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Virginia celebrates the Yorktown centennial of 1881

Julie Anne Sweet-McGinty

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VIRGINIA CELEBRATES THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL OF 1881

Julie Anne Sweet-McGinty
Thesis for Master of Arts Degree
University of Richmond, 1997
Dr. Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Director

This study chronicles the planning, execution, and aftermath of the Yorktown Centennial of October 1881 in Yorktown, Richmond, and Norfolk. Beyond its original expectation of memorializing the one hundredth anniversary of the last major battle for independence, as the first nationally prominent celebration to occur on Southern soil after the Civil War, it made reconciliation among the states a significant aspect of the occasion. Also, it marked the first national gathering after the assassination of President James A. Garfield as well as the occasion for the first public speech given by the new President, Chester A. Arthur. The presence of numerous foreign dignitaries added an element of international relations and helped to strengthen European ties.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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VIRGINIA CELEBRATES THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL OF 1881

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B.A., University of Notre Dame, 1992

A Thesis

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for the degree of

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in

History

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

On October 19, 1881, amidst thousands of cheering spectators, President Chester A. Arthur rose from his place of honor and proceeded to the podium. This speech at the Yorktown Centennial in Yorktown, Virginia was his first public address since his inauguration on September 22, three days after the death of President James A. Garfield. He spoke briefly and emphasized the anniversary of independence and Union in spite of the recent Civil War, respect for England as a worthy and honorable enemy of the past, and appreciation for the help of the French allies without whom victory would not have been possible. The heat of the day, excessive dust, and simple nervousness, among other factors, caused President Arthur to omit a paragraph of his speech, only to return to it and then repeat what he had already said. He concluded with a welcome to all visitors, especially the foreign dignitaries, and a sincere wish for peace for all nations.

Though some hailed Arthur's speech as a great achievement and cited his ability to remain calm and self-possessed under trying circumstances, others quickly pointed

out his faults as a public speaker, noting such shortcomings as his hesitancy in speaking, poor and mechanical delivery, and the use of a prepared speech.¹ Whatever the opinion may have been of Arthur and his speech, the mere presence of the President at Yorktown was one of the highlights of the Centennial.

What began as a simple ceremony to honor the victory at Yorktown quickly blossomed into a lengthy, symbolic, and often unwieldy affair. The Yorktown Centennial of 1881 was the result of years of preparation and served as the final one hundredth anniversary celebration of events related to the American Revolution. Both local and federal agencies had to cooperate in order to make it a success, and the two rarely compromised. More important was the fact that this

¹Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1975), 253; George Frederick Howe, *Chester A. Arthur: A Quarter-Century of Machine Politics* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1935), 159; Howard B. Furer, ed., *James A. Garfield, 1831-1881, and Chester A. Arthur, 1830-1886: Chronology, Documents, Bibliographical Aids* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1970), 58-60; "The Week," *The Nation*, 852 (27 October 1881), 323; *New York Times*, 20 October 1881; *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 25 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 21 October 1881. Despite the importance of this first public speech by Arthur as President, the most recent biography about him, Justus D. Doenecke, *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur* (Lawrence, Kansas: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1981), does not mention the event at all. Furer briefly states the existence of the speech and dismisses it as having "no political significance" (60). Reeves, while giving lengthy accounts of Arthur's vacations to Florida and Yellowstone Park as well as his attendance at other memorial events like the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge and the Washington Monument, only mentions Arthur's appearance at Yorktown in a short paragraph and describes the speech as "terse and eloquent" (253).

event was the first major celebration of national prominence to be held on Southern soil since the end of the Civil War. Finally, as previously noted, the Yorktown Centennial marked the first civic celebration since the assassination of President James A. Garfield.

Despite its significance, very little historical work has been completed on this event. For example, Parke Rouse, Jr.'s "Yorktown Centennial Celebration: 1881 Extravaganza" is mostly a photo essay with a total of four pages of brief, general text. Don Higginbotham's "American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution" mentions the Yorktown Centennial only in passing and as an example of the continued interest in the Revolutionary War in a romantic sense after the Civil War. Michael Kammen's *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* discusses the various uses of the American Revolution in American culture in general, but again, the Centennial receives a cursory remark related to the problems associated with the politics of having such celebrations.²

Colonial Yorktown, the definitive work by Clyde F. Trudell which describes the old town and its architecture

²Parke Rouse, Jr., "Yorktown Centennial Celebration: 1881 Extravaganza," *Virginia Cavalcade* 24 (Autumn 1974): 80-87; Don Higginbotham, "American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution," *American Historical Review* 70 (October 1964): 18-34; Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1978).

along with some basic history, briefly alludes to the Centennial of 1881 within his description of the Victory Monument and the Sesquicentennial of 1931. Four short paragraphs state the existence of the earlier celebration, but only as an introduction to the actual topic of the chapter.³

Finally, "Yorktown Revisited: The Centennial and Sesquicentennial Celebrations" by Phyllis A. Hall contains only a brief mention of the Centennial followed by a lengthy and elaborate description of the Sesquicentennial event. In fact, several sources about the Sesquicentennial are readily accessible in many different libraries, and memorabilia from the recent Bicentennial in 1981 is still available in the bookstore at the Yorktown Visitor Center administered by the National Park Service.⁴

Curiously enough, although there were Centennial, Sesquicentennial, and Bicentennial celebrations of the siege

³Clyde F. Trudell, *Colonial Yorktown* (Old Greenwich, Connecticut: The Chatham Press, Inc., 1971).

⁴Phyllis A. Hall, "Yorktown Revisited: The Centennial and Sesquicentennial Celebrations," *Virginia Cavalcade* 31 (Autumn 1981): 103-109. For further information on the Sesquicentennial event, see Schuyler Otis Bland, ed., *The Yorktown Sesquicentennial* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1932); Yorktown Sesquicentennial Association, eds., *The Yorktown Book: The Official Chronicle and Tribute Book* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet and Shepperson, 1932); H.J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad, eds., *Official Program of the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Celebration, October 16-19, 1931* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Yorktown Sesquicentennial Commission, 1931).

and battle of Yorktown, no record of any significant fifty year anniversary exists. A state affair acknowledged a visit from General Lafayette in October 1824, and a local celebration occurred in 1860 to commemorate a small monument to certain officers. Other than those two instances, however, there were no momentous or national commemorations of the event until October 1881.⁵

The topics of historical memory and public commemorations have received much attention recently in both books and journal articles. For instance, the wide variety of ways in which Americans celebrate historical events such as military victories is considered in John Bodnar's *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. However, no specific mention is made of the Yorktown Centennial. Several points from Bodnar's work are illustrated throughout this celebration such as the conflict between the different groups hosting the festivities, in this case the federal government versus the local population. In his description of the other centennials of the American Revolution, Bodnar also notes that the elites of society who wanted to demonstrate their position as ideal in light of the booming industrial age generally ran these activities. Although the

⁵Bland, *The Yorktown Sesquicentennial*, 10-13.

findings of this thesis demonstrate both of these points, the Yorktown Centennial surprisingly has no place in Bodnar's work.⁶

The largest and most thorough work about public commemorations is Michael Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. Kammen surveys three major periods of American history, namely 1870 to 1915, 1915 to 1945, and 1945 to 1990, and attempts to define the major trends involved with remembering the past in light of the changing atmosphere of the present. The section in reference to the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century wholly ignores all the centennials of the American Revolution. His primary concerns with this time period, however, focus more on remembrance of the Civil War, praise for progress and new inventions, and the preservation of American heritage as immigrants flooded into the nation. Since these topics are not strongly reflected at the Yorktown Centennial, it is understandable that Kammen avoids mentioning this event in his work.⁷

⁶John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992). Although Bodnar's title only refers to the twentieth century, Chapter Two of his work covers celebrations of the nineteenth century as background material for the rest of his text.

⁷Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1991).

Since one of the major themes of this particular celebration is reconciliation between the states, one might assume that books about that subject would include the Yorktown Centennial in their surveys. However, this is not the case. For example, Nina Silber's *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* discussed thoroughly the cultural aspects of Reconstruction including plays, novels, popular magazines, and minstrel shows as well as events such as various World's Fairs, but no hint of the Yorktown Centennial can be found anywhere in the book. Another important work on this subject is *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* by Gaines M. Foster. Although it mostly highlights the creation of the myths to preserve the Confederacy, there is mention of the early attempts at reconciliation especially after the end of Reconstruction.

Other works beyond the scope of this time period of the late nineteenth century yet related to commemorations and the difficulties of memory and its relationship to American history include, but are not limited to, *The Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 1117-1221, especially David Thelen, "Memory and American History" and Michael Frisch, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography" as well as Scott A. Sandage, "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963," *The Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 135-167. Also worthy of note are George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1990) and the collection of essays included in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

However, the Yorktown Centennial as one of these endeavors is neglected.⁸

An older yet important work about the problems related to the reunion of the states after the Civil War is C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. This particular book goes into much detail about the conflicts involved with the era after Reconstruction in which the "New South" emerged and attempted to find its own identity. While most of the work focuses on political and economic history, there are several references to the changes occurring in popular culture to reflect this new mode of thinking; however, the Yorktown Centennial and the literature created for its celebration are not included within this discussion.⁹

The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 by Paul H. Buck also stresses the theme of reconciliation between the states. His preface states "the history of how two bitter foes were reconciled, two rival societies harmonized...leads to the core of American life since the Civil War," and he believes that almost every activity between 1865 and 1900 is related

⁸Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 63-75.

⁹C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

to this theme.¹⁰ Therefore, he includes all of the celebrations related to the one hundred year anniversary of the American Revolution within his text. He begins with the centennials of Lexington and Concord, but focuses mostly on Boston, Philadelphia, and Yorktown as instances where the reconciliation theme is at its strongest. As a whole, these celebrations demonstrated the longing for peace between the two sections of the country and gave the nation the opportunity to strengthen these newly-forged bonds.¹¹ The Yorktown Centennial is only specifically mentioned in a passing, but at least Buck does discuss the event and its significance to some degree whereas others writing on this same reconciliation theme ignore the celebration entirely.

After surveying these various subjects and genres, why has the Yorktown Centennial been ignored for so long? What happened during that week of celebration in October 1881? What larger events in American history may have influenced the original schedule and may have affected the hidden motives behind this commemoration itself? How did this event affect the town of Yorktown and its neighboring cities of Richmond and Norfolk? Lastly, was it a successful endeavor or did it fail to achieve its original goals?

¹⁰Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), x.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 134-143.

These questions and others will be answered hereafter
thorough research into the immediate time period as well as
local history.

CHAPTER 2
PLANNING AND PREPARATIONS

The original idea to have a Yorktown Centennial is credited to Michael Glennan, editor of the *Norfolk Virginian*.¹ Glennan's suggestions for such a celebration after the Bunker Hill Centennial in 1875 and again after the Philadelphia festivities in 1876 met with no response from his acquaintances or the general public. He also approached Hugh Blair Grigsby, president of the Virginia Historical Society and chancellor of the College of William and Mary, but again received little attention.

Finally, Glennan publicly advocated his idea in the *Virginian* on July 9, 1879, after the annual festivities surrounding the Fourth of July. He stressed the idea that if it were not for the victory at Yorktown, there would be no Independence Day. According to him, the commemoration must represent the soldiers, not the statesmen, of the Revolution, and all American citizens had an obligation to

¹Glennan is also recognized as one of the first Southern newspaper editors to advocate reconciliation between the North and the South after the Civil War. He hoped that the Centennial would further his cause. See Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1962), 256.

honor these soldiers' memories. He also suggested that a preliminary celebration for the ninety-eighth anniversary be held in October, and called for other newspapers to join his cause.² The *Hampton Monitor* seconded his motion on July 12 as did the *Philadelphia Record* on July 18.³

As a result of the pressure from the press, the first formal meeting in reference to the Centennial took place in the Yorktown Courthouse on September 4, 1879. Dr. Robert H. Power of York County became chairman and Captain William J. Stores secretary. Those present recognized the facts that this important event must be remembered, that there had been centennial celebrations throughout the country related to the American Revolution, and that since Yorktown was the largest and most important battle of that war, it must, therefore, have the greatest celebration. This first committee resolved that a celebration would be held and instructed the Governor of Virginia to invite the President, his Cabinet, as well as other governors and dignitaries. Finally, it decided to have a meeting of select delegates

²*Norfolk Virginian*, 9 July 1879.

³*The Richmond Standard*, 15 October 1881; Julius G. Rathbun, *Trip of the First Regiment Connecticut National Guard, to Yorktown, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina, October 17-28, 1881* (Hartford, Connecticut: Press of the Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1882), 6.

from the original states in Philadelphia to form what would become a centennial committee.⁴

Governor F.W.M. Holliday of Virginia requested from Governor Henry M. Hoyt of Pennsylvania the use of Philadelphia for this meeting. The common council of the city and the Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia, which supervised Independence Hall, both proposed the use of that historic building for this meeting, and Old Christ Church offered its services for worship and gathering while the governors visited the city. Governor Holliday hired the International Exhibition Company to build "The Main Centennial Building" and asked the company to bring models and plans to the meeting. Lastly, he authorized the preliminary celebration to be held in Yorktown on October 23, 1879, to encourage interest and support for the future Centennial and invited all citizens of the nation and members of the Philadelphia meeting to attend.⁵

The governors of the original thirteen states met in Philadelphia on October 18, 1879 at ten o'clock in the morning to discuss the details for having a centennial celebration at Yorktown in 1881. They elected Governor

⁴*Proceedings of the Meeting at Yorktown, Preparatory to a National Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, with Correspondence Had in Pursuance Thereof* (Richmond: R.E. Frayser, Superintendent Public Printing, 1879), 4-5.

⁵*Ibid.*, 8-20.

Holliday president of the meeting and Governor Thomas Talbot of Massachusetts secretary. After several introductory speeches of welcome and thanks, Holliday asked those present to put aside their differences from the Civil War and to focus on the Revolutionary War which they had fought and won together. Governor William D. Simpson of South Carolina agreed with these sentiments and stated that the event "will do much to seal the bloody chasm that had been opened by the conflict of arms which a few years ago took place."⁶

The men resolved to have a centennial and to create a committee comprised of one person from each state nominated by their governors.⁷ After the meeting, several receptions and tours of the old town by carriage occurred, and speeches at these other gatherings by the various governors continued to emphasize the general theme that North and South must "forget all past differences, and go forward, hand in hand, to fulfill the manifest destiny of this nation."⁸ Each representative then returned to their native state to report

⁶*The Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the British Forces under his Command on the 19th Day of October, 1781, Virtually the Closing of the Struggle for American Independence, to be appropriately celebrated on the field of Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1881* (New York: American Banknote Company, 1880), 8.

⁷Ibid., 3-9.

