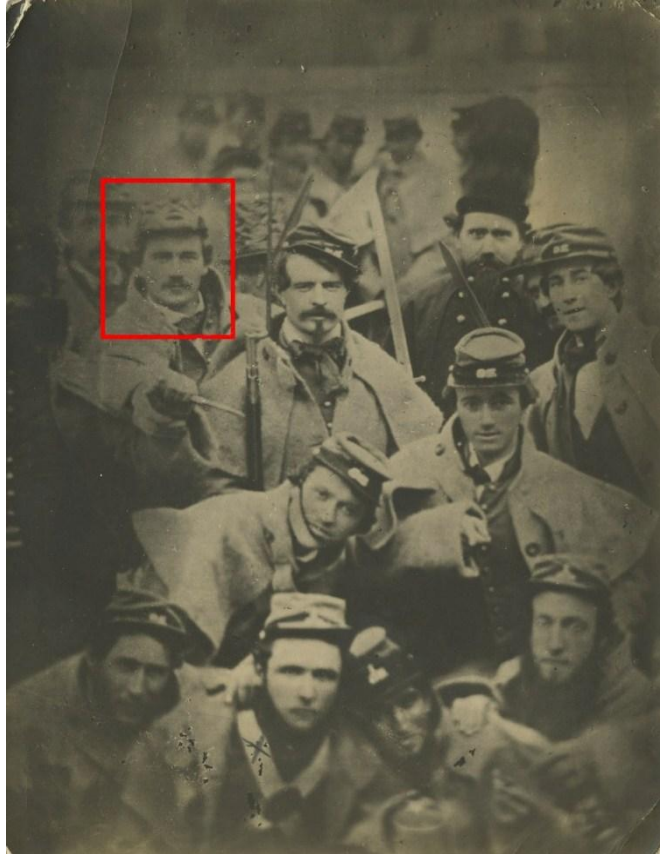
By 1970 RG#1 had been correctly identified as Richmond Grays at Charles Town in 1859, leaving one last shadow remaining, the one belonging to John Wilkes Booth hidden amongst his fellow Richmond Grays.

Why did Lee A. Wallace miss this final shadow? He missed it because he was unaware of Booth's sister Asia's fleeting mention of it in her manuscript: He was not looking for a picture of Booth and others "***in their scout and sentinel dresses.***"<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pgs.111-112.

**ONE LAST SHADOW REMAINED**  
**JOHN WILKES BOOTH IN THE RICHMOND GRAYS (RG#1)**



For John Wilkes Booth to emerge from RG#1, knowledge of 3 essential facts is required:

1. RG#1 is a group militia picture of Richmond Grays taken in 1859 at Charles Town;
2. John Wilkes Booth was with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town in 1859;

***And the most important fact,***

3. That a group photograph of John Wilkes Booth and others dressed in uniform was taken at Charles Town in 1859.

Fifty years ago, Lee A. Wallace was only in possession of facts 1 and 2. Wallace's work,

although meticulously researched and which lead to his breakthrough publications correctly identifying the photograph in 1962, 1963 and 1969, always remained focused on pre-war Virginia militia and CSA regimental history. While Wallace will note Booth's historic presence at Charles Town<sup>49</sup>, he was not interested in researching John Wilkes Booth and most likely was unaware about Asia's obscure reference that a group photograph was taken of Booth in uniform at Charles Town. ***He did not have knowledge of that third and most important fact.***

Even those during this time who are specifically researching John Wilkes Booth's participation with the Richmond Grays, appear to be unaware of Asia's essential but fleeting mention of a group militia picture taken at Charles Town. It is possible that Harold Klein, Booth author and researcher, might have been aware of Asia's reference when working on a self-described "pictorial biography" on John Wilkes Booth in 1956-1959.<sup>50</sup> ***However, his research was conducted when RG#1 was still misidentified as an early war picture taken in 1861.***

