# Historic Alexandria Quarterly

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## A History of Lloyd House, Part II History of the Structure: 1833-1918



Circa 1901 Detroit Publishing Company photograph of the Lloyd House. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

John Lloyd took possession of his new house sometime between June and December 1833, although the deed of sale was not recorded until 1835. Lloyd bought it as his own home, likely attracted by its size, location and spacious garden. The house lot proper then measured 110 feet seven inches by 123 feet five inches, although Lloyd would also buy more of the adjoining former Wise/Hoffman/Hooe lots. The Lloyd family was extensive, and they would remain in residence for nearly all of the next 85 years. It is for this reason—and the fact that they owned the house when late Victorian Alexandrians began to take an interest in and to name their landmarks—that the edifice is still known as the Lloyd House.

Like Jacob Hoffman, John Lloyd had been a dry goods merchant, and a hatter. He was an ambitious businessman—even accused of smuggling during the War of 1812—and parlayed his success into a wealth of real estate. His holdings included the row of five three-story brick houses on the east side of Washington Street between Prince and Duke Streets which he bought at auction from the trustees of Andrew Scholfield in 1816. Known since then as "Lloyd's Row," these homes were rented to a succession of tenants. Lloyd also owned the famous Carlyle House for an number of years before selling it to furniture manufacturer and hotelier James Green. In addition to his own 1,300-acre "Salisbury Farm," Lloyd bought a number of other rural properties in Fairfax County which he first rented then sold.<sup>1</sup>

John Lloyd also became a community leader, as a director of the Bank of Alexandria, director of the Fauquier & Alexandria Turnpike, and a trustee of the Alexandria Academy. Born of a lapsed Philadelphia Quaker family in 1775, Lloyd was an only child and orphaned when young. As a consequence, he was raised by his grandfather, Alexandria merchant and Revolutionary War veteran, Captain John Harper. In November 1798, Lloyd married Rebecca Janney, a 22year-old Pennsylvania Quaker. Because Lloyd's family had been dismissed from the Society of Friends, Rebecca too, was ejected from the Fairfax Quaker Assembly for a decade. The couple had seven children: John Janney (born 1800, died 1871); Nicholas Waln (born 1801, died as a child); Horatio Nelson (born 1804, died 1860); Selina (born 1807, died 1871); Alfred (born 1811, died 1812); Richard Henry (born 1815, died 1815); and Frederick (born 1817, died 1868). It is likely that only Richard and Frederick were young enough to still be residing with the family when they moved into what came to be known as the Lloyd House. The first Mrs. Lloyd never resided there either, as she passed away in 1817.<sup>2</sup>



*Mrs. Anne Harriotte (Lee) Lloyd, portrait as reproduced in* Our Town: 1749-1865, Likenesses of This Place & Its People Taken From Life.

John Lloyd remarried in 1820, to the much younger Anne Harriotte Lee. Anne—daughter of attorney Edmund Jennings Lee and Sarah Lee, niece of Charles Lee and Light-Horse Harry Lee, and cousin of Robert E. Lee—was born in 1799 and grew up at her parents' house, just two blocks north at 428 North Washington Street. The Lloyds first lived at 609 Oronoco Street, preceding as tenants Benjamin Hallowell's first Alexandria school. The couple had six children: Edmund Jennings (born 1822, died 1889); Rebecca (born 1824, died 1873); Anne Harriotte (born 1826, died 1888); George Francis (born 1828, died 1866); Jean Charlotte Washington (born 1834, died 1914); and Mary Lee. The sources for Mary's birthdate conflict; early census information and her obituary suggest that she was born between 1833 and 1835.<sup>3</sup>

As a young hatter, John Lloyd owned few if any slaves. His shop was run with the help of a number of apprentices. By 1810, despite any qualms arising from their Quaker background, the family owned at least four slaves, according to the local census. By 1840, the Washington Street household contained seven slaves of various ages. These African American servants Included Henrietta Edwards, born about 1792 and emancipated by John Lloyd in 1847; William, Sylvia and Sylvia's daughter, Jane, temporarily seized to satisfy a claim of debt in the late 1820s; Doran and her daughter, Louisa; Nancy and Caroline; and Tom. Tom was sold in 1858, and Doran, Louisa, Nancy and Caroline were bequeathed by Anne Lloyd to her children. Only three household slaves are taxed in the 1856 personal property assessment and four in 1858.<sup>4</sup> In an 1844 letter to her father, the recently married Rebecca Lloyd Tabb asks him to "remember me to the servants," suggesting a fondness for the enslaved people who had helped raise her.<sup>5</sup> This fact hints at the complexity of the institution of slavery and the ambivalence of masters who could treat their servants as property and yet still hold them in some regard. It is the flip side, perhaps, of a sentiment which appears in many of the narratives of former slaves which recognized the relative humaneness of particular masters, despite the fundamental inhumanity of chattel servitude. The surface appearance of such relationships became the foundation of the myth of the faithful slave, a post-Civil War justification of the South's earlier refusal to end slavery.

Once moved in, John Lloyd immediately began improvements on his new home, petitioning the Common Council in 1833 to lay new gutters and reset the curbstones where they adjoined his property on Washington and Queen Streets, so that he could properly pave the walkway at his own expense to the same height as in front of the sugar refinery.<sup>6</sup> Lloyd may also have undertaken the construction of a new kitchen the same year. For some reason, the lot's tax assessment jumps \$1,500 between early 1833 and early 1834, from \$7,000 to \$8,500.7 One explanation for this could be the construction of one or two houses on Queen Street. On the other hand, the two-and-a-half-story brick kitchen which appears at the southwest corner of the building in a turn-of-thetwentieth-century photograph could well date to this period. There is nothing inconsistent in its appearance with an early 1830s date; its low roof pitch and truncated under-eave windows are consistent with Greek Revival architecture or, for that matter, with Federal.<sup>8</sup> A circa 1797 date for this kitchen may still be the likeliest hypothesis, but only archaeology will settle the matter. While this may be a less than satisfying conclusion, it does narrow the possibilities, as there are only a few periods during which the evidence points to possible new construction. Archaeological investigations of 1979-1981 failed to identify a datable builder's trench for the kitchen.

