

Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old, Part II

“Conversations through the Glass” John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays

By Angela Smythe
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Foreword

What is a “Conversation through the Glass”?

***“Look upon this face, and know
that I was a person here, in this time and place,
and I was happy.”***

In the preface to Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840-1900¹ author Joan Severa wrote eloquently of the emotional impact she felt examining faces from the past. She discovered the poignant anonymous plea quoted above while compiling photographs for that book.

Taken long before the instant gratification of digital imaging, “phitzers” taken in the 19th century provided a rare opportunity for someone to leave posterity with a glimpse of the person they were, a privilege previously reserved only to those with resources to pose for a portrait in pigment. By the mid 19th century, thanks to Louis Daguerre’s magic², the wonder of a portrait painted not with pigment, but with light, allowed posterity to see more than just the favored few.

¹ Severa, Joan. Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840 – 1900. Kent, Ohio; Kent State University Press, 1995, pg. xix.

² Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, (born Nov. 18, 1787, Corneilles, near Paris, France—died July 10, 1851, Bry-sur-Marne) French painter and physicist who invented the first practical process of photography known as the daguerreotype. Daguerre went public with his invention in 1839. The Daguerreotype was succeeded by the Ambrotype in the early 1850’s.

Sitters portrayed “at their best,”³ were now no longer interpreted through an artist’s subjective eye, but presented in a moment that indelibly links their past with a viewer’s present.

The power of this silent plea, to look upon a face and remember a life long ago lived, yet somehow still before you is something I have experienced myself many times while examining the ambrotypes of John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays taken at Charles Town. I liken the experience to holding a “*conversation through the glass*” with their plea for remembrance conveyed through the glass of Lewis Dinkle’s ambrotypes. While that glass stands as a barrier, its transparency still allows the shadows of these men to speak, not in words, but in imagery. The analyses presented herein are the result of my non-verbal, but far from silent, “conversations through the glass” with John Wilkes Booth and his Richmond Grays.

Dedication

To the sister’s plea that compelled these five year “Conversations through the Glass”

"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 dresses⁴."

³ Severa, Joan. Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840 – 1900. Kent, Ohio; Kent State University Press, 1995, pg. xix

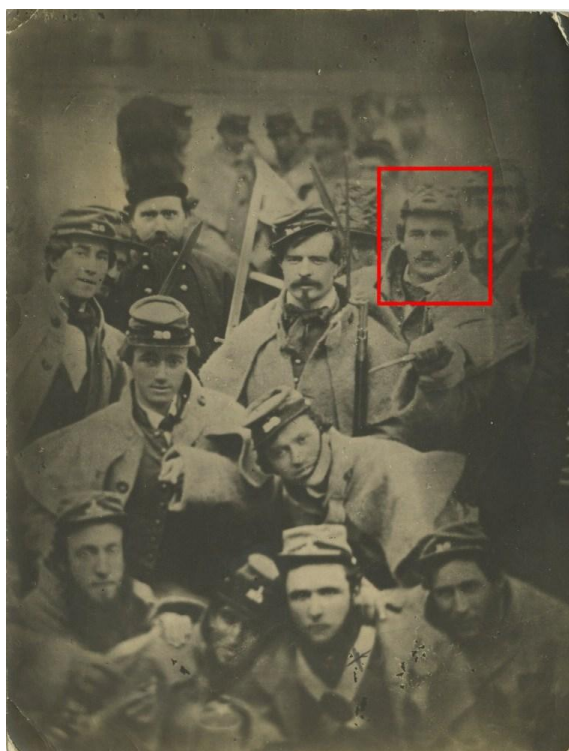
⁴ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister, Asia Booth Clarke. New York; G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1938. Pgs. 111-112. The Unlocked Book remains the preeminent first-hand narrative on John Wilkes Booth. Written in 1874 by his beloved sister, Asia Booth Clarke, whose shared childhood and adolescence provides the most comprehensive and continuous first-hand narrative of Booth that has survived. In the aftermath of the Lincoln Assassination, Asia left the United States in 1868 and lived the remainder of her life in England. During her self-imposed exile, she wrote her recollections of John, hoping that in time, its publication would present a balanced view of her brother’s 26 years on earth, rather than the customary focus on his last infamous 12 days. Out of necessity, she kept her recollections hidden in a locked box to guard it from her family’s destruction. On her deathbed in 1888, she entrusted her manuscript 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

The most significant and comprehensive recollection of John Wilkes Booth known to date was secretly written and locked away in 1874 by his sister, Asia Booth Clarke. Within its concealed pages, Asia dared to recall her demonized brother, John Wilkes, as a human being. Her words provided a picture of a complete, albeit short, life that exceeded her world's prescribed focus, Booth's last 12 days on earth. It was Asia's hope that in some distant day, when her words would finally be unlocked and published for a future posterity sufficiently separated from the passions and conflict of 1865, her recollections would "make [his] name less hated."

When her manuscript was 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 the antebellum Richmond Grays defending Virginia, a silent witness to a fealty from which he never wavered.⁵

Booth and Robert Lincoln. The book was first published in 1938, 50 years after Asia's death, 73 years after the death of John Wilkes Booth and Abraham Lincoln.

⁵ *"I remember hearing Booth once say that he had been a member of the Richmond Grays and had been with them when John Brown was hanged and noted [t]he pride he showed in having been one of the group."* Ferguson, W. J., "Lincoln's Death", Saturday Evening Post, February 12, 1927, pg. 37



*I'm looking at you through the glass
Don't know how much time has passed⁶*

Silver Bromide Print of Richmond Gray #1, "RG#1"
Center Rear Highlighted
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38

As silent sentinels, unconscious of the time that has passed, the antebellum militia men we see in RG#1 including John Wilkes Booth, ask us to simply look upon their faces and remember this shared moment from "their time and place," as brothers in arms defending a pre-war Virginia. For Asia's brother, flanked by his fellow Richmond Grays, it preserved the moment in which he too, "was happy", the same moment from which he dated his fealty to Virginia.⁷

⁶ Stone Sour, "Through the Glass" from the Album "Come What(ever) May 2006

⁷ "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

“Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old, Part I; Chasing a Shadow from Richmond” “answered the mystery and documented the 150 year journey of **how** this image evolved from merely being a picture Asia saw of her brother John Wilkes preserving him in that moment of brotherhood to become the iconic image representing the “Face of the American Civil War.”⁸ *Part II, “Conversations through the Glass”* documents that John Wilkes Booth is in this picture, and explains **why**.

“Conversations through the Glass” is dedicated to granting Asia’s plea, that we are her hoped for distant posterity that will finally **“look upon (his) face and know that he was a person here, in this time and place, and he was happy.”**

*militia on this occasion he was wont to trace his fealty to Virginia.”*⁷ Townsend, George Alfred. *The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth*. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1865. Pg. 22

⁸ AntebellumRichmond.com, *“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. <http://antebellumrichmond.com/chasing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

Conversations through the Glass

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RG#1's Proof is in its Prints
The Right Media, Prints for the Right Client – John Wilkes Booth

*“The negative is the equivalent of the composer’s score,
and the print the performance.” - Ansel Adams*

Asia’ “picture” was a photographic print. This fact is the key to understand why RG#1 alone can be the picture that she saw. Since 2009, from an examination of all of the ambrotypes discovered to date taken by itinerant ambrotypist Lewis Dinkle (1829-1906) at Charlestown in 1859 that could possibly be Asia’s picture, only three were identified as possible candidates, Richmond Grays (RG) # 1, 2 and 3. All of these ambrotypes are 6th plate size; approximately 2.5” x 3.75” and in two instances were in the possession of a man seen in each ambrotype.⁹

⁹ AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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> ; AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html> ; “*Bound for Glory, John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, the Journey to Charlestown – 1859*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2012 ,
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/bound-for-glory.html>; AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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.
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/chasing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>



RG#1
Original Ambrotype Owned
by
William Colavita
Richmond Virginia



RG#2
Original Ambrotype
Virginia Historical
Society
1960.77



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

None of these ambrotypes have any provenance to the Booth family. RG#1's ambrotype (severely damaged) was owned by Julian Alluisi and is still in the possession of his family in Richmond. RG#2 was owned by Richmond Gray Aylett Reins Woodson with his family subsequently donating it to the Virginia Historical Society in 1959, and RG#3 has always been owned by the Eby family in Charlestown. Of these three ambrotypes, only one, RG#1 could be Asia's picture because it alone produced prints (photographs).

In order to be the picture seen by Asia Booth Clarke taken of her brother at Charlestown, and later by Booth family confidante, Mrs. Ella Mahoney¹⁰ a print had to have been created by a then innovative process using a glass plate negative produced by an ambrotype. Of these three candidates, only RG #1 has been documented to exist in early print media, created by a photographer in Richmond between December 1859 – May 1860, who was trained in this process which produced vintage photographic prints of RG#1.¹¹ Furthermore, RG#1 was

¹⁰ I am deeply indebted to Professor Terry Alford for bringing this information to my attention. The story of Mrs. Ella V. Mahoney's photograph is detailed at: AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Glimpsing a Shadow from Richmond – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*" <http://antebellumrichmond.com/glimpsing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

¹¹ (1) The faded Albumen print held by the Virginia Historical Society, (2) the photograph donated to Richmond's 1888 Exhibition, AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Has He Been Hiding in*

enlarged during this process from its original size (2 5/8" x 3 1/8" to 6 1/2" x 8 1/2") making prints of this larger size suitable for display. It was one of these prints, with provenance to the Booth family that Asia saw and Mahoney later possessed.¹²

This process of making prints from an ambrotype was an atypical request made a time when the public's demand, particularly in the southern states, was still for the permanence of the ambrotype, the era's "jeweled icon of remembrance." And little wonder...

"Ambrotypes often were set in elaborately designed, molded, and hinged cases called Union Cases. The case gave the ambrotype a physical weight. Secured with a catch, it also maintained an element of surprise, a sense of drama as one held a jewel box-like object in one's hands, wondering what was going to be pictured inside. As the case was opened this sense of theater became part of the viewing experience."¹³

In 1859 Richmond, like most of America, the majority of clients, including the men seen in all of the other ambrotypes taken by Lewis Dinkle at Charlestown,

Plain Sight? John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2010 <http://www.antebellumrichmond.com/hiding.html>

AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011

<http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>

and lastly (3) the "war time" photograph provided to Roy Mason in 1911 which appeared in Miller's Photographic History of the Civil War. AntebellumRichmond.com, "*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. <http://antebellumrichmond.com/chasing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

¹² Asia's photograph may also be the same one possessed by Mrs. Ella Mahoney or possibly two prints of the same photograph, AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Glimpsing a Shadow from Richmond – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*" <http://antebellumrichmond.com/glimpsing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

¹³ During the early wet plate period, 1856-1861, the predominant format in Virginia was the ambrotype, a "one of a kind" product. Notably; Welling, William, *Photography in America; The Formative Years, 1839-1800* (New York: Cromwell, 1978) 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)

still preferred their images one at a time. Held within its familiar encased jewel-box,¹⁴ the ambrotype, was “as durable as Cheops!”¹⁵ and preferred over ephemeral pieces of paper.

There is no evidence that any of other known ambrotypes created by Dinkle, who was the only known “artist”¹⁶ in Charlestown between November and December of 1859, were later reproduced for the purpose of making prints. This includes those taken of prominent clients such as General William B. Taliaferro, noted Richmonder James Lyons, Taliaferro’s Military Secretary Samuel Bassett French and Governor Wise's own son, O. Jennings Wise.

However important these men were, they like the rest of Dinkle’s clients with one exception, were not actors. By the late 1850’s using a wet plate collodion negative to produce multiple paper prints had become the “industry standard” amongst actors, who used prints to promote themselves, especially when in costume. These prints furthered the public’s association of them with the characters they portrayed. For more about the early use by actors of prints including John Wilkes Booth, the sole actor at Charlestown, his brother Edwin Booth, Charlotte Cushman, and Edwin Forrest - see [The Power of Prints](#). For more about John Wilkes Booth’s photograph taken in costume for Uncas while in Richmond - see [John Wilkes Booth’s Other Photograph from Richmond 1859-1860](#).

A note when viewing these images...

“Being anxious that my “best girl” should see me in the full garb of a warrior, I arrayed myself in heavy marching order and went to an ambrotype saloon to have my picture taken. I have seen that picture since the war. In an ambrotype everything is reversed, so my musket is at my left shoulder, haversack and canteen on the

¹⁴ <http://www.luminous-lint.com/IaW/public/5/2/4/3/0/20/T> Robert Hirsch *Seizing the Light: A Social History of Photography*, Second edition (McGraw-Hill, 2009) Chapter: 4 Section: 3 The Ambrotype.

¹⁵ Mathew Brady; stated an ambrotype was “as cheap as a reticule, but as durable as Cheops!” “*Holiday Souvenirs; Brady’s Gallery*,” [New York Daily Tribune](#), Dec. 29, 1856

¹⁶ Dinkle in the 1860 Census correctly described himself as an “artist” associating his occupation as an earlier “Daguerreian Artist” - single media , and not the later association with this occupation as a photographer.

wrong side,--*in fact, I was wrong end to end in every respect.*”¹⁷
(*Emphasis added*)

I have flipped all ambrotypes and prints from negative to positive orientation to correct the “wrong view” noted by the soldier above. Seeing the “scene as it was seen” greatly assists identification of the men’s interactions and interprets their progressive movements from each image. This is particularly important in the detailed analyses provided in the Appendix.

¹⁷ John G. B. Adams, Reminiscences of the 19th Massachusetts Regiment <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0168%3Achapter%3D3%3Apage%3D6>

The Right Moment at Charlestown – November 21, 1859



Silver Bromide Print of Richmond Gray #1, “RG#1”
Center Rear Highlighted
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38

Historical narratives identify Monday, November 21st as the likeliest time when RG#1, along with its two sequential companion ambrotypes, RG#2 and RG#3 were taken¹⁸. The newspaper narratives provide the right day, the right time after the right event, and the right mixed group of men engaged in the right activities in a relaxed first day setting.

¹⁸ Notably, “*Charlestown Intelligence*” (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859; “*The Virginia Chivalry in Arms*”, Salem Register (Salem, MA), November 28, 1859; “*Excitement in Virginia, Our Charlestown Correspondence*”, New York Herald, November 27, 1859 ; “*Charlestown Intelligence*” (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) (Evening Star, Washington DC) Nov. 25, 1859; “*Letter from Charlestown*”, Alexandria Gazette, Nov. 24, 1859

Point by Point

1. ***“It having been whispered that there would be a dress parade and a review of the military by Governor Wise at nine o’clock in the morning, in the vicinity of the courthouse ... (Identifies the event time, and place of an anticipated dress parade for Governor Wise at 9 o’clock) ¹⁹***
2. ***“...the neighborhood of the courthouse square was occupied by a large and anxious crowd at that hour, expectation being on tip-toe to see the Richmond military go through the drill. At last it was announced that the review would not take place until four in the afternoon but the crowd were compensated for the disappointment by the appearance of the Richmond Grays, 80 rank and file, who went through a number of military evolutions in a manner which could hardly be excelled...” ²⁰*** (Places the Richmond Grays at the right place engaged in the right activity as compensation for the postponed formal parade/review)

Points 1 and 2 identify the right day, time and event; Monday, November 21st after the 9 o’clock impromptu parade, approximately 10:00 o’clock, and confirms the Richmond Grays at the right place engaged in the right activity, an informal event put on for the populace of Charlestown. With the main event (the formal dress parade/review for Governor Wise) postponed for hours, the boys decided to put on a good show.²¹ After all, “the ladies” were waiting. The Grays

¹⁹ “*Charlestown Intelligence*” (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) Richmond Whig, Nov. 25, 1859

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ “At four o’clock the various companies were assembled at the tap of the drum, and were immediately drawn up into line, under the command of Col. J. T. Gibson” The men who paraded included the companies from the 1st Regiment of Volunteers from Richmond but were not limited to them. Companies that participated were: (1st Regiment) Richmond Grays, (Lieut. Bossieux) Company F (Capt. Cary), Young Guard (Capt. Rady), Virginia Riflemen, (Capt. Miller), Petersburg Artillery, Morgan Continentals, Jefferson Guards, Mount Vernon Guards, and the Alexandria Riflemen “The crowd collected to witness the parade numbered some fifteen hundred to two thousand persons”...after going through a number of evolutions, Gov. Wise advanced to the line which opened ranks, allowing him to pass through. ...after the Governor had gotten through with the review, the companies took up the line of march, and after marching and counter-marching for some time, the line was dismissed by Capt. Elliott (the acting 1st

lived up to their reputation for drilling excellence, “executing a number of graceful maneuvers and were “the cynosure of all eyes; their beautiful evolutions being so even and uniform that they reminded one of the movements of a piece of machinery”.²²

3. *“The Grays have the reputation for being the one of the best drilled volunteer companies in the country, and their performance on this occasion fully sustained their reputation. **The Virginia Riflemen and the Young Guard also paraded in the morning**²³ ... **Company F did not parade until the afternoon.**”²⁴* (Identifies the same right mixed group of men seen in RG#1)