⁸*New York Times*; 19 October 1879.

to their respective legislatures about the proceedings and to solicit support for the upcoming event.⁹

At this point in time, Yorktown was a small, rural town that was much in need of outside assistance so that it could host a celebration of this magnitude. The United States Census of 1880 reported a total of 251 people residing in Yorktown itself in 64 separate households. (See Tables 1-7.) Racially, the population was mostly black with slightly more males than females. Most people were single mainly because a large part of the population was under age fifteen. The occupational standing of those residing in Yorktown was typical of most small towns with most women keeping house and the men doing the various trades that a town requires, from clerk of the county to farmers and laborers as well as everything in between. The majority of the people were literate, and 15.5% of the population attended school at the time that the census occurred.

As for a description of this small town, Julius Rathbun, the historian for the First Regiment Connecticut National Guard, provided an elaborate picture of "everyday" Yorktown in his account of the unit's visit to the Centennial. He stated that at the beginning of 1881, the

⁹John L. Barstow, *Report of the Commissioner for Vermont, upon the Yorktown Centennial Celebration* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle and Company, 1880).

town had 60 houses and looked the same as it did one hundred years previously when the Siege of Yorktown occurred. No railroad into town existed nor did it have a regular steamboat route. "Yorktown is about as far from nowhere, and about as inaccessible, as any town east of the Sandwich Islands," he remarked.¹⁰ He also noted that when it rained the mud was two feet deep but that when the roads were dry the dust was three feet deep. Lastly, he described the town inhabitants as "negroes, lazy, happy, and shiftless."¹¹

Another author, Thomas Nelson Page writing for *Scribner's Monthly* called Yorktown a "little sleepy Virginia town" waiting to be awakened for this great celebration.¹² The town looked older than its age of one hundred and seventy-five years, but Page blamed several wars and the fish diet as the causes for the problem. Yorktown served as a typical example of rural Virginia life, run by a few select families which Page detailed as well as the mansions which still stood throughout the town. He intermingled descriptions of colonial life, the siege of Yorktown in 1781, and present day circumstances in his article. As an example of current town practices, he described the mill at

¹⁰Rathbun, *Trip of the Connecticut National Guard*, 13.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Thomas Nelson Page, "Old Yorktown," *Scribner's Monthly* 22, no. 6 (October 1881), 802.

Wormley's Creek used by all the nearby residents to grind corn as well as the quiet life led by the townsfolk:

The scene in the street to-day is an idyl [sic],--a few massive old brick houses scattered among modern shanties...; a couple of negro children kicking up the dust in the street a hundred yards away; two citizens sitting under an awning 'resting,' and a small ox-cart moving uncertainly nearer....The most lively things in sight are a small boy and the string of fish he is carrying; for the latter have just come from the water and are still fluttering.¹³

Lastly, he concluded by describing the surrounding areas that could be reached by ferry such as Gloucester Point.¹⁴ Overall, Page painted a picture of a peaceful, little village with not a care in the world beyond its own boundaries; this Yorktown was about to become the focus of and host to the nation and the world in October, 1881.

On October 23, 1879, a preliminary celebration, which the *New York Times* described as a "grand affair," took place in Yorktown, and many governors and dignitaries attended.¹⁵ Divisions of the United States Army from Fort Monroe and five ships from the United States Navy were also in attendance for display purposes, and thousands of citizens

¹³Ibid., 811.

¹⁴Ibid., 801-816.

¹⁵*New York Times*, 24 October 1879; *The Richmond Standard*, 15 October 1881.

came to enjoy the festivities.¹⁶ This occasion aimed to arouse public interest in holding a Centennial two years hence, and while some people considered it the opening event of the Yorktown Centennial, others saw it as merely a prelude of greater things to come.¹⁷ John Goode, one of Virginia's members of the United States House of Representatives, noted that "as is the custom in Virginia, wherever two or three are gathered together there must be speech-making," a practice which held true here.¹⁸

The festivities began at noon with a national salute from the flagship *Powhatan*, one of the five war vessels located in the York River near Yorktown, followed by a prayer by Reverend Dr. O.E. Herrick, post-chaplain of the United States Army. Dr. Power gave an address of welcome and explained the reason for this celebration, and Governor Holliday also welcomed the crowd. He stated that they had come together to begin celebrating the Centennial, an occasion of great interest that marks a momentous victory with little bloodshed and destruction as well as the birth of a new nation. He concluded with the statement that

¹⁶*Norfolk Landmark*, 23 October 1879; *Norfolk Virginian*, 23, 24 October 1879.

¹⁷*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 24 October 1879; *Norfolk Virginian*, 24 October 1879.

¹⁸John Goode, *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 167.

Virginia would be a proud and willing host to all the states and the world in two years.

The next speaker was General William B. Taliaferro from Gloucester County who served several times in the Virginia legislature and had been a major general in the Confederate Army.¹⁹ He spoke for approximately two hours and declared that there were three major battles in the American Revolution, namely Lexington, Saratoga, and Yorktown, with the last one being the greatest one. He detailed a full history of the Yorktown campaign and concluded by stressing the need for Americans to remember their common heritage and forget any animosities that may still exist between the states.

James Barron Hope, who had the reputation at the time as being "Virginia's Laureate" since he had written works for such other Virginia events as the Jamestown anniversary in 1857, the erection of other important monuments, and the opening of a theatre in Norfolk, followed Taliaferro's speech. Hope began by recalling his attendance at these earlier events and expressed his belief that this country existed thanks to the work done by ancestors schooled in the "education of the wilderness." He proceeded to detail this type of instruction and its benefits throughout American

¹⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Taliaferro, William Booth."

history beginning with Jamestown and the struggles against the elements and the Indians. He also called upon the American people to make donations to the College of William and Mary which desperately needed funding at this time.²⁰ His speech included topics such as the history and importance of the Nelson House, the beginnings of the American Revolution, George Washington and his own "education of the wilderness," and the alliance with France as well. Finally, Hope stated that even though the American people had returned from war to a normal life, they still must be on guard against the enemies of freedom and must preserve Virginia and the Union. Baker P. Lee, a friend of Hope from Richmond, described the oration as "really resplendent," "excellent," and "superbly eloquent."²¹

John Goode then proposed a series of resolutions to repair the College of William and Mary, to report its progress on October 19, 1881, and to make Hugh Blair Grigsby

²⁰The following day, October 25, 1879, *Norfolk Virginian* ran an editorial stating their regret that the plight of the College of William and Mary, located fifteen miles away from Yorktown in Williamsburg, had been included by Hope on such a festive occasion. It also lamented the fact that although the event was meant to reunite the country, by mentioning such a local issue, it only served to alienate visitors and stress the theme of sectionalism again. The Board of Visitors and Governors of the College of William and Mary later commended James Barron Hope in private correspondence for his efforts in helping to restore the College. See James Barron Hope Papers, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

²¹Hope Papers.

chairman of this undertaking. Colonel Solomon Lincoln, Jr., the representative from Massachusetts, publicly thanked Governor Holliday for this day's reception and detailed his state's help in the American Revolution, and General James W. Latta, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania, chronicled the aid that his state lent at the Battle of Yorktown. Colonel J.N. Staples of North Carolina spoke on the greatness of his state and the large number of events that had occurred there first before all the other colonies, and finally, Professor Eli Charlier of New York City, representative for the French, marvelled at how much the United States had grown since 1781.

The band played the "Marseillaise," and several young men in the crowd "who had become a little hilarious from indulgence in mint juleps" persuaded Captain W.A. Beamish, a visitor from England, to speak.²² He reluctantly came forward and expressed his surprise and discomfort at being included in this ceremony. He stated, "I suppose I must say something, and I have this to say, that since I arrived at Yorktown and looked around here I am not at all surprised that my distinguished countryman, Earl Cornwallis, was willing to give up the place."²³ This comment quieted the

²²Goode, *Recollections*, 167.

²³*Ibid.*, 168.

rabble-rousers in the crowd, but then Beamish went on to express the hope that England and the United States would remain allies in the future.

All present passed resolutions approving the actions of the committee that met in Philadelphia and asked John Goode to bring the resolutions of having a centennial and building a monument before Congress during its next session. A barbecue occurred on the grounds of the Nelson House, and the ships in the harbor performed a thirteen gun salute in honor of Governor Holliday. In general, the event was a success, and visitors promised to return in two years for the actual Centennial.²⁴

Because of the relatively depressed financial state of affairs within the town of Yorktown, the local population created the Yorktown Centennial Association as a joint stock company under the laws of the state of Virginia in order to secure the funding necessary to acquire proper accommodations for the military personnel and the private citizens who would be in attendance. (The officers of this association are listed in Appendix A.) John Goode became the president of the Association and used his new office to appeal to the general public to purchase stock in this company. He explained that the funds collected would be

²⁴*Norfolk Landmark*, 23 October 1879; *Norfolk Virginian*, 23, 24 October 1879; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 23, 24 October 1879.

used to offset the cost of the celebration such as guest accommodations, transportation to this remote location, and proper arrangements for the ceremonies like grandstands, extra boat landings, and comfortable seating. The Association purchased Temple Farm, which included the Moore House, the site where the articles of capitulation had been signed. The original plan was to use the farm for a military camp and the house as a museum and lodging for foreign guests. However, the site for the future centennial monument still needed to be purchased. The Association hoped to raise \$250,000 in private subscription by selling shares at \$10 each for which the purchaser would receive a handsome bond engraved with portraits of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and de Grasse.²⁵

While this group organized and attempted to collect funds, Congress created its own Yorktown Congressional Centennial Committee on June 7, 1880 by nominating one Senator and one Representative from each of the original thirteen states (see Appendix B) and appropriated \$20,000

²⁵ *The Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender*, 10-16. Vouchers were issued to purchasers of stock which entitled them to these special bonds once they were generated. These original certificates themselves were not works of art but rather promissory notes of the bonds to come. See Haxall Family Papers, 1835-1920, Special Collections, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia; Spotswood Family Papers, 1741-1934, Special Collections, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

for the celebration.²⁶ This committee then appointed two architects, R.M. Hunt, the premier American architect who had designed, among other things, many of the important buildings at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia, and his assistant, Henry Van Brunt, as well as one sculptor, J.Q.A. Ward, who had contributed statues to towns throughout the eastern United States, to design the Yorktown Monument.²⁷

The Continental Congress originally requested a monument to this historic event on October 29, 1781 and had appropriated \$100,000 for the construction of a marble

²⁶In comparison, for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, Congress loaned their Centennial Board of Finance the sum of \$1,500,000 to be repaid after the close of the celebration. An admission fee of fifty cents per person was charged, and revenues totalled over \$4,000,000. Despite this amount, however, the Centennial of 1876 did not yield a profit to its stockholders who demanded that they be paid before the loan from the government. It was ultimately ruled by the Supreme Court that the federal treasury must be paid before the stockholders which was accomplished in a series of installments. See *New York Times*, 5, 10 March; 18 November; 4, 16, 23 December 1876, 6, 7, 20, 30 January; 20 March; 10 April; 9, 18 May; 10 August; 6 November 1877.

²⁷*Report of the Commission created in Accordance with a Joint Resolution of Congress, Approved March 3, 1881, Providing for the Erection of a Monument at Yorktown, Virginia, Commemorative of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), 3-5; *A History of the Monument Erected by the United States Government to Commemorate the Close of the Revolutionary War, at Yorktown, October 19th, 1781. Being a Narrative of its Inception, Construction, Completion, and Official Examination* (Philadelphia: Dewey and Eakins, Printers, 1890), 16-18; R.M. Hunt, Henry Van Brunt, J.Q.A. Ward, *Yorktown Monument*, gray marble, 1881, Yorktown, Virginia; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Hunt, Richard Morris," "Van Brunt, Henry," and "Ward, John Quincy Adams;" *New York Times*, 24 August 1880.

column adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and France and inscribed with the terms of surrender. No one ever built this memorial, however, nor did anyone raise the issue again for almost one hundred years. In fact, it became the cause of some controversy as to its true significance, the victory over England versus the original intention of honoring the alliance with France, but in the end, the monument remained faithful to the original instructions outlined by the Continental Congress.²⁸

The future location of the monument was also a source of difficulty as the local community wanted it located on the banks of the York River and close to town, but some distance from the actual place of surrender. The locals triumphed over this controversy, and, on July 6, 1881, the federal government purchased a plot of land on a commanding hill overlooking the York River. The location was close to both Temple Farm and the Moore House and to Yorktown itself, and from this point, the monument could be viewed without interruption along the entire riverfront. British fortifications were still evident on the site, and this particular place had historical significance as well as it

²⁸ *History of the Monument*, 13-15, 19-21; *New York Times*, 24 May 1880, 7, 10 January 1881, 11 August 1881.

marked one of the chief attacks of American forces on the British.²⁹

Meetings of both commissions continued throughout 1880 and 1881 with only occasional joint efforts between the two. Rarely did these two organizations agree even throughout the course of the Centennial, and they never gathered together to coordinate their efforts. For example, the length of the celebration was but one cause of friction between the two committees. The Yorktown Centennial Association requested that the celebration last twenty-five days with the federal government in charge of opening day, the day of laying the cornerstone of the Yorktown Monument, and closing day. Each day between opening day and the laying of the cornerstone would be dedicated to one of the original states, and then each day between the cornerstone ceremony and closing day would commemorate each state that had joined the Union since the Revolution.³⁰

The Yorktown Congressional Committee, on the other hand, wanted the ceremony to last no more than two days.³¹ The two organizations ultimately compromised with slightly more than one week of events with the local organization in

²⁹ *New York Times*, 24 August 1880, 11 July 1881.

³⁰ *New York Times*, 14 December 1880.

³¹ *New York Times*, 11 December 1880. There is no reason given why Congress insisted upon only a two day celebration.

charge of the first five days and the federal government organizing the next four days.³² (For the program of the Centennial, see Appendix C.) The tension and animosity between the two committees would continue throughout the planning and execution of the Centennial and manifest itself in a variety of ways.

Given the indispensable alliance between the French and the Americans during the Revolution, it was only natural to invite French representatives to take part in the Yorktown Centennial. On February 18, 1881, Congress passed a joint resolution for the President to invite the French government and its citizens as well as the family of Lafayette to participate in the celebration and appropriated \$20,000 to cover their expenses.³³ On March 21, 1881, Mr. Edward F. Noyes, the American Minister to France, presented French President François Paul Jules Grévy with an autographed invitation from President Rutherford B. Hayes to attend the Yorktown Centennial for which President Grévy expressed his appreciation and promised to send the proper representatives in October.³⁴

³²*Yorktown Centennial Celebration Synopsis of Information*, Yorktown Centennial Association, Secretary's Office, Exchange Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, September 1, 1881.