In 1956, Klein wrote eminent John Brown historian Boyd Stutler inquiring about John Wilkes Booth's participation with the Richmond Grays at the John Brown hanging asking specifically if a photograph had been taken of the Richmond Grays at the hanging<sup>51</sup>. Stutler responded to Klein's letter verifying Booth's presence with the Richmond Grays, but did not fully address the possibility of a photograph of Booth at Charles Town, stating only that no photographs were allowed at the execution.<sup>52</sup> Klein did not respond to Stutler nor did he publish his book. To date, all efforts to locate to locate Mr. Klein's files have been unsuccessful. Klein was in possession of fact 2 and possibly 3.

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<sup>49</sup> In 1969, Lee A. Wallace was unknowingly only a step away from connecting John Wilkes Booth to the same photograph in which he identified Julian Alluisi. In Richmond Volunteers 1861-1865 Wallace expanded on his 1963 mention of Booth at Charles Town with the Richmond Grays and actually included an unrelated photograph of John Wilkes Booth while discussing his participation in his book.

<sup>50</sup> 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..."

<sup>51</sup> 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

<sup>52</sup>(Boyd Stutler's interest pertained to John Brown. He is not focused on Virginia Regimental history or John Wilkes Booth.)

The first examination undertaken with the knowledge of all three facts necessary to identify John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 was published in *“Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”* (2010). Had Wallace and Klein lived during the Information Age which provides instantaneous, searchable and remote access to massive amounts of digitized information, this final shadow of John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 would have long since emerged.

**CONCLUSION:**  
**THE SHADOWS IN THE LIGHT OF DAY**

*“The Hand of the historian may falter, or his judgment may fail, but the final record of the American Civil War is told in these time-dimmed negatives. The reader may conscientiously disagree with the text, but we must all be of one and the same mind when we look upon the photographic evidence.”*

Francis Trevelyan Miller  
Editorial Introduction to Volume One  
The Photographic History of the Civil War

**The Photographic Evidence**

What does “the photographic evidence” in Mason’s famous “Shadow from Richmond” tell us?

- Roy Murdoch Mason in January - February 1911, while in Richmond during his trip through the South obtaining original “war time photographs” for the Review of Reviews Company, was provided an albumen print of RG#1 through the intercession of Edward V. Valentine.
- The print’s donor, who chose to remain anonymous, was disconnected from the (albumen) print’s true history, unaware it was a print made from an ambrotype of members of the antebellum 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment of Volunteers taken at Charles Town in 1859.
- The process used to generate the atypical print was unique for its time (1859-1860), a process that required the making of a separate negative from which albumen prints could be made.
- As a result of the print’s unusual genesis, in 1911 it was believed to be an early “war time photograph,” of Young Confederate Volunteers at Richmond before Bull Run (July 1861.)
- Mason’s donor was not the photographer, Huestis P. Cook, who had ultimately inherited the glass plate negative for RG#1 from the inventory acquired from earlier Richmond photographers.

- Misidentified, later that year the print provided to Mason entered publication history in Review of Review's Volume One of The Photographic History of the Civil War misidentified as Young Confederates taken in Richmond before Bull Run, credited only to Review of Reviews Co.
- Sometime after Mason's visit to Richmond in early 1911, Cook made a silver bromide print from the glass plate negative held in his collection, and in December of 1911 Cook's print appeared in the Syracuse Herald. Again the picture misidentified the men as Confederates, but linked it to another date, December of 1861. This article was the only instance in Cook's lifetime where he was credited with owning RG#1's glass plate negative.
- Cook's silver bromide print that was reprinted in the Syracuse Herald is the one owned by the Virginia Historical Society (2010.1.38)
- The misidentification of RG#1 was not publicly corrected between 1911-1960, and this mistake was perpetuated in each subsequent use of the picture in other publications during this time, and further disseminated by its use as cover art.
- By 1960, the men seen in RG#1 had become the "Face of the Civil War." Their true history as Richmond's Virginia Volunteers at Charles Town in 1859 was only rediscovered in the 1960's based on research conducted by Lee A. Wallace, Jr. published 1962 through 1969.