Point 3 places the same mixed group of men seen in RG#1 together. On their first full day in Charlestown, only members of the Richmond Grays, German Rifles (also known as the Virginia Rifles or Riflemen) and Young Guard paraded informally that morning at 9 o’clock as compensation for Charlestown’s disappointed citizens who had gathered hoping to see the anticipated formal dress parade and review by Governor Henry Wise. These three types of uniforms²⁵ are

Regiment’s Colonel.) “Much regret was expressed that the weather was so inclement, as it marred to some extent the beauty of the display.” *“Charlestown Intelligence,” Military reviewed by Gov. Wise, Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859*

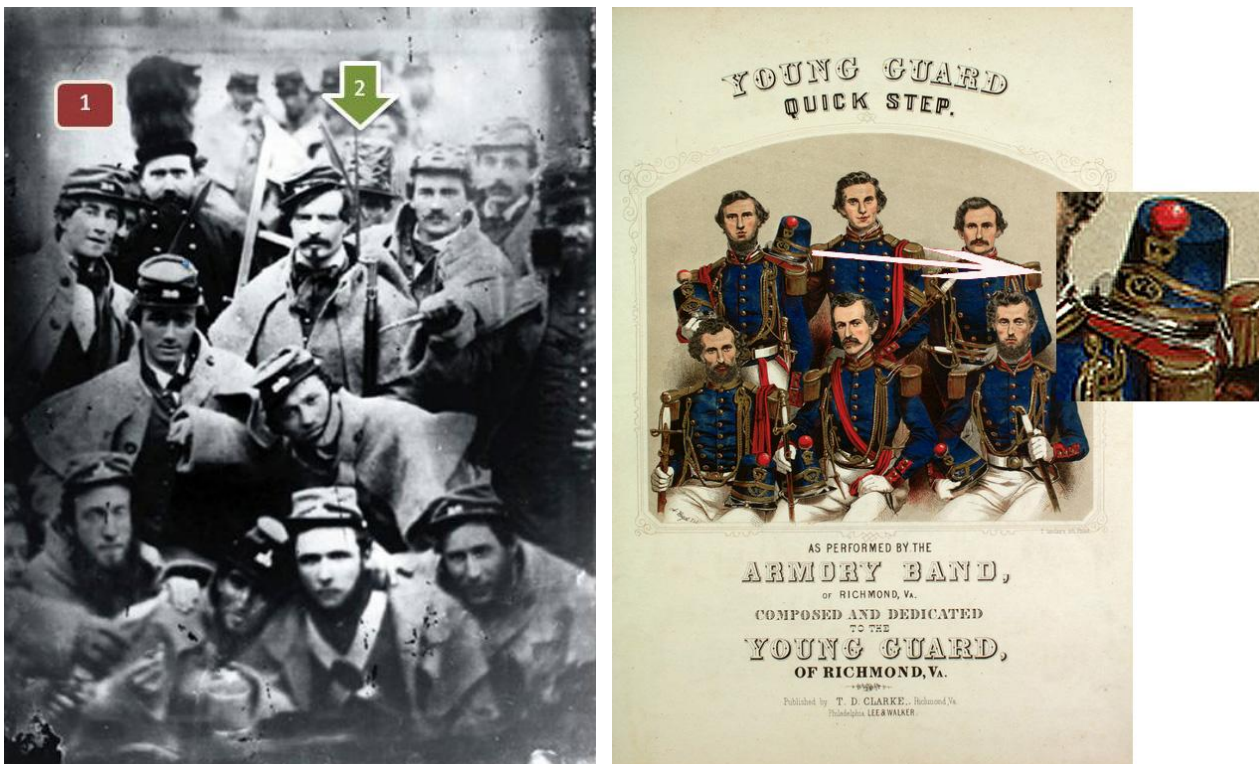
²² *“The Excitement in Virginia”, New York Herald, November 27, 1859*

²³ “Captain W. M. Elliott having been placed in the command of the regiment on account of the sickness of Col. Thomas P. August, the Grays were under the command of Lieut. Bossieux.” (*“Charlestown Intelligence”, Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859,*

²⁴ Company F from the 1st Regiment did not parade until the afternoon. (*“Charlestown Intelligence”, Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859, “Charlestown Intelligence” Correspondence of the Baltimore American), “Address to the Military”, Evening Star (Washington DC) Nov. 25, 1859*

²⁵ When disembarking the train at Charlestown, the Young Guard’s, “... rich uniforms shown resplendent even in the starlight...” (*“The excitement in Virginia”, New York Herald, Nov. 27, 1859.*) At Charlestown in 1859 the Richmond Grays and Company F were the only companies from Richmond attired in gray “undress” fatigue uniforms. The German rifles would not have this same attire until after a fund raiser to acquire them took place December 26th in Richmond. Historian Lee Wallace’s first correct identification in print of the men seen in RG#1 dating them to Charlestown and not CSA would be based on Julian Alluisi wearing that previous dark blue and green uniform that he is seen wearing in RG#1. AntebellumRichmond.com, *“Chasing Shadows 150 Years Old – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, Part One; Chasing a*

exactly what is seen in RG#1 below (Julian Alluisi (1) in his tall bearskin shako and dark uniform of the Virginia Riflemen²⁶, a member of the Young Guard (2), his face obscured, identified by wearing that company’s distinctive shaped parade shako covered in a rain slick amongst a group of Richmond Grays in fatigue uniforms with one man seen wearing linen cross straps - all garbed in regimental overcoats.)²⁷



4. *“After the drill had been gone through with by the Grays, they employed themselves in various ways in passing the time.”*²⁸
 (Identifies the time, after the 9 o’clock impromptu parade,

Shadow from Richmond”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2013.

<http://antebellumrichmond.com/chasing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>, pg. 37

²⁶ The Virginia Rifles were also known as the Virginia Riflemen, prior to (approx.) 1854, they had been known as the German Rifles

²⁷ The overcoats were English Army style overcoats.

²⁸ *“Charlestown Intelligence”* (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859,

approximately 10:00 o'clock when the men were free to mill about and amuse themselves)

Point 4 identifies the time that day was after the 9 o'clock impromptu parade. By 10 o'clock the men were free to mill about and amuse themselves, and they did. Even more importantly, the author of the article then proceeds to specifically chronicle the activities of the Richmond Grays, Points 5 and 6 below.

5. ***“After the drill had been gone through with by the Grays, they employed themselves in various ways in passing the time. I was much amused at a play introduced by them on Main street, and into which they entered with all the gusto of schoolboys, it was called the “Fox and Hounds” ...²⁹ (Emphasis added)*** (Notes the activities being tracked are those specifically of the Grays within the relaxed attitude only viable on the first day in town before structured duty details were determined.)

Point 5 observed a relaxed attitude only possible on the first day in town. Groups of Richmond Grays were seen playing “Fox and Hounds” and “Zouave” drill, chasing games in the main streets and serenading citizens. After the morning’s impromptu parade and before the formal review in the afternoon, the men were free to amuse themselves, indicating no hard and fast duty details yet assigned.³⁰ This is indicative only of the first day in town of what would soon become a true military occupation of the city and its surrounds. These relaxed activities occurred prior to General William B. Taliaferro’s arrival in Harper’s Ferry the following evening. The “strict to the letter” General Taliaferro³¹ would implement regimented control of the town’s “main” streets (George/Washington Streets) adjacent to the Jefferson

²⁹ *“Correspondence of the Richmond Dispatch, Affairs at Charlestown”, The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 24, 1859)*

³⁰ Competing with the other leisure activities, we are told that “During the day, the visiting military were all allowed the opportunity to see the prisoners. They were received with much cordiality, although Brown remarked to one of his interrogators that he objected to being made a monkey show of.” *“Correspondence of the Richmond Dispatch, Affairs at Charlestown”, The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 24, 1859)*

³¹ *“Correspondence of the Richmond Dispatch, Affairs at Charlestown”, The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 24, 1859)*

County Jail and the courthouse which preempted and restricted their use for military purposes and emergency access in case of alarms.³²

6. ***“After the drill had been gone through with by the Grays...Another party was observed in the street, in front of the daguerreotype wagon, three lying on the ground and three others in standing position, who were having their pictures taken to send to their families and friends behind them, in the event of their not being able to return to them until after the close of the war.”***³³ (Documents the taking of exterior photographs of the Grays, in the street gathering around Charlestown’s sole itinerant ambrotypist, Lewis Graham Dinkle, who is operating from his wagon)

Point 6 established that exterior photographs were taken of Richmond Grays in the street gathering around Dinkle’s wagon. Of the dozen Lewis Dinkle ambrotypes found to date, only RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3 were staged outdoors.³⁴

The rarity of this situation warrants further comment. As explained later within this paper, Dinkle apparently only had one type of lens, the standard Petzval lens, designed specifically for indoor portrait work. He was not a landscape artist, he earned his living by taking the “likeness” of individuals inside his portable

³² The location that the 3 Richmond Grays ambrotypes were taken was adjacent to the jail yard compound’s wall which would have been in this very area. Previously discussed in 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>

³³ “*Charlestown Intelligence*” (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) “*Address to the Military*”, *Evening Star* (Washington DC) Nov. 25, 1859 and “*Charlestown Intelligence*”, (Correspondence of the Baltimore American) *Richmond Whig*, November 25, 1859

³⁴ Dinkle did not have sufficient clientele in Charles Town to have it as a permanent residence, it was merely part of his circuit when the troops so unexpectedly arrived. At a moment of unheralded opportunity, his available inventory was limited to what he would use and stock under normal circumstances, nor could Dinkle as a non resident dared to venture out to procure more and be expected to be allowed back into a city operating under martial law with any pictures of Brown or the execution expressly forbidden. Previously discussed in 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>

studio, his wagon. Thus other than this day, it is extremely doubtful that he would be taking outdoor pictures of yet another group of Richmond Grays.

The Richmond Grays observed in the street in front of the daguerreotype wagon, “three lying on the ground and three others in standing position who were having their pictures taken,” are of interest relative to the Richmond Grays ambrotypes. The men were not lining up to enter the wagon’s interior studio, but were posing. The newspaperman’s choice of term “lying” on the ground in his observation was misleading. This is late November in the dirt streets of Charlestown and not a midsummer day in Richmond’s Capitol Square lolling on the warm grass, the ground was muddy after heavy rains. The Grays upon their arrival Sunday evening were met with 2-3 inches of mud in the streets and that night “it rained again in torrents.”³⁵ On Monday morning when that scene was observed, no man would actually be “lying” stretched on the muddy ground, but *could* have been observed as crouching or squatting, as we see in the bottom row of men in RG#1 and RG#2. Use of the prosaic “lying” on the ground certainly sounds more in keeping with 19th century antebellum sensitivities, rather than the more accurate but less genteel descriptions of “squatting” or “crouching”.

In none of Dinkle’s images taken within his wagon do the number of men exceed 2 rows with a capacity for 3 in each. If there were only the 6 men as noted in the newspaper observation, then they could have simply gone inside the wagon. Instead, they are seen lining up outside, posing, indicating that either more men were joining in the grouping or that a specific street scene was desired. It is possible that the scene described was the Richmond Grays positioning themselves to take one of Dinkle’s only three exterior images found to date, RG#1, RG#2 or RG#3.

7. “The remainder of the day until four o’clock in the afternoon was occupied by the soldiers in various amusements. Some would form a group and rehearse tragedy from ancient and modern dramatics ...

³⁶(Amongst other amusements, a group of men was rehearsing (reenacting) a dramatic scene in the street, at the same time when at least 6 Richmond Grays were seen posing around the ambrotype wagon of Lewis Dinkle)

³⁵ “Letter from Charlestown”, Alexandria Gazette, Nov. 24, 1859

³⁶ “The Virginia Chivalry in Arms”, Salem Register, (Salem, MA) November 26, 1859,

Point 7 provided a tantalizing confirming detail about a group of men seen “rehearsing tragedy” on this same morning, Monday, November 21st at the same time that at least 6 Richmond Grays were observed posing in the street around Dinkle’s wagon. What better description than a nucleus formed around an actor, the lone actor at Charlestown, Richmond Gray John Wilkes Booth, whom we know provided Shakespearean readings for the populace at the Zion Episcopal Church’s lecture room, for individual citizens in their homes, and for his fellow Grays in their barracks?³⁷ The scene described is consistent with the activity seen in the dramatic tableau staged around John Wilkes Booth in RG#3.

³⁷ Notably, Alfriend, John S. History of Zion Episcopal Church, Saint Andrew’s Parish, Charlestown, West Virginia, privately published, 1973, pg. 3, Libby, George. W. “John Brown and John Wilkes Booth” The Confederate Veteran 37, April 1930, pg. 138, “Entertaining chap he was!” – “George W. Libby Recalls Incidents of the War Between the States”, Richmond Times Dispatch, July 7, 1939, and Alfriend, Edward M. “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth by Edward M. Alfriend”, The Era, October 1901, 604 and “A Talk with the Surviving Eye-Witnesses of the John Brown Raid”, G.A.T’s Correspondence, Chicago Tribune (appeared in Cincinnati Commercial Tribune) November 17, 1869 “Mr. Hawks’ son (Arthur, aka “Sunshine” Hawks) told me he heard Wilkes Booth repeat Shakespeare and other poems at his father’s house the night Brown was hanged.” Also recounted in “Seventy-Seven Years of Sunshine”, his autobiography; Adams, Richard, “Seventy-Seven Years of Sunshine” Liberty (Chicago), Oct. 25, 1923, an interview with Sunshine Hawks who as a boy of twelve saw much of the John Brown raid” and includes reference to him seeing Booth at Charles Town. The article was reprinted in the Spirit of Jefferson (Charles Town, W. Va.) Feb. 4, 1925



RG#3
Positive View



RG#3
Dramatic action
John Wilkes Booth
RG#3
(Cropped/Enlarged)

8. *“...others would add to their own and the citizens’ pleasure by singing choice musical selections in a manner definitely amusing...again a number would gather around the wagon of the daguerreotype man and have their “phitzers” taken for the dear ones they had left behind... At four o’clock a dress parade of the First Regiment took place...”*³⁸ (Tells us that men were seen

³⁸ “Virginia Chivalry in Arms”, Salem Register, November 28, 1859

gathering around Dinkle's wagon well before the 4 o'clock afternoon's formal dress parade.)

Point 8 confirms that the leisure activities, including the gathering of men around the daguerreotype wagon to have their "phitzers" taken had ended well before preparation for the 4 o'clock full dress parade and review for Governor Wise. The men would have needed time to eat and return "all spit and polished" appropriately attired for the governor. If Dinkle's wagon was stationed in the vicinity of the jail, as the background wall seen in RG#1 and RG#3 demonstrates he was, then prior to that event, Dinkle would have been required to suspend his activities and relocate his wagon elsewhere to accommodate the hundreds of men who would parade (approximately 600) as well as the fifteen hundred to two thousand spectators who viewed it.³⁹

The Right Details

The Right Itinerant "Artist" - Lewis Graham Dinkle

A likely description of Lewis Dinkle's traveling "ambrotype saloon," his wagon,

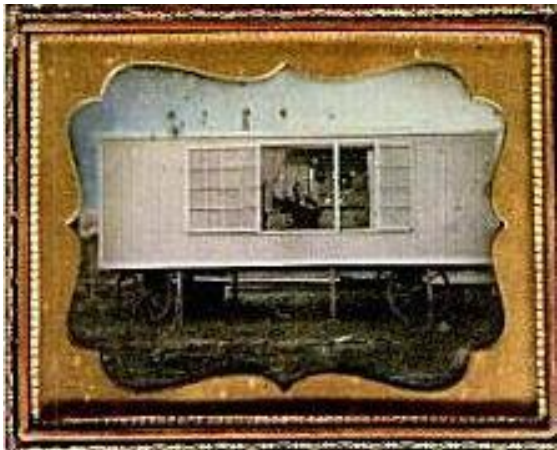
Among the quaint objects that were to be seen in New England fifty years ago, few were more interesting than the itinerant "daguerreotype saloon" – those peripatetic studios on wheels, in which "artists" used to journey about the country taking photographs. Of course, card photo-graphs had not come into vogue then; but there were the daguerreotypes, and later the tintypes, and finally the ambrotypes in little black-and-gilt cases. Those "saloons" were picturesque little structures, not much more than five feet wide by fifteen feet long; they were mounted on wheels. On each side was a little window and overhead was a larger skylight; a flight of three steps led up to a narrow door at the rear. The door opened into the "saloon" proper, where camera and the visitor's chair stood; forward of that was the cuddy under the skylight, in which the photographer did his developing. The photographer was usually some ambitious young fellow who, after learning his trade, often made and painted his "saloon" himself. Frequently, he slept in it, and sometimes cooked his

³⁹ Ibid

meals in it. If he did not own a horse, he usually made a bargain with some farmer to haul him to his next stopping place in exchange for taking his picture. When business grew dull in one neighborhood, he moved to another. He was the true Bohemian of his trade-the gypsy of early photography.”⁴⁰



Itinerant Ambrotypist and “Gallery” circa 1860



Half plate Daguerreotype of a Traveling Photographer’s Studio, taken by James A. Boyd at White Pigeon (Michigan), June 6, 1856, *Artist with Handling Car*



Batchelder's Daguerrian Saloon, c. 1851.
Wagon scale: Approx. 6 feet by 15-20 feet.