It appears that Lloyd also added new stoves throughout—he could certainly afford them better than could Benjamin Hallowell. Before vacating, Hallowell did, however, replace the partition between the two north ground-floor rooms, as he had promised his late landlady. Years later, after Hallowell helped establish the Alexandria Water Company, the Lloyd House was among the first residences to receive piped water service, with a kitchen tap installed in during 1853, the second year such service was available.<sup>9</sup>

John Lloyd died in 1854, leaving his widow and several of the children still living in the house. In fact, John's death may have caused some of the children to come home, either to take care of their mother or because they had not been as successful in the business world as had their father. The 1850 federal census lists only the teenage daughters Jean and Mary still home with their parents. The 1860 census, however, suggests that Jean and Mary, as well as Edmund, Frederick and his wife, George and his wife, and H. Nelson were all home—or at least enumerated there. His father had given the physician Nelson one of the Lloyd's Row houses, but he did not enjoy it long, as he died in March 1860. John J. Lloyd lived at "Mount Ida" outside Alexandria, with another farm, "Exeter," in Loudoun County. By 1862, he also owned the half block north of

Cameron Street between Columbus and Alfred Streets. Despite declaring bankruptcy during the depression of the 1830s, Richard managed to acquire his own fashionable country home, "Belmont," adjoining John J.'s property. All of the daughters but Mary Lee "Minnie" Lloyd eventually married, mostly removing to their husband's homes or farms. Mary remained at the house nearly all of her life. Similarly, the bachelor Edmund remained on the property, residing in one of the family's tenant houses on Queen Street, that nearest to Washington Street from about 1860-1861 and 1867-1871.<sup>10</sup>

The Lloyd family actually owned three dwellings on Queen Street, probably two of which were conveyed with the purchase of Mrs. Hooe's property. Two were attached row houses at mid block and behind the Lloyd garden. An old frame house stood at the corner of Queen and Columbus Street, another lot acquired by John Lloyd from the Hooe estate. H. Nelson Lloyd probably occupied one of the Queen Street houses about 1854. The other tenants, and their approximate dates of occupancy during John Lloyd's ownership, included: Ellen Murray (1838-1845); Margaret Smith (1838-1839); Henry Edwards (1838-1844); Gitson Dover (1839-1847); John Dudley (1838-1839); Henry Rose (1839-1840); J.W. Haultzclou (1840-1841); Walter Penn (1840-1841); John Pomery (1840-1841); William Ward (1840-1841); Charles Wilson (1840-1843); James Avery (1840-1841); James Tait (1842-1843); William H. Simms (1842-1843); Betsy Hall (1842-1844); Ellen Lomax (1843-1844); Susan Ross (1842-1843); Ann Fales (1844-1845); Sally Fuller (1845-1847); George Turley (1845-1846); Jonathan Waters (1845-1849); Noah Taylor (1846-1847); William Hamilton (1846-1848); Caroline Townsend (1847-1848); Anthony Overton (1847-1850); Mrs. Church (1847-1849); John and Ann Suthard (1848-1851); James Brown (1849-1850); Joseph Whalen (1849-1850); Thomas Gather (1849-1850); Cornelia Jones (1850-1851); Basil Warren (1850-1852); Mariah Hall (1850-1851); Elizabeth Horton (1851-1854); Patrick and James McFarlane (1851-1853); John Kirkpatrick (1851-1852); John Ryan (1851-1852); James McChan (1851-1852); Patrick Shivers (1852-1853); Michael Murphy (1852-1853); Patrick Gravely (1852-1853); Eliza Hall (1853-1854); Mary A. Lamond (1853-1854); and the family of Mary and Edgar Wheeler (1852-1854). Huckster George Glascock arrived in 1849 and did not leave until the end of the Civil War.<sup>11</sup> The majority of these people were free African Americans. In light of the South's subsequent history of racial segregation, this fact may seem strange to us today. Yet most white Southerners were quite accustomed to living around African Americans, as so many whites or their neighbors owned slaves. Alexandria also contained a considerable population of blacks who had been manumitted or born free. It was not uncommon for fairly wealthy white families to rent neighboring tenement dwellings to these free blacks. Many of the now-vanished alley dwellings were occupied by African Americans, for instance. Given their initial financial circumstances, many free African Americans were still at the lowest rungs of the economic ladder and constituted a substantial renter class. Irish famine refugees,

such as the McFarlanes, Kirkpatricks, Shivers and Murphys living in the Lloyd tenement at the corner of Queen and Columbus, differed little in their socioeconomic status from free blacks, in a community dominated by Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

The Queen and Columbus corner dwelling, probably built by Alexander Baggett at the turn of the century and vacant by 1857, burned down in the spring of that year. The family rebuilt, and by 1861, they had a total of six houses on lots along Queen, including the family home. By 1867, the number had grown to seven.<sup>12</sup>

The outbreak of the Civil War was to alter the block somewhat. With an invasion by federal troops imminent, the Lloyds, loyal to Virginia, prepared to leave their home. According to Lloyd family legend, the house played a role in the drama of Robert E. Lee's assumption of command of the Army of Northern Virginia. In 1907, Alexander J. Wedderburn published Mary Lee Lloyd's account of the visit of her second cousin, soon-tobe-General Lee, the Sunday following Virginia's approval of an ordinance of secession. An unpublished manuscript prepared by the Historic Alexandria Foundation provides a thorough discussion of the matter.