³³*Report of the Commission*, 4.

³⁴*New York Times*, 22 March 1881.

The Yorktown Centennial Association, not wanting to be upstaged by the Congressional Committee, proceeded to invite the descendants of other famous French officers such as Rochambeau, Admiral de Grasse, Admiral de Barras, and all the officers of the French army and fleet who had participated in the battle of Yorktown. They also requested that the French government send large detachments of their army and navy for display purposes during the Centennial.³⁵

In addition to the French visitors, members of the general public proposed that the descendants of Baron von Steuben be invited. Secretary of State James G. Blaine personally invited the Steubens on July 31, 1881 by way of the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs. Six of Von Steuben's descendants, all of whom were in the German army at the time, agreed to attend.³⁶ Several states offered hospitality in the forms of lodging and special festivities in honor of these foreign guests, but surprisingly, no one thought to invite the American relatives of George Washington who lived in Virginia and Maryland.³⁷

³⁵ *New York Times*, 1 May 1881.

³⁶ *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, vol. 7 (New York and Chicago: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1881), 310; *New York Times*, 16 August 1881, 17 September 1881.

³⁷ *The Magazine of American History*, VII: 310-311; *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 12 October 1881.

Nor were the British invited to participate. An excerpt from the *London Telegraph* in the *New York Times* stated that the British fostered no hard feelings over what happened one hundred years ago and that "England is, happily, on terms of the closest amity both with France and the United States, and no 'celebrations' of events which happened a century since are likely to diminish cordiality of their friendship."³⁸ The *London Standard* reiterated such feelings of indifference:

We are too old to celebrate Runnymede, Agincourt, Torbay, the Bill of Rights, or even Waterloo. But the Americans are still young, and though their coming centennial is one in which they may, perhaps, feel some delicacy in asking us to join, we are not so thin-skinned, or so ungenerous, as to be unable to appreciate the spirit in which they will celebrate it.³⁹

Although the British remained uninvited, the Yorktown Centennial and its participants treated them with respect during many of the speeches and with a special salute to their flag.

In his inaugural address of March 4, 1881, President James A. Garfield made a passing mention of the upcoming Yorktown Centennial. The inauguration itself was a grand display with clear, sunny weather, and Garfield gave a

³⁸ *New York Times*, 6 April 1881.

³⁹ *New York Times*, 5 September 1881.

forceful address slowly yet effectively. He believed that the Centennial would serve as a demonstration of the perseverance of the Constitution and its original doctrines of liberty and republic as well as a way of healing wounds from the recent Civil War. Garfield then switched to other topics such as the plight of the Negroes, especially those in the South, economic issues, foreign relations, and civil service reform.⁴⁰ However, his remark about the event at his own national celebration only helped to reiterate the scope and themes of the Centennial in general.

In fact, John Goode, as chairman of the House Committee on the Yorktown Centennial, called on President Garfield at the White House in the summer of 1881 and told him that he was to be present at Yorktown on October 19, 1881 to give an oration. The President cordially received Goode and seemed genuinely interested in the event. Garfield's parting and

⁴⁰James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Bureau of National Literature, 1897), 6; Julius W. Muller, ed., *Presidential Messages and State Papers* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1917), 2526; Furer, *Garfield and Arthur*, 35-41; *Yorktown in 1781 and in 1881: History of the Surrender, and the Battles Preceding and Events Following It and an Account of the Preparations for the Celebration, Programme of Proceedings, etc.* (Richmond, Virginia: Baughman Brothers' Steam Presses, 1881), 11; Margaret Leech and Harry J. Brown, *The Garfield Orbit* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978), 224-225; James D. McCabe, *Our Martyred President: The Life and Public Service of General James A. Arthur* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1881), 523-529.

final words to Goode were "I shall meet you at Yorktown and you may expect me to make the effort of my life."⁴¹

President Garfield never got the opportunity to speak at the Centennial, however, for on July 2, 1881 just after nine o'clock in the morning, Charles J. Guiteau shot him at the Baltimore and Potomac Depot in Washington, DC. One of the bullets lodged within the President's chest, resulting in several surgeries and investigations for the shot. Garfield experienced numerous recoveries and changed location to the Jersey Shore in hopes his health would continue to improve. His doctors never removed the slug, though, and the President died from complications such as blood poisoning and heart failure on September 19, 1881 at 10:35 at night. The nation experienced shock and grief as it prepared to bury its fallen leader, and after a few days of public viewing in Washington, DC, James A. Garfield was laid to rest in Cleveland, Ohio on September 26, 1881.⁴²

Vice-President Chester A. Arthur had been summoned by the Cabinet to the capital as soon as he received word of

⁴¹Goode, *Recollections*, 120.

⁴²*New York Times*, 3-31 July, 1-31 August, 1-27 September 1881; Fred A. Shannon, *The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870s to the Early 1890s* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), 69. For a more detailed description of Garfield's last days, see Allan Peskin, *Garfield* (n.p.: The Kent State University Press, 1978), 594-613.

the President's condition.⁴³ No significant national business occurred at this time because Congress was not in session and because Arthur refused to serve as acting president while Garfield recovered out of fear of negative public opinion.⁴⁴ Arthur took the oath of office of President witnessed by Supreme Court Judge John R. Brady at Arthur's residence of 123 Lexington Avenue on September 20 at 2:10 in the morning, mere hours after Garfield had expired.⁴⁵ Arthur's formal inauguration took place on September 22 in the Vice-President's room at the Capitol attended by approximately forty prominent politicians with the oath of office administered by Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite. Arthur then gave a brief inaugural address stressing the strength of the nation to endure such a tragedy and extolling the virtues of Garfield.⁴⁶

After assuming the title of President, Arthur delayed in shouldering the full duties of the Presidency until after Garfield's funeral, and even then, he spent much of his

⁴³*New York Times*, 3-4 July 1881.

⁴⁴Doenecke, *Garfield and Arthur*, 53-54; Howe, *Chester A. Arthur*, 150-154; Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, 238-250; Shannon, *The Centennial Years*, 70.

⁴⁵*New York Times*, 20 September 1881.

⁴⁶*New York Times*, 23 September 1881; Richardson, *Compilation of Messages and Papers*, 33-34; Muller, *Presidential Messages*, 2543; Doenecke, *Garfield and Arthur*, 54; Howe, *Chester A. Arthur*, 154-156; Furer, *Garfield and Arthur*, 83-84; Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, 247-250.

first weeks in office greeting well-wishers and office-seekers. He decided to maintain the current Cabinet members until after the nation had rested and healed, and he persuaded each of them to remain until after Congress had reconvened in December. Until that time, speculations about Cabinet changes filled the newspapers with gossip. Reporters closely monitored Arthur's company in an attempt to predict the future members of his own Cabinet, including his plans to attend the Yorktown Centennial and the guests that might accompany him there.⁴⁷

As the Centennial grew closer, many foreign dignitaries began to arrive. The French delegation arrived in New York City on October 5, 1881 at approximately nine o'clock in the morning by the steamer *Canada*. (See Appendix D.) Once they arrived, they proceeded to the Fifth Avenue Hotel and enjoyed to a reception and military review on October 6.⁴⁸ Then, a trip to West Point on the seventh and an excursion by special train to Niagara Falls on the eighth ensued.⁴⁹

While in Niagara Falls, General Boulanger, the head of the French delegation, received a French regimental flag and metallic eagle from George G. Benzino of Buffalo, New York

⁴⁷Howe, *Chester A. Arthur*, 158-164; Reeves, *Gentleman Boss*, 252-259.

⁴⁸*New York Times*, 6 October 1881.

⁴⁹*New York Times*, 8 October 1881.

which he had captured and saved from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 while serving as a private in a French infantry regiment.⁵⁰ Other events for the French delegation included travel to Baltimore where it experienced parades, reviews, receptions, fireworks, and the Oriole Pageant and then to Washington, DC, where further parades and receptions with prominent American officials took place.⁵¹ It also had the opportunity to visit Mount Vernon and have lunch with Secretary of State James G. Blaine before travelling to Richmond, Norfolk, and ultimately Yorktown.⁵²

The German delegation arrived in New York City early in the morning on October 13, 1881 on the steamer *Herder*. (See Appendix E.) They, too, processed to the Fifth Avenue Hotel before enjoying parades, tours of the city, carriage rides through Central Park, and receptions.⁵³ However, the German delegation went directly to Washington, DC for a reception and then to Yorktown with extra activities planned after the Centennial.

⁵⁰ *Buffalo Evening News*, 11 October 1881.

⁵¹ *Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook*, Rare Book Department, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

⁵² *The Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration, October 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1881* (Washington, DC: F.T. Wilson, 1881).

⁵³ *New York Times*, 14 October 1881.

Meanwhile, invitations and programs of all kinds circulated to attract people to the Centennial and to chronicle the daily sequence of events. A fortunate few received personal engraved invitations to attend the event which simply stated "The pleasure of your company is requested at the Ceremonies to be held at Yorktown commencing the eighteenth of October, 1881" followed by a list of the commissioners of the event at the bottom of the card.⁵⁴ Others procured special invitations from the Yorktown Congressional Committee to be guests of the United States during the celebration and to reside on the steamer *George Leary*, and they acquired admission cards for identification purposes to get on and off the ship.

Others received admission cards for access to Lafayette Hall and to the seats on the reviewing stand stamped with the three dates in which they were valid. The press received special badges to let them onto the grandstand as well. Lastly, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock sent invitations to those individuals whom he wished to attend a party on his steamer *St. John's* on Thursday, October 20, from two until four o'clock in the afternoon, and those who

⁵⁴For examples, see Papers of Julia (Gardiner) Tyler, Special Collections, Virginia Historical Society; Hope Papers; Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook.

could attend obtained special yellow calling cards for admittance to the ship that evening.⁵⁵

Programs and publications of many shapes and sizes ranged from the *Yorktown Centennial Synopsis of Information* of four short pages to *The Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration, Oct 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1881* of 153 pages covering every detail of every event as well as including many advertisements. *Yorktown in 1781 and in 1881: History of the Surrender, and the Battles Preceding and Events Following It and an Account of the Preparations for the Celebration, Programme of Proceedings, etc.* gave a brief overview of the history of Yorktown and of the organization of the Centennial itself. The author expressed the hope "that this is the last great event needful to efface from our hearts the last vestige of our past differences, and that it will enable us to realize fully that we are one people in history and in destiny."⁵⁶

The most comprehensive work, however, was the *Yorktown Centennial Handbook: Historical and Topographical Guide to the Yorktown Peninsula, Richmond, James River, and Norfolk* by John Austin Stevens. In approximately 150 pages of text, the handbook outlined every event scheduled, but also

⁵⁵Hope Papers; Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook.

⁵⁶*Yorktown in 1781 and in 1881*, 11.

included copies of letters and Acts of Congress that helped make the Centennial possible.⁵⁷ Several papers highly recommended these guidebooks since general information about daily events was not posted publicly anywhere in Yorktown.⁵⁸

Each band playing at the balls in the evenings during the week also issued programs of a unique style. Birds and flowers decorated a small rectangular card which had a thin ribbon attached to the top much like a modern-day bookmark. However, the card opened to reveal the program for the band scheduled to perform listing the ten songs that would be played that evening. Each band had their own card with a different decor, and everyone who attended the dances received one of these unusual keepsakes.⁵⁹

Other souvenirs of the Yorktown Centennial were plentiful as well. A *Centennial Album of Yorktown and of Richmond, Virginia* contained lithographs of scenes such as "Yorktown Harbor and Centennial Grounds," "Landmarks at Yorktown," and other pictures of the siege and surrender.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ John Austin Stevens, *Yorktown Centennial Handbook: Historical and Topographical Guide to the Yorktown Peninsula, Richmond, James River, and Norfolk* (New York: C.A. Coffin and Rogers, 1881), 52-72.

⁵⁸ *The Richmond State*, 18 October 1881; *Norfolk Landmark*, 18 October 1881.

⁵⁹ Hope Papers; Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook.

⁶⁰ *Centennial Album of Yorktown and of Richmond, Virginia, 1881*, (New York: Witteman, 1881).

Various prints were also available of scenes such as colonial soldiers lining Main Street in Yorktown and a combination of the Nelson and Moore Houses with images of George Washington, Lafayette, and Cornwallis among other Yorktown-related symbols by William Teiser.⁶¹

Another unique memento consisted of a woven ribbon with the phrase "La France a L'Amerique, La Liberté, éclairant le monde, Souvenir Yorktown 1781-1881" depicting the Statue of Liberty in the center surrounded by American and French flags.⁶² Several other ribbons could be seen on people in the crowd depending on their status. The members of the Congressional Commission wore white ribbons with gold embroidery with the phrase "Yorktown Celebration, Oct. 1781-Oct. 1881, American Independence, Congressional Commission" while other dignitaries wore ribbons of different shades of blue with the same gold lettering.⁶³

Souvenirs came in all shapes and sizes. One flyer announced:

"Surrender!
The great place of interest at Yorktown,
Lord Cornwallis' Cave!

⁶¹Yorktown Papers, Virginia Cities Collection, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary; Morecock Collection, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁶²Hope Papers.

⁶³Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook.

Buy a Yorktown Centennial Medal,
the Only Souvenir of the Surrender.
Bust of Washington and Lafayette on obverse side,
Surrender on reverse--in bold relief,
For Sale by Canvassers at the Cave."⁶⁴

Another consisted of a bound epic poem written by Luther R. Marsh about his trip to the Centennial on board the steam yacht *Yosemite* and covered the voyages to and from the site as well as the event itself.⁶⁵ George Duffield of Lansing, Michigan wrote a popular ballad entitled "How Cornwallis was Taken" which described the siege, battle, and surrender at Yorktown through the eyes of George Washington's Negro servant Bill.⁶⁶

Finally, a special magazine, the *Yorktown Centennial Illustrated*, created just for the celebration described Yorktown at that present time and detailing a complete history of the background of the battle followed by a day-by-day description of the siege. The magazine also included accounts by Dr. Thatcher, a surgeon with Washington, and

⁶⁴Broadside, "Surrender! The great place of interest at Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis' Cave! Buy a Yorktown Centennial Medal, the Only Souvenir of the Surrender. Bust of Washington and Lafayette on obverse side, Surrender on reverse--in bold relief. For Sale by Canvassers at the Cave," Special Collections, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

⁶⁵Luther R. Marsh, *A Slight Souvenir of a Visit to the Yorktown Centennial Celebration in October, 1881, on Board the Steam Yacht Yosemite, at the Invitation of the Owner, Mr. William Belden* (n.p., 1881).

⁶⁶George Duffield, *1781-1881. Yorktown Centennial. How Cornwallis was Taken*. (Lansing, Michigan: n.p., 1881), 1-4.