⁴⁰ C.A. Stephens, “That Mysterious Daguerreotype Saloon ” published in Youth’s Companion (Boston) 91:19 (10 May 1917): 265-66

During 1859, in just such a wagon, one of these “bohemians of their trade” itinerant ambrotypist Lewis Graham Dinkle (1829 -1906) traveled the rural roads of what is now West Virginia. Dinkle, a neophyte ambrotypist, cannot compete with the photographers in the larger towns with their permanent galleries, his clientele was found among the back roads of the smaller cities, like Charlestown.⁴¹ Dinkle was from Frederick County, Virginia where as late as 1858, he had listed his occupation as “teacher.” One year later, fate brought 30 year old bachelor Lewis Graham Dinkle and his portable "Ambrotype Saloon" , his wagon, to Charlestown at the same time as Governor Henry Alexander Wise and over 400 members of his first Regiment of Virginia Volunteers were descending on it.⁴²

Dinkle was not a Charlestown resident and had no permanent address in Charlestown until after he married local girl Maggie Kelly in the spring of 1860. Even then, while he and his wife lived at the hotel, both of his advertisements from this same period did not include an actual address for his Daguerreotype “saloon,” which likely remained inside his wagon.⁴³

Dinkle was only briefly active as a "photographer" from 1859-1861, his career was interrupted by his service in the CSA. Dinkle resumed his craft in 1865-66,⁴⁴ but by 1867 he had moved on to mercantile endeavors focusing on the sale of

⁴¹ There were established galleries in Staunton, Wheeling, Martinsburg and Winchester.

⁴² Dinkle did not have sufficient clientele in Charles Town to have it as a permanent residence, it was merely part of his circuit when the troops so unexpectedly arrived. At a moment of unheralded opportunity, his available inventory was limited to what he could use and stock under normal circumstances, nor could he have dared to venture out to procure more and be expected to be allowed back into a city operating under martial law with any pictures of Brown or the execution expressly forbidden.

AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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>

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

⁴³ “*Lifelike Pictures*”, Virginia Free Press (Charlestown) March 1, 1860 and “*Ambrotypes*”, Virginia Free Press (Charlestown) April 19, 1860

⁴⁴ During the war, 6ft. Lewis Dinkle, an improbably tall cavalryman along with brothers Enos and John served in the 7th Cavalry Regiment, Turner Ashby’s Troop. At the age of 32, Lewis enlisted as a

pianos and jewelry. Yet, in his meager 5 year career as an “artist”, Dinkle, a “ham and egg” photographer by anyone’s definition, unknowingly captured the image which through an almost mythic journey came to represent the face of the American Civil War. Dinkle did not live long enough to see a print of his ambrotype published in Volume One of Miller’s Photographic History of the Civil War, he could never have imagined a more implausible outcome from that November morning in the streets of Charlestown.⁴⁵

The Right Place

Taken at the right location with the John Brown jail yard wall as backdrop.

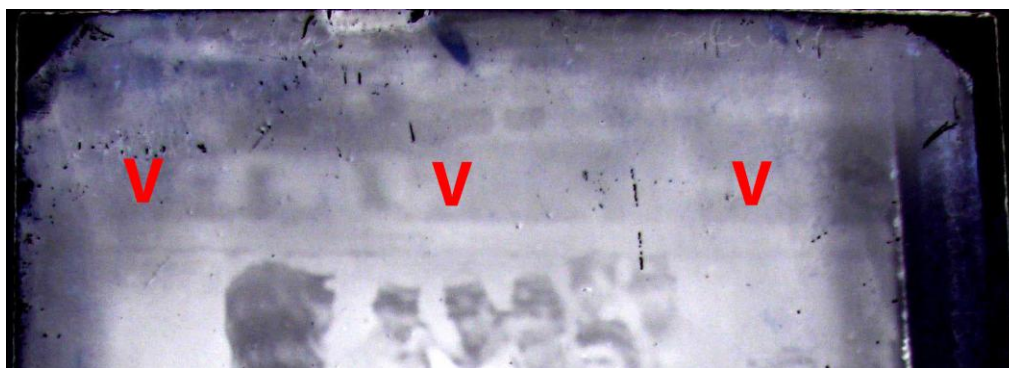


Figure 1 - Background seen in the negative plate of RG#1 disclosing the wall with cap line and structures [\(ENLARGE\)](#)

The Jefferson County Jail’s distinctive jail yard perimeter wall with its horizontal cap can be seen above. The New York Herald Tribune in “The Charles Town Executions”, dated December 17, 1859, described the wall as a smooth brick wall of about 15 feet, indicating that it was covered with plaster. This description matches the wall seen in RG#1 and RG#3. There are no photographs of the original jail as it appeared in 1859, but can be seen in contemporary drawings. The jail was damaged during the war and later reconstructed in 1874.

private 6 months after Ashby’s death and served to the conclusion of the war . Youngest brother Enos who had only recently graduated from Gettysburg College returned there to fight and die in the nearby battle at the age of 20.

⁴⁵ RG#1 appeared in Volume of the Photographic History of the Civil War in 1911 five years after Dinkle’s death.

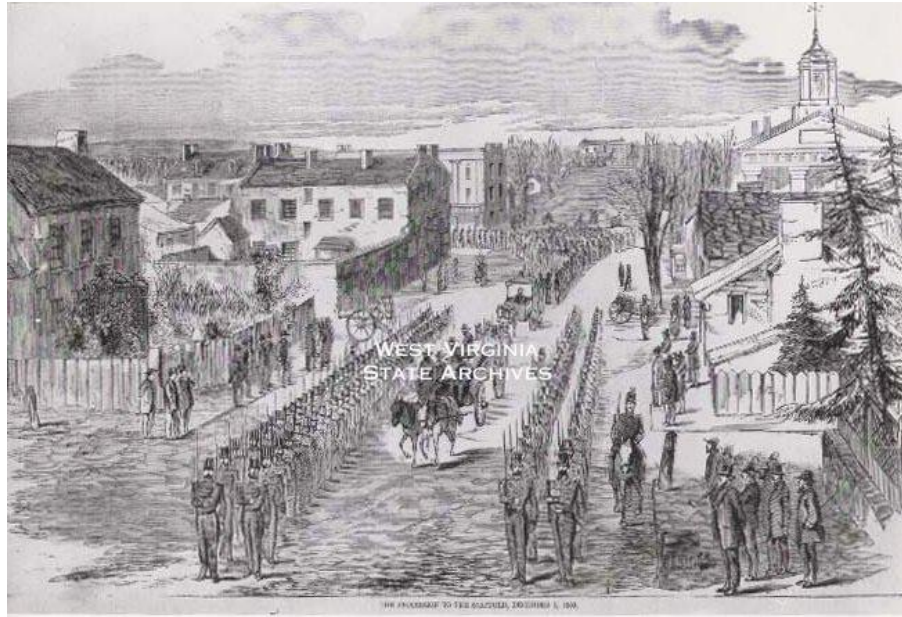


Figure 2 - John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project

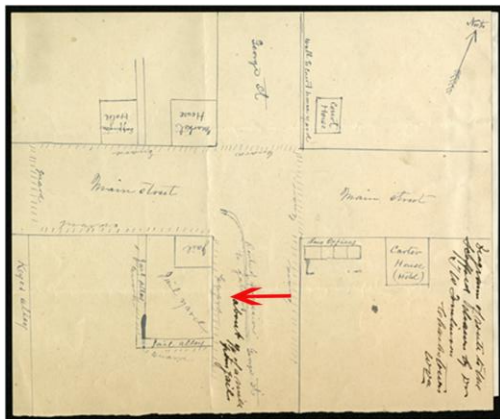


Figure 3 - Diagram of the jail and streets around it, as recalled by Charles Bedinger Davenport, a member of the local Jefferson Guards. Georgia Room, Glass Album 4, Museum of the Confederacy Items 7-8 Account of John Brown War and his execution. [\(ENLARGE\)](#)

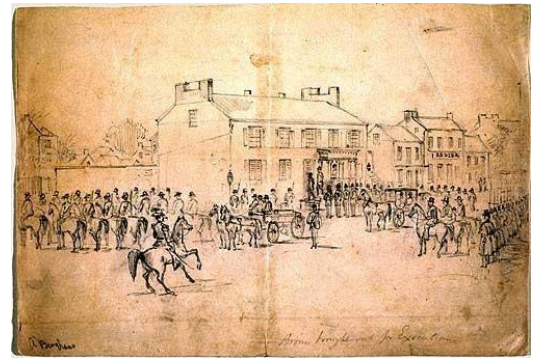


Figure 4 – John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database/West Virginia Memory Project (same scene - rough sketch)

[\(ENLARGE\)](#)

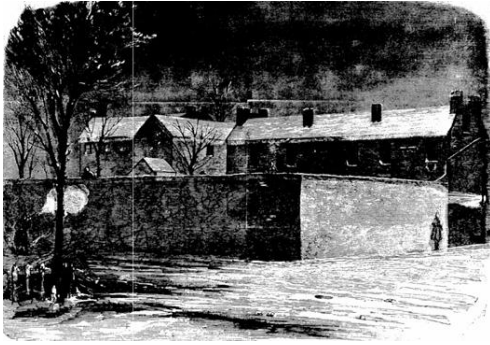


Figure 5 - Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, December 24, 1859 Provides perspective of jail, rear alley and George Street. Confirms newspaper accounts of perimeter stone wall, by most accounts 12-15 feet high with cap

We know for a fact it's the jail wall seen in the distance in two of the three RG images, which means that Dinkle was positioned on one of the streets it bordered.⁴⁶ It is unlikely that Dinkle would have been allowed to set up permanently along any of the main streets near the courthouse once the rigid disciplinarian General William B. Taliaferro arrived.⁴⁷ This area would be used for military parades and be under Taliaferro's strict control.

⁴⁶ Jail yard and wall details previously discussed in 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>

⁴⁷"*The Harper's Ferry Invasion, Affairs at Charlestown*", New York Herald, November 24, 1859

"*Correspondence of the Richmond Dispatch, Affairs at Charlestown*", The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 24, 1859) "Brigadier General Taliaferro, of the Fourth Brigade Virginia Militia... General Taliaferro is a thoroughly trained officer, and is a rigid disciplinarian." *Charlestown Intelligence. More False Rumors--Perpetual Excitement--Col. Davis Overslaughed--Visits To Captain Brown*" Richmond Whig, November 29, 1859

"Major General Ben (sic) Taliaferro arrived here on the express train last evening, and assumed, by direction of Gov. Wise the command of all the forces. Gen. Taliaferro does not supersede Col. Davis, but was entitled by rank to the command of the whole force. ("Harper's Ferry", Connecticut Courant, November 26, 1859) The "last evening" mentioned was Tuesday, November 22nd.

Previously this responsibility had fallen to militia Colonel J. Lucius Davis. Davis, a close Wise family friend, was the officer in command at Charlestown, tasked with guarding the tried and condemned John Brown and his fellow conspirators while awaiting execution. Davis' urgent telegrams to Governor Wise alerting him to rumors of a large armed force descending on the area is what compelled Wise to call out the military first from the closer Alexandria companies on Friday, Nov. 18th and then Richmond's 1st Regiment of Volunteers on Saturday the 19th. Wise,

The Right Weather

The previous night, Sunday, when the Grays arrived at approximately 6 o'clock, "the evening was disagreeable" and during the night it rained.⁴⁸ In RG#1, two members of the Richmond Grays and a member of the Young Guard (with Julian Alluisi of the Virginia Rifles in the background) are seen wearing rain slicks covering their headgear (see Figure 1 below.)



Figure 1

faced with an anticipated armed invasion and the supervision of the hundreds of militiamen converging to the area for its defense replaced Davis with the experienced Major General William B. Taliaferro who arrived at Harper's Ferry the evening of November 22nd. Davis was thanked for his service and continued in a general staff position to Taliaferro.

Another reason compelling Governor Henry Wise to make this change was Davis' proud and very public acknowledgment that he had recently assisted the Governor's son (and Company F Private O. Jennings Wise) in one of his many duels. Participating in a duel as a principal or a second was subject for being disenfranchised from commissioned rank. Davis' comments were gleefully repeated by northern newspaperman reporting from Charlestown and caused Governor Wise a major embarrassment just when a dueling amnesty was being negotiated, mostly for the benefit of his son. "Col. Davis has been disenfranchised under the anti-dueling act from holding any office, civil or military, in Virginia. He has acted here as an advising officer." ("Harper's Ferry", Connecticut Courant, November 26, 1859) See "*Bound for Glory, John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, the Journey to Charlestown – 1859*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2012 , pg. 53 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/bound-for-glory.html>

⁴⁸ "Letter from Charlestown", Alexandria Gazette, Nov. 24, 1859, "The Excitement in Virginia, Our Charlestown Correspondence", New York Herald, November 27, 1859

On Monday, there was a limited window of time when the weather permitted the outside staging seen in RG#1. After the conclusion of the morning's 9 o'clock informal parade, there was some light rain in the afternoon and the weather conditions continued to deteriorate.⁴⁹ By the time of the afternoon review at 4 o'clock the "weather was so inclement it marred to some extent the beauty of the display."⁵⁰ That evening there would be heavy rain.⁵¹

The right weather conditions are seen on the jail yard wall in the background

⁴⁹ "*Correspondence of the Baltimore American*", dateline: Charlestown Nov. 21st; Richmond Whig, Dec. 25, 1859; "*Charlestown Intelligence*", Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859; "*Our Charlestown Correspondence*", New York Herald, Nov. 27, 1859, "*Charlestown Intelligence*", Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859

⁵⁰ "Much regret was expressed that the weather was so inclement as it marred to some extent the beauty of the display" ("*Charlestown Intelligence*", Richmond Whig, November 25, 1859)

⁵¹ That evening Governor Wise himself was put under arrest while walking through the town when he could not provide the password at a sentry checkpoint and caught cold from being escorted in the heavy rain to headquarters. ("*Letter from a Wheeling Volunteer*", Daily Intelligencer (Wheeling, VA), December 03, 1859, "*City Items, The Commander-in-Chief under Arrest*", Richmond Whig, November 25 1859.) The inimitable Henry Wise was ecstatic that the sentry, Private John Pizzini of Company F, who knew him well, had nevertheless followed his orders to the letter, admitting later that had Pizzini admitted him without the password, he would have had him court martialed the following day. ("*The Excitement in Virginia*," New York Herald, Nov. 27, 1859.) Upon their return to Richmond, Private Pizzini was presented with a gold watch from Governor Wise for doing his duty that night. (Fireman's Magazine, Vol. IX, January, 1885, No. 1, "John Brown", Page 718)



Picture of the cap at top of the wall
seen in RG#3



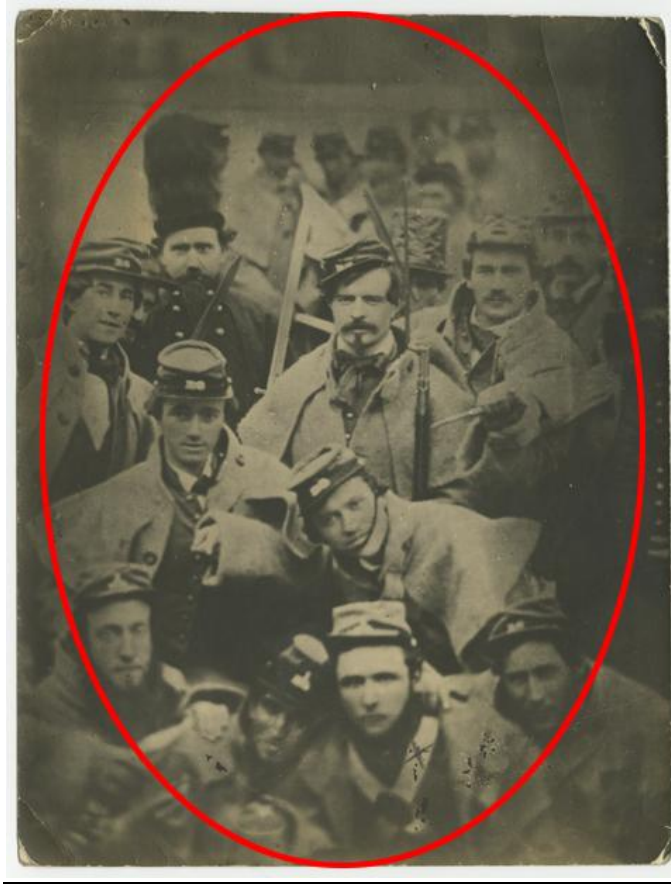
Modern wall following a light rain

The caps along the top of the distinctive jail yard wall were standard size. During the right weather conditions, water runoff would have produced corresponding moisture runoff lines.⁵² The faint vertical lines seen at the top of the wall just below the cap in RG#3 suggest that they are moisture lines remaining from a recent rain. Appearance of these lines required specific weather conditions. A residue of moisture or a very light rain was necessary to produce this effect. During a heavy rain, these lines do not appear.