The totality of the photographic evidence, obtained from following this "Shadow from Richmond," furthers the conclusion that Asia's picture can only be a vintage print of RG#1 matching the one which was handed to Mason in 1911, both made from the same glass plate negative. Misidentified as a civil war photograph for decades due to the fact it was a print made from an ambrotype taken in 1859, it contains a man who resembles John Wilkes Booth, taken with the right men, at the right time, and at the right location to be the picture shown to Asia.

### **The Photographic Truth**

In 1911 when Roy Murdoch Mason was handed RG#1 in Richmond, his most famous "Shadow" acquired during his journey south seeking war time photographs, he gasped with amazement at what he saw, exclaiming "[h]ere was truth!"

Despite its misidentification as Confederate Volunteers rather than Militia Volunteers at the earlier 1859 hanging of John Brown, the elemental "truth" that Mason responded to when he saw RG#1 was that the photograph captured a moment of universal brotherhood that sublimely transcends all time. Profoundly, RG#1 preserved yet another truth hidden within its photographic evidence, the shadow of John Wilkes Booth serving Virginia at Charles Town in the uniform of the antebellum Richmond Grays.

## The Final Truth

Despite the enormous odds against Asia's picture and the sole reference to its very existence surviving, both did. Only when viewed together do they allow us to see what Asia hoped in an act of grace a future posterity would one day see, her brother's fealty to the south and to a Virginia that he never abandoned, fatefully captured at the very moment amongst his fellow volunteers that Booth himself acknowledged was its start.<sup>53</sup>

RG#1 and its final truth about the brotherhood it captured on a November morning taken at Charles Town in 1859 remained protected by the very shadows which concealed it. The key locked away in the memory of Asia Booth Clarke, its discovery was reserved for a future generation sufficiently separated from the conflict and passions of 1865 to find. Throughout its remarkable journey from ambrotype to iconic image, this "time dimmed negative's" final truth would profoundly re-enter history just as Asia had hoped, at a later time, when "his name could be less hated."<sup>54</sup>

The anonymous donor of RG#1 told Roy Murdoch Mason that he sought neither compensation nor credit, only seeking "seeing justice done to the South in the history which was preparing." In his short lifetime, it was said by his contemporaries that no picture did John Wilkes justice.<sup>55</sup> Almost a hundred and fifty years later, thanks to his sister's love, there finally is one which does.

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<sup>53</sup> "When the John Brown raid occurred, Booth left the Richmond Theater for the scene of strife in a picked company with which he had affiliated for some time. From his connection with the militia on this occasion he was wont to trace his fealty to Virginia." Townsend, George Alfred The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald Publishers, 1865. Pg 22.

<sup>54</sup> Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938.

<sup>55</sup> "None of the printed pictures that I have seen have do justice to Booth." Townsend, George Alfred. The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald Publishers, 1865. Pg. 26.

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***My journey and the photographic evidence continue...***

Mason's journey "Chasing a Shadow Fifty Years Old" ended in 1911, but my own journey accompanying John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays continues in ***"Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old, Part II: "Conversations through the Glass"***, which will;

- Reveal the identity of the photographer who cropped and made the intervening glass plate from which albumen prints of RG#1, including Mason's picture, were made shortly after the Grays return to Richmond.
- Establish the fact that Booth used this same wet plate colloidal negative to positive print process in 1859-1860 to create albumen prints of still another picture from Richmond, one of himself taken in costume.
- Disclose the existence of a heretofore unknown Lewis Dinkle ambrotype taken of five Richmond Grays at Charles Town, which included the identification of each of the men, one of whom also appears in all three RG images.
- Set the scene for the day all three Richmond Grays (RG) images were taken and historically document the activities of that day.