Count William de Ponts in the French army under Rochambeau. Lastly, it illustrated numerous engravings of all the notable people involved in the battle, famous scenes from the siege itself, and the proposed monument as well.⁶⁷ The Yorktown Centennial ultimately may have been found lacking in several areas, but memorabilia was not one of them.

As the Centennial rapidly approached, many people in Yorktown strove to be ready. A week before the celebration, the town was full of activity, and the sound of hammers was heard day and night. Everything had been delayed until the last day, and no sleeping accommodations had been finished yet.⁶⁸ Railroad companies began to issue special listings of schedules to the Yorktown area in all the local newspapers as well as their own publications, and steamers also made extra accommodations to the region.⁶⁹ Yorktown itself had become a solid mass of temporary frame structures dominated by vendors and bars as well as shooting galleries and wheels of fortune. All of these shanties, however, at

⁶⁷ *Yorktown Centennial Illustrated* (Boston: Photo-Electro. Publishing, Company, October 1881).

⁶⁸ *The Richmond State*, 8 October 1881.

⁶⁹ Broadside, "The Yorktown Centennial Celebration, October 13-21, The Direct Routes thereto from all Points in Middle, Southern, and Southwestern Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and the South, by the Richmond and Danville Railroad or the Atlantic Coastline," Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; Yorktown Centennial Scrapbook.

least had the decency to be decorated in American and French colors and with many references to Washington and Lafayette.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Norfolk Virginian*, 11 October 1881.

CHAPTER 3

THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL IN YORKTOWN

Opening day of the Yorktown Centennial, Thursday, October 13, 1881, fell far short of its mighty expectations. The Moore House, scheduled to open to the public, was only open to last minute workmen. John Goode, President of the Yorktown Centennial Association, arrived to give the opening address, but no one came to listen to it. *Harper's Weekly* noted how "the day passed unmarked save by the hurly-burly of preparation."¹

The second day of the Yorktown Centennial did not fare much better. "On Friday, addresses were to have been delivered by a number of distinguished gentlemen, none of whom appeared," gloated *Harper's Weekly*.² It seemed to some as though the program created by the Yorktown Centennial Association had been abandoned entirely while others attributed the lack of events for the first two days to the

¹"The Yorktown Celebration," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, vol. 25, no. 1297, 29 October 1881, 730.

²*Ibid.*

unfinished condition of construction around town.³ The *New York Times* noted that the Yorktown Centennial Association appeared to be in a state of collapse because nothing had been completed in time or was going according to schedule. When it seemed like nothing else could possibly go wrong, Captain E.P. McCrea of the *Tennessee* died that morning of heart failure. Gunfire saluted this career sailor, and all flags on ships in the York River were ordered to half mast.⁴

Saturday, October 15, had promised a Grand National Regatta among other events, none of which occurred nor did the gentlemen of the Yorktown Centennial Association offer any apologies or explanations for their failure to provide the advertised amusements. Military music permeated the air as the grounds of Temple Farm filled with divisions from all over the country. At eleven o'clock that morning, the funeral of Captain McCrea took place. Amidst flags at half mast and the boom of minute guns, the casket descended onto a steam launch which then proceeded with escort to Norfolk.

Another noteworthy event this day was the arrival of Captain Sinclair's Light Battery of the Third United States Artillery from Fort Hamilton in New York Harbor. The unit had marched 465 miles over thirty days along the route that

³*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 15 October 1881; *Norfolk Virginian*, 15 October 1881.

⁴*New York Times*, 15 October 1881.

Washington's troops had originally followed to Yorktown. Ragged, dusty, and tired, they received a hearty welcome from the troops that had already arrived.⁵ In fact, the first troops to offer them refreshment were an old Confederate command which served to some people as hard proof that the Civil War was truly a part of the past.⁶ Julius Rathbun of the Connecticut National Guard also mentioned this friendship among all troops regardless of their state affiliation: "it was a meeting and clasping of hands by soldiers from both North and South, East and West, all past animosities forgotten."⁷

Not all was well for everyone at this early stage of the celebration, however, for adequate lodging quickly became a serious problem. The correspondent for *The Richmond State* advocated daily that the best way to experience the Centennial was to come to Yorktown by rail, see the sites, and leave on the same day unless previous arrangements had already been made. He also noted that only the meanest accommodations were available to the general public with most everything reserved for military

⁵"The Yorktown Celebration," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 October 1881, 730.

⁶*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 17 October 1881.

⁷Rathbun, *Trip of the Connecticut National Guard*, 60-61.

personnel.⁸ Yorktown opened its courthouse to accommodate people and reserved two rooms for the ladies, a curiosity about which one reporter stated: "the strange fact of ladies sleeping in the halls of justice will be among the valuable events for recordation by the future historian of the Yorktown Centennial."⁹ Those who did find lodging paid a hefty price since it seemed as if everyone in Yorktown was trying to make money off the event.¹⁰

One reporter considered the next day of the celebration, Sunday, October 16, to be the first day of the Centennial because it was the only day so far in which part of the schedule actually took place.¹¹ Catholic Mass occurred in the still unfinished pavilion led by Right Reverend Bishop J.J. Keane, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Richmond.¹² His scheduled concelebrants, Archbishop Gibbons of Maryland and Reverend Dr. John Hall of New York, did not show, and during the course of the service, Keane used one of the prayers composed by Archbishop Carroll, a patriot

⁸*The Richmond State*, 18 October 1881.

⁹*The Richmond State*, 14 October 1881.

¹⁰*Norfolk Landmark*, 15 October 1881.

¹¹*Norfolk Virginian*, 18 October 1881.

¹²*Yorktown Centennial Celebration. Religious Services under the Direction of Rt. Rev. J.J. Keane, Bishop of Richmond. Sunday Morning, October 16th, 1881* (Baltimore: John B. Piet, Printer and Stationer, 1881).

priest and friend of George Washington.¹³ The *New York Times* stated that "the Bishop's aim was to connect the victory at Yorktown with the scheme of Divine guidance on earth" by speaking on history and by blessing both the United States and France.¹⁴ Approximately 1,500 to 2,000 attended the service which was not as many as previously expected, but many people continued to arrive that day.¹⁵ Mass itself did not begin until noon and lasted two hours.¹⁶ The Protestant celebration mentioned in the original program, like so many of the other previously scheduled events, did not take place.

The Moore House finally opened to the public on Sunday with several reviews of the restoration by the press. The *Norfolk Landmark* stated that the Moore House looked wonderful with its new paint and wallpaper.¹⁷ The *Richmond State* mentioned that it had an air of elegance thanks to the

¹³"Summary of the Week's News: Domestic," *The Nation*, 851 (20 October 1881), 304.

¹⁴*New York Times*, 17 October 1881.

¹⁵Jacob Harris Patton, A.M., *Yorktown: A Compendious Account of the Campaign of the Allied French and American Forces, Resulting in the Surrender of Cornwallis and the Close of the American Revolution; the Succeeding Events, to the Treaty of Peace; and the Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender at Yorktown* (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1882), 45.

¹⁶*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 18 October 1881.

¹⁷*Norfolk Landmark*, 18 October 1881.

renovation and modern furnishings and decor from Tiffany's.¹⁸ *Harper's Weekly*, however, decried the changes made to the Moore House proclaiming that it has been "robbed of the beauty and dignity of age by the hands of vandals who had dared desecrate it and *modernize* it."¹⁹ The house had been made into a modern country villa with fresh coats of red, yellow, and green paint. Wallpaper laminated the interior walls, new carpet covered the floors, and modern furniture and trinkets advertising the dealers who sold them filled the various rooms. The author also expressed disappointment that the Nelson House which was equally famous and historic had not been decorated or even renovated for the event.²⁰

Only one of the speeches scheduled for Monday, October 17, took place, namely that by Secretary of the Treasury William Windom. He noted that this particular day was the anniversary upon which the British hoisted the flag of truce. He also recognized with pride that the current rifles could shoot as far as the old cannon from one hundred years ago and that only time would tell where military

¹⁸ *The Richmond State*, 18 October 1881.

¹⁹ "The Yorktown Celebration," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 October 1881, 730.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

technology would take the country in the future.²¹ People continued to flow into Yorktown at a steady pace as did more troops and state governors who received tents on Temple Farm with their respective state militia units.

A light and much-welcomed rain fell for the weather had been hot and sunny previously, and the dust on the unpaved streets of Yorktown was excessive.²² "Dust reigns supreme in the camp at Yorktown," declared the *New York Times*, as the dirty powder settled on everything and everyone.²³ The only solution was the frequent consumption of fluids; however, since many believed the water at Yorktown to be a health hazard, the alternative was to imbibe some of the many liquors available at the shanties throughout town, with the most common beverage being the Bourbon Sour.²⁴ Julius Rathbun of Connecticut National Guard stated in his journal:

Each man had plenty of sand in his hair, down his neck, through his clothes, in his shoes, and in his gizzard, and each felt sure that if it is the lot of man to eat a peck of dirt before he dies he had swallowed his share at Yorktown, and had enough left over to supply the rest of his family.²⁵

²¹ *New York Times*, 18 October 1881.

²² *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 18 October 1881.

²³ *New York Times*, 21 October 1881.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Rathbun, *Trip of the Connecticut National Guard*, 60.

This brief rain on Monday did little to alleviate either problem, heat or dust, and the two continued to mar the Centennial celebration which already had so many other problems.

All reporters noted with relief that Tuesday, October 18, was the first day of celebrations under the care of the federal government in hopes that the events scheduled would actually occur. The day's festivities opened with the arrival of President Arthur and the Cabinet on several steamers. All ships saluted his arrival causing thick smoke to fill the harbor. Visitors on shore cheered him heartily. As soon as the President's party landed, it proceeded to Lafayette Hall, the pavilion which had finally been completed. There, members of the Yorktown Congressional Centennial Committee, Governor Holliday of Virginia, and others welcomed the party. The reception was informal and pleasant, but the ceremonies for the day, which were supposed to have begun at eleven o'clock, did not get fully underway until two hours later because of the delayed French delegation. Indeed, the French would not arrive until almost the end of the ceremony.

By early afternoon the ceremony began without the French representatives, as the Masons, who had come from all over the country, led the procession to the monument site. Fully clothed in ceremonial garb and extremely serious about

their Masonic rituals, the Masons progressed to the grandstand and took their places of honor followed by the President, the Cabinet, and the important speakers for the day.²⁶ Senator John W. Johnston of Virginia, Chairman of the Yorktown Congressional Centennial Commission, called the ceremony to order and Reverend Robert Nelson, grandson of Governor Thomas Nelson of Virginia who commanded the Virginia Militia during the siege of Yorktown, gave the opening prayer. He thanked God for this past victory and for this great nation, asked for grace in order to be humble and to remain close to God, and concluded with the "Our Father." Since the original chorus also had not yet arrived, the United States Marine Band performed a solo version of "The Star Spangled Banner" led by then-unknown John Philip Sousa.²⁷

²⁶ *New York Times*, 19 October 1881; Freemasons, Grand Lodge of Virginia, *Proceedings of the Special Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Virginia at Yorktown, on the 17th and 18th Days of October, 1881* (Richmond, Virginia: James E. Goode, Printer, 1881); Freemasons, Grand Lodge of Virginia, *Programme of Exercises to be Observed on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-Stone of the Monument to be Erected at Yorktown, York, County, Virginia, by the United States Government to Commemorate the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the Allied American and French Forces, 19th of October, 1781, by the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons of Virginia, on the 18th Day of October, 1881* (n.p., 1881).

²⁷ *Report of the Commission*, 16-17; *Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration*. Sousa had been appointed leader of the United States Marine Band the previous year and was at the time of the Centennial twenty-seven years of age. Two biographies of John Philip Sousa, namely Malcolm Heslip's *Nostalgic Happenings in the Three Bands of John Philip Sousa* (Westerville, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1992) and Paul

Governor Holliday next took the stand for his welcome address. He noted that they had gathered to witness the fulfillment of the promise to build a monument in honor of this great battle. The war had been a struggle, but the Americans had triumphed in the end with the help of France. At the time no one understood the importance of this particular battle, and the men who fought for independence must be extolled. He welcomed all people to join in this celebration and noted that although recently the Civil War divided this country, the states were together again for "in the midst of partisan strife, even though we loved our aims we loved our country more."²⁸ After the President's assassination, the country joined together in mourning, but despite these calamities, faith and patriotism persevered. He reiterated his welcome to all and stated that this monument would keep alive the memory of the great events that took place here.²⁹

E. Bierley's *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973) make no mention of Sousa's performance at the Yorktown Centennial. However, a march entitled "Yorktown Centennial" dated 1881 is included in a list of Sousa's works in an appendix in Bierley's work on page 227. Sousa's own autobiography *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music* (Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1941) also contains no reference to attendance at the Centennial.

²⁸F.W.M. Holliday, *Welcome Address, delivered at Yorktown, Virginia, October 18, 1881* (Richmond: Wm. Ellis Jones, Steam Book and Job Printer, 1881), 11.

²⁹Holliday, 3-11.

Accompanied by Sousa and the Marine Band, the crowd sang the "Marseillaise Hymn," and Senator Johnston made a few remarks. He mentioned that three times there had been men camped on this soil, two in conflict and one in peace. He gave a brief history of the later years of the American Revolution and then referred to the desires of the Continental Congress to place a monument here which would finally happen today after one hundred years since the original battle.³⁰

After his speech, the band performed "Hail Columbia," and then the Grand Master Masons of the thirteen original states assembled to lay the cornerstone of the monument. The Right Worshipful A. Poe Boude, Grand Chaplain offered the prayer in which he praised and thanked God for this day, asked for pardon of the national sins and for blessings on the President, the French and English governments, and all masons, and ended with the "Our Father." Next, he placed a copper box full of historic Masonic items in the foundation of the monument. The Grand Masters of Virginia, New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania then helped to lower the cornerstone into its place while performing the grand honors. They applied the square, level, and plumb to the cornerstone and anointed it with corn, wine, and oil. The

³⁰ *Report of the Commission, 25-27.*

Grand Master of Virginia then proclaimed the cornerstone to be "true, trusty, and well-laid."³¹

Most Worshipful Beverly R. Wellford, Jr., Past Grand Master, then gave a lengthy oration detailing a Biblical analysis of the struggle for independence. He instructed those present to remember their religion, their Bible, and their God for there they would find a good and true foundation. He also spoke on the sacredness of Masonic rituals and recounted individually the many Masons who took part in the American Revolution. Finally, he concluded that this cornerstone was a symbol for the foundation for the country, and by being built on rock, it therefore would be strong.³² The Marine Band played a "Grand Fantasia" to accompany the dispersal of the crowds for that day's events. Military concerts filled the rest of the afternoon, and the evening featured fireworks along with a promenade concert and "hop."³³

Overall, the newspapers declared the day's events a success albeit lengthy. *Harper's Weekly* emphasized the

³¹*Report of the Commission*, 35; Albert W. Banton, Jr., *A Primer of Freemasonry in Yorktown, Virginia, 1755-1955* (Yorktown, Virginia: Yorktown Lodge #353, 1955), 12. The Yorktown Monument itself would not be completed until January 5, 1885. See *History of the Monument*, 18.