Traditionally, Alexandrians have believed that it was during his visit to Alexandria on that Sunday that Lee first learned he had been chosen to command the military and naval forces of Virginia.... All [accounts] agree, as does Lee's biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, that Lee attended Christ Church.... The day before, he [had] received a note, asking for an appointment, from Judge John Robertson of Richmond, an emissary from the Governor of Virginia. Robertson wrote from Alexandria, and Lee replied, suggesting that he meet Robertson there at 1 P.M. Sunday....

Freeman accepts, with modifications, the Alexandria "tradition" that Lee was approached in the churchyard after the services by three gentlemen who were strangers to the Alexandrians assembled there. Freeman suggests that these men may have accompanied Judge Robertson from Richmond, and met Lee after church-not as members of a commission as Alexandrians believed—but to tell Lee that Judge Robertson had been detained in Washington. Then, according to Freeman, "Lee waited and chatted several hours, and...concluding that Robertson would not return, rode back to Arlington." Freeman does not explain where or with whom Lee waited... It is possible, even probable, however, that Lee called at the Lloyd House that afternoon, perhaps on his way to the town house (now 428 North Washington Street) of his cousin, Cassius F. Lee...a brother of Mrs. Lloyd....

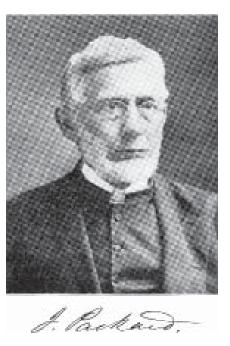
According to Miss Minnie [Lloyd], Lee accompanied her home after church. There they found Miss Minnie's

sister, Mrs. [Rebecca Lloyd] Tabb, who had arrived from Richmond while church services were in progress. (Lee's son and namesake says that Mrs. Tabb, as a little girl, "had been a pet and favorite" of Lee, and that his "affection and regard for her had lasted from his early manhood.") Mrs. Tabb told Lee (according to Miss Minnie) that the commission appointed to offer him the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia forces had traveled with her from Richmond, and asked whether he would accept. Lee answered that he could not comment because he had not been officially notified of the appointment. His reply did not satisfy Mrs. Tabb, an "intense rebel," and when Lee departed she refused his farewell kiss-"unless you accept the command of the Virginia forces." Miss Minnie's story ends: "The next morning General Lee passed the house, going south on Washington Street from Arlington, accompanied by several gentlemen. He sat on horseback and waved his hand to the house and sent a note in addressed to Mrs. Tabb, on which was written:-'I shall claim that kiss from my dear cousin.""13

Edmund Lloyd, trained as a lawyer, served as an officer in the commissary department of the Confederate army.<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Lloyd soon left for Gloucester, Virginia to evade the Union occupation. She likely took her youngest daughters, Jean and "Minnie" with her. It was probably in Gloucester, at the home of Rebecca Lloyd Tabb, that Jean met her future husband, Philip Tabb Yeatman. Anne Harriotte Lloyd died there in September 1863, and her body was returned to Alexandria for burial only after the war.<sup>15</sup>

Their Alexandria house did not stand empty during the conflict, as it was occupied by a succession of tenants during the conflict. The first of these may have been the Rev. Kenzie Johns Stuart, enumerated on the personal property tax rolls for 1862. Preaching at St. Paul's Episcopal Church early in the occupation, the Southleaning Rev. Stuart omitted a customary prayer for the President of the United States. "He was immediately dragged down from the pulpit by some [Union] officers who were present, stripped of his vestments, and carried off to jail."<sup>16</sup>

In late 1863, another minister, Joseph Packard, moved his family in. The 51-year-old Packard was a doctor of divinity teaching at the Virginia Theological Seminary. His wife was Rosina Jones, third daughter of attorney Walter Jones, a former general of militia who was one of the commanders at the time of the Battle of Bladensburg and the burning of Washington in 1814. The Packard sons, Walter and William, were away with the Confederate army. William was taken prisoner and died at the Union prison at Point Lookout, Maryland in 1863. The Packards' young daughter Kate died suddenly in 1862. The Packards had known the Lloyds for almost 30 years. Without means of support during the war, the family was grateful to the Lloyds for the use of the home. The latter apparently had little



A picture of Rev. Joseph Packard from his autobiography.

say in the matter, having essentially abandoned the property until they could return in safety.<sup>17</sup> According to Packard,

The winter of 1863 and 1864 was passed without any great change in our situation .... The music of the dead march was often heard, as funerals from the hospitals were of almost daily occurrence. One hospital adjoined our house, and there was another across the street. We were often disturbed at night by the bringing in of wounded. Every morning the bugle would blow the reveille in front of them, and when the cars came in the ambulances would often be seen bringing in the sick and wounded. We were living in the house of Mrs. John Lloyd..., corner of Queen and Washington streets. The whole air was infected by hospitals. There was a great deal of sickness in Alexandria, and in my own family. I was sent to many funerals. During the two years I spent in Alexandria I recorded in my book sixty-three burials, chiefly of infants. I had a Bibleclass in my house on Sunday afternoons for ladies, which was well attended, and I preached when I could in halls, and performed baptisms and burials for Methodists, Lutherans and Presbyterians, as well as for my own people....