Anticipated Release: August, 2013

## **CREDITS/ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

David Smythe  
Whose editorial insights are only exceeded by his support and patience

Dr. Terry Alford

Stepanie Baret  
New York State Library, Reference Services

Heather Dawn Beattie  
Virginia Historical Society

Jeff Bridgers  
Prints and Photographs Division  
Library of Congress

William Colavita, Richmond

Mark Greenough  
Virginia State Capitol, Richmond

Megan Glass Hughes  
Valentine Richmond History Center

Kelly Kerney  
Valentine Richmond History Center

William C. Luebke  
Library of Virginia

L. Paige Newman  
Virginia Historical Society

Stephen Ross  
Yale University Library

Barbara Scheibel  
Local History/Genealogy Department  
Onondaga County Public Library  
Syracuse, New York

Ben C. Sewell III, Executive Director

Sons of Confederate Veterans

David M. Sullivan, Administrator  
Company of Military Historians

Katherine Wilkins  
Virginia Historical Society

Cathy Wright  
Museum of the Confederacy

## PUBLICATION TIMELINE

### History of the Richmond Grays (RG#1, 2 and 3) in print

***Italics = Revised from initial information which appeared in “Out Of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays” May 2011***

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?

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

Between the 1856-1861 early wet plate period, the predominant photographic format in Virginia was the ambrotype, a “one of a kind” medium. As with the earlier Daguerreotype, there was no separate negative in this process, and **without a negative, each image is a unique, non repeatable entity**. RG#1 is unique both among the three Richmond Grays images identified thus far that could contain John Wilkes booth and for its time, in that there was a separate negative, made from the original ambrotype. Had this not been done, the picture and the moment it captured in history would have been lost forever.

To establish John Wilkes Booth’s appearance in RG#1, a minimum of 3 facts must be established:

1. RG#1 is a group militia picture of Richmond Grays taken in 1859 at Charles Town
2. John Wilkes Booth was with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town in 1859

***And the most important fact,***

3. ***Knowledge that a group photograph of John Wilkes Booth and others dressed in uniforms was taken at Charles Town in 1859***

In 1911, a print of RG#1 will enter publication history misidentified as Confederate Volunteers taken in Richmond before Bull Run in Volume One (Opening Battles) of Miller’s Photographic History of the Civil War. It would remain misidentified for the next 50 years until 1962-63 when Lee A. Wallace, Jr. first correctly identified in print the provenance of the photograph as Virginia Volunteers at Charles Town 1859. In 1969, Wallace was unknowingly only a

step away from connecting John Wilkes Booth to the same photograph. In Richmond Volunteers 1861-1865, Wallace expanded on his 1963 mention of Booth at Charles Town with the Richmond Grays and actually included an unrelated photograph of John Wilkes Booth while discussing his participation in his book. Wallace was not researching John Wilkes Booth, his research interest was on Virginia Regimental History, and he was not aware of Asia's sole reference to a photograph of him taken at Charles Town in 1859.

Following Ken Burns' 1990 documentary, "The Civil War" and Burns' use of RG#1 in Episode One, 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 a very brief article discussing this appeared in *The Smithsonian* nine years later. 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. This belief became accepted fact.

The first and only examination utilizing all 3 necessary facts required to identify John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 was undertaken in 2010 when "Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight ? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays" was published. Written during the Information Age, its research benefited from tools previously unavailable, an evolving technology with the ability to provide instantaneous, searchable and remote access to massive amounts of digitized information.

The following timeline of the history of these pictures explains how John Wilkes Booth's inclusion in the photograph which has come to represent the face of the American Civil War (RG#1) was overlooked for so long, hidden amongst misidentifications and false assumptions.