⁵² Previously discussed in 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>

**Finally the Right Men with The Right Reason –
The Quartermaster Duty at Charlestown**

The Man in the Middle – Quartermaster Robert Alexander Caskie⁵³



Silver Bromide Print of Richmond Gray #1, “RG#1”
Center Highlighted
Virginia Historical Society
2010.1.38

⁵³ For the story of how “the man in the middle” of RG#1 became erroneously associated with being John Wilkes Booth in Ken Burns 1990 documentary *The Civil War (Episode 1: The Cause)*, please see: AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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>

As this section documents, Regimental Quartermaster Robert Caskie is not only the “man in the middle” of RG#1, but identifying him as such was the key to unlock the picture’s composition, and why John Wilkes Booth is in this picture in the first place. It also explains why Booth wanted multiple copies (prints) made from what ordinarily would have remained an ambrotype, “a unique non-repeatable entity.”

It would serve as a memento of Booth’s proud inclusion as acting Quartermaster Sergeant amongst this particular band of brothers, The Richmond Grays, and commemorate his gratitude to Quartermaster Robert Caskie, the man who was responsible for him going to Charlestown.

“I remember hearing Booth once say that he had been a member of the Richmond Grays and had been with them when John Brown was hanged and noted [t]he pride he showed in having been one of the group.”⁵⁴

“The quartermaster (Robert A. Caskie) consented to employ him (John Wilkes Booth) in a subordinate service for which Booth seemed very grateful.”⁵⁵

Identifying Robert Alexander Caskie

Previously solving the mystery of who was the famous “Man in the Middle” seen in RG#1 produced two leading candidates: Richmond Grays Miles T. Phillips or James E. Tyler.⁵⁶ As early as 2011 contributor and militia expert Mark Greenough suggested the man in the middle might be Robert Caskie based on a

⁵⁴ .” Ferguson, W. J., “Lincoln’s Death”, Saturday Evening Post, February 12, 1927, pg. 37

⁵⁵ “A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth”, Texas Siftings, August 4, 1883

⁵⁶ AntebellumRichmond.com, “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>

AntebellumRichmond.com, “Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>

little known picture taken of Caskie when serving as a Colonel in the Confederate Army. A close examination of the man in the middle's earlobe eliminated Miles T. Phillips and James E. Tyler who had "detached" earlobes. The man in the middle has a long "attached" earlobe, shared by less than 25% of the population which is genetically shared with family members.⁵⁷

The CSA image of Colonel Robert Alexander Caskie has been retouched, with detail drawn in (pinxit) around the visible ear and eyebrows. However, even with that artistic license, there are sufficient points of comparison to identify Caskie as this man. In particular the distinctive earlobe detail, a genetic trait, is discernible on both the RG images and a photograph of his eldest daughter, Amanda (Caskie) Thomas, Caskie's passport photograph taken at age 92, and his

⁵⁷ Meijerman, Lynn; Inter- and Intra Individual Variation in Ear Prints, Doctoral thesis, Leiden University, Barge's Anthropological Dept. of Anatomy and Embryology, Leiden University Medical Center, Leiden University, 2006[Earlobe %];

brother William Henderson Caskie.⁵⁸ Hopefully an untouched print of Caskie's CSA photograph can one day be located.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Colonel (CSA) Robert Alexander Caskie (1830 - 1928) and Major (CSA) William Henderson (Willie) Caskie (1834 - 1900) were sons of one of the richest men in Virginia, the venerable Scottish born James Caskie, President of both Richmond's Tobacco Exchange and the Bank of Virginia. Robert was an acquaintance of Governor Henry A. Wise, having served as groomsman at Wise's daughter's wedding. Robert himself would marry within days of his return from Charlestown. Both brothers would gallantly serve the Confederacy during the Civil War in companies outfitted by their father's fortune. At its conclusion they, along with a third brother, James Kerr Caskie, would revive the family's lucrative tobacco business. Willie, a gifted artist, continued both his drawing and involvement in the Richmond Theater. Both brothers were theater devotees, one of Robert's daughters and a son had subsequent careers in the theater. By 1876, the effects of a disastrous family lawsuit (Caskie V. Harrison, rendered Jan. 13, 1874) would drive both men permanently from Richmond in an attempt to avoid the enforcement of its unfavorable judgment. Efforts to avoid paying its crippling amount would greatly impact both Robert and Willie's remaining lives;

By 1879 Willie Caskie had left his "widow" and children behind in Richmond and started a new life and a second family in Texas where he would enjoy a successful career as a cartoonist, notably for Texas Siftings. In 1883 Willie would recall his recollections of John Wilkes Booth's service in Charlestown in his article: "A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth", Texas Siftings, August 4, 1883. When Willie died in 1900, he left two living "widows," each with children.

Robert would go on to become the largest tobacco exporter in "Little Dixie" Boone County, Missouri. As the more financially successful of the two brothers, Robert would be the "deep pockets" to pursue to settle the judgment. In 1884 after exhausting all appeals to the initial 1874 judgment, Robert Caskie would abandon his wife and children, leaving her as a convenient "widow" allowing her to return to Richmond. Caskie himself would live the next 20 plus years under the alias of "Captain" Roland Smythe (no relation!), aka the "Hermit of The Wabash" in the wilds of the Wabash River area in Indiana. While not addressing Booth specifically, nor identifying himself correctly, Caskie spoke of his recollections of John Brown and his time spent in Charlestown. (Notably, The Craftsman Magazine, Vol. 16, April 1909 – September 1909, The Quiet Philosopher of the Wabash: by George Bicknell.) Caskie only (publically) reclaimed his true identity in the last remaining years of a 98 year lifespan and at least once compelled a nephew to publish his "non-death notice" in 1904 in an effort to further his masquerade as Roland Smythe. Robert would die in fact in 1928 while living with a son. Of the original 1859 Richmond Grays, only the younger George W. Libby would outlive him, dying in 1931 at the age of 92. Colonel Robert Alexander Caskie would finally return to Richmond when his ashes were interred at Hollywood in 1948 next to his "widow" who had preceded him in death by 26 years.



Man in the Middle, RG#2
(no border)
(1859)



Robert Alexander Caskie
CSA
Undated photograph with
detail pinxit



Man in the Middle, RG#1
(1859)

⁵⁹ As late as 1959, one such print existed, owned by a Joseph McCoy in Beckley, West Virginia. "Tales of a Man in a Civil War Era Picture", by Shirley Donnelly, Beckley Post-Herald, appeared in The Raleigh Register, October 3, 1959 , Page 4

Ear Detail Comparisons

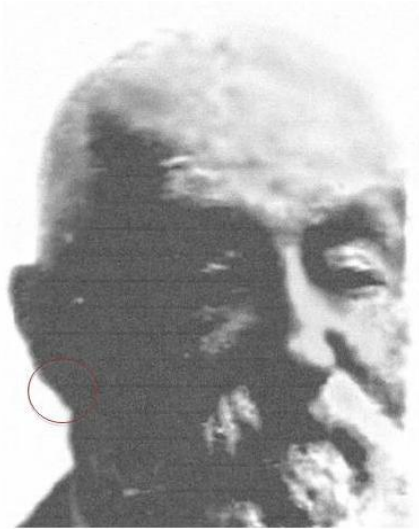


Robert A. Caskie, RG #2 (above) Negative
and RG#1 (below) Positive

ABOVE
Amanda (Caskie) Thomas (Daughter)
20 year old photograph reprinted in
Washington Times, March 21, 1920



The Caskie Earlobe



(Left)
Robert Alexander Caskie
Passport photograph taken in 1922,
age 92

(Right)
Amanda (Caskie) Thomas, Robert's daughter



(Right)
William Henderson Caskie CSA
Undated photograph with detail pinxit

It is possible that Robert Caskie kept a print of his CSA photograph during his 20 some years spent incognito as “Captain Roland Smythe” in the Wabash wilderness from 1884 to 1906. (See footnote 58.) In 1906, when an article on the then 76 year old Caskie appeared in an Indiana newspaper, a drawing accompanied it that uncannily matched the much younger man pictured during his CSA years and the Richmond Grays images, complete with distinctive Imperial goatee extending below his chin. The artist who drew the illustration most likely based his drawing on a photograph taken of Caskie decades before. It certainly bore no resemblance to the “Hermit of the Wabash” being interviewed in 1906 (see below.)



“On the Banks of the Wabash”
Drawing used to illustrate Col. Robert A. Caskie, CSA,
Indianapolis News, April 21, 1906

**Robert Alexander Caskie Comparisons
Age Progression – Robert Alexander Caskie**



ABOVE - Robert A. Caskie, RG#2
Ambrotype taken at Charles Town
November 21, 1859, age 29



ABOVE - Robert A. Caskie
aka "Hermit of the Wabash"
Photograph used in The Indianapolis News -
Dec. 17, 1910, age 80



ABOVE - Cropped and rotated drawing that
accompanied article about Colonel Robert
Caskie, Indianapolis News
April 21, 1906



ABOVE - Photograph of Roland Smythe
aka "Hermit of the Wabash"
(Robert Caskie) same time
(Sullivan County Public Library, Indiana)

Unlocking the Composition of RG#1

According to the Richmond Grays Pay Roll,⁶⁰ long time Richmond Grays' Quartermaster Robert Caskie was appointed Regimental Quartermaster by Governor Wise on night of the Gray's departure from Richmond on Saturday, November 19, 1859. After Governor Henry Wise's appointment, "Quartermaster Caskie" functioned as the Quartermaster for the entire 1st Regiment, the ranking Quartermaster.

Caskie was positioned in the center because holds the highest rank of the men seen and your eye is drawn to Robert Caskie for several reasons. First he is in the center of the picture, Secondly, he was also the only man seen in the picture with a gun.⁶¹ Additional attention is drawn to him by the positioning of the men

⁶⁰ "Pay Roll" - The original muster roll for Captain Elliott's Co. A (Richmond Grays), First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, shows a total of 94 names of officers and men who were eligible to receive payment for duty performed from 17 to 19 October and/or from 19 November to 5 December 1859. Several members were present for only a portion of the Charles Town Deployment. Record Group 46, Department of Military Affairs, John Brown's Raid Muster Rolls, 1859-1860. Accession 27684. Library of Virginia, My sincere gratitude to David Wilson, great great grandson of Richmond Gray David Garrick Wilson, for kindly obtaining a copy for me; <http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

⁶¹ "The US Model 1842 percussion musket was produced in large numbers at the Federal armories located in Springfield, Massachusetts and Harper's Ferry, Virginia between 1844 and 1855. It was a smoothbore weapon firing a .69 caliber round ball, or "buck and ball" consisting of three buckshot added to the ball. This well-built weapon made of interchangeable parts weighed over nine pounds and came with a long socket style bayonet. It's effective range was limited to approximately 100 yards. The US Model 1855 rifled musket, firing a .58 caliber Minnie bullet accurate at 300 yards and beyond, made the Model 1842 smooth bore musket obsolete. The improved Model 1855 weapon was issued to the Richmond Grays in a public ceremony on Capitol Square in April 1859. By the time of their service at Charles Town, the Grays had many new members and were known to be carrying both Model 1842 and model 1855 weapons."(Courtesy Mark Greenough)

The gun Caskie holds is not one of the Grays cherished "Minnie muskets" awarded to them by Governor Wise in April during the Capitol Square presentation, but an older smooth bore style rifle. (I am indebted to Mark Greenough for this identification.) "Conversations" will document that the Richmond Grays ambrotypes were taken in sequence; RG#1, RG#3 ending with RG#2. The gun is no longer seen in the last of the 3 sequential Richmond Grays images, RG#2. A reasonable conclusion is that the weapon belonged to one of the other men, a non Gray, who is seen in the trio or someone in the vicinity not seen in the images. The ambrotype for RG#3 has never been photographed outside of its frame which could possibly obscure another man. Julian Alluisi of the Virginia (German) Rifles is seen in RG#1 when the rifle first appears, and Alluisi

directly in front and below him (Figure 1.)⁶² Lastly, your eye is drawn to him because he is the center of a diagonal line of men, as shown below (Figure 2.)



Figure 1

Crop of RG#1 through the center showing positioning of men and gun



Figure 2

RG#1
Caskie in the center of a diagonal line with two men wearing rain slicks over kepis

winds up owning this ambrotype, it is possible it was his gun. This could explain why Alluisi, after the prints were made of RG#1 in Richmond, obtained an ambrotype taken of members of the another company, Richmond Grays, and which today his descendents in Richmond still posses.

⁶² Aylett Reins Woodson (with X on his cross strap) appears at the bottom of these three men, below a yet to be determined Richmond Gray whom I have identified as “chin strap man.” Unlike Woodson who appears in all three Richmond Grays ambrotypes, he is only seen in RG#1

With Quartermaster Caskie now identified, What do the Rain Slicks on the Kepis Tell Us?

The Richmond Grays seen “through the glass” wearing rain slicks on their kepis and the men seen along this diagonal line belong to the Quartermaster Department that served under Robert Caskie’s authority at Charlestown.

When the Alexandria units arrived in Charles Town approximately noon on Friday, November 19th they numbered two companies and 95 men, less than half of the amount of men (approximately 200) from Richmond’s 1st Regiment of Volunteers who would arrive in Charlestown the following evening at 6 o’clock. With this reduced number of men, it still took the Alexandria units

“...all Friday afternoon, and part of the night, to get things in order.”⁶³

With Regimental Quartermaster Caskie dealing with more than double the amount of men it is likely that it would take at least this same amount of time to “get things in order” for the companies of the 1st Regiment of Virginia Volunteers. Robert Caskie and any man reporting to him would have their hands full with the added burden of satisfying the exacting Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who doubtlessly expected a well organized presence of his Richmond regiment. Caskie’s men must have worked through that first night into the very early morning hours unloading and distributing supplies from the train.

Accordingly, the Quartermaster Corps was up early Monday morning or had been up all night Sunday during which it rained (“again in torrents”)⁶⁴. Some of those men, doubtless wearing rain slicks over their kepis, just as observed in RG#1.

⁶³ *Letter from Charlestown, Alexandria Gazette, Nov. 24, 1859*

⁶⁴ *Ibid*



ABOVE - Rain slick in the collection of the Museum of the Confederacy⁶⁵

Who else was in the Quartermaster Corps? – Forming the (Diagonal) Line

Robert Caskie in the Center of the Diagonal Line



⁶⁵ The rain cap covers are thin, wrinkly, shiny material with two button holes corresponding to the two buttons on the sides of the cap itself anchoring the chin strap leaving the visor exposed. It is documented that the Grays had such rain covers; “Military companies in want of cloth fatigue caps such as worn by the Grays and other companies with oil slick covers...(Advertisement from the Richmond Daily Dispatch, December 1, 1859)

Leading Candidate Cyrus G. Bossieux⁶⁶

The Man in the Upper Right Corner of the Diagonal Line

The man seen wearing a rain slick at the end of this line upper right was previously identified as most likely to be Richmond Gray Cyrus Bossieux.⁶⁷ Cyrus Bossieux, was the younger brother of the Richmond Grays Lieutenant Louis J. Bossieux, and uncle to its young “acting quartermaster Sgt.” 19 year old Louis F. Bossieux.

**Cyrus Gray Bossieux (1835 - 1906), age at Charlestown; 24
Brother to Richmond Grays Lieutenant Louis J. Bossieux,
Uncle to Louis’ son, Louis F. Bossieux**



**Cyrus Bossieux (TBD)
RG#1
Circa 1859, age 24**



**Cyrus Bossieux (TBD)
RG#3
Circa 1859, age 24**



**Cyrus Bossieux
Honor Roll of the Richmond
Grays
Circa 1866, Age 30**

⁶⁶ John O. Taylor’s descriptions of John Wilkes Booth’s services at Charlestown used both terms of assistant “quartermaster” and “commissary” interchangeably. “Commissary” is a title often used to described Cyrus Bossieux’s duties with the Grays both preceding and following the Charlestown deployment

⁶⁷ AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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> ; AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011

Leading Candidate Louis F. Bossieux as Youngest Looking Man

The Man at the other end of the Diagonal Line

The man previously described as “Youngest Looking Man”⁶⁸ appears at the opposite end of the diagonal line from Cyrus Bossieux. A potential candidate for “youngest looking man” (YLM)⁶⁹ is Cyrus’s young nephew, Louis F. Bossieux. When Richmond Grays Quartermaster Robert Caskie was promoted to (acting) Regimental Quartermaster, the young Bossieux filled Robert Caskie’s position as the Grays Quartermaster Sgt., “appointed on the departure of the Regiment to Charles Town.” In 1864 at the age of 24, Bossieux measured 5’7”. Five years earlier at age 19 in 1859, he could be no taller and likely an inch or two shorter.⁷⁰ His physical description corresponds to the man seen in the RG ambrotypes who is both the “youngest looking” and “the smallest looking” man seen in all three ambrotypes⁷¹

⁶⁸ AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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> ; AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011

⁶⁹ The youngest men (18-20) who served at Charlestown with the Grays are identified below. Of these, only Louis F. Bossieux was assigned formal rank in the Quartermaster Department. Bossieux, Louis F, 18; Clark, Charles D, 18 (already identified); Allegre, W.R., 19 (already identified); Granger, C.N. 19; Shelton, S. B. 19; Smith, Sam. J. 19; Tyler, James E. 19 (already identified in Honor Roll); Askew, John, 20; Libby, Geo. W., 20 (already identified); Nicholas, Geo., 20; Pickett, R. B., 20, Rogers, Aug. F., 20; Taylor, John O., 20

⁷⁰ Records obtained from Fold 3 Bossieux’s September 1864 application for clerkship in the Confederate Treasury Department; Age 24, eyes and hair; brown, complexion fair, 5 feet 7 inches.

