1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Lucy Diggs Slowe and Mary Burrill House

Other Name/Site Number: None

Street and Number (if applicable)**:** 1256 Kearny Street, NE

City/Town: Washington **County:** [none] **State:** DC

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, December 13, 2024.

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1 and 2

NHL Criteria Exceptions: None

NHL Theme(s): II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements: 2. Reform Movements
III. Expressing Cultural Values: 1. Educational and Intellectual Currents

Period(s) of Significance: 1922–1937

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2)**:** Lucy Diggs Slowe

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6)**:** n/a

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: Unknown (not listed on building permit)[1]

Historic Contexts