The assassination of Lincoln produced intense excitement in Alexandria. I felt it was not safe to go upon the streets. A squad of soldiers came to my house the morning after the assassination and insisted upon our putting out crape above the door. That night a large stone was thrown into one of the front windows, breaking the sash and glass.<sup>18</sup>

It was this type of incident which the Lloyds had sought to avoid. The next-door hospital to which Packard refers was in Jacob Hoffman's old sugar house and the former Hallowell school. After the cessation of hostilities, the larger sugar house building became the district headquarters for the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.<sup>19</sup> Commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, the agency was run by military officers responsible for assisting the black and white refugees of the war; for overseeing work contracts for the former slaves; for administering lands "abandoned" by Confederates; and for adjudicating claims and grievances, particularly those of African Americans. Under the leadership of Brevet Colonel S.P. Lee (no relation to Alexandria's Lee family), the Alexandria office assisted with the burial, housing, and employment of poor freed people. The occupants of the Lloyd House would likely have seen daily a line of former slaves waiting to plead their case to Lee for rations, housing, or for help freeing relatives from their former masters in the countryside.

The Lloyds did return to Alexandria and to Washington Street in 1865. When George Francis Lloyd died in October 1866 at his home, Mount Ida, his funeral was held at "the home of his [older half-] brother, Frederick Lloyd" at the corner of Washington and Queen Streets.<sup>20</sup> But the Lloyd children were beginning to go their own ways, and with their parents and several siblings dead, they decided to sell their former home. "If this house is not sold by the first of November [1865], it will then be offered for rent for six months from that date." Unable to get their asking price in the depressed post-war market, the family did end up renting the house.<sup>21</sup> Among the first tenants were William G. Cazenove and Arthur Herbert, the great-grandson of John Carlyle and a co-founder of Burke and Herbert Bank and Trust Company.<sup>22</sup> Cazenove was the son of Franco-Swiss émigré Anthony Cazenove, a wealthy businessman. William Cazenove's former house was among those seized by the federal government during the war as a punitive measure against those aiding or sympathizing with the Confederacy. Also known as the Lafayette House or Smoot House, the home still stands at the southwest corner of Saint Asaph and Duke Streets and was purchased from the government by German-American brewer Robert Portner. Cazenove successfully sued for its return after the war.<sup>23</sup>

The Lloyd property was again for sale or rent in the autumn of 1870 and at the end of 1871.<sup>24</sup> A newspaper advertisement in the latter year described it as:

That large and most delightful BRICK HOUSE, No. 58 Washington street, corner of Queen. This is a most delightfully situated house, with 18 rooms, in a most healthy and pleasant neighborhood; is in good order and condition; has large yards on the west and south, with grapes, fruit trees and flowers.<sup>25</sup>

This is the best description of the grounds during the Lloyd ownership. Rebecca Lloyd Tabb also made reference to the grapes and "my peach tree" in a letter of the 1840s. While the house must have had a stable from the very beginning, an 1877 map of the city is the first direct evidence of one. Situated on Queen Street at the rear property line, the brick stable, measuring approximately 14- by 26-feet, sheltered the Lloyds' carriage, horses, and the cow which had provided them with dairy products.<sup>26</sup> The family sold many of their parents' household and kitchen furnishings in 1865, including "Stoves, Mattrasses, Wardrobes, Piano, Carpet, &c., &c."<sup>27</sup> There is no known inventory of the furnishings extant, but the house also contained a silver service, a secretary/bookcase, a gold watch, "a good deal of calico china," and portraits of John and Anne Lloyd.<sup>28</sup>

Ultimately, members of the family moved back into the house. From 1868, "Richard Lloyd and others" were paying the taxes on the property, but it is doubtful if Richard ever again resided in the house. While he owned a sixth interest at that time, he had his own estate, "Belmont," adjoining his brother's Mount Ida property. On it still stands a grand Italianate house designed by Alexandria builder Benjamin F. Price.<sup>29</sup> By 1875, however, his sister Mary and others were again living in their former home. Having sold many of the old furnishings, they had to refurnish and redecorate. One of their alterations was the addition of Victorian marble mantels.<sup>30</sup> The 1880 census lists the occupants as Mary (i.e., "Minnie") Lloyd, Jean C.W. Yeatman, Edmund J. Lloyd, and Rebecca L. Tabb, their 16year-old niece who was attending school. As the records suggest, Jean Lloyd had married former Philip Tabb Yeatman, a former captain of the 24th Virginia Infantry, in 1867. Philip, previously a farmer by trade, became a government clerk after the war. It is not clear why he was not listed in the household, as he died in 1897.<sup>31</sup> By 1880, Edmund had vacated his little house on Queen Street to move back with his sisters. Now described as a "gentleman" or as engaged in "real estate," he probably lived off the rents collected from the remnants of the Lloyd estate—and could use the extra income from renting out his Queen Street dwelling.<sup>32</sup> He suffered a stroke in 1886 and died three years later.<sup>33</sup>

George's and Edmund's were not the only funerals to be held in the Lloyd house during this period. A cousin, Captain Sydney Smith, formerly of the Confederate Navy, died in Washington, and his body was on view at the Alexandria home. Attendees of his funeral included Confederate Brigadier General Montgomery Corse, members of the Daingerfield and Hooe families and, of course, many Lees, including Virginia Governor and retired Confederate Major General, Fitzhugh Lee.<sup>34</sup>

Fitzhugh Lee was again a guest of the Yeatmans when he visited Alexandria in February 1896. He was only one of the prominent Lees to frequent the house during this period. Mary Custis



Governor Fitzhugh Lee.