⁷¹ Ibid



Louis F. Bossieux (1840-1907)
undated illustration used
In his obituary, Richmond Times Dispatch
February 12, 1907



Youngest Looking Man, (YLM)
RG#2
1859

A very poor resolution newspaper photograph exists, which accompanied Louis F. Bossieux's (1840-1907) obituary (shown above.) The only other image found to date is one purporting to be Louis F. Bossieux held by The Museum of the Confederacy, a photograph taken in April, 1861. However, the young boy seen therein appears too young to be the then 21 year old Bossieux and the boy's distinctive ears differ from and are too large to match those in Bossieux's 1907 obituary. The Museum's photograph is more likely a picture of Myrtland Taylor, Bossieux's young stepbrother who tragically died at the age of 17 at the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg).

All facts considered, (1) Bossieux's age of 19, (2) his rank with the Grays while at Charles Town, (3) standing diagonally next to Robert Caskie in RG#1 with (4) his uncle Cyrus Bossieux in the same picture at the other end of that diagonal line, and (5) facial points of comparison between the obituary photograph and the man who is best discerned in RG#2 above, makes Grays Quartermaster Sergeant Louis F. Bossieux the most likely candidate to be YLM, seen below in RG#3 staged in a dramatic knife fight with another Quarter Master Sergeant, John Wilkes Booth.

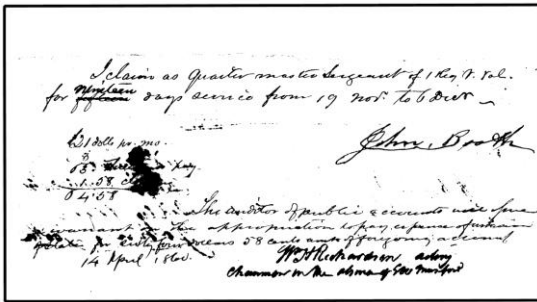


RG#3
Dramatic action
John Wilkes Booth RG#3
(Cropped/Enlarged)

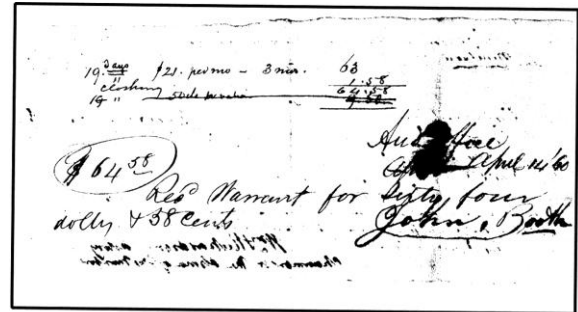
The Non Enrolled Volunteer, John Wilkes Booth

The Other Quartermaster Sergeant and the Remaining Man on the Diagonal Line

“By the Book” – Why (Acting) Regimental Quartermaster Caskie is the key to understand how Booth, a non enrolled volunteer, got to Charlestown



John Wilkes Booth's Pay Claim
Quartermaster sergeant for the 1st Virginia
Regiment [\(ENLARGE\)](#)



John Wilkes Booth's Receipt
[\(ENLARGE\)](#)

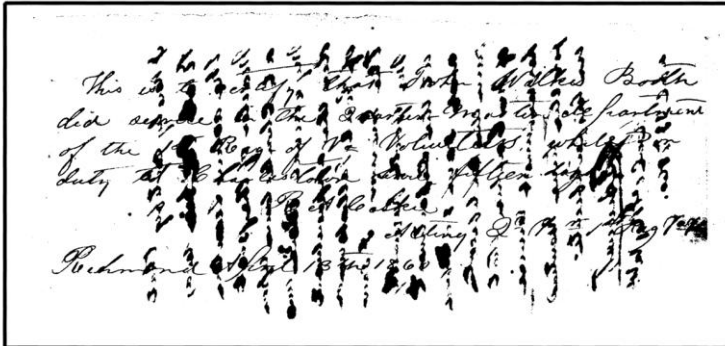
Robert Caskie appointed John Wilkes Booth as Quartermaster Sergeant of the 1st Reg. before leaving Richmond. The proof lies in the fact Booth was paid.⁷² Under the law, those without legal authorization to go to Charlestown were not paid. To receive pay for going to Charlestown, your authorization and service had to be proven.

From the “Report of The Commissioners appointed to Audit and Pay the Expenses, Etc., incurred by the Late Invasion at Harpers Ferry,” dated February 29, 1860, Doc. No 46, pay would only be made to enrolled militia ordered to defended Virginia against the invasion, those who were appointed by Governor Wise under his direct legal authority and served, and those who were appointed and served

⁷² John Wilkes Booth was paid as the quarter master sergeant for the 1st Virginia Regiment, dated 14 April 1860, Auditor of Public Accounts, Entry 145, Harper’s Ferry Fund, Library of Virginia, Call Number APA 145

under the inherent authority of one duly appointed by the Governor.⁷³

Robert Caskie was just such a man with inherent proper authority. Caskie was appointed by Governor Henry Wise as Regimental Quartermaster on the night of the Gray's departure from Richmond. Caskie in turn authorized Booth to go and appointed Booth to serve as Quarter Master Sergeant. Caskie's signed affidavit attests to Booth's service and documents Caskie's authorization.



Robert Caskie's
Affidavit
[\(ENLARGE\)](#)

⁷³ From "Report of The Commissioners appointed to Audit and Pay the Expenses, Etc., incurred by the Late Invasion at Harpers Ferry," dated February 29, 1860, Doc. No 46 pages 3 - 8:

"In entering upon duties, many questions arose upon the construction of existing laws, which required consideration. By the 13th section of the 29th chapter of the Code, it is provided that, "all officers and soldiers called into actual service of the State, shall be entitled to the same camp equipment, pay subsistence, forage and other emoluments to which similar officers and soldiers are entitled in the service of the United States."

At the bottom of the muster and pay roll records of the Grays with respect to their service during the John Brown Raid is the following attestation, "I have examined this pay roll and find it correctly made off according to the regulations for the U S Army. ...J.N. Brown P.M." Notably, Robert Caskie was not paid here, as stated therein. <http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

"By the 3rd section of the 17th chapter of the Code, it is provided that "Whenever the Governor shall call forth the militia, whether by virtue of the Constitution or of the preceding section, he shall issue such orders and take such measures for procuring and transporting the deployments as to him shall seem best, and for their accommodation, equipment and support, shall appoint such quartermasters, commissaries, and other staff, as to him shall seem proper." (Emphasis added)

From the Code of Virginia, Chapter 25, Sec. 28: "Each quartermaster shall be charged generally with all matters relating to his department, under regulations from the adjutant general, and as prescribed for quartermasters in the army of the United States."

There were no exceptions to the law. Militia Col. Robert W. Baylor was denied pay although under law he could have called up his own cavalry troops, the 3rd Regiment, he called up and ordered Col. Moore's 31st Inf. Regiment to Harpers Ferry, for which he had no authority⁷⁴. Similarly, George Washington's great great nephew, Major B.B. Washington, was paid only at the Captain's rate because he only took one company, a captain's command, from his regiment to Charlestown⁷⁵. Col William H. Brown, who claimed pay as an aid to Governor Wise, had his claim suspended because his appointment could not be proven⁷⁶. On the other hand, Col. J. Lucius Davis, who was neither a commissioned officer nor appointed by Wise, was paid because he had been directly ordered by Governor Wise to go under Wise's general authority⁷⁷

⁷⁴ "Report of The Commissioners appointed to Audit and Pay the Expenses, Etc., incurred by the Late Invasion at Harpers Ferry," dated February 29, 1860, Doc. No 46, pg. 10.

⁷⁵ Ibid page 10

⁷⁶ Ibid page 8

⁷⁷ Ibid page 9

John Wilkes Booth's appointment is confirmed in two narratives. First, from Willie Caskie's recollection, "*The quartermaster (Robert A. Caskie) consented to employ him (John Wilkes Booth) in a subordinate service for which Booth seemed very grateful.*"⁷⁸ And secondly, from Richmond Gray John O. Taylor's recollection, "...*Booth continued with us to Charlestown, and was assistant commissary to the Grays.*" And - "*He (John Wilkes Booth) was appointed asst. quartermaster to Captain Louis F. Bossieux and he proved to be a good man for the place...*". And again from Taylor, "*Louis F. Bossieux and John Wilkes were appointed quartermasters and commenced to issue rations.*"⁷⁹

Robert Caskie's authorization of the non-enrolled John Wilkes Booth's service at Charlestown clearly indicates there was an existing relationship between the two before the deployment and well before the troop train pulled out from Richmond. Whatever that relationship was, Robert Caskie, like so many others, would not be talking about it after 1865.

Those extra two days of Booth's Service in Richmond

Notably, unlike the rest of the Grays who returned to Richmond on December 4th, the young 21 year old Acting Regimental Quartermaster Sgt., John

⁷⁸ "*A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth*", Texas Siftings, August 4, 1883

⁷⁹ *Bound for Glory, John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, the Journey to Charlestown – 1859*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2012, <http://antebellumrichmond.com/bound-for-glory.html>, pg. 39. Richmond Gray John O. Taylor's recollection that "Captain Elliott granted him (Booth) permission to go with us" was simply that Elliott, as the acting Regimental Colonel that evening, granted permission due to the chain of (inherent) authority of Acting Regimental Quartermaster Robert Caskie's decision. Taylor interpreted that decision as Elliott being the point of authority. "*John Brown Hanging, Recollections of a Member of the Richmond Grays*", The (Richmond)Times Dispatch, May 01, 1904 and John O. Taylor manuscript regarding John Brown, Old Catalog 36-10-22 T (File 36-10-22 T), Virginia Historical Society.

Taylor's recollections are 35 years after the fact, and when he refers to Louis F. Bossieux as "Captain," he is not referring to his rank at Charlestown, but his CSA rank. It is like saying President Kennedy commanded PT109 in WWII. Booth was appointed to help Louis (F.) Bossieux, who was acting as the Grays Quartermaster Sgt. The Pay Roll records of the Grays states that Louis F Bossieux appointed Quartermaster Sergeant "on the trip to Charlestown" as clearly stated in Record Group 46, Department of Military Affairs, John Brown's Raid Muster Rolls, 1859-1860. Accession 27684. Library of Virginia, <http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

Wilkes Booth, and even younger 19 year old Acting Richmond Grays Company Quartermaster Sgt., Louis F. Bossieux, would continue on the “pay rolls” for an additional two days, still providing services to Virginia.⁸⁰

For supporting actor J. Wilkes Booth, whatever ladies arms might have awaited his return, there remained the very unwelcoming arms of Richmond Theater manager George Kunkel. While waiting for the return of his young actor who had left “unsought” for Charles Town seventeen days earlier, Kunkel may have also learned of Booth remarks recalled by George Crutchfield that “he didn’t know and didn’t care” how Kunkel would fare without him⁸¹

Upon Booth’s return to the city, Kunkel discharged him.⁸² Richmond Gray Edward M. Alfriend , whom fellow Gray John O. Taylor observed leaving the theater with Booth to catch the outbound train for Charles Town, would recall 40 years later that Kunkel had a change of heart when a large contingent of the 1st Virginia Regiment (doubtless still in uniform) marched to the theater and demanded their comrade be reinstated.⁸³ First among these men was most likely Robert Alexander Caskie, the man who authorized Booth going to Charlestown and under whose command he served, including these two extra days after the

⁸⁰ For those enrolled members of the Militia who were ordered to go and served, like the Richmond Grays, they would be paid under one provision of the law and from a designated fund set aside by the legislature. Those who were appointed by the Governor were paid from a separate fund established by the legislature. Notably, according to the Richmond Gray’s muster and pay roll records for the Charlestown deployment, Robert Caskie was not paid out of the same funds as the enrolled Richmond Grays. Neither was John Wilkes Booth..
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

⁸¹ George Crutchfield, personal letter to E.V. Valentine, July 5, 1904, V.M.T.C. Crutchfield was a member of the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, which were stationed in Martinsburg, not the adjacent Charlestown. The only interaction between their companies would have been during the outbound route to Charlestown. The remark had to have been made while still in Richmond or on the way to Charlestown.

⁸² AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Bound for Glory, John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays, the Journey to Charlestown – 1859*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2012
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/bound-for-glory.html>
Alfriend, Edward M. “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth.” *The Era*. October 1901, pgs. 603-605

⁸³ Alfriend, Edward M. “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth.” *The Era*. October 1901, pgs. 603-605.

Grays returned to Richmond. In addition to Robert Caskie, his brother William (“Willie”) Caskie, both theater devotees, and perhaps Alfriend, yet another Gray who was a theater devotee, were amongst the ”large contingent” which “visited” theater manager Kunkel once news of his action got out.

Pennsylvania born and raised George Kunkel was boxed into a very uncomfortable corner, confronted not only by uniformed men in his office, some of them, like the Caskies, extremely influential,, but held to account by Richmond’s highest court, that of public opinion. During this same time a city newspaper cited rumors about the “sundry merchants who had discharged their clerks for going with the 1st Regiment to Charles Town.”⁸⁴ Another paper warned employers who had threatened to sack militiamen “that we will expose their names and hold them up to public odium...”⁸⁵ Yet another paper trumpeted that not only the city but the state “owes the volunteers a debt of gratitude for the promptness with which they shouldered their muskets and left their homes to defend from invasion the soil of Virginia”⁸⁶

Regardless of the ire incurred by Booth’s initial “unsought” duty with now two additional days added on, given the public and private pressure put on him, Kunkel had no choice but to acquiesce to reinstate J. Wilkes Booth as a concession to patriotic southern duty.⁸⁷ In doing so Kunkel, a prudent businessman even if not a southern patriot, wisely avoided a public relations disaster.

⁸⁴ *New of the Day*, Alexandria Gazette, December 2, 1859

⁸⁵ Richmond Examiner, November 26, 1859

⁸⁶ *Soldiers Returned* The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 5, 1859

⁸⁷ Samples, Gordon, The Stage Career of John Wilkes Booth McFarland and Company, Inc., Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 1982, pg. 42

Apparently, despite Bossieux and Booth's best two days efforts, items issued during the deployment remained outstanding and still needed to be accounted for. Grays Captain Elliott ran notices in the Richmond Daily Dispatch from December 6 – 8th reminding the Grays to return various items, leading off every advertisement with the need to return to Richmond Gray William Ira Smith's store the Regimental overcoats "drawn on our leaving the city for Charlestown."⁸⁸ Smith would later bill the Commonwealth for \$1,510.50 as "clothing for volunteers."⁸⁹

⁸⁸ "*Grays Attention*", (Richmond) Daily Dispatch, December 6, 1859

⁸⁹ (Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, 1861, Doc. No. 35, Warrant Number 1065, Dec. 10, 1859). How much of this amount was for overcoats not returned vs. new requisitions is unknown. Prior to the start of the war, Smith himself did not manufacture the garments, he imported them from England. \$7.00, \$7.50 and \$8.00. "English Army Overcoats", The (Richmond) Daily Dispatch February 22, 1860.

The other Non Enrolled Volunteer, Willie Caskie

Brother Willie Caskie – Profile Man in RG#1?

William Henderson Caskie, age 25 at Charlestown



**William Henderson Caskie CSA
(undated photograph with detail pinxit)**



**Profile Man barely visible and
only seen in RG#1 (1859)**

Robert Caskie's brother, "Willie," may indeed be "profile man" whom we barely catch a glimpse of in RG#1, peering out behind one Gray in front of and to the side of Julian Alluisi. The only known photograph of Willie Caskie, like that of his brother Robert, dates from his CSA service, "pinxit" with detail drawn in.⁹⁰

Robert Caskie would have his hands full as Regimental Quartermaster, and who better to help him out than his own brother, William Henderson Caskie?

⁹⁰ De Leon, Thomas Cooper, Belles, beaux an brains of the 60's, G. W. Dillingham Company, 1909, page 267.

“Willie” Caskie was undoubtedly in Charlestown. In 1883, Willie left two first hand recollections of his time spent in Charlestown.⁹¹ In one, he recalled his brother Robert and Booth’s encounter in the baggage car prior to the troop training leaving Richmond, where Robert first remonstrated against Booth coming before he finally accepted his services and thus, Booth’s authority to go.

However, Willie Caskie was not an enrolled member of the Richmond Grays or Company F, yet his name, along with his brother’s, appears in the register of the National Hotel in Washington D.C. amidst the names of many other members of the Grays and Company F when both companies returned to Richmond.⁹² Three years later, Willie was credited with being a private in Charlestown with the Richmond Grays when Willie, Richmond’s cartoonist extraordinaire⁹³ provided the drawing he had done while there of (then) Captain Turner Ashby which appeared in the Southern Illustrated News accompanying a large article on the late General Ashby.⁹⁴

Willie’s ability with a pencil was equaled by his irreverent wit. “Having saved a piece of the rope which had terminated the earthly career of John Brown,” at the war’s end Willie was met with urgent entreaties by Northern curiosity

⁹¹ Booth’s participation at Charlestown was recalled in “*A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth*”, Texas Siftings, August 4, 1883 and particulars about the deployment in his earlier article “*John Brown’s Execution*”, Texas Siftings, April 21, 1883. In his “*A Reminiscence of John Wilkes Booth*, Willie did not identify his company and only referred to “the Quartermaster” by title, omitting the fact that he was his own brother Robert. This was most likely due to the need to distance Robert from any public notoriety identifying him with John Wilkes Booth which could draw additional attention to him at a time when Robert was trying to evade enforcement of the lawsuit judgment against him after the final appeal (1882) had been denied. (See footnote 58). 1883 would be the last year that Robert Caskie would live under his correct identity for almost 30 years. Both Caskies were theater devotees and undoubtedly knew him before the militia deployment. It is possible, even probable, that Willie purposely downplayed their relationship.