Angela Smythe  
May 10, 2013

## TIMELINE

<b>Date</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Impact</b>
1859	RG#1, RG#2 & RG#3  Original ambrotypes were taken at Charles Town (Nov – Dec)	Single, unique, non repeatable media
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 using this atypical early wet plate printing process, a rarity for its time and place (Richmond)  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
?	<b>RG#1</b>  <b>Silver Bromide Print</b>	<b>See updated information in 1911</b>

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 Catalogue<sup>56</sup> provides no pictures of it or the other items on exhibit. The whereabouts of this picture is unknown.</p>
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<sup>56</sup> 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. <u>Photographic History of the Civil War</u>. RG#1 appeared <i>captioned as "Young Southerners at Richmond Making Light of War"</i></p> <p>Cite: Miller, Francis Trevelyan, Sampson, Lanier, eds, <u>Semi-Centennial Memorial, The Photographic History of the Civil War, In Ten Volumes</u>. New York: The Review of Reviews Co., 1911. RG#1 image located in Volume One, Opening Battles, Pg. 145</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><b><i>Original photograph obtained in Richmond January – February 1911 by Roy Murdoch Mason. The publication does not state the source of the picture, only the publisher; Review of Reviews Company is credited.</i></b></p>
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<p>1911</p>	<p>RG#1</p> <p>Syracuse Evening Herald will run “December 24, 1861: Half a Million Soldiers of the North and South were preparing to Celebrate their First Christmas in Camp – Holiday Scenes by the Campfire”</p> <p>RG#1 is again erroneously identified as Confederate Volunteers, “This interesting picture shows some of the Virginia Volunteers who enlisted at Richmond”</p> <p>Cite: The Civil War Fifty Years Ago Today; December 24 - “December 24, 1861 - Half a Million Soldiers of the North and South Were Preparing to Celebrate Their First Christmas in Camp – Holiday Scenes by the Campfire” <u>Syracuse Herald</u>, December 24, 1911</p>	<p><b><i>This is the first time that the photograph is actually identified as being taken “From a war-time Photo” and includes “Negative in the Collection of H.P. Cook, Richmond. No credit to Review of Reviews. This is the only cite found to date which provided this additional information. Silver bromide print held by VHS most likely one provided by H.P. Cook for this article</i></b></p>
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<p>1934</p>	<p><i>RG#1</i></p> <p>Photograph is used in connection with a serialization on CSA General A.P. Hill, which appeared in October and November 1934 in the Richmond Times Dispatch's Sunday Section. "Up Came Hill – Soldier of the South"</p> <p>The photograph appeared in the November 11, 1934 article and credits Review of Reviews.</p> <p><i>Cite:</i> Robertson, William J. "Up came Hill – Soldier of the South" <u>Richmond Times Dispatch</u> 11 November 1934</p>	<p><b><i>Image is further identified as being CSA in nature. Its original caption was slightly altered to include additional wrong information further tying the men to the wrong timeframe: "Such lads were quickly to become the veterans A.P. Hill and other Confederate officers led with such gallantry."</i></b></p>
<p>1936</p>	<p><i>RG#2</i></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>Cite: Clarke, Asia Booth. <u>The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister</u>. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pg.111-112</p>	<p>This is the first time that someone would know to look for a picture of Booth in uniform at Charles Town</p>
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<p><b><i>Donation Date Is Unknown but had to precede Cook's death in 1951</i></b></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> <p><b><i>This print most likely the one provided by Huestis P. Cook for the 1911 Syracuse Herald Article previously discussed</i></b></p>
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1954	<p data-bbox="495 191 880 485">RG#1</p> <p data-bbox="495 268 880 485">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="495 527 880 779">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.<sup>57</sup></p>	<p data-bbox="945 191 1294 520">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".</p> <p data-bbox="945 527 1294 741">Subsequently, (exact date unknown) the Valentine staff identified Julian Alluisi and Aylett Reins Woodson as being in the picture.</p>
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<sup>57</sup> 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 Stutler<sup>58</sup></p> <p>(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. <sup>59</sup>The location of his research papers remains unknown.</p>
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<sup>58</sup> 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