Lee, Robert E. Lee's daughter, was staying at the Lloyd house when she received news that the Washington relics which had been confiscated from Arlington House by the Union army finally had been restored to the Lee family, by authorization of President McKinley.<sup>35</sup>

All of these notable Virginians were more than welcome in the Lloyd home. Still "intense rebels" the Lloyd daughters were very much interested in the perpetuation of the glory of the Confederate states. In 1895, Minnie Lloyd and Jean Yeatman hosted the charter meeting of the first Virginia chapter of the newly created United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>36</sup> Jean served as the first president of the Mary Custis Lee Chapter, and Minnie was vice-president. The group's mission was to "keep alive the memory of some of the past, particularly of the heroic wife of the great General Lee, whose name the division bears." The ladies no doubt wielded a great deal of social capital thanks to their family ties to Robert E. Lee. If Minnie Lloyd's account of Lee's visit during that fateful spring of 1861 was fabricated, it was probably done at this time, when most eyewitnesses had already passed away-and a "little old lady" could be forgiven such a lapse.

The granddaughter and namesake of Minnie and Jean's older half-sister, Selina, left a very detailed account of her memories of her great-aunts and their residence in these last years.

When I first remember, Aunt Minnie and Aunt Jeanie, and the latter's husband, Uncle Philip Yeatman, lived in the old home. Uncle Philip died in 1897, and Aunt Jeanie practically retired from all social life. Some of the family thought that it was what was thought to be proper by Aunt Minnie, not entirely because as she said, "Sister is broken hearted." I never saw either of them when they were not dressed in black, most of the time in mourning. On our annual visits to Alexandria, we were taken to see them, in a dark and gloomy house. They seemed to live mostly in their bedrooms. After Aunt Jeanie's death [in 1914], Aunt Minnie lived there alone for some years. A family of old servants then lived in the little brick houses back of the big house, and the Aunts thought the world-and-all of them, but the other members of the family considered them impudent and worthless. They domineered over poor Aunt Minnie and neglected her shamefully. Relatives would go there and find her shivering and almost starved, because the servants had not built her fire, or cooked her food. I saw her during that time, and she looked like an old hag, and as dirty as if she had been rolling in the coal-bin. Her niece, Rebecca Lloyd Brent, daughter of Rebecca Tabb, lived in Alexandria and looked after her and Aunt Jeanie very well.... Eventually, Aunt Minnie became very ill, [and some of the cousins] put her in the Alexandria Hospital, and then she willingly went to live with Cousin Lizzie [Crenshaw in Washington]. She was there for three years, till her death. I saw her there, and I never saw such a beautiful transformation. She was loved and petted and cared-for like a baby .... The old lady's mind was perfectly clear...<sup>37</sup>

Two of the servants so harshly criticized by Selina Powell are enumerated in the 1910 census: Selena Thompson, age 25, and Caroline T. Wood, 7.<sup>38</sup> In the same year, the families occupying the two old tenements "back of the big house," were those of Benjamin Berry and Anderson Vernon.<sup>39</sup> The phrase "back of the big house" is itself telling. Formerly used to denote the slave quarters and on plantations, it is suggestive of the next generation's attitude toward African Americans. While the Lloyds may have had no qualms about holding people as property, they felt comfortable around and dependent upon those thus enslaved. In the post-war world, however, whites used racial segregation to maintain a dominant position in society and thus, were often offended by "impudent" blacks who demanded simple respect and the right of self-determination.

While the two little houses stood until the 1920s, the Lloyd lots further west, to Columbus Street, were redeveloped earlier. The corner house had burned in 1857 but was rebuilt, then again razed and built over. One of two frame structures immediately to its east was operated as a grocery during the 1880s and 1890s. In the settlement of John Lloyd's estate, these two ended up in the hands of his daughter, Selina, and her husband, Charles L. Powell. They razed the old buildings in 1893, and erected a row of four brick dwellings in their place.<sup>40</sup>

Minnie was the last living Lloyd family member. Elderly and unable to take care of herself, she sold the Lloyd house and moved to her niece's Washington home in 1918—four years after her sister Jean's death. Three years later, she died at age 88 and was buried in the family plot at Christ Church cemetery.<sup>41</sup>

# The Lloyd House Enters the Twentieth Century, 1918-1956

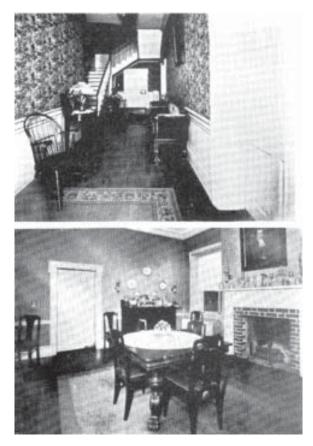


William A. Smoot, Jr., circa 1927.

William Albert Smoot, Jr. purchased the Lloyd house lot on May 6, 1918 for \$12,000.<sup>42</sup> Smoot was a descendant of James Egerton Smoot, the youngest of four brothers who left Saint Mary's County, Maryland during the early nineteenth century. The Smoots engaged in various business ventures, especially tanning and, by 1822, the sale of lumber. William's father, a former subordinate of Stonewall Jackson, established his own waterfront lumber mill at the end of the Civil War, in partnership with John Perry, and expanded sales to coal, salt and plaster. William Jr. was great-great-grandson of Betty Washington Lewis, George Washington's sister. Perhaps as a consequence, he was invited to serve on Mount Vernon's Board of Visitors.<sup>43</sup>

William Jr. married Harriet Fuller Ansley around the turn of the century. Their only son, Arthur Ansley Smoot, was born in 1904. "Hattie" Smoot served as Vice-President General of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution from 1908 to 1910.<sup>44</sup>

William succeeded his father as president of the W.A. Smoot & Company mill. As a prominent local businessman, Smoot was elevated to president of the Chamber of Commerce. He parlayed his influence into a second career as a politician, serving as a member of the Virginia House of delegates, loyal to the Democratic machine of Governor Harry Byrd. Still a young man, he was elected mayor of Alexandria in 1922. Smoot was the first mayor under the new city manager form of government and, of course, many of his duties were ceremonial.<sup>45</sup> In honor of George Washington's 198th birthday, the mayor hosted a luncheon in his home, at which the main guest was Virginia Governor John Garland Pollard. After the meal, President Hoover and a number of Congressmen and Virginia delegates arrived to review the parade from the front of the mayor's house. Smoot resigned from office in 1930.<sup>46</sup>



The Smoots' hallway and dining room. From Betty Carter Smoot's Days in an Old Town.