⁹² “Arrivals at the Hotels”, Evening Star (Washington DC), December 5, 1859. (Note newspaper was published every afternoon, Sunday excepted. The actual arrival would have been Saturday evening, December 3rd which corresponds to the correct lodging for both the Grays and Company F’s return to Richmond on Sunday, December 4th.)

⁹³ De Leon, Thomas Cooper., Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties, G. W. Dillingham Company, New York, 1907, Page 267

⁹⁴ “*General Turner Ashby*”, Southern Illustrated News, October 18, 1862

seekers for “just the smallest bit of the precious relic.” After "a great deal of trouble and some trifling expense," Willie dutifully procured and gleefully provided “several hundred yards of the same kind of cord which are still cherished in Yankeedom to this day.”⁹⁵

No “Pay Roll” record has been found for Willie, but it is likely that his brother Robert was instrumental in taking him along under Robert’s inherent authority granted to him by Governor Wise’s as Acting Regimental Quartermaster and paid accordingly.⁹⁶

RG#1’s Composition Unlocked

RG#1’s composition, like Asia’s book⁹⁷ has now been unlocked, Robert Caskie is its star with his men seen around him his supporting cast.

RG#1 was centered around “Quartermaster” Robert Alexander Caskie and his men. Caskie is the only man seen holding a rifle surrounded by 12 members of his fellow Richmond Grays, several of those men key members who served directly under his command. There is no mystery why out of the 3 ambrotypes, only RG#1 was replicated in print form in Richmond. John Wilkes Booth’s purpose in taking the image and then reproducing it as albumen prints was to preserve a moment of camaraderie within this particular band of brothers to which he belonged, which we now know was purposely staged around the man who enabled him to participate as non enrolled member, Quartermaster Robert Caskie.

RG#1 and RG#3 were taken sequentially

The movement of the men identified in the diagonal line from picture to picture reflects that the correct staging of the three images was RG#1, followed by RG#3 ending with RG#2. The observations disclose that of the three, RG#1 and

⁹⁵ “*John Brown’s Execution*”, Texas Siftings, April 21, 1883

⁹⁶ For those enrolled members of the Militia who were ordered to go and served, like the Richmond Grays, they would be paid under one provision of the law and from a designated fund set aside by the legislature. Those who were appointed by the Governor were paid from a separate fund established by the legislature.

⁹⁷ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister, Asia Booth Clarke. New York; G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1938.

RG#3 are the two true companion images. ⁹⁸ (For complete details of the men and their movement tracks, please refer to the Appendix.)



As the arrows indicate, the same four men's positions first identified in RG#1 continue that alignment in RG#3 through the quartermaster department, from Cyrus Bossieux through Quartermaster Sergeant John Wilkes Booth to the Regimental Quartermaster Robert Caskie in the center and ending with a very young man, most likely Quartermaster Sergeant Louis F. Bossieux.

In RG#3, while Caskie still anchors the center of the image, there is an additional focus on the “dramatic.” John Wilkes Booth was adept with both his right and left hand in shooting and sword play. ⁹⁹ In one instance on stage he was

⁹⁸ By the time the last ambrotype of the three, RG#2 was taken, the focus had shifted from the earlier two related ambrotypes. This ambrotype remained in the possession of one of the Richmond Grays seen in all three ambrotypes, Aylett Reins Woodson, until 1959 when his daughter, Mrs. Julia E. Saunders, donated it to the Virginia Historical Society.

⁹⁹ Many instances state Booth's ability with both hands, notably; “An Echo of a Madman's Shot a Man Recalls When Wilkes Booth Practiced with Pistols”, Duluth News-Tribune, October 12, 1912, Kimmel, Stanley, The Mad Booths of Maryland, Indianapolis, New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1940, page 209

observed “with his right arm tied to his side, but fencing with his left like a demon.”¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, In RG#1, John Wilkes Booth’s left hand restrains the man holding the knife. In RG#3's dramatic tableau, Booth holds the knife in his left hand while being restrained by the same man seen holding the knife in RG#1. ¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Phelps, Henry Pitt. Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage. Albany, NY: Joseph McDonough, 1889, pg. 326, the role was that of Pescara

¹⁰¹ RG#3 never left Charlestown where it remained in the possession of multiple generations of the Eby family who were residents of Charlestown prior to the events of 1859. William Line Eby owned a home on George Street within two blocks of the jail. While Eby had died in 1858, his widow Catherine survived him and was living in that home in 1859. The circumstances surrounding RG#3’s provenance remain a mystery. 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>

The Cast of Others

A Newly Discovered Richmond Grays Quintet Ambrotype



Private Edwin White Branch
Age 21



Sgt. James T. Vaughan Age 24



Private William R. Allegre
Age 19



Private Charles D. Clark
Age 19



Richmond Grays Quintet Ambrotype
(1/4 plate hand tinted)

Charles Town, 1859

Courtesy Ben Greenbaum, Perry Adams Antiques
Petersburg, Virginia

(Men ID'd by note found inside ambrotype which listed last name and position)



Private Richard M. Crawford
Age 21

Ctrl+Click to
ENLARGE

Not Philip Whitlock, but Charles D. Clark

During my research, a newly discovered Richmond Grays ambrotype taken at Charlestown surfaced, the Richmond Grays Quintet. Accompanying this remarkable find was a contemporaneous note, which listed the last names of each of the men in the picture designated by their position. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Ben Greenbaum for advising me of this ambrotype's existence and providing me with a copy of both it and note that accompanied it.

The Richmond Grays Quintet gives us the true identification of the man previously thought to be Philip Whitlock who is seen in RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3. That man is Richmond Grays Private Charles D. Clark.

Charles D. Clark, age 19



Richmond Grays Private Charles D. Clark
Negative view
As identified on back of
Branch Quintet Ambrotype



Richmond Grays Private seen in RG#1
Negative View
Previously identified as
Philip Whitlock
Jewish American History Foundation

This correct identification is confirmed by comparing Clark as seen in RG#1 against a known photograph taken of Philip Whitlock circa 1864-65 recently provided by Mr. James Klaus, a descendant of Philip Whitlock.



Confirmed photograph of
Philip Whitlock, circa 1864-1865
Courtesy James Klaus



Richmond Grays Private seen in RG#1
Negative View
Previously identified as
Philip Whitlock
Jewish American History Foundation

While Philip Whitlock's recollections¹⁰² states that he, Whitlock, knew Booth and that they served together with the Grays during the November –

¹⁰² Life of Phillip Whitlock, Written by Himself, Richmond: Beth Ahabah Museum and Trust (used with permission) Philip Whitlock's unpublished manuscript had previously been donated

December Charlestown militia deployment, Whitlock does not appear in any of the Richmond Grays images located to date.

It remains unknown how Whitlock family member and associate Alex H. Meyer obtained a print of RG#1 that he donated to Richmond's 1888 Exposition discussed in "Out of Hiding," but Charles Clark's identification disproves the theory that it was based on Philip Whitlock's appearance in the picture.¹⁰³

Comparing the men seen in RG#1, RG#2 and RG#3 against known images of several Grays who were paid¹⁰⁴ for serving at Charlestown has identified the following leading candidates for three men.

to the Virginia Historical Society in 1973. 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. (Whitlock exaggerated, his height according to his records in Fold 3 was 5'5".)

¹⁰³ Discussed in AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*", Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011, notably pgs. 16-
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>

¹⁰⁴ I am deeply indebted to Mr. David Wilson, great, great grandson of Richmond Grays David Garrick Wilson who kindly obtained a copy of this information in its entirety from the Library of Virginia. Record Group 46, Department of Military Affairs, John Brown's Raid Muster Rolls, 1859-1860. Accession #27684, Library of Virginia

Leading Candidate David Garrick Wilson



Figure 1
David Garrick Wilson (TBD) from RG#2
Circa 1859
Age 33



Figure 2
David Garrick Wilson from Honor Roll of the
Richmond Grays
Circa 1866
Age 40

In “Hiding” and “Out of Hiding”¹⁰⁵ A.H. Robins was suggested as being the man with the (apparently) long flowing beard seen in all 3 RG images. Robins was eliminated because the Grays’ “pay roll” confirmed he was not a member of the

¹⁰⁵ 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>

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>

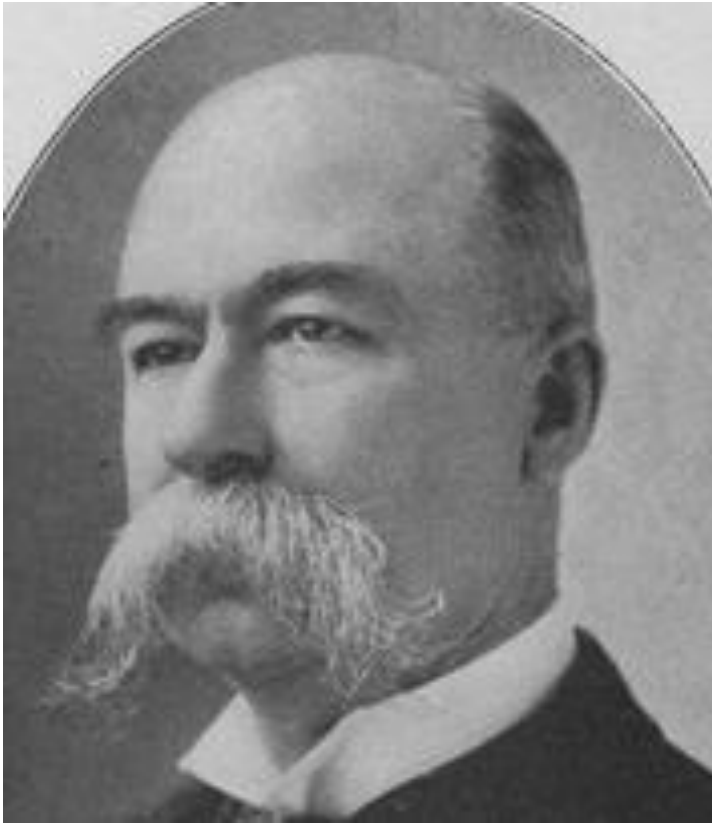
1859 Grays.¹⁰⁶ David Garrick Wilson is now the leading candidate to be this man. Wilson was a Gray in 1859 and was paid for going to Charlestown with the Grays.¹⁰⁷

A close-up examination of the beard in Figure 1 above confirms that the length is illusory caused by the shadows (see the button highlight seen directly under the man's chin.) Wilson had recently emigrated from Scotland in 1851, and both his and this man's beard both reflect that period's ethnic style favored by Scots. Singularly, David Garrick Wilson and the man seen in Figure 1 both share the same hairline with the same distinctive "tuft" of hair seen on the top of the head.

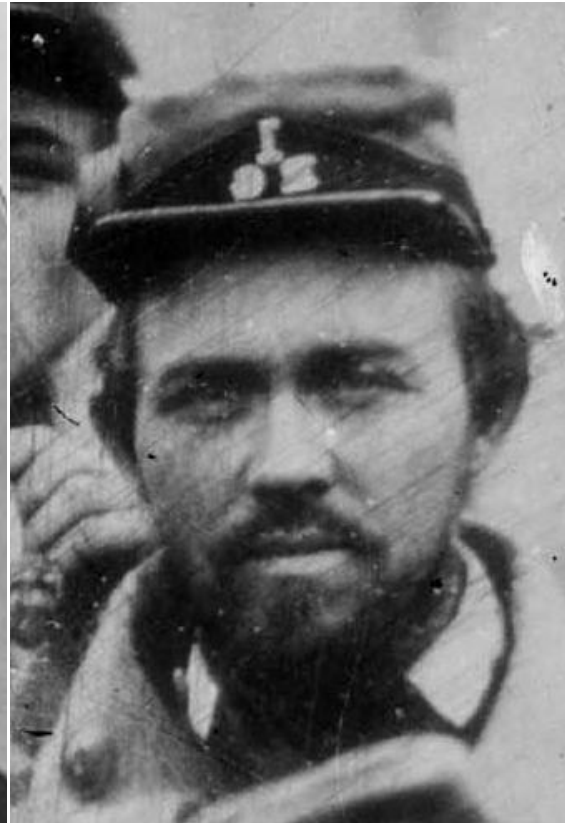
¹⁰⁶ See <http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

¹⁰⁷ Supra (see note 55)

Leading Candidate Edward Morrison Alfriend



Edward M. Alfriend (1837-1901)
Circa 1880's, age approx 60



Edward M. Alfriend (TBD), RG#2,
circa 1859
Age 22

The leading candidate for the man who alternates holding and restraining actions with John Wilkes Booth while sharing the same knife seen in RG#1 and RG#3 continues to be Booth's friend Edward M. Alfriend. ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ 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>

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>



RG#1



RG#3

To date, no younger picture of “Ned” Alfriend has been located. The only known photograph remains the one previously used in “Hiding” and “Out of Hiding”.¹⁰⁹ While its elaborate mustache obscures his bottom lips and the beard in the RG images that of the man’s chin detail, there are sufficient facial points of comparison between the two men to continue to identify Alfriend as the leading candidate for this man seen in all 3 Richmond Grays images.

Additionally the familiar relationship observed between this man and John Wilkes Booth, who alternate attacking and restraining positions while sharing the same knife in RG#1 and RG#3, attests to an existing friendship that pre-dated the time in Charlestown. It is documented that Alfriend knew Booth well before the deployment and was seen by Richmond Grays John O. Taylor coming down the steps of the theatre with him on the very night of the troop train’s departure from Richmond.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Alfriend, Edward M. “Recollections of John Wilkes Booth by Edward M. Alfriend”, The Era, October 1901, 604 “*John Brown Hanging, Recollections of a Member of the Richmond Grays*”, The (Richmond)Times Dispatch, May 01, 1904 and John O. Taylor manuscript regarding John Brown, Old Catalog 36-10-22 T (File 36-10-22 T), Virginia Historical Society

Leading Candidate James Eldred Phillips



James Eldred Phillips (1838 – 1905?)
Circa 1859
Age 21

**James Eldred Phillips from Honor Roll of
the Richmond Grays**
Circa 1866
Age 27









From facial comparisons, James Eldred Phillips also emerges as a leading candidate for a Richmond Gray who is seen in RG#2. Every facial feature on the candidate matches those of Phillips. Like all leading candidates, he also was a Gray in 1859 and was paid for his services at Charlestown.¹¹¹

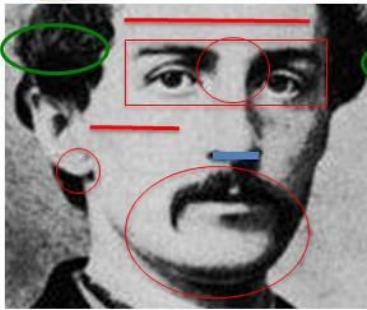
¹¹¹ <http://antebellumrichmond.com/muster-and-pay-roll-records.html>

Seeing is Believing

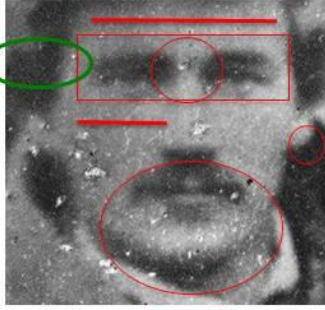
John Wilkes Booth “Seen Through the Glass,” the Pentzval Lens

John Wilkes Booth, Points of Comparison, Untouched Images

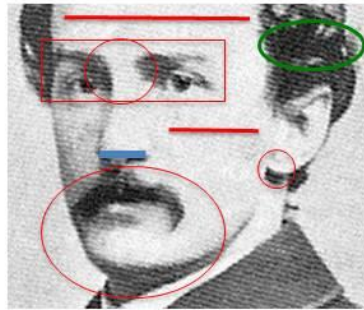
-  Forehead span
-  Eyebrows/Eyes
-  Distance between eyebrows, nose ridge
-  Breadth of cheek
-  Forward facing earlobe
-  Chin, bottom lip (Note: mustache notch matches pre 1860 timeframe)
-  Adjusted to account for lack of nose tip definition seen in RG#1
-  Hair flip indicative of curly hair



JWB Studio Pose
Gutman Collection
Gutman #4 (cropped & flipped)
Pre1860



JWB from RG# 1
Exterior Pose, Group of men at
Harper's Ferry, Circa 1859
(2010.1.38) (cropped)
Virginia Historical Society



JWB Studio Pose
Gutman Collection
Gutman #32
Post1860

[Ctrl+Click to
ENLARGE](#)

One to One Facial Image Comparison – facial feature points comparison

There is not enough discernible detail in the RG images to allow for a signature (facial) recognition algorithm, they are not digital or video sourced images. Accordingly, long-established human eye visual comparisons were utilized to analyze the relative position, size and/or shape of the eyes, nose, cheekbones, and jaw seen on the man I have identified as John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 (circa 1859) against two photographs known to have been taken of him, one pre 1860 and one post 1860.¹¹²

As demonstrated above, the man I have identified as John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 comps on every single visual point of discernible facial comparison. Additionally, Booth's early distinctive mustache "notch" is clearly visible, along with discernible patterns of curly hair bunching out from the side of his kepi. His hairline itself is not visible due to the obscuring visor of his hat.