<sup>59</sup> 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>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>Cite John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project;  <a href="http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/jb.aspx">http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvmemory/jb.aspx</a> ;  Record ID#3181, RP06-0050  A-C Klein – Stutler</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>
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<p>1957</p>	<p>RG#1</p> <p>Castle Press publishes a reprint of Review of Reviews <u>The Photographic History of the Civil War</u>, complete and unabridged with a new introduction by Henry Steele Commager</p> <p>Additionally that year, a 5 volume set, each volume containing two volumes of the original publication is printed by Thomas Yoseloff</p> <p>Cite: Miller, Francis Trevelyan. <u>The Photographic History of the Civil War; The Opening Battles</u>. New York: Castle Books, 1957. Edition published by arrangement with S. A. Barnes &amp; Co, Inc. Special Contents of this Edition by Thomas Yoseloff, Inc.</p>	<p><b><i>The editors chose RG#1 as the cover for Volume One; Opening Battles, further disseminating this photograph on the eve of the war's centennial.</i></b></p>
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<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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1959	<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>
1960	<p>RG#1</p> <p>The Civil War Times will use this same photograph to accompany Glenn Tucker's article "First Bull Run"</p> <p>Cite: Tucker, Glenn, and "First Bull Run." <i>Civil War Times</i>, Vol. II, No. 3, June, 1960</p>	<p><b><i>The men are again thought to represent Confederate Volunteers before Bull Run (1861)</i></b></p>