The Smoots certainly made many changes to the former Lloyd home, if at least to brighten up the "dark and gloomy house" and make it suitable for guests. They installed modern, narrow, oak flooring over the original wide pine boards, added a bold wallpaper to the main hall, and probably replaced the old stoves with a coal-burning boiler in the basement. The steam heat system required radiators, of course, in each of the main rooms. The removal of the Lloyds' stoves may have been the occasion for replacing the Victorian mantels. The family also replaced a Victorian tin roof with slate and converted the old stable to a garage. The Smoots were also the likely creators of an approximately eight-and-a-half-foot-square, one-story building which stood in the vicinity of the old kitchen. Built before 1939, the structure does not appear on Sanborn insurance maps. It may actually have been one of the turn-of-the-twentiethcentury additions to the old kitchen, but may have been retained as a garden shed or for some other purpose.<sup>47</sup>

By far the greatest change was the demolition of the old kitchen, accomplished by 1921. The kitchen structure had actually been expanded at the turn of the century, maybe to accommodate a ground-level bathroom accessed from the southwest room of the house. This addition had probably affected the floor plan in terms of use, but the Smoot alterations scrambled the rooms again. Without the rear "wing," kitchen and bathroom facilities had to be brought into the house's main block. A bathroom was probably installed at the rear of the third floor, the location

of the only such facility today. The kitchen appears to have been located in the northwest ground-floor room. Another design response was the construction of a two-story rear portico, open at least at the ground level originally, and extending about two-thirds of the way across the rear elevation from the southwest corner. The porch's second story was entered through an enlarged former window opening near that corner. Appearing as a sleeping porch, the structure may have been one way to expand living space.<sup>48</sup>



The two-story sleeping porch added by the Smoots circa 1918-1921, as depicted in a 1959 Historic American Buildings Survey photo.

As purchased from Minnie Lloyd, the house lot was irregularly shaped—slightly more than 121 feet wide, it was now between about 111 and 116 feet deep, with the west boundary following the west wall of the stable/garage and an adjoining fence. It retained those dimensions through the next purchase and until the mid 1950s.

After the death of William Smoot, his widow moved out of the home, then sold it to Louis P. and Maud L. Allwine for \$25,000 in August 1942.<sup>49</sup> Louis Allwine fails to appear in city directories, suggesting that he was not a city resident, but he was likely a descendant of a German family which arrived in Alexandria after the Civil War. The Allwines were preparing to take advantage of the rising rents brought on by the wartime housing shortage when, in October 1942, they obtained a permit to add two bathrooms on the first floor (in the corners of the rear rooms), as the first step in the home's conversion to a rooming house. The former stable and garage was even transformed into an apartment for the building's manager and a recreation room for its tenants. For whatever reason, the Allwines instead capitalized on the property's value by reselling it.<sup>50</sup>



WAVES relaxing in the back yard of the "Town House" in a 1944 (Washington) Times-Herald photograph.

Widower John Loughran purchased the former Lloyd house in early December 1943.<sup>51</sup> Loughran, a "Washington investor," was another absentee landlord.52 He completed the Allwines' modifications and made more of his own. By the spring of 1944, the building was, or was already intended to be, living quarters for members of the Navy Women's Reserve, more commonly known as the WAVES.53 By autumn, the building provided accommodations for 52 WAVES during their time off from employment at the Naval Torpedo Station on Union Street.<sup>54</sup> The women were under the command of Rear Admiral Robert B. Simmons and Captain C.O. Glisson, but under the direct supervision of Lieutenant (j.g.) Dorothy Pommer, who may have occupied the garage apartment. The women appear to have had a couple of virtual chaperones in addition, a Miss Abbott and Joan Haley, who was later to be society editor of the local newspaper.55 The WAVES remained for about two years after the war, but with demobilization, their numbers must have thinned. In October 1945, the Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy managed to hold their 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration at the house, honoring the Lloyd sisters who were their founders.<sup>56</sup> The old house also received some attention for its architecture at this time. Deering Davis included it in his book on historic Alexandria houses, repeating the myth that the structure had been erected for James Hooe in 1793.57

To accommodate so many tenants, the old home had to be drastically altered on the interior. In addition to the two bathrooms on the first floor, two more were installed on the second floor, and a fifth bath was located on the uppermost level. The cooking facilities were in the northwest room of the ground floor. This room also had a rear exit, converted from a window opening. Perhaps the most radical change was the installation of a second stairway, between the first- and secondfloor northwest rooms, for fire safety egress. Thus cutting through the old floor joists may have caused or exacerbated the sagging of the floors in that area, a problem visible today (beams in that area were also cut away to lay plumbing). These alterations, and the creation of numerous closets, required the erection of a number of partitions which "chopped up" the formerly gracious interior into a number of cubicles filled with dormitory beds. A few of the rooms escaped with minimal damage, but all received at least new closet partitions or new room, closet, or stair doorways.<sup>58</sup>

The "Town House," as identified by a bronze plaque outside the door, continued to house female civilians after the war; it was reportedly popular with military and government personnel and stewardesses from National Airport-based Capital Airlines.<sup>59</sup> One of the residents of the 1952-1956 period recounted her memories of the boarding house. The building's first postwar manager was Mrs. Beatrice H. Moore.<sup>60</sup> By 1952, however, Mrs. Veronica C. Ramey was "matron," and lived in the former garage with her handicapped son. She staffed a desk which stood in the center of the Town House's main hallway.<sup>61</sup>