Why you will not see Booth's "signature nose tip" in RG#1

While, the nose seen is proportionately long, a flat line is observed that suggests his nose ends at that point, which is an illusion caused by several factors.

All of John Wilkes Booth's other photographs were taken indoors under controlled circumstances, the right light (soft light), using the right lens and perfectly posed. In almost every one of those studio pictures, his nose was always oblique to the camera.¹¹³

¹¹² Gutman, Kelly, O., and Gutman, Richard, John Wilkes Booth Himself, Hired Hand Press, 1979

¹¹³ In 1881 when a leading photographer was asked "**Who takes the best picture?**" his answer was "**A professional. Actors and actresses can't take poor pictures because they know just what expression they want and how they want it. Most people...want to take a full face...a picture that looks right at you and smiles soon gets very tiresome... one with an averted face and an ambiguous expression can be studied forever.**" I used to have a dreadful time with the nose of the elder Booth (Junius Brutus Booth, John's father who died in 1852). It was broken, you know and I tried to conceal it by taking him at every angle in geometry. I photographed John Wilkes Booth a year before the assassination. He was a poetical man, with beautiful eyes and wavy hair." (Posing for Photographs, Cleveland Leader, July 2, 1881 (reprint of an article which originally ran in the New York Sun). In the lengthy article the photographer being interviewed, who styled himself the nation's oldest living practicing photographer chose to remain anonymous. The clue that he had taken an daguerreotype of Andrew Jackson shortly

On the other hand, RG#1 was taken outdoors with in bright daylight (hard light) using a lens designed for indoor portraits, where Booth's nose was, uncharacteristically for him, not oblique to the camera, and was taken at a downward angle from the camera. RG#1 is generally defocused. RG#1 is a "high contrast" picture with almost no midtone definition, taken with Booth outside the area of focus of the lens. As such, the definition of his Booth's nose, or anyone's nose who would be standing in his same location with respect to the center of this image, would not be clearly discernible.

High Contrast, the Petzval Lens and Defocus

The making of RG#1, as a print, was a complicated three stage process. Step one created a 2 ⁵/₈" x 3 ¹/₈" ambrotype. Step two created a larger 6 ¹/₂" x 8 ¹/₂" glass negative from the ambrotype, and step three was the making prints from the glass plate negative.

RG#1 was taken outdoors using a Petzval portrait lens¹¹⁴, a lens designed and used almost exclusively for close up indoors studio work.¹¹⁵ While the technical aspects of the Petzval lens and a detailed discussion of optical distortion

before his death may identify him as early Brady associate Edward Anthony (1819-1888) **(Emphasis added)**

¹¹⁴ *Was a Petzval lens used to make RG#1?* A study by Prof. Jose Sasian, Professor of Optical Science, Professor of Astronomy, University of Arizona, November 2013, amended March 2014, confirmed the use of a Petzval style lens.

¹¹⁵ Scott-Archer is credited with the discovery of the wet collodion process in 1851, which displaced the daguerreotype as the preferred medium." It was almost entirely a portrait process and was not used for landscape and other exterior work to any extent." C. B. Nebllette, *Photography – Its Principles and Practice*, Editor, *The Month in Applied Photography*, Photo-Era Magazine Second Edition, London, Chapman & Hal, Ltd., Eleven Henrietta Street, W.C. 2 (1931) ; Accessed from https://archive.org/stream/aa024/aa024_djvu.txt Copyright 1927, by D. Van Nostrand Company ; 1930, by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. Pg 18

are outside the scope of this research, identifying and addressing the resultant effects seen in RG#1 are not.¹¹⁶

Every picture contains distortions and there many different types. Below are comparisons of David Garrick Wilson as seen in RG#1 and RG#2 (Figure 1) and James Eldred Phillips as seen in RG#2 and Honor Roll (Figure 1A.) Dinkle's pictures show distortions just like every other picture. It doesn't help that Dinkle used the wrong lens or that prints of RG#1 are a result of a second transfer of the image from an ambrotype to a glass plate negative using a second lens. Some of these distortions can be corrected using readily available software, but addressing these distortions does not address Booth's nose tip.



Figure 1
David Wilson as seen through the same
lens in
RG#1 And RG#2



Figure 1A
James Phillips as seen in RG#2
and Honor Roll

Notwithstanding lens distortion, a Petzval lens has a narrow field and shallow depth of focus and objects outside this small area become more defocused and lose brightness the further out the object is from the area of focus. Another rather unique characteristic of a Petzval lens is it produces a pincushion effect on objects outside of the area of focus. Figure A immediately below is an example of a modern photograph of a landscape picture taken with a 19th century Petzval lens

¹¹⁶ For general discussion and examples of perspective distortions, see <http://digital-photography-school.com/correcting-perspective-lens-distortion-in-photoshop/>

See also <http://www.digitalimagemagazine.com/tutorials/tutorial-correcting-lens-distortion-in-your-reference-photos/> for some good examples of lens distortions

with the lens' area of focus and its pincushion effect depicted. Figures B and C illustrate the proper placement of an image within the focal area.



Figure A –Modern photograph using Petzval lens. The red circle depicts the area of focus of the Petzval lens (Note the clarity); the X depicts the center of the picture, and the red carets highlight where the pincushion effect is observed (the bow in the wall line.) Notice how defocus increases and brightness decreases radially outward from the red circle (see people on steps and the dome in the background.) See <http://www.strongmocha.com>

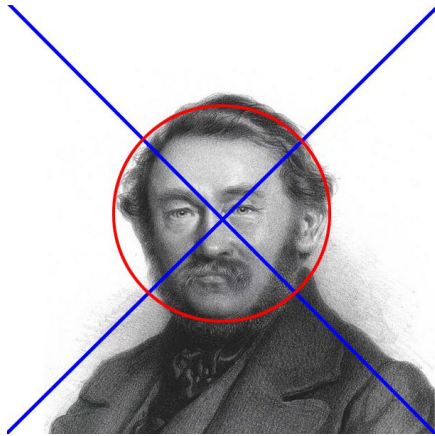


Figure B -Joseph Petzval Seen through his own lens, used as designed [\(ENLARGE\)](#)

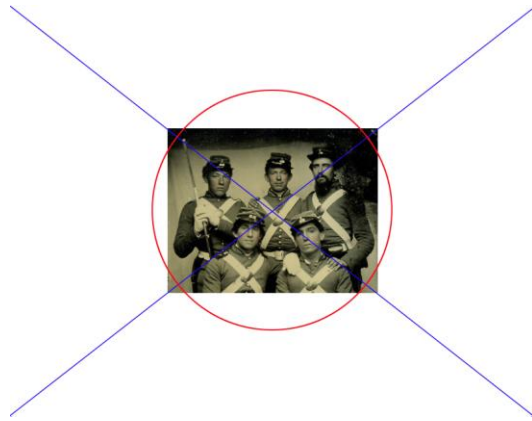


Figure C – The RG Quintet seen through Dinkle’s Petzval lens, used as designed [\(ENLARGE\)](#)



Figure 3

RG#1

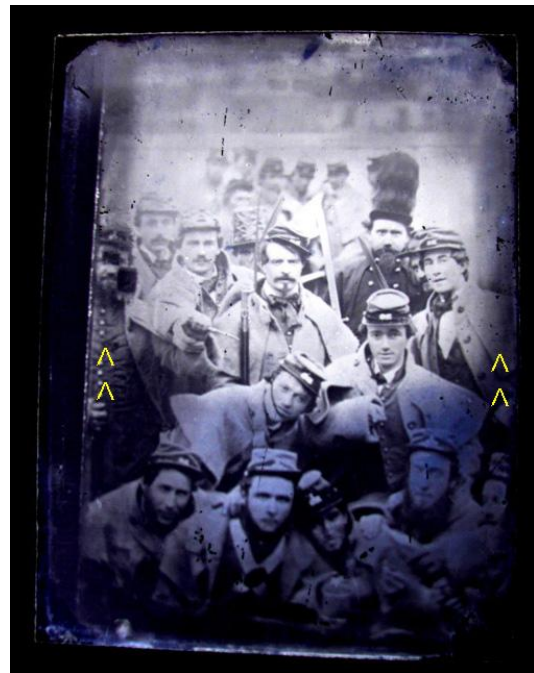


Figure 4

RG#1

Glass Plate Negative #3648
(Negative Inversion)

Valentine Richmond History Center

Figure 3 above is RG#1 as seen by the Petzval lens. Figure 3 depicts a scaled overlay of RG#1, the silver bromide print, over RG#1, the ambrotype. X is the center of the ambrotype. The red circle depicts the approximate area of focus of the Petzval lens. The two red carets denote the pincushion effect (bow in the cap line of the wall seen in the background.) Figure 4 is the glass plate negative that made the silver bromide print of RG#1. The yellow carets in Figures 3 and 4 indicate darkening originating from stage 2, creating the larger glass plate negative from the ambrotype.

In RG#1 its not just Booth's nose tip you can't clearly see....

A close examination of the noses of those men seen in the middle one third of the RG#1 silver bromide print¹¹⁷, Figure 5, illustrates the lack of nose definition caused by high contrast and defocus.

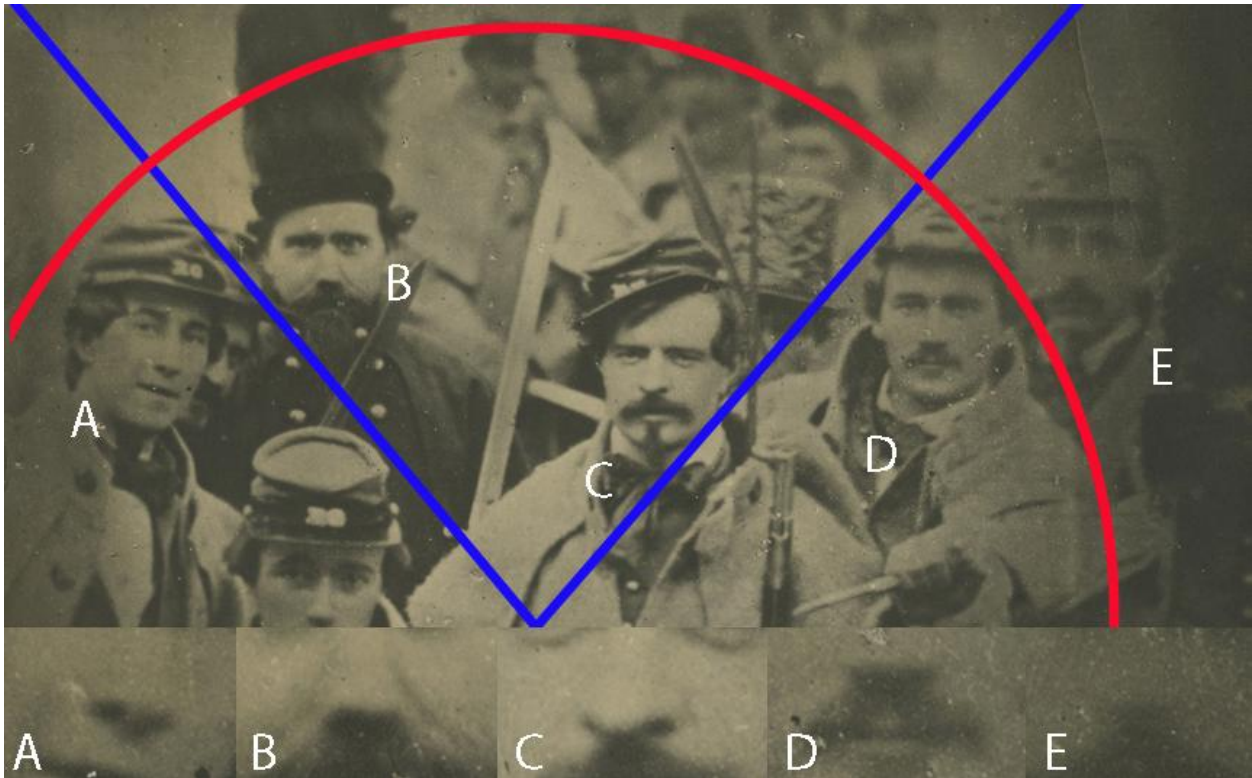


Figure 5

The men closest to farthest from the center of the lens are C, B, A & D

¹¹⁷ There are only three known first generation prints of RG#1, the albumen (1859-1860), the silver bromide (1911) and the modern (circa 1950-1960), all are located at the Virginia Historical Society. (Identified and Discussed in detail in AntebellumRichmond.com, “*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> ; AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Out of Hiding – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*”, Angela Smythe, Web. 10 May 2011 <http://antebellumrichmond.com/out-of-hiding.html>)Of those, the extant albumen print is too faded for use in a close up study. The modern print is too bright to show this subtle detail. This leaves the silver bromide print as the optimal one to use in this study.

followed by E.¹¹⁸ Although you do not see A's nose tip, you can see nostrils. This is because his nose is oblique and tilted up towards the camera. B & C are slightly oblique to the camera and without tilt. On the other hand Booth's nose, D, is almost directly in line with the camera. E's nose is the least discernible. All are defocused. These effects are more evident when the contrast is enhanced (Figure 6 below.)



Figure 6



Figure 7
Alluisi in RG#1

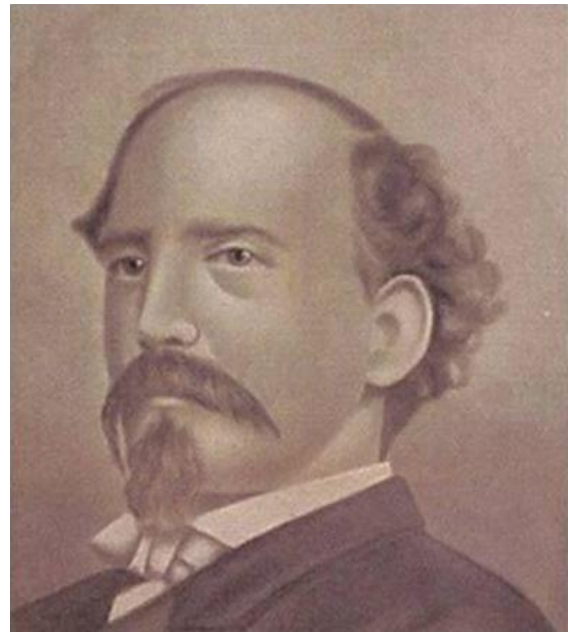


Figure 8
Early Drawing of Alluisi

¹¹⁸ A = Charles Clark, B = Julian Alluisi, C=Robert Caskie, D=John Wilkes Booth, E=Cyrus Bossieux (TBD)

Compare Julian Alluisi's nose (Figure 7) as seen in RG#1 (circa 1859) against a drawing of Alluisi (Figure 8), drawn by Alluisi's son and based on a now lost, presumed wedding picture circa 1865. No nose tip definition was seen in RG#1.



Clark RG#3



Clark RG Quintet



Booth RG#1

Figure 9

In Figure 9, compare Charles Clark's nose in the RG Quintet against Clark's nose in RG#3. You can easily see Clarke's nose tip in the RG Quintet, but not in RG#3. In RG#3, Clark is in about the same relative position from the center of that image as John Wilkes Booth is in RG#1. Both men's noses appear to end with a flat line. Unlike Booth's nose, you can see some nostril detail under Clark's nose because his head is tilted upward and is oblique to the camera whereas Booth's head is not.

Lastly, consider the affects of high contrast on Robert Caskie's nose in RG#1, which is in the center area of focus of Petzval lens. Figure A below is an untouched close-up of Robert Caskie from the silver bromide print as he appears in the center of RG#1. Figure B below is Figure A converted to black and white, contrast adjusted, which removes and lightens the inherent tint of the silver bromide print. The nostril detail seen is more discernible than all those shown above primarily because they are at the outer edges of lens' area of focus.



Figure A

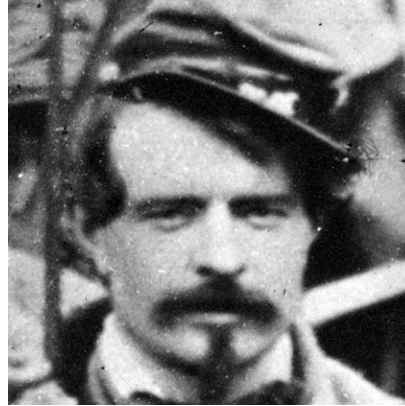


Figure B

John Wilkes Booth
Adjusting a documented image to approximate the conditions seen for
him in RG#1

The defocus issues related to the lens is not the only reason Booth's nose tip is not seen. The high contrast nature of RG#1 adds to the problem. Figure 3, Gutman #23,¹¹⁹ below is a relatively high contrast picture of John Wilkes Booth with his head customarily slightly turned to the side, posed obliquely to the camera. Note what happens to his signature nose tip in high contrast even with his head tilted and oblique to the camera. It begins to hide in the shadows. Figure 4 rotates this picture to approximate his head slightly tilted looking up as he is seen in RG#1.