<p>1962</p>	<p><b>RG#1</b></p> <p>Winter 1962 issue of The Company of Military will include:</p> <p>Cite: John P. Severin and Lee A. Wallace, Jr., <i>"First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, Richmond, VA, 1860-1861,"</i> MUIA pl. 219, text, Military Collector &amp; Historian, 14, no. 4 (Winter 1962): 127, © and permission of the Company of Military Historians.</p> <p>Cite: Lee A. Wallace, Jr., <i>"Date of "Young Southerners at Richmond ... 'Photograph (Photo. Hist. of the Civil War, I, p. 145),"</i> Military Collector &amp; Historian, 14, no. 4 (Winter 1962): 131-132, © and permission of the Company of Military Historians.</p>	<p><b><i>"First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers" describe the dress of the First Regiment of Volunteers</i></b></p> <p><b><i>In his article "Date of "Young Southerners at Richmond..."Lee A. Wallace, Jr. (1922-1997) for the first time in print correctly identifies RG#1 as militia men at Charles Town circa 1859, based on the identification of Julian Alluisi, from information obtained from his Grandson, Philip Colavita, and here first states the information publically that an ambrotype of the image existed.</i></b></p>
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<p>1963</p>	<p>RG#1</p> <p><i>Virginia Cavalcade</i> (Vol. 13, No. 2 - Autumn 1963)  The article was entitled: "The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers "and was written by Lee A. Wallace, Jr.</p> <p>Cite: Wallace, Lee A., Jr., and "The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers." <i>Virginia Cavalcade</i>, Vol, 13, No.2, Autumn 1963: pgs. 23-31</p>	<p>Lee A. Wallace correctly identifies Julian Alluisi, Virginia Rifles, Pg. 27</p>
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<p>1969</p>	<p>RG#1 &amp; 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> (pg. 198) RG#2 was credited to the Museum of the Confederacy (pg. 249)</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>Cite: Manarin, Louis H., and Wallace, Lee A. Jr., <u>Richmond Volunteers 1861-1865</u>, Richmond, Va.: Westover Press, 1969.</p>	<p><b>Lee A. Wallace, [the same author who first correctly identified RG#1 in print in the earlier 1962 article for <i>Company of Military Historians</i>] reiterates that same information in book form including that an ambrotype then owned by Philip Colavita Jr., in Richmond contained his grandfather, Julian Alluisi, that it was the source from which this photograph was originally made, and that the ambrotype was extant. (pg. 190)</b></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>
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<p>1970</p>	<p>Noted Richmond historian and author Virginius Dabney published two articles which accompanied Wallace's publication of Virginia Volunteers entitled:</p> <p><i>"Richmond Volunteers: The Men, The Hardships and the Danger of the Civil War:</i></p> <p>and</p> <p><i>"The Civil War Revisited</i></p> <p>Cite: <i>"Richmond Volunteers: The Men, The Hardships and the Danger of the Civil War."</i>  <u>Richmond Times Dispatch,</u>  November 15, 1970</p> <p>and</p> <p><i>"The Civil War Revisited",</i>  <u>Richmond Times Dispatch,</u>  November 18, 1970.</p>	<p><b><i>The first article would include RG#1, now correctly captioned as "Members of the Richmond Grays" and would mention John Wilkes Booth accompanying them to Charles Town</i></b></p>
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<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>In the collection of the Virginia Historical Society</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&amp; 3</p> <p><u>Images of War: 1861-1865 Vol. I Shadows of the Storm</u> was published. William C. Davis, editor</p> <p>Cite: Davis, William C., and Wiley I. Bell, eds., <u>Shadows of the Storm: The Image of War, 1861-1865, Vol.1</u>, Garden City, New York: Doubleday &amp; Company, Inc. 1981</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>1985</p>	<p>RG#1 &amp; RG#2</p> <p><u>1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Infantry</u> (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)</p> <p>Lee A. Wallace, Jr.</p> <p>H.E. Howard, 1985</p> <p>Cite: Wallace, Lee A., Jr., <u>1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Infantry</u> (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition) Lynchburg, Virginia: H. E. Howard, Inc., 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>1987</p>	<p><b>RG#1</b></p> <p><b><i>Blue and Gray Press again in 5 volumes reprints the Photographic History of the Civil War, appears, each volume contains two volumes of the original 1911 publication, complete and unabridged</i></b></p> <p>Cite: <u>Photographic History of the Civil War</u>, Edison, N.J.: Blue and Gray Press, 1987</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>Cite: Ward, Geoffrey, Ric Burns and Ken Burns, <u>The Civil War</u>: The Complete Text of the Bestselling Narrative History of the Civil War – based on the PBS Television Series. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1990</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>
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<p>1999</p>	<p>A Smithsonian Article, “<i>Who are These Guys?</i>” was published as a result of the controversy arising from Ken Burns’ documentary.</p> <p>Cite: Graves, Ralph, “Who Are Those Guys?” <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i>, January 1999,</p>	<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.<sup>60</sup></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 &amp; RG#3. This assumption became accepted fact, and repeated over time, it became accepted history.</p>
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<sup>60</sup> 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 &amp; RG#3</p> <p><i>“Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”</i></p> <p>Cite: Antebellum Richmond, <i>“Has He Been Hiding in Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”</i>, Angela Smythe, 2010, Web. 10 May 2010  <a href="http://www.antebellumrichmond.com/hiding.html">http://www.antebellumrichmond.com/hiding.html</a></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>
<p>May 10, 2011</p>	<p>RG#1, RG#2, RG#3</p> <p><i>“Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”</i>,</p> <p>Cite: Antebellum Richmond, <i>“Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”</i>, Angela Smythe. Web. 10 May 2011  <a href="http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html">http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html</a></p>	<p><b><i>Out of Hiding furthered the research into these images and concluded that RG#1 was the photograph that Asia Booth Clarke saw</i></b></p>

<p>May 10, 2013</p>	<p><i>RG#1 "Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays", Part One: "Chasing a Shadow from Richmond"</i></p> <p>Cite: Antebellum Richmond, "Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays", Part One: "Chasing a Shadow from Richmond" Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2013  <a href="http://antebellumrichmond.com/">http://antebellumrichmond.com/</a></p>	<p><b>Updated the timeline for the photograph starting with its 1911 donation to the Review of Reviews for Miller's <u>Photographic History of the Civil War</u> and details its eventual correct identification by Lee A. Wallace in the 1960's.</b></p>
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