³²*Freemasons, Proceedings of the Special Communication; Freemasons, Programme of Exercises.*

³³*Report of the Commission*, 25-53; *Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration.*

dense clouds of dust, intense heat, and generally the "most uncomfortable surroundings" that could be found.³⁴ The *Norfolk Landmark* commented on the large numbers of people strolling the beach, collecting shells, and attempting to rid themselves of all the dust while both the *Petersburg Index-Appeal* and *The Richmond State* noted how weary, worn, and tired the President appeared to be.³⁵ The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* mentioned that the Virginia Militia was three hours late for the day's ceremonies and that the Ninth Massachusetts received a special reprimand from General Winfield Scott Hancock for arriving noisily at 4:30 in the morning.³⁶ Other than these few asides, all papers covered the events of the day with great detail, and most of them included excerpts of the speeches within the news.

By far the most important day of the Centennial was Wednesday, October 19, which featured several speeches and epic poems as well as the aforementioned address by President Arthur. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* celebrated with pride the arrival of the Chief of Police of Richmond accompanied by numerous deputies to ensure the safety of the

³⁴"The Yorktown Celebration," *Harper's Weekly*, 29 October 1881, 730.

³⁵*Norfolk Landmark*, 19 October 1881; *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 19 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 19 October 1881.

³⁶*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 19 October 1881.

visitors attending the Centennial. Prior to this day, little police protection could be found, a fact which some considered an oversight on the part of the planning committees as pickpockets had been common.³⁷

The *Norfolk Virginian* also remarked upon the large amount of thievery and warned visitors to watch their pocketbooks at all times. The reporter cautioned,

Look out for your money, and don't go to Yorktown with anything of particular value in the way of fine watches, diamonds, etc. Many victims are already complaining of losses. We say again, as we said yesterday, 'Hands on the valuables, and hold them tight.'³⁸

After the arrival of the Richmond police, however, crime dropped from the pages of the news and, presumably for the most part, from the scene of the Centennial.

The *New York Times* began its review of the day's events by mentioning the large number of ships in the harbor at Yorktown. In fact, the river was so crowded that it was difficult to maneuver. The reporter inquired "if Yorktown is destined to witness a second centennial, what sort of vessels will they be which anchor off the bluffs in the year 1981?"³⁹ The day began with music by the United States

³⁷ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 20 October 1881.

³⁸ *Norfolk Virginian*, 19, 20 October 1881.

³⁹ *New York Times*, 20 October 1881.

Marine band led by John Philip Sousa and the other military bands that were in attendance.

At eleven o'clock, Chairman John W. Johnston called the day's festivities to order which opened with a prayer by Reverend William L. Harris, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York. He proclaimed the greatness of the Lord and thanked God for this day. He also asked for blessing upon the President and the government, England and Queen Victoria, the Republic of France, and the rulers of all nations and concluded with the "Our Father."

A chorus of three hundred voices led by Professor Charles L. Seigel of Richmond performed The Centennial Hymn with words by Charles Poindexter and music by J.E. Schmolzer.⁴⁰ The subject of the hymn continued the theme of thanks to God for victory at Yorktown and asked for blessing upon this monument which will keep the history of these great deeds in the forefront of everyone's minds.⁴¹

This grand hymn paved the way for President Arthur's speech. The two foreign delegations then had the opportunity to address the crowd beginning with M. Maxine Outrey, spokesman for the French commission. He mentioned that the French government appreciated being included in

⁴⁰ *Report of the Commission, 54-57; Programme of the Yorktown Centennial.*

⁴¹ *New York Times, 20 October 1881.*

this grand ceremony, and he believed that the Yorktown Monument would honor both countries for many years to come. France was proud to have contributed to this republic and wished all Americans continuing prosperity. He concluded by thanking the commission for inviting them.

Marquis de Rochambeau spoke in his native French and expressed the hope that the friendship between the two countries would continue for the next one hundred years. Finally, Colonel von Steuben, head of the German delegation, spoke in German and expressed gratitude and surprise over being invited to this celebration. He believed that this act demonstrated new unity between Germany and the United States, and he, too, concluded by expressing many thanks.⁴²

The chorus led by Seigel and accompanied by the United States Marine Band performed the "Yorktown Centennial Lyric" written by Paul H. Hayne of South Carolina with music by Joseph Mosenthal.⁴³ Hayne, a well-known and prolific poet of the time, glorified the victory at Yorktown and stressed the alliance with France without whom the battle would have been lost. He demonstrated this fact by his constant and

⁴² *Report of the Commission*, 59-62.

⁴³ *Report of the Commission*, 62-63; *Programme of the Yorktown Centennial*.

illustrious references to France in the chorus of the poem.⁴⁴

A popular song by Harrison Millard, "God Save the President from Harm," followed this lyric, and then Robert Winthrop of Massachusetts took the stand to give the oration.⁴⁵ He was a natural choice for lecturer at the event because besides having served as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, he had spoken at the centennial at Bunker Hill in 1875 and other important celebrations.⁴⁶ He had reluctantly accepted the invitation from Congress because he feared that he was too old for the task and would not be heard by the large crowd.⁴⁷

The oration itself was quite long as Winthrop began by stating how honored he was to be speaking at Yorktown when Virginia has produced so many of its own fine orators. He hoped that this event would add a new link between North and South as well as strengthen old ties. France received acknowledgement for without its help there would not have been victory or independence to celebrate, and he reviewed

⁴⁴Paul Hamilton Hayne, *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne* (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1882), 304-305.

⁴⁵*Programme of the Yorktown Centennial.*

⁴⁶"Mr. Winthrop and His Oration," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, 25, no. 1298 (5 November 1881), 738.

⁴⁷Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1897), 305.

the history of the French alliance and the entire history of the siege of Yorktown in detail. Winthrop also mentioned the British with reverence since they sent their best troops to fight. He listed several important British officers who had been present for the battle and their other more successful accomplishments. He reviewed all the major American generals from every colony as well as all the German officers and French commanders before ending his list with brief biographies of Washington and Lafayette.

Winthrop then focused on the present and the future in order to preserve the independence won on this battlefield one hundred years before. The past century had seen remarkable progress with an increase in population and territory, an improvement in industry and agriculture, reduction of the national debt, and the prosperity of many citizens. The country also persevered through the Civil War, but while they honored the past, they must look to the future to preserve all of the greatness that they have accomplished. Deadlocks in the federal government dominated current events, and vice, crime, embezzlement, bribery, corruption, profligacy, and assassination were commonplace in daily life. In order to maintain current liberties, the government must take control of the nation, and public education for all especially the freemen would give everyone the common principles and morals that would keep this nation

strong. Winthrop hailed all Americans as brothers and stated that basic nature, memories, and children as well as the Constitution, the Union despite the Civil War, and the death and mourning of President Garfield united them, and he concluded with a blessing upon those who do the most to preserve the country.⁴⁸

After Winthrop's oration, the choir and the crowd sang "The Star Spangled Banner," and James Barron Hope who had spoken at the ninety-eighth anniversary in 1879 recited the Centennial Poem. Many critics did not consider him a great poet, however, and although he used the style of the times, his poems were generally polite and dull. His Centennial Poem, "Arms and the Man," was one of his best works, and it contained in nineteen sections with 210 stanzas of varied length which took over two hours to recite.⁴⁹

Hope's poem continued on the central theme of all the orations at the Centennial, reconciliation among the states. He began by reminding the audience that they had gathered today to honor history. After briefly mentioning the recently deceased President Garfield, he discussed the

⁴⁸Robert C. Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions from 1878-1886*, vol. 4 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1886), 296-349.

⁴⁹*Report of the Commission*, 103; *Programme of the Yorktown Centennial*; Paul C. Wermuth, "An Ode to Reconciliation," *Virginia Cavalcade* 7 (Autumn 1957): 14-18.

founding of the colonies and some early colonial history. The king failed to control these growing colonies, and war ensued. Hope extolled the French alliance and then thoroughly detailed all the events surrounding and included within the siege of Yorktown. Once the colonists had won the war, he praised the founding fathers reserving special reverence to George Washington. He considered this man so great that he could not do him justice by discussing him here and would not even mention him directly by name. Finally, he concluded with the South as part of the Union and mentioned that if war should ever come again, all the states would present a unified front to defend their country. Hope proclaimed:

Give us back the ties of Yorktown!
 Perish all the modern hates!
 Let us stand together, brothers,
 In defiance of the Fates;
 For the safety of the Union
 Is the safety of the states!⁵⁰

With that stanza he concluded his long epic poem as well as the speeches for the remainder of the day.⁵¹

Hope's poem received a standing ovation, and some described his delivery as beautiful and poetic while his

⁵⁰James Barron Hope, *Arms and the Man: A Metrical Address, Recited on the One Hundredth Anniversary (October 19th, 1881,) of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, on invitation of Joint Committee of Both Houses of Congress* (Norfolk, Virginia: Landmark Publishing Company, 1882), 70.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 9-70.

gestures were easy and complimentary to his words. Critics considered it one of his best efforts and highly praised the work.⁵²

The Thirteenth Regiment Band of the National Guard of New York played a final overture, and the dignitaries adjourned for a reception with the President. That evening, fireworks and a promenade concert and "hop" finished what had been a lengthy and eventful day.⁵³

Thursday, October 20, was to be the last day of the Yorktown Centennial as the military and naval reviews were combined into one day instead of holding them on separate days much to the relief of everyone involved. The *Norfolk Landmark* stated that "today the blue and the gray will march to the tune of National airs over historic ground, made dear to a people, who henceforth should have but one aim--their country's good."⁵⁴ President Arthur and the Cabinet oversaw the review as did the foreign guests. It lasted

⁵² *The Richmond State*, 21 October 1881; *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 20 October 1881; Hope Papers. After the Centennial, Hope received many kudos for his exceptional work. He also had several special requests for repeat recitations of his poem at such places as the University of Virginia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Massachusetts Historical Society as well as entreaties for copies of the ode by Congress and other organizations. See Hope, *Arms and the Man*, 6; Hope Papers.

⁵³ *Report of the Commission*, 124-125; *Programme of the Yorktown Centennial*.

⁵⁴ *Norfolk Landmark*, 20 October 1881.

approximately an hour and twenty minutes and included 9,500 men from all the states of the Union led by General Winfield Scott Hancock and his staff. The President appeared enthusiastic over the display, and two "colored" regiments from Richmond took part in the ceremony.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, these military reviews were not free from accidents. Private Deborough of the Camden, New Jersey artillery lost both his hands and painfully burned when, while loading a charge of powder into a cannon, the gun discharged by mistake. Two men from the North Carolina camp died of cholera during the night.⁵⁶ These deaths, in combination with the earlier loss of Captain McCrea, were only minor distractions and for the most part did not harm the festivities of the Centennial.

The naval review became a naval drill because of the difficulties involved with maneuvering within the crowded York River. The drill consisted of ships raising and furling sails, signaling, manning yards, and firing.⁵⁷ By evening, steamers and transports removed visitors, troops left during the night, and the Yorktown Centennial quickly

⁵⁵ *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 21 October 1881.

⁵⁶ *Norfolk Virginian*, 21 October 1881; *Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 21 October 1881.

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, 21 October 1881.

wound to a close.⁵⁸ The *New York Times* stated that "next week, Yorktown will lapse again into greater stagnation than ever, with its unused roads, tumbling, unpainted shanties, and the thousand traces of a hasty occupation."⁵⁹

During the course of events of this last day, a brief ceremony consisting of a few comments and gunfire honored the British flag. The concept for this salute came from President Arthur himself who recognized the current good relations between England and the United States and who wanted to show respect for Queen Victoria, who had been so gracious and generous during the funeral of President Garfield less than a month earlier.⁶⁰ The salute was graceful and appropriate, and it demonstrated that the country could celebrate victory without overly glorifying in the defeat of their enemy.⁶¹ One author stated that "it was evidence that the mother and daughter, though long reconciled, have now entered upon an era in which they will be bound by ties of affection still stronger."⁶² The *New*

⁵⁸ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 21 October 1881; *New York Times*, 22 October 1881.

⁵⁹ *New York Times*, 21 October 1881.

⁶⁰ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. 8, 37; Muller, *Presidential Messages*, 2544.

⁶¹ "The British Flag at Yorktown," *The Nation*, 852 (27 October 1881), 328.

⁶² Patton, *Yorktown*, 54.

York Times expressed surprise at the limited amount of recognition of the British during the celebration. The fact that no representatives had been invited to attend was a grievous mistake since the United States owed so much to England such as origin, independence, and national government, and best traditions.

The *London Standard*, as quoted in the *New York Times*, stated appreciation for the salute and reiterated the fact that Englishmen had lost the sore feeling over their loss a long time ago. The International Arbitration and Peace Association of England noted the salute to the British flag in their records and believed that it showed continued good will between the two countries.⁶³

Not all countries appreciated this ceremony, however. The Russians took offense and believed that England and the United States were still bitter enemies and that as friends with Russia the United States could not be friends with England.⁶⁴ Aside from that one comment, all others involved saw the salute as gracious and respectful of England in light of the circumstances of the celebration.

⁶³ *New York Times*, 21 October, 20 November 1881.

⁶⁴ *New York Times*, 20 November 1881.

CHAPTER 4
THE RICHMOND AND NORFOLK CELEBRATIONS
OF THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL

Because of its close proximity to Yorktown, Richmond had its own week of celebration to commemorate the Centennial.¹ The City Council at their April 1881 meeting adopted a resolution appointing a committee to organize the celebration. Judge John A. Meredith headed this Centennial Committee (see Appendix F), and meetings took place in the Chancery Court Room.

At the July meeting, the City Council passed a series of resolutions authorizing the Centennial Committee to handle all the details related to the celebration, and it appropriated \$10,000 "or so much as may be necessary" to finance the event.² The council also invited the President

¹Despite the large size and elaborate festivities in Richmond, few of the histories written about the city remark on the celebration at all. Those works that do mention it do so only in passing with a few sentences or a brief paragraph at the most such as Virginus Dabney's *Richmond: The Story of a City* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976), 236; W. Asbury Christian's, D.D., *Richmond: Her Past and Present* (Richmond, Virginia: L.H. Jenkins, 1912), 372-373; and Michael B. Chesson's *Richmond After the War, 1865-1890* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1981), 172.