Upon entering the front door, the room to the immediate right (North side) was utilized as a parlor or waiting room for male callers. It contained a large couch, coin-T.V., etc. It was in this room that young men would fraternize with their dates. The house rules, however, did not permit them to stay past 10:30 p.m. Across the hallway (south room) was a large room which was rented to a ["strange"] wealthy lady who normally stayed to herself.... The second [i.e., rear] northernmost chamber...was Mrs. Trout's room. Where the bookshelves are now located there were closets and a bathroom.... [T]here was a door in this room which led to the outside...located where the last window on the west side of the room is now situated.... Mrs. Trout also talked about living and sleeping on the old back "portico like porch"... The second southernmost room...was a dormitory chamber... She remembered that this room was cut in two with a very small bedroom where the back exit door is now located. She does not remember that there was a fireplace...in this room. Perhaps, it was shut up during her occupancy....

On the second floor there were numerous dormitory rooms for young ladies. Usually each room was occupied by two individuals. Several of them had baths and a shower and were provided with closets....

On the 3rd floor, there were several showers where the girls could wash. Most of the occupants preferred to live on the third floor for fear of criminals breaking into the house. In fact, Mrs. Trout said that her mother had a lock placed on her door on the first floor...<sup>62</sup>

As Mrs. Trout's reminiscence suggests, the Old Town commercial district was rather down and out during this period. The waterfront in particular was characterized by vacant buildings and low-class bars. There was even said to have been a house of ill fame on Washington Street itself. A popular joke of the time claimed that "When Washington left Alexandria, he said 'Don't do anything until I get back,' and they're still waiting."<sup>63</sup> But beginning in the mid 1950s, some individuals and groups would attempt to bring the neighborhood back to life.

Timothy J. Dennée earned a BA in political science from Fordham University (1987), an MA in international affairs from The George Washington University (1990), and a Master of Community Planning degree with a Graduate Certificate in Historic Preservation from the University of Maryland (1994). He was employed with Alexandria Archaeology for seven years and with the City of Alexandria's Office of Planning and Zoning for two years. In addition, Dennée has been an architectural historian for the D.C. Historic Preservation Office (HPO) for three years. His duties with the HPO include the review of federal and local projects. He has particular responsibility for the Anacostia, Chinatown, Foggy Bottom, Georgetown, LeDroit Park, and Mount Pleasant historic districts.

#### Endnotes

- Alexandria Deed Book E-2, p. 50; Miller, "A Profile of John Lloyd," pp. 10-11, 13-15; *Alexandria Gazette*, May 10, 1848.
- Most of the Lloyds became Episcopalians. Miller, Artisans and Merchants, Vol. I, pp. 281-282; Miller, T. Michael, "A Profile of John Lloyd, Alexandria Merchant and Businessman," unpublished manuscript, 1984, pp. 1-3.
- 3) Lee, Edmund Jennings, p. 381; Miller, "A Profile of John Lloyd," p. 5; *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1921.
- 4) Provine, pp. 206-207; Mircroform Reel No. 73, Alexandria County Complete Records, Vol. N, 1826-1829, John Lloyd vs. Charles Scott, copy in vertical files of Alexandria Library Special Collections Division; Alexandria Corporation Court Will Book 8, p. 274; Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments.
- Tabb, Rebecca Lloyd, letter to John Lloyd, June 20, 1844, from the Lyman Collection, copy in the files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division.
- Alexandria Gazette, June 1, 1833; Alexandria Gazette, December 20, 1833; petition of John Lloyd to Alexandria Common Council, copy in Alexandria Library Special Collections vertical files.
- 7) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments.
- 8) Both characteristics are more typical of Greek Revival architecture, but neither is so pronounced in this case as to be at all definitive.
- Alexandria Gazette, November 15, 1865; Hallowell, p. 104; Erickson, Philip M., comp., Alexandria Water Company Permits: The First 1000 "Pipers," (Alexandria: Office of Historic Alexandria, 1988), p. 14; Alexandria Water Company Property Book, 1867. The Lloyds actually received permit number 336, September 10, 1853.
- 10) United States Census for 1850, Virginia Population Schedules; United States Census for 1860, Virginia Population Schedules; Miller, "A Profile of John Lloyd," p. 3; Alexandria Gazette, July 3, 1837; Alexandria Corporation Court Will Book 6, p. 369; Alexandria Gazette, March 6, 1860; Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments.
- 11) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments. Tenants between 1856 and the outbreak of the Civil War included Francis Miller, Samuel Haney, John Campbell, Henry Watson, Joseph Parker, Samuel Beach, Frederick Schanze, George L. Deeton, Chris Deeton, well digger William Lloyd (no relation), and of course, George Glascock.