¹¹⁹ Gutman, Kelly, O., and Gutman, Richard, John Wilkes Booth Himself, Hired Hand Press, 1979

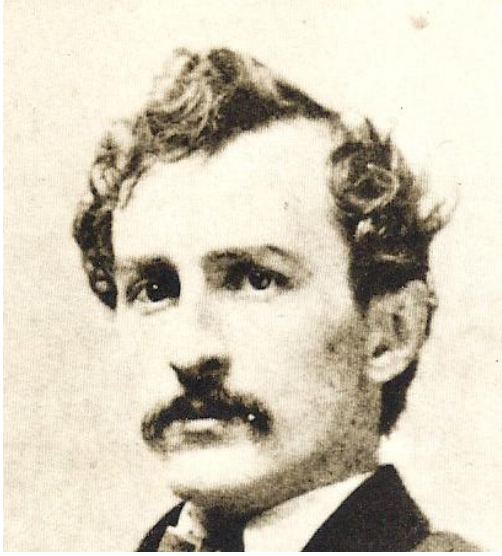


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

Figure 5 is Figure 4 after defocusing, decreasing the brightness and decreasing midtone definition to simulate the harder light of sunlight to again approximate how Booth is seen in RG#1. Visualize how Figure 5's nose would look if seen not oblique to the camera, but straight on at a downward angle from a distance of about 15 feet away. Under those conditions, his nose would look like the nose shown in Figure 6, which is Booth's seen in RG#1.

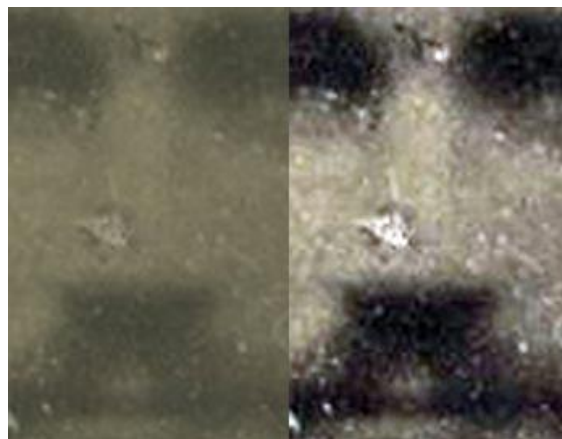


Figure 6. Untouched and Lighting Adjusted Close-up of Booth's Nose
RG#1 Silver Bromide Print

So where is Booth's signature nose tip? It's here...



Figure 7
John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 (Cropped)
Glass Plate Negative #3648 Valentine Richmond History Center
[\(ENLARGE\)](#)

Trompe L'oeil – “A Trick of the Eye”

Dispelling the optical illusion of John Wilkes Booth shortened nose Detail obscured and observed in RG#1 Glass Plate Negative



Figure 8



Figure 7 above



Figure 9

Figure 8 (Negative inversion of Figure 7)
Figure 9 (Figure 8 – contrast enhanced)

- Figure 8 The illusion – What the eye is naturally drawn to see, a shortened ending to his nose
- Figure 7 Exposing the illusion – Where the glass plate negative forces your eye to look
- Figure 9 Dispelling the illusion – Delineating the area where his nose actually ends

RG#1 is a slightly overall defocused high contrast picture, taken outdoors using a Petzval portrait lens with many of the subjects at the edges or outside of the lens's area of focus. Once at the edge or outside this area the brightness of the images darkens and defocus increases. The picture was taken at a downward angle. Booth is standing center rear behind Robert Caskie, (the man in the middle), and is at the very edge, if not outside, the focal area, looking straight forward, not oblique to the camera, the tip of his nose in the deep shadows of the hard light of sunlight.

The Right Conclusion

One picture, two descriptions, and a multitude of confirming details
All equal RG#1 to be Asia's picture



John Wilkes Booth in RG#1
In a Group of Men
in Mixed "Scout and Sentinel Dress"
Asia Booth Clarke



John Wilkes Booth in RG#1
In a "Group of Uniformed Men
Center Rear"
Ella Mahoney

During this five year examination I have examined a group photograph, identified as RG#1, of uniformed men that had the correct men, in the correct mixed style of attire, at the correct time, in the correct circumstances and which contained a man who resembled John Wilkes Booth. I have addressed the two known descriptions of John Wilkes Booth appearing in a group of uniformed men, both with uncontested provenance to the Booth family, which match RG#1. First Asia's initial 1874 description of her brother in a group photograph of uniformed men, appearing in mixed "scout" and "sentinel" dress.¹²⁰ Later Booth family confidante Mrs. Ella V. Mahoney's

¹²⁰ Clarke, Asia Booth. The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by His Sister, Asia Booth Clarke. New York; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. Pgs. 111-112

written confirmation that as late as 1937, she possessed just such a photograph, given to her by the Booth family, that matched Asia's description, which added that Booth was "center rear" in it.¹²¹ These descriptions are consistent with RG#1 and the position of the man who resembles John Wilkes Booth.

Both descriptions of the same photograph with uncontested Booth family provenance, together with the concluding documentation presented in *Conversations through the Glass* identifying why the picture was taken, why the particular men we see are in it, along with the comprehensive analysis of John Wilkes Booth's images confirms that all documentation addresses the same image with the same man; RG#1, containing John Wilkes Booth and his Band of Brothers from the 1859 Richmond Grays.

¹²¹ AntebellumRichmond.com, "*Glimpsing a Shadow from Richmond – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*"

<http://antebellumrichmond.com/glimpsing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

Final Thoughts

“These people live again in print as intensely as when their images were captured on old dry plates of sixty years ago... I am walking in their alleys, standing in their rooms and sheds and workshops, looking in and out of their windows. Any they in turn seem to be aware of me.”

Ansel Adams

During an examination begun in 2009¹²² I have sought the picture that Asia described in her book, an elusive “Shadow from Richmond”, the picture of her brother, John Wilkes Booth proving a fealty to Virginia which never wavered, taken in uniform while serving with the Richmond Grays at Charles Town in 1859 in the aftermath of the John Brown Raid.

Meeting the Burdens of Proof

Five years ago when I started my search to find Asia’s picture, few researchers were aware that it existed. Of those who were, none considered the

¹²² 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>

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>

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>

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
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/chasing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

AntebellumRichmond.com, “*Glimpsing a Shadow from Richmond – John Wilkes Booth and the Richmond Grays*”
<http://antebellumrichmond.com/glimpsing-a-shadow-from-richmond.html>

significance of finding it, overlooking the importance of what it represents and the insight it provides as a silent, but ever present, witness to John Wilkes Booth's "unsought" fealty to Virginia, and to the South, from the time which Booth himself dated its beginning.

*"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."*¹²³

*"I remember hearing Booth once say that he had been a member of the Richmond Grays and had been with them when John Brown was hanged and noted [t]he pride he showed in having been one of the group."*¹²⁴

RG#1, which fits all criteria to be Asia's picture of her brother John Wilkes Booth, has also become the most iconic and widely recognized group photograph representing the American Civil War. That sublime irony coupled with the picture's fame has raised the burden of proof, accepting John Wilkes Booth's presence in it, to a far higher level than any unknown photograph would require. To those burdens, yet an additional one is added because so many established researchers have looked at this famous photograph and simply missed the connection, proving Ansel Adams remark that "*A photograph (even an iconic one) is usually looked at – seldom looked into.*"

For RG#1, that is no longer the case. Seldom, has any picture ever been "looked into" as thoroughly as I have done. The body of research, which documents John Wilkes Booth's presence in RG#1, has overcome all burdens of proof but one, perhaps an insurmountable one, the burden of overcoming historic myth.

¹²³ Townsend, George Alfred. The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1865, pg. 22

¹²⁴ W. J. Ferguson, "Lincoln's death," in Saturday Evening Post, February 12, 1927, p. 37

The Final Burden

*“What separates history from myth is that history takes in the whole picture, whereas myth averts our eyes from the truth when it turns men into heroes and gods.”*¹²⁵

Asia’s plea for her brother and that of the anonymous sitter’s in the Foreword are really the same, a simple reminder to **“Look upon this face, and know that I was a person here, in this time and place, and I was happy.”** However granting Asia’s plea is not so simple. Our historic myths stand in its way. Granting her plea requires not only acknowledging John Wilkes Booth amongst a “Band of Brothers,” but in the very same “Band of Brothers” that has become, in a profound irony, the iconic group image of the American Civil War.

Despised by the North and abandoned by the South, John Wilkes Booth has long served as the universal villain convenient for both sides of the Civil War to divert blame and provide absolution within that war’s pantheon of heroes and gods. For its victors, circumscribing John Wilkes Booth’s life solely within culturally comfortable roles as jealous brother, thwarted actor, or deranged killer, conveniently diverts attention away from the historic context of a war, which Lincoln in own lifetime was blamed for having “presided over with so much misery.” For its vanquished, denying John Wilkes Booth’s inclusion in a Southern brotherhood, to which he belonged and one for which he ultimately sacrificed everything, conveniently distances him from their sacred “Cause,”¹²⁶ providing a false sense of absolution from the consequences of the passions its advocates incited in a division that cost well over seven hundred thousand lives.

¹²⁵ Isenberg, Nancy, Fallen Founder, the Life of Aaron Burr, Viking, 2007, Penguin Group, New York, pg. 414

¹²⁶ Asia and Mrs. Ella Mahoney who also saw Booth in this picture, believed that he too, like so many hundreds of thousands on both sides of that war, was one more casualty engulfed by its tragedy “The Museum (at Tudor Hall) grows in interest **and John Wilkes comes to be more and more regarded as he would have wished to be, a “Sacrifice to the Lost Cause.”** Ella V. Mahoney writing from Tudor Hall to Edwina Booth Grossman, July 5, 1937. Booth-Grossman Family Papers, 1940-1953; *T-Mss 1967-001, b. 4 f. 24, Correspondence/Ella V. Mahoney 1925-1940; Bill Rose Theatre Division, The New York Library for the Performing Arts

John Wilkes Booth's role as the universal villain within this comfortable mythology makes it convenient to avert our eyes from that war's historic truth, and his. Acknowledging John Wilkes Booth in RG#1 for once not excluded, but included, requires us to accept him in a role outside that mandated by our historic myth. Overcoming this last burden requires that we admit what we see: John Wilkes Booth with his Band of Brothers in the Richmond Grays.

Apologia

As the Civil War's culturally required villain, acceptance of John Wilkes Booth's presence in such a widely and mutually embraced icon of that war will always be inherently far more challenging than documenting that fact, which this research has accomplished. To those who refute the results of its confirming documentation provided over a body of work exceeding the time it took to fight that war, I offer the following simple "Apologia":

Either produce a photograph with better provenance and superior documentation than has been provided for RG#1 to be Asia's "picture", or identify someone else, commensurate with the same level of certainty, the man it has so uncomfortably identified as John Wilkes Booth.

Angela Smythe
May 10, 2014



His Shadow Caught -
John Wilkes Booth In the Richmond Grays,
Center Rear

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Cathy Wright – Museum of the Confederacy

The men’s families:

Klaus Family (Philip Whitlock)

William Colavita (Julian Alluisi)

John Alluisi (Julian Alluisi)

David Wilson (David Garrick Wilson)

Doug Acee (Julian Alluisi)

Anne Rupert (Caskie Family)

John Norvell (Caskie Family)

*And to David Smythe, who since day one has pulled
“Shoulder to shoulder and oar to oar”*

APPENDIX

RG#1, 3, and 2; The Right Sequence, The Right Men and The Right Reason

“

Likeliest - The scene as it was seen – Monday, November 21, 1859

Taken 1st



RG#1 Glass Plate
(Positive View)

Men seen in far background
Alluisi, C. Bossieux in background
R. Caskie center with gun
W. Caskie on line with JWB
L. Bossieux off to side below R. Caskie
Liquor Flowing
Booth on line with Clark, W. Caskie
barely seen in profile
Alfriend holding knife -restrained by Booth
Wilson below L. Bossieux
Staging: R. Caskie as Reg. Qtr. Master
with members of Qtr. Master Corps
Including Qtr. Master Sgts. Booth and
L. Bossieux, his brother W. Caskie also
appearing

Taken 2nd



RG#3 Ambrotype
(Positive view)

(Never photographed outside of obscuring frame
Which perhaps conceals other men)

No men in far background
No Alluisi, C. Bossieux is in background
R. Caskie center with gun
No W. Caskie
No liquor seen perhaps obscured by frame
Booth down in front threatening L. Bossieux
Clark remains where he was
Booth now restrained by Alfriend
(same level) Wilson stands behind
L. Bossieux, Woodson at near center
Staging: Dramatic tableau showcasing
Booth's action, R. Caskie still anchors center
holding gun, frame may obscure other men

Taken last



RG#2 Ambrotype
(Positive view)

Modern Copy Photograph taken outside frame

No men in far background
No Alluisi or C. Bossieux in background
R. Caskie off to side, no gun
No W. Caskie
L. Bossieux leaning into center
Liquor Flowing
Clark now at bottom
Booth and Alfriend in back
Staging: men posed
around drinking scene
Wilson with hands on L. Bossieux
Aylett Reins Woodson near center
Next to Alfriend centered over L. Bossieux

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ENLARGE

Identification Keys; RG#1-3-2

15 Discernible Men RG#1 (Positive)

13 Members of the Richmond Grays Men #1 --13

Identification Key:

- #1 Unknown Richmond Gray
- #2 *David Garrick Wilson (TBD)*
- #3 James Eldred Phillips by inference
ID in RG#2
- #4 Aylett Reins Woodson
- #5 Leaning Man Unknown
- #6 *Louis F. Bossieux (TBD)*
- #7 Chin Strap Man (CSM)
- #8 Charles D. Clark
- #9 *William H. Caskie (TBD)*
- #10 Robert Alexander Caskie
- #11 *John Wilkes Booth
- #12 *Cyrus Bossieux (TBD)*
- #13 **Edward M. Alfriend (TBD)* by
inference, ID in RG#2, RG#3
- #14 Julian Alluisi, Virginia Rifles
- #15 Unknown, Young Guard identified
by distinctive hat

* See note on RG#3



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**9 Discernible Men RG#3
(Positive)**

9 members of the Richmond Grays
Men #1 - #9

Identification Key:

- #1 Unknown Richmond Gray
- #2 *Louis F. Bossieux (TBD)*
- #3 John Wilkes Booth
- #4 *Edward M. Alfriend (TBD)*
- #5 *David Garrick Wilson (TBD)*
- #6 Charles D. Clark
- #7 *Cyrus Bossieux (TBD)*
- #8 Robert Alexander Caskie
- #9 Aylett Reins Woodson

* Note: Booth is holding the knife in his left hand with *Alfriend* restraining. Reversal of the roles seen in RG#1 where Booth with his left hand is restraining *Alfriend* who is holding the knife



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12 Discernible Men RG#2
Modern copy photograph taken
outside frame (Positive)

11 members of the Richmond Grays
Men #1-8, 10-13

Identification Key:

- #1 Unknown Richmond Gray
- #2 James Eldred Philips
- #3 Charles D. Clark
- #4 Robert Alexander Caskie
- #5 John Wilkes Booth
- #6 *David Garrick Wilson (TBD)*
- #7 *Louis F. Bossieux (TBD)*
- #8 *Edward M. Alfriend (TBD)*
- #9 Man wearing different insignia on Kepi
- #10 Aylett Reins Woodson
- #11 Unknown Richmond Gray
- #12 Unknown Richmond Gray
- #13 Unknown, Richmond Gray half face
with cross straps



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Likeliest - The scene as it was seen – Monday, November 21, 1859

Tracking Key Men's Movement

Taken 1st

RG#1 Glass Plate
positive view



Taken 2nd

RG#3 Ambrotype
(flipped for positive view)



Taken last

RG#2 Ambrotype
(flipped for positive view)
Modern Copy Photograph Taken Outside frame



- Clark
- *L. Bossieux (TBD)*
- *Wilson (TBD)*

- Booth
- Woodson
- R. Caskie

[Ctrl+Click to ENLARGE](#)

Tracking the men's movements – what do they tell us?

Likeliest - The scene as it was seen – Monday, November 21, 1859

Tracking Key Movement



RG#1 – RG#3: Key Movement Tracks: ● Clark moves slightly over to allow ● Wilson to stand up, Liquor disappears to make room for ● L. Bossieux to be grabbed by ● Booth who moves slightly down, ● Woodson stands up to make way for Booth and assumes Booth's original position, Chin Strap Man below ● R. Caskie disappears clearing the way for that movement by Booth, ● R. Caskie stays put holding the gun, in his original position, the men in background disappear

RG#3 – RG#2

Key Movement Tracks: ● Clark moves to opposite corner to reform liquor scene. ● Wilson moves slightly over to rest hand on ● L. Bossieux who has stood up and is leaning into the center of the shot, ● Woodson moves only slightly more into the center, ● R. Caskie moves to the corner (without gun) to assume ● Wilson's previous position, ● Booth moves into the far background outside camera focus

Ctrl+Click to
ENLARGE