²J.L.M. Curry, *Lessons of the Yorktown Centennial, Address of the Honorable J.L.M. Curry, Ll.D. Delivered in Richmond, on 22nd October*

and the Cabinet to attend as well as the representatives from France and Germany and appropriated \$5,000 for guest accommodations for these people while they were in Richmond.

Many people spent weeks organizing a program of events.³ The first public ceremonies took place on Monday, October 17, 1881, when Governor Holliday, Mayor W.C. Carrington, and members of the City Council reviewed the First Virginia Brigade, Thirteenth New York Regiment, and other military detachments before they departed for Yorktown.⁴

Rope and flag decorations covered many of the buildings throughout the city, and memorial arches that had been erected at seven different intersections depicted such themes as the American and French nationalities and a great welcome arch. These arches and different points of the city were illuminated at night as well.⁵ A grandstand from which future orations and reviews would occur was built on Capitol Square on the north side of the Capitol and opposite the statue of Stonewall Jackson. The men in charge of this

1881, by request of the City Council (Richmond, Virginia: Dispatch Steam Printing House, 1881), 3.

³Ibid., 3-5.

⁴*Guide to Richmond and Programme to the Centennial* (Richmond, Virginia: McAdams and Berry, 1881), 3.

⁵Ibid., 1.

decor were well-known artists R.T. Daniel, Jr., John A. Elder, and William L. Sheppard, all from Richmond, along with Henry T. Reh, public decorator of Washington and responsible for the grandstand at President Garfield's inaugural address. People filled almost the entire city, and Richmond wanted to outshine the Yorktown Centennial with their own event.⁶

The two local newspapers, *The Richmond State* and the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, printed daily schedules of events which facilitated the distribution of information concerning the celebration as a whole. A local clothier circulated a *Guide to Richmond and Programme to the Centennial* to assist visitors with the festivities as well as other local attractions including the State Fair, the Industrial Exposition, and historical points of interest. Lastly, a bureau of reception and entertainment of visitors had its headquarters located at 1210 Main Street to provide further information about the area.⁷ Therefore, information about this event was much easier to obtain than it had been in Yorktown because of these extra efforts.

On Friday, October 21, the day after the closing of the Yorktown Centennial, the French and German visitors arrived

⁶Curry, *Lessons of the Yorktown Centennial*, 4; *The Richmond State*, 21 October 1881.

⁷Curry, *Lessons of the Yorktown Centennial*, 5.

in Richmond by the steamer *Catskill* at approximately ten o'clock in the morning. Mayor Carrington and other city representatives met them at the dock, and the mayor gave a brief speech of welcome stating how pleased he was that the foreign delegations could attend for without them Richmond's Centennial celebration would not be the same. Max Outrey expressed his appreciation for these welcoming words as did Colonel von Steuben who spoke in his native German. The visitors then took carriage tours of the city accompanied by interpreters.

The tour concluded at the Governor's Mansion in Capitol Square where the foreign representatives met Governor Holliday who also welcomed them to Richmond. The delegations then toured the Capitol where a brave few ventured onto the roof to get a better view of the scenery. After this stop, they proceeded to the Exchange Hotel to register, and they had lunch at the Ballard House where they received champagne and had a fine time.

After lunch, the group went to the fairgrounds located at the future site of Monroe Park to visit the Centennial House, the building used by Virginia at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia and then donated to the State Agricultural Society. Here, they imbibed more champagne and used the opportunity to rest and remove some of the dust that had accumulated on their clothing. Various

people from Richmond apologized for the inconvenience, but the visitors claimed that the dust here was not nearly as bad as it had been in Yorktown.

The delegation then visited the livestock and watched a horse race from the grandstand before returning to their hotel for supper.⁸ One newspaper noted with pride: "The strangers were no doubt greatly impressed by the objects of interest seen by them at the fair. They will doubtless return to their distant homes with a very high opinion of the vast resources of Virginia."⁹

That evening featured a ball at the Allan mansion, the historic home of Edgar Allan Poe, which had been elaborately decorated by many local organizations, and the next morning, both delegations left for Washington, DC, much to the disappointment of the city of Richmond. The lack of attendance at the Richmond festivities by President Arthur and the Cabinet was also a source of discontent, but the excuse of pressing business in the national capital served as adequate justification for their absence.¹⁰

The celebrations for Saturday, October 22 began with a boom as the Richmond Howitzers fired a national salute of

⁸*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 22 October 1881.

⁹*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 22 October 1881.

¹⁰*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 22, 25 October 1881; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 22 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 21, 22 October 1881.

one gun for each state in the Union on Capitol Square at one o'clock in the afternoon.¹¹ About a half hour later, the City Council assembled in the Council Chamber and went with Governor Holliday to the grandstand by Chief Marshal Henry C. Miller and his staff where a crowd of approximately 5,000 had gathered. The band played "The Star Spangled Banner" after which Mayor Carrington called the day's event to order. Right Reverend Bishop F.W. Whittle of the Episcopal Church gave a prayer praising God and thanking him for the mercies shown to his people as well as begging forgiveness for national sins like irreligion, Sabbath-breaking, profanity, fraud, licentiousness, atheism, and infidelity. He concluded with a brief blessing on the leaders of the country and the commonwealth of Virginia.

Afterwards, the band played "Jesu Dulcis" followed by an address of welcome by Mayor W.C. Carrington. He described the Centennial as a "national family union" and declared that all states are equal within the United States.¹² National heritage is greater than small divisions or sections, and all states are part of the "Brotherhood of

¹¹*Guide to Richmond*, 3; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 23 October 1881. The *Guide* lists the original time for the salute as 10:00am; however, the newspaper reports it at 1:00pm with no explanation given for the change.

¹²*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 23 October 1881.

America."¹³ He also thanked France for its help during the American Revolution, and through its aid, America became part of the national family and brothers to the world. Lastly, he praised women and their irreplaceable part in making this nation great before concluding with welcome to all. "Hail Columbia" was the next selection by the band followed by a reading of the Declaration of Independence by twenty-five students from the Richmond High School.

Next, the orchestra played "Yankee Doodle," and the orator for the day, J.L.M. Curry took the stand. A statesman, author, and educator, Curry had already accumulated a long list of accomplishments including a degree from Harvard Law School and service in the Mexican War, the Alabama legislature, the United States Congress, the Confederate Congress, and the Confederate cavalry. He made Richmond his home after 1868, and at this point in time, he was a professor of English and Philosophy with occasional classes in constitutional and international law at Richmond College.¹⁴

Curry wondered aloud why, after having such an elaborate celebration in Yorktown, would Richmond choose to have another one, but he answered his own question with the

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴*Dictionary of American Biography*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Curry, Jabez Lamar Monroe."

fact that since Richmond is an historic city, it, therefore, must participate in this event. He promised not to recite the history of Yorktown again since it had been done previously by several other speakers at the Yorktown Centennial. He did, however, restate the theme of newfound unity among the states with "as from all sections we gathered at Yorktown on the 19th and here again today let us bury all animosities."¹⁵

He continued by putting forth the idea that the Declaration of Independence was a prophesy and that Yorktown was its fulfillment. The victory at Yorktown allowed the colonies to form a democratic, representative form of federal government with self government of local communities and states. It also permitted the development of the equality of rights and privileges for men because the government demonstrated the will of the majority. Separate state governments, reciprocal free trade among the states, and religious liberty are all important aspects of this nation, and he noted the fact that the United States is the only country in the world with such a system.

Curry expressed amazement at the progress made by this country in one hundred years. He also stated that the

abolition of negro slavery...is the
stupendous social and political

¹⁵Curry, *Lessons of the Yorktown Centennial*, 9.

revolution of this century....I venture to affirm there is not a man nor a woman in this vast audience, gathered near the statue of Stonewall Jackson, the Confederate Christian soldier, and in the very shadow of the building where the Confederate Congress sat and deliberated, who does not rejoice that the negroes are free.¹⁶

However, he recognized that with success comes certain dangers and that the public must guard against the enemies from within the nation. Curry recognized the need for civil service reform, universal suffrage, literacy of the masses, stronger law enforcement, and honest people in office in order for Americans to retain these great freedoms. Despite these dangers, however, the outlook for the future was hopeful and inspiring. He concluded with the facts that the past is "nothing" so America must look forward in order to make itself into a better nation.¹⁷

Curry spoke for almost an hour after which the band played the "Marseillaise Hymn." Lastly, Dr. Read, the pastor of Grace Street Presbyterian Church, dismissed the audience with a brief benediction. The band then went to the Governor's Mansion where it serenaded Governor Holliday

¹⁶Ibid., 17.

¹⁷Ibid., 7-22.

until he acknowledged their presence and thanked them for their enthusiasm.¹⁸

Sunday, October 23 featured church services at St. John's Church which was filled to capacity. Reverend Dr. A. Weddell conducted the services using a Bible taken from the tent of Cornwallis on the Yorktown battlefield. His homily stressed the lesson that unless men are free from sin, then they have no freedom at all. That night, it rained which helped decrease the dust that had been accumulating in the city.¹⁹

On Monday morning, people lined the streets of Richmond anxiously waiting the military parade. However, the procession did not take place because of the threat of rain and the muddy condition of the streets, so the event was postponed until Wednesday. This change was quite disappointing since the people believed that they had a right to expect a set program regardless of the weather. The city had an obligation to visitors, foreign and local, to entertain, and "what will be thought of us when we fail to carry out the program appointed by the city itself?"²⁰

¹⁸ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 23 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 22, 24 October 1881; *New York Times*, 23 October 1881.

¹⁹ *The Richmond State*, 24 October 1881.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

John Smith by Pocahontas. "Colonial Times" showed early settlers with a loaded wagon, and "Revolution" displayed Liberty arming the colonists to fight England. Next came "Mühlenberg" in honor of the man who left his pulpit to fight in the American Revolution followed by "Yorktown" with Liberty and the French and Continental soldiers rejoicing in their victory. Lastly was "Virginia Rediviva" which exhibited the current state of Virginia in all its glory. The parade ended promptly at ten o'clock and cost approximately \$2,000 paid entirely by the German residents of Richmond. The event surprised and pleased most everyone in Richmond, and even though a procession of this type had never been attempted previously, it worked perfectly.²³

The morning of Tuesday, October 25 was to have begun with a parade by the "colored" societies and "colored" militia of Richmond according to the original program; however, this event is curiously not mentioned by either major paper.²⁴ What was documented, though, was the parade of the Manchester Ragamuffins and other such groups through the city of Richmond. Manchester could have had its own celebration but instead chose to contribute to the Richmond

²³*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 25 October 1881; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 25 October 1881; *The Richmond Standard*, 29 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 25 October 1881.

²⁴*Guide to Richmond*, 7.

event. That afternoon the "Komic Krew of Komus" marched across the Free Bridge to participate in the ceremony. About two hundred men took part and used horns, skinny horses, and outrageous masks and costumes to depict original and amusing scenes. A group of minstrels followed them, and those present enjoyed the show thoroughly.²⁵

Wednesday, October 26, was a civic holiday for the city of Richmond since it marked the last day of their celebration of the Yorktown Centennial so that all could attend the crowning event for the week.²⁶ The weather was ideal with sunshine and mild temperatures, and at half past ten o'clock that morning, the guns of the Howitzer Battery in Capitol Square signalled the beginning of the parade. The police led the first section of the procession followed by a band, Governor Holliday, Mayor Carrington, the Common Council, and the French Society. Next came another band and the many Catholic societies of Richmond after which advanced the Stonewall band, the Lodges Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, the Councils Royal Arcanum, the Councils American Legion of Honor, the Lodges Knights of Honor, and the United Order of Foresters.

²⁵*Guide to Richmond, 7; Petersburg Index-Appeal, 26 October 1881; Richmond Daily Dispatch, 26 October 1881.*

²⁶*Richmond Daily Dispatch, 26 October 1881.*

Subsequent sections included the Lodges Knights of Pythias, the Manchester Band, the Pocahontas Tribe, the Tribes of Red Men, and the Groves of Druids. The flag of Italy and the Italian Beneficial Society led another segment which included several beneficial societies as well as the United Order of Mechanics, the Cigar Makers International Union, the Butchers of Richmond, the Continental Drummers and Fifers, the First Virginia Regiment, and the Richmond Light Infantry Blues. Next, the various city fire departments and their trucks processed along the parade route, and the last group were the trade cars consisting of individual representatives of the many businesses in Richmond.²⁷

The parade surpassed all expectations, was approximately two and a half miles in length, and lasted less than two hours. The German, French, Irish, and Italian elements of the city all made themselves visible in the procession, and cigars, cigarettes, candy, sausage, and

²⁷These trades as listed by the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* on 26 October 1881 included but were not limited to grain, flour, feed, groceries, bakers, brewers, liquor dealers, furniture, musical instruments, all articles made of wood, coopers, box makers, tinware, stoves, post office, railroad, express company, architecture, civil engineering, lithographers, printers, engravers, bookbinders, stationers, paper products, dry goods, boots, shoes, leather, clothing, hats, millinery, bags, carpets, all goods made of cotton and woolen, drugs, oils, tobacco, cotton, coal, ice, lime, cement, fertilizers, all raw materials, machinery of all kinds, iron workers, and agricultural implements.

business cards were thrown to the eager crowds. One child actually climbed to the head of the Washington statue to get a better view of the celebration.

After the parade ended, two guns of the Howitzer Company and twenty one guns of the Richmond Light Infantry Brigade saluted the British flag which had been raised on the south end of the Capitol. The day culminated with a beautiful fireworks display at eight o'clock that evening accompanied by inspiring music from the band. Between 20,000 and 30,000 attended this show which ended with a massive release of balloons to the skies.²⁸ Thus concluded the Richmond celebration of the Yorktown Centennial in what one paper described as a "blaze of glory."²⁹

The success or failure of the Richmond event was of great importance to the people of Richmond in light of the many mishaps that had occurred in Yorktown. Many strangers commented that they liked Richmond better than Yorktown, and supposedly, "most everyone is of the opinion now that the Yorktown Centennial ought to have been celebrated in Richmond altogether....By the time the next hundred years roll around, we will all know better how it should be

²⁸*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 27 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 26, 27 October 1881.

²⁹*The Richmond State*, 27 October 1881.

done."³⁰ The festivities of Richmond were not meant to rival Yorktown but rather to supplement them, and since Richmond was an historic city, it had a duty to take part in the event.³¹

However, one newspaper believed that judgments and comparisons of the two events should not be made and that focus should be placed instead on the themes that they each tried to convey. Both wanted to renew patriotic sentiment, a goal which had been successfully accomplished in both places. Yorktown and Richmond also both stressed the themes of national unity:

We wished...that we should make an end to all our sectional bickering...We wanted, in other words, to see the people of the North and the South meet together and renew their covenant of friendship at the scene of its earliest establishment.³²

Whether Congress or any committee, city, or state could have done more was debatable, and regardless of who was in charge, shortcomings would have occurred anyway. Richmond, too, had its problems with its Centennial celebration;

³⁰ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 22 October 1881; *The Richmond State*, 22 October 1881.