- 12) *Alexandria Gazette*, April 9, 1857; Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments.
- 13) Cox, Ethelyn, "The Lloyd House," unpublished manuscript produced for the Historic Alexandria Foundation, copy in the files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division.
- 14) Alexandria Gazette, October 2, 1889.
- 15) Miller, "A Profile of John Lloyd," p. 17.
- Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; Smoot, Betty Carter, Days in an Old Town, (Alexandria: 1934), p. 42.
- 17) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; Packard, Joseph, *Recollections of a Long Life*, (Washington, D.C.: Byron S. Adams, 1902), pp. 114-118, 276, 278, 282, 283.
- 18) Packard, pp. 283-284.
- 19) Alexandria Water Company Property Book, 1867.
- 20) Alexandria Gazette, October 2, 1866.
- 21) Alexandria Gazette, October 4, 1865 and November 23, 1865.
- 22) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; Alexandria Water Company Property Book, 1867.
- 23) Portner & Recker vs. Cazenove, Fourth District Court of Appeals of Virginia.
- 24) Alexandria Gazette, October 1, 1870.
- 25) Alexandria Gazette, December 14, 1871.
- 26) Tabb, Rebecca Lloyd, letter to John Lloyd, June 20, 1844, from the Lyman Collection, copy in the files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division; Hopkins, Griffith M., *City Atlas of Alexandria, Va.* (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, 1877).
- 27) Alexandria Gazette, November 15, 1865.
- 28) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; Alexandria Corporation Court Will Book 8, p. 274; Powell, Selina Lloyd, "The Last Days of Minnie Lloyd," unpublished manuscript, copy in the files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division. It is uncertain what this "calico china" may have been. Selina Powell suggests that they were old dishes owned by John and Anne Lloyd. "Calico china" is a term used today for Staffordshire whitewares carrying a dark blue floral transfer print. It is possible that the Lloyds owned a set of the dark blue pictorial transfer-printed dishes which became popular in the mid 1820s.
- 29) Morrill, Penny, Who Built Alexandria? Architects in Alexandria, 1750-1900, (Alexandria: Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, 1979), p. 11.
- 30) Bailey, p. 3.
- Haywood, Frances, Marriage Records of Gloucester County, Virginia, Book 1: 1853-1895, (Gloucester: Gloucester Genealogical Society, 1992), p. 54; Miller "A Profile of John Lloyd," p. 5.
- Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; United States Census for 1880, Virginia Population Schedules.
- 33) Alexandria Gazette, September 13, 1886 and October 2, 1889.
- 34) Alexandria Gazette, April 16, 1888 and April 17, 1888. Fitzhugh Lee was a grandson of Light-Horse Harry Lee. The former cavalryman, failed Senate candidate, author, and professor was appointed Consul-General to Cuba during the second Cleveland administration and was only withdrawn after the U.S.S. Maine explosion. He was commissioned major general in the U.S. Army during the war with Spain, but saw no action. Troops under his command were sent into Havana in 1901 to maintain order. Library of Congress, "The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War" webpage http:/ /lcweb.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/lee.html.
- 35) Alexandria Gazette, February 14, 1896 and May 10, 1901.
- 36) Vertical files, Alexandria Library Special Collections Division; Alexandria Gazette, May 24, 1895.
- 37) Powell.

- 38) United States Census for 1910, Virginia Population Schedules.
- 39) The Vernons had resided there since at least 1882. Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments.
- 40) Alexandria Real and Personal Property Tax Assessments; Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of Alexandria (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1885, 1891, 1896, 1912, 1921).
- 41) Powell; Alexandria Gazette, August 30, 1921.
- 42) Alexandria Deed Book 66, pp. 599-600.
- 43) Brockett, p. 154; Alexandria Gazette, May 12, 1978.
- 44) Rootsweb.com, "Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia
- 45) Alexandria Gazette, May 12, 1978; Miller, Alexandria (Virginia) City Officialdom, 1749-1992, pp. 75-76.
- 46) Alexandria Gazette, February 22, 1930.
- 47) Sanborn Map Co., 1902, 1921; Bailey, p. 3; Smoot, opposite p. 42; Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey Collection; Stahl, John, "Initial Field Report, Lloyd House Site (44AX34)," unpublished manuscript, George *Mason University*, 1981. The house certainly had radiators by the 1940s, and there is evidence of an old furnace in the basement. The 1940s building permits mention no such improvement. Coal-fired boilers were certainly common by 1918, when the Smoots took over the house.
- Sanborn Map Co., 1921; Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey Collection.
- 49) Alexandria Deed Book 194, pp. 374-377.
- City of Alexandria Code Enforcement Bureau, Repair Permit #4849, October 1, 1942 and #4866, January 30, 1943.
- 51) Alexandria Deed Book 204, pp. 557-558.
- Smith, William Francis, letter to Edward W. Atkinson, associate editor of Petroleum Today, March 22, 1963.
- 53) City of Alexandria Code Enforcement Bureau, Repair Permit #5663, May 1, 1944.
- 54) (Washington) *Times-Herald*, September 27, 1944. An *Alexandria Gazette* article of April 1, 1960 claims that the number of WAVES was 60. Certainly, the number could have fluctuated. The total number quartered there over three years was nearer to 70, but the number 52 comes from 1944, likely the height of WAVE and Torpedo Factory activity.
- 55) "Former WAVES Alexandria, Virginia Mailing List," 1949, copy in vertical files of Alexandria Library Special Collections Division; *Times-Herald*, September 27, 1944; Hill Directory Co., *Hill's Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory*, 1952, (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., 1952), p. 152.
- 56) Northern Virginia Shopping Journal, October 25, 1945.
- 57) Davis, Deering, Stephen P. Dorsey and Ralph Cole Hall, Alexandria Houses, 1750-1830, (Cornwall, New York: Cornwall Press and Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc.), 1946.
- 58) Bailey, p. 4; City of Alexandria Code Enforcement Bureau, Repair Permit #5663, May 1, 1944; Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Building Survey Collection.
- 59) Miller, "The Lloyd House," p. 5; Smith to Atkinson.
- Hill's Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory, 1950, (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., 1950).
- 61) Miller, T. Michael, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Loretta Trout of 'The Townhouse,' 1952-1956," unpublished manuscript, copy in the vertical files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division.
- 62) Miller, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Loretta Trout."
- 63) "WW II Torpedo Factory WAVES Reunite After Forty Years," in *News*, August 23, 1982, copy in the vertical files of the Alexandria Library Special Collections Division.



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