³¹ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 23 October 1881.

³² *The Richmond State*, 25 October 1881.

however, it accomplished its original goals making it a success.³³

Norfolk, the major city and port to the east of Yorktown, also did its own fair share of celebrating the Centennial.³⁴ Both its major newspapers proclaimed the town to be "gorgeous" because of the numerous decorations throughout Norfolk such as emblems, bunting, and illuminations. In fact, the city received its first electric lights for illumination at night for this event.³⁵ Thousands of visitors crowded into Norfolk from all over the country and the world, and the city was proud to be able to entertain them lavishly.

The main event of the Norfolk version of the Yorktown Centennial consisted of a large parade on Friday, October 21, 1881. Mayor Robert W. Lamb and the City Council reviewed the parade from City Hall. The general public began taking positions along the route to watch the

³³Ibid.

³⁴Again, as was the case with Richmond, there is little mention of this event in the histories written about Norfolk unless it is only in passing such as Thomas C. Parramore with Peter C. Stewart and Tommy L. Bogger, *Norfolk: The First Four Centuries* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 253 and George Holbert Tucker, *Norfolk Highlights, 1584-1881* (Norfolk, Virginia: The Norfolk Historical Society, 1972), 122-124.

³⁵Robert W. Lamb, ed., *Our Twin Cities of the Nineteenth Century: (Norfolk and Portsmouth) Their Past, Present and Future* (Norfolk, Virginia: Barcroft, Publisher, 1887-1888), 60.

procession before ten o'clock in the morning while a local band played background music, but the line itself did not begin to move until 1:30pm. People occupied every space along the course of the parade, and children dressed in patriotic colors to demonstrate their enthusiasm. An estimated five thousand visitors attended which did not include residents of the city itself and its suburbs.

At the head of the line was the mounted police followed by the Chief Marshall and his staff. Next came members of various municipal boards and several prominent guests as well as detachments of the military from Norfolk and Suffolk, Virginia and other states such as North Carolina and South Carolina. The Knights of Pythias, the Heptasophs, Red Men, Screwmen's Benevolent Association, and Cotton Tiers processed followed by the fire department. Children from various schools and several musical bands also participated, and lastly came the trades display. The two local newspapers listed each wagon individually, but the general themes of groceries and goods was similar to that of the Richmond Trades Parade. Overall, the parade lasted approximately two hours and went extremely well. There were no problems or disturbances along the route. It received high praise from both the *Norfolk Landmark* and the *Norfolk Virginian*.

That evening featured a grand display of fireworks that a crowd of 10,000 to 20,000 people admired. The *Norfolk Virginian* proclaimed it the greatest of its kind ever seen in any Southern city except for New Orleans, and the city of Norfolk spent fifteen hundred dollars on fireworks for this event. The whole celebration demonstrated that Norfolk was a progressive city keeping pace with its growing importance in the country, and it helped move the town from "county court-house style...into the rank of cities."³⁶ The life exhibited by this stereotypically old town surprised many visitors, and the city was "a sight to see."³⁷ The celebration also served as a rehearsal for the bicentennial of Norfolk which would be celebrated in the subsequent year of 1882. The festivities were a great success for the city in several different ways, and although there was only one day of celebration, Norfolk still made the most of the Yorktown Centennial while it had the opportunity.³⁸

³⁶ *Norfolk Landmark*, 22 October 1881.

³⁷ Lamb, *Our Twin Cities*, 60.

³⁸ *Norfolk Landmark*, 21, 22 October 1881; *Norfolk Virginian*, 19, 21, 22 October 1881; Lamb, *Our Twin Cities*, 60.

CHAPTER 5
AFTERMATH OF THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL

The Yorktown Centennial events in Yorktown did not receive many favorable reviews from the press. The problems of heat, dust, and lack of accommodations were the foremost complaints, closely followed by crime and overcrowdedness. Estimates of visitation ranged from 5,000 to 20,000 which sometimes included the military troops on the field. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* offered apologies to the foreign delegations that had to endure this fiasco and believed that "in remembering the Yorktown Centennial and their American experience, our foreign guests will no doubt have much to recall of discomfort and inconvenience."¹ *Harper's Weekly* declared the event a failure because the Yorktown Centennial Association overestimated its powers and had "bitten off a bigger hunk that [it] could chew."² Yorktown's location was hardly conducive to a celebration of this scale because of its position on a solitary and inaccessible peninsula

¹*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 22 October 1881.

²"The Yorktown Celebration," *Harper's Weekly*, 730.

fraught with difficulties of transportation and accommodation.³

One newspaper noted with disgust that this event hopefully signalled the end of all centennial celebrations related to the Revolutionary War for good since the public has had to endure them for five years already. All major events had been covered and history and patriotism renewed, so now the American people should be allowed to return to their daily life free from any more centennials.⁴

The Richmond State gave the most scathing review, however, and agreed that the location and size of the celebration were too unwieldy for a town such as Yorktown:

The Yorktown Centennial failure is drawing to a close with a rapidity decidedly pleasant to those unfortunates who have had to remain in this place for ten days. That it has from the first been a complete and disgusting failure is conceded.... doubtless many excuses will be given for the unfortunate circumstances attending the celebration, and no doubt some of them will be good.⁵

The correspondent also mentioned that newspaper writers have been censured for telling such dismal tales about the event because their bad reviews were discouraging people from

³"Yorktown," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, 25, no. 1297, (29 October 1881), 722.

⁴*Petersburg Index-Appeal*, 21 October 1881.

⁵*The Richmond State*, 21 October 1881.

attending and few investors were making money out of the celebration.⁶

A few personal accounts narrate attendance at the Yorktown Centennial and give a more pleasant commentary on the whole event. Josephine Dulles Eppes visited Yorktown on October 20 which she mentioned only in passing in her diary with: "Oct. 19th, 1881--Left City-Point on steamer Ariel with a party of sixteen for Williamsburg, where we stayed during Yorktown Celebrations, visiting that place on the 20th."⁷

The Richmond State published a letter to the editor from DeWitt Clinton DeForest of Rensselaer County, New York in which he stated how much he enjoyed attending the Yorktown Centennial. The generous good will of the Virginians greatly impressed him, and he had general praise for the whole event especially the salute to the British flag. He, too, noticed the theme of reuniting the country by stating: "We are emphatically impressed that we are one again. Let us unitedly and daily pray Heaven that we may ever again severely differ in opinion."⁸

⁶Ibid.

⁷Papers of Josephine Dulles Eppes, Special Collections, Virginia Historical Society.

⁸*The Richmond State*, 22 October 1881.

Archibald Forbes, a visiting English journalist, offered his comments on the Yorktown Centennial in the *New York Tribune* of October 20, 1881. He noticed that the event proceeded as if no previous arrangements had been made since everything was so horribly disorganized. However, he expressed surprise that in spite of the confusion, orderliness, courtesy, and simplicity were characteristic of most of the people attending the event. For instance, there was no assigned seating but no arguing over seats, and the processions were sloppy but not pure mobs either. People conducted themselves with decorum and exhibited great intelligence especially during the lengthy orations. Lastly, he noted that any references to England were graceful and tactful rather than full of the spite that sometimes accompanies military victory. He greatly appreciated the salute of the British flag and was sorry that no representative from his country was in attendance to acknowledge it.⁹

One of the members of the French delegation, namely the Marquis de Rochambeau, also wrote at length about his experiences in the United States for the Yorktown Centennial. Several years after his visit, he wrote a 340 page book entitled *Yorktown: Centenaire de l'indépendance*

⁹Patton, *Yorktown*, 55-56.

des Etats-Unis D'Amerique, 1781-1881. After a brief introduction and an early chapter about the role of the French at the siege of Yorktown in 1781, he dedicates over three-quarters of his text to describing the Centennial. It includes all aspects of the trip beginning with the departure of the representatives from Paris on the steamer *Canada*, all the different cities they toured before and after the Centennial, and the actual event itself including copies of the various speeches when possible.¹⁰

Julius Rathbun of the Connecticut National Guard commented on everything he saw at Yorktown and captured the confusion and chaos surrounding the whole festival:

We were overwhelmed at the sight of the throngs of negroes and poor whites, the temporary places of business and lodging, the street vendors and the articles on sale, from Yorktown medals down to chewing gum; the old historical houses still standing, as when Cornwallis was there; the Confederate entrenchments and breastworks...still looming up in close proximity to our landing-place, the ever-varying panorama of gaily-decorated ancient...vehicles, ...swarms of colored people of all ages, soldiers from half the States in the Union, gaping crowds of back-country people, wearing raiments patterned after the styles of fifty years ago; the side-

¹⁰Eugene Achille Lacroix de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, *Yorktown: Centenaire de l'indépendance des Etats-Unis D'Amerique, 1781-1881* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1886). Unfortunately, the only copy of this book in print is in French, and this student's knowledge of that language is severely limited.

shows gathered from a radius of hundreds of miles.¹¹

He described the few ladies in attendance as well as the military parades in which he took part. After witnessing the naval review, he remarked that it was a "grand, interesting, and novel sight" and provided thorough depictions of both military events that occurred on that last day before he and his regiment embarked for Charleston on Friday, October 21.¹²

Robert Winthrop commented briefly on his feelings about the Yorktown Centennial in a letter to his friend James Barron Hope on November 12, 1881. He expressed mortification at the negative reports printed about his experiences in Yorktown, and he stated that they were incorrect. The only problem that his party had was with a shortage of rations one day, but he meant the reference to be humorous rather than critical. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Winthrop spoke at length about how much he enjoyed the Centennial in order to set the record straight. He assured Hope that he returned to his native state with "the most grateful and gratified feelings

¹¹Rathbun, *Trip of the Connecticut National Guard*, 60.

¹²*Ibid.*, 62-63.

from Old Dominion" contrary to what several newspapers had apparently printed.¹³

Lastly, James Barron Hope's eldest daughter, Janey, wrote about her experiences at Yorktown in her diary. She attended the affair with her father and her younger sister, Nan, and they stayed on the steamer *Excelsior* during their trip.¹⁴ After a brief trip to Washington, the party arrived in Yorktown on Tuesday, October 19. Crowded conditions existed on the ship, but she met many interesting people including General and Mrs. Grant whom she believed "were just as charming to us as our kindred could have been."¹⁵

To Janey, the York River appeared merry and beautiful with all the different types of ships moored there, and their vessel was permitted to anchor at the Government Wharf next to General Hancock's steamer *St. John's* and across from the *Catskill* which carried the French and German delegations. Janey complained that the speeches that day lasted too long and that "it was terribly warm and the dust was horrible," so their party retired to their steamer for

¹³Hope Papers.

¹⁴On the back of one of pages of Janey's diary, A.W. Marr notes as a type of introduction that the "Yorktown Celebration was an exciting event in the lives of Janey and Nannie Hope, 22 and 20 years at that time, and daily life seemed very 'flat' to them for a while afterwards. Some of Janey Hope's observations on the subject." See Hope Papers.

¹⁵Hope Papers.

the evening.¹⁶ That night featured the illumination of the ships in the river as well as an elaborate fireworks display which she described as "like fairyland."¹⁷

On Wednesday, Janey Barron Hope went to the grandstand along with her father and her sister where they had a fine view of the President, the Cabinet, and the foreign guests. She complained at length about Robert Winthrop's oration, noting among other things that his delivery had no emotional force and he spoke for two hours. The crowd grew restless and impatient and would have left altogether if they were not so tightly wedged together in that one place. Once it was finally over, her father had to address a "listless, wearied crowd" and try to entertain them, a task in which he was quite successful.¹⁸ Hope remained cool, composed, graceful, and full of animation, and he entranced his audience for forty minutes and received an ovation at the end.

After the ceremony, well-wishers overwhelmed her father complementing his poem. President Arthur and Secretary of State James G. Blaine called it "grand" and "magnificent,"

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

and Captain Tucker also enjoyed with the performance.¹⁹ Embraces, introductions, cards, and invitations from people from all over the United States rained upon Hope, and one of the Frenchmen who had not spoken any English in this country previously commented on the fine piece of literature. Once the party finally returned to the *Excelsior*, they were quite tired, and the waiters at dinner served them whatever they wished to eat or drink.

The next day, Janey and her family went early to the military review and obtained excellent seats on the grandstand to the right of the foreign delegations. All throughout the parade, Janey admitted that she and her sister were eying various handsome Frenchmen from afar more than they were paying attention to the parade in front of them. Afterwards, they attended General Hancock's reception on the *St. John's* where she and her sister met several of the foreign gentlemen, and she was quite thankful that she had studied her French even though it had seemed pointless at the time. The two girls drank many champagne toasts to all sorts of people and topics. At half past eight o'clock, Mr. and Mrs. Goode escorted the Hope party to Lafayette Hall which had been elaborately decorated for that evening's "hop." There, Janey had a wonderful time promenading with

¹⁹Ibid.

several men, both American and French, and she wondered why more people had not attended the dance since it was so much fun. Here the account ends, but obviously, one young lady had a marvelous time at the Centennial for the most part.²⁰

Of the well-known American dignitaries who were present at the Centennial, very few mention anything about their experiences in Yorktown. Frederick W. Seward, son of former Secretary of State William Henry Seward and assistant secretary of state during the Lincoln, Johnson, and Hayes administrations, recalled in his memoirs his role in event.²¹ He served as part of the New York Commission to honor the French delegation, a task which he found particularly awkward after the recent death of President Garfield. He welcomed the visitors at the dock when they arrived and took them to their hotel. The next day, he gave them a personal tour of West Point which he believed to be the actual beginning of the Yorktown campaign since it was where the American and French forces joined together to advance to Yorktown. In addition, he helped in welcoming the German delegation which arrived at that same time.

Seward also recalled the "sticky problem" which had arisen in that the Diplomatic Corps had been invited to

²⁰Ibid.

²¹*Dictionary of American Biography*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Seward, Frederick William."

attend the Centennial, but no one knew what to do about the British ambassadors. In the end, Secretary of State James G. Blaine met with the British Minister privately and asked him if he wanted to be invited or not. The minister replied that he would go if invited, but no mention is made whether or not he actually attended the event.²²

General Winfield Scott Hancock directed all of the military aspects of the Centennial, and Congress gave him this assignment in the fall of 1881 and authorized him to take whatever steps were necessary to insure that the event would be a success. This incident was one of the few occasions late in Hancock's life in which he was once again the focus of public attention, and he gave the festivities the concern that he would have given to a great battle. His crowning achievement was a grand luncheon which he hosted on board his steamer *St. John's* for President Arthur and other various dignitaries, one of whom described Hancock as being a thoughtful and generous host. Because of his involvement in the military affairs of the Centennial, the event was much more memorable, and he even overshadowed the President at times as the focus of public attention.²³

²²Frederick W. Seward, *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), 449-453.

²³Almira Russell Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1887), 176-177; David M. Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life* (Bloomington and

Secretary of State James G. Blaine at the time of the Centennial had more pressing matters of international affairs to handle, so the First Assistant Secretary of State Robert R. Hitt and the Third Assistant Secretary of State, Blaine's son Walker made the necessary arrangements for welcoming the foreign guests. At a banquet on October 5, 1881, Walker gave a speech of welcome that some considered to be a great personal achievement, and he also accompanied the Steuben party to Yorktown.²⁴ Although James G. Blaine and many other members of the Cabinet and the Congress attended many of the events linked to the Centennial, they left no records of their personal opinions about the matter.

The foreign delegations remained in the United States for some time after the celebration. Both the French and the German representatives toured Richmond and Annapolis, and then the two parted company, an event which several newspapers noted with great relief. Apparently, relations between the two delegations were tense despite many protestations against this observation and the appearance on the surface of few animosities. However, once the two contingents went their separate ways, the American public

Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 311.

²⁴Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, Connecticut: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1895), 518; David Saville Muzzey, *James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1934), 205-206.

relaxed since a potential international incident had been avoided.²⁵ The French toured Philadelphia, Newport, Providence, Boston, and New York City before dispersing into smaller groups to follow their own agendas.²⁶ The Germans, on the other hand, went to Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Boston, New York, Utica, and Philadelphia before sailing for Hamburg on November 11.²⁷ The leader of the French delegation, General Boulanger, had the misfortune of being robbed while sleeping in his hotel room at the Continental Hotel in Philadelphia. He awoke during the robbery and apprehended the man at sword point.²⁸ Other than that incident, every town they visited warmly welcomed the delegations and overwhelmed them with parades and receptions in their honor.²⁹

²⁵ *New York Times*, 20, 28 October 1881.

²⁶ *New York Times*, 23, 25, 28 October; 1-3, 6, 9 November 1881; Rochambeau, Yorktown; *A Thanksgiving Service at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, October 23, 1881, in Commemoration of the Thanksgiving Service which was offered One Hundred Years Ago in the Same Church, for the Victory at Yorktown* (Philadelphia: William H. Chandler, Book and Mercantile Printer, 1881); Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, *Banquet Given by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York in Honor of the Guests of the Nation to the Centennial Celebration of the Victory at Yorktown, New York, November 5th, 1881* (New York: n.p., 1881).

²⁷ *New York Times*, 23, 25, 28, 31 October; 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 November 1881.

²⁸ *New York Times*, 29 October 1881.

²⁹ In fact, once the bill of expenses for the French visit was tallied and sent to Congress for payment, the total came to \$32,328 with

In summary, the Yorktown Centennial of 1881 marked not only the one hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis but the anniversary of independence as well. It also reiterated the ties with other allies of the United States, most notably France and Germany, and helped to smooth relations between England and the United States over a previously thorny issue.

The Centennial solidified the Union in the face of the recent Civil War in that it was the first celebration of a national scale on Southern soil since the conflict, and several orations and many newspapers and magazines emphasized the preserved Union. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* embodied this spirit when it proclaimed that this "historic day and spot would be the fitting time and place for the surrender of any surviving hostility of feeling between the North and the South" and "it is fraternal sentiment that will make [Yorktown's] centennial commemoration the earnest of a truer Union than we have ever known."³⁰

\$6,529.24 going towards liquor and tobacco. Some Congressmen complained about this unnecessary extravagance while others defended it stating that the country had an obligation to show the French complete hospitality by fulfilling all of their requests regardless of budget. *New York Times*, 7 June 1882.

³⁰"Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 63, no. 377 (October 1881), 784-785.

Finally, in the face of the recent assassination of President Garfield, the event strengthened hope among Americans that their country would and could endure any disaster that may befall it. *Harper's Weekly* expressed all of these feelings simply and accurately with a political cartoon entitled "All Hands Round--at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19th, 1881" which depicted characters representing North, South, France, and Germany dancing in a circle around the "cornerstone of peace."³¹

The significance of this event was not lost on that particular cartoonist nor on the numerous reporters and speakers at the Centennial who reiterated the themes previously mentioned as well as participated in one of the greatest civic events of the decade. By solidifying the ties of the nation after the Civil War and reaffirming the endurance of the country despite the assassination of its leader, the celebration served as proof of the greatness of the United States, first born upon the fields of Yorktown and culminating for that moment at the Centennial. Despite the numerous setbacks experienced throughout the course of the festivities, it was truly a triumph for the American people as a whole and served as a point in time to examine

³¹"All Hands Round--at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19th, 1881," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, 25, no. 1297 (29 October 1881), 736.

this country's entire history and celebrate its lasting stability.

TABLE 1: RACE OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

RACE	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENT OF POPULATION
Black	120	47.8%
White	87	34.7%
Mulatto	44	17.5%
TOTALS	251	100.0%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 2: SEX OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

SEX	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
Male	129	51.4%
Female	122	48.6%
TOTALS	251	100.0%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 3: MARTIAL STATUS OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

MARTIAL STATUS	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
Single	138	55.0%
Married	91	36.2%
Widowed or Divorced	17	6.8%
No Response	5	2.0%
TOTALS	251	100.0%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 4: AGE OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

AGE	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
0-5	38	15.1%
6-10	32	12.7%
11-15	31	12.3%
16-20	17	6.8%
21-25	23	9.2%
26-30	21	8.4%
31-35	19	7.6%
36-40	22	8.8%
41-45	11	4.4%
46-50	4	1.6%
51-55	6	2.4%
56-60	7	2.8%
61-65	7	2.8%
66-70	2	0.8%
71-75	7	2.8%
76-80	2	0.8%
81-85	0	0.0%
86-90	2	0.8%
TOTALS	251	100.1%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 5: OCCUPATIONS OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

OCCUPATION	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
Keeping House	54	21.5%
Staying Home	39	15.5%
Laborer	7	2.8%
Fisherman	5	2.0%
Retail Store	5	2.0%
Farmer	4	1.6%
Clerk in Store	3	1.2%
Shoemaker	3	1.2%
Lives out	2	.8%
Oysterdealer	2	.8%
Oysterman	2	.8%
Physician	2	.8%
Pilot	2	.8%
Blacksmith	1	.4%
Boatman	1	.4%
Carpenter	1	.4%
Clerk of County	1	.4%
Coach Driver	1	.4%
Deputy Collector of Customs	1	.4%
Ferryman	1	.4%
Fishing Business	1	.4%
Hostler	1	.4%
Keeps Drugs	1	.4%

TABLE 5: OCCUPATIONS, CONTINUED

CATEGORIES	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
Keeps Hotel	1	.4%
Keeps Livery	1	.4%
Landlady	1	.4%
Lawyer	1	.4%
Postmaster	1	.4%
Preacher	1	.4%
Saddler	1	.4%
Sailor	1	.4%
State Service	1	.4%
Steamboatsman	1	.4%
Surveyor	1	.4%
Teaches School	1	.4%
Wheelwright	1	.4%
No Response	98	39.0%
TOTALS	251	100.0%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 6: LITERACY OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

CATEGORY	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF ADULT POPULATION
Cannot read	67*	37.0%
Cannot write	75*	41.4%

*Children under ten were not included in this total by the census taker.

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

TABLE 7: OTHER FEATURES OF YORKTOWN RESIDENTS, 1880

CATEGORY	TOTAL NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
Attended school within census year	39	15.5%
Maimed, crippled, bedridden, or otherwise disabled	1	.4%
Idiotic	1	.4%
Consumption	1	.4%
Nervous disability	1	.4%
Rheumatism	1	.4%

Source: United States Manuscript Census, York County, Virginia, 1880, Schedule I.

Appendix A: Officers of the Yorktown Centennial Association

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>
Hon. John Goode	President	Norfolk, VA
Hon. Thomas Cochran	1st Vice-President	Philadelphia, PA
Hon. Alexander H. Rice	2nd Vice-President	Boston, MA
Gen. J.S. Preston	3rd Vice-President	Columbia, SC
Edward Everett Winchell	Secretary	New York, NY
Isaac Davenport, Jr.	Treasurer	Richmond, VA
Col. J.E. Peyton	Gen. Superintendent	Haddonfield, NJ

Source: *The Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the British Forces under his Command on the 19th Day of October, 1781, Virtually the Closing of the Struggle for American Independence, to be Appropriately Celebrated on the field of Yorktown, VA., in October 1881.* New York: American Banknote Company, 1880, 13.

Appendix B: Yorktown Congressional Centennial Commission

Created by an Act of Congress of June 7, 1880

Chairman: Hon. John W. Johnston, Senate, Virginia

Secretary: Captain John S. Tucker, Virginia

<u>Senators</u>	<u>State</u>
E.H. Rollins	New Hampshire
H.L. Dawes	Massachusetts
H.B. Anthony	Rhode Island
W.W. Eaton	Connecticut
Francis Kernan	New York
T.F. Randolph	New Jersey
William A. Wallace	Pennsylvania
T.F. Bayard	Delaware
William Pinckney Whyte	Maryland
Matthew W. Ransom	North Carolina
M.C. Butler	South Carolina
Benjamin H. Hill	Georgia

<u>Representatives</u>	<u>State</u>
John Goode	Virginia
Joshua G. Hall	New Hampshire
George B. Loring	Massachusetts
N.W. Aldrich	Rhode Island
Joseph R. Hawley	Connecticut
Nicholas Muller	New York
L.A. Brigham	New Jersey
Samuel B. Dick	Pennsylvania
E.L. Martin	Delaware
J.F.C. Talbott	Maryland
John S. Richardson	North Carolina
Joseph J. Davis	South Carolina
Henry Persons	Georgia

Source: *The Programme of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration, October 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1881.* Washington, DC: F.T. Wilson, 1881.

Appendix C: Program of Centennial

Thursday, October 13--The formal opening of the Moore House (the scene of the Capitulation) and the inauguration of the Celebration by an address from the President of the Association, with a re-union of the descendants of officers and soldiers of the Revolution.

Friday, October 14--Addresses by the Hon. Carl Schurz, Frederick R. Coudert, and Prof. Elie Charlier. A Grand Ball in the Pavilion.

Saturday, October 15--A Grand National Regatta, with Yorktown Centennial Silver Prizes to the winning crews. Pyrotechnical displays and illuminations.

Sunday, October 16--Religious services in the Grand Pavilion, conducted by the Rt. Rev. Bishop J.J. Keane, of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond, assisted by His Grace, the Archbishop Gibbons, of Maryland, and in the afternoon by the Rev. Dr. John Hall of New York.

Monday, October 17--Anniversary of the sending out of a Flag of Truce by Lord Cornwallis, asking a cessation of hostilities; also the Anniversary of the Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga; meeting of Commercial, Financial and Industrial Associations, Benevolent Organizations, &c., &c., with appropriate addresses by Hon. William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Hon. Hamilton Fish, President of the General Society of Cincinnati, and others.

Tuesday, October 18--An Opening Address by the Chairman of the Congressional Commission, and an Address of Welcome, by His Excellency, the Governor of Virginia. The laying of the Corner-Stone of the Centennial Monument, with appropriate ceremonies and addresses, by the Grand Lodge of Masons of Virginia and invited Masonic Orders of the United States.

Appendix C: Program of the Centennial (continued)

Wednesday, October 19--An Address from His Excellency the President of the United States. An Oration by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts. A Poem by James Barron Hope, of Virginia. An Ode, written by Paul H. Hayne, of South Carolina, and rendered by a mammoth Choir and Chorus under the direction of Prof. Charles L. Seigel, of Richmond.

Thursday, October 20--Grand Military Review, participated in by the citizen soldiery from all portions of the United States.

Friday, October 21--A Grand Naval Review, participated in by all classes of vessels in the United States Navy.

This programme, as outlined, will be so enlivened for each day's entertainment, by Grand Promenade Concerts and Military Displays, either of general parades and reviews or competitive drills, as to assure attractiveness and novelty therein.

Source: *Yorktown Centennial Celebration Synopsis of Information*, Yorktown Centennial Association, Secretary's Office, Exchange Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, September 1, 1881.

Appendix D: French Delegation at Yorktown Centennial

Leaders of Delegation

Commandant Lichtenstein, official representative of
President Grévy and of French Republic
Gen. Boulanger, commandant of Fourteenth Brigade of Cavalry
at Valence

Army Officers

Col. Bohsant
Lieut.-Col. Blondel
Capt. Mason and wife
Lieut. Fourcet de Sahune

Navy Officers

Capt. Culvevier de Cuverville
Capt. Descamps
Lieut. Schilling
Sub.-Lieut. Count de Grasse

Invited Guests

Marquis and Marquise de Rochambeau
M. de Corcelle, a representative of family of Lafayette
M. Bouland Folqueville
Marquis Laur de Lestrade
Viscount de Neailles
Viscount d'Haussonville
Count d'Olonne and his son Viscount d'Olonne
Viscount Henri d'Aboville
Viscount Christian d'Aboville
M. Felix Regamey
Mme. Loyeau

Source: *New York Times*, 6 October 1881

Appendix E: German Delegation at Yorktown Centennial

Col. Arndt von Steuben, command of Seventy-Ninth Regiment
Capt. Richard von Steuben, Oberforster
Capt. Fritz von Steuben, Officer of Imperial Guard
Capt. Euguene von Steuben, command of Ninety-Eighth Regiment
Lieut. Cuno von Steuben, Thirty-Ninth Infantry
Lieut. Berndt von Steuben, Twenty-Second Infantry
Lieut. Anton von Steuben, Seventy-Ninth Regiment
Baron von Schlosser, German Minister to Rome

Source: *New York Times*, 14 October 1881.

Appendix F: Centennial Committee of the
Richmond City Council

Judge John A. Meredith, Chairman
Benjamin T. August, Secretary
J.T. Ellyson
Charles L. Todd
M.T. Clarke
Charles F. Taylor
Dr. John S. Wellford
E.A. Saunders
John A. Curtis
N.D. Hargrove

Source: J.L.M. Curry, *Lessons of the Yorktown Centennial, Address of the Honorable J.L.M. Curry, Ll.D. Delivered in Richmond, on 22nd October, 1881, by request of the City Council* (Richmond, Virginia: Dispatch Steam Company, 1881), 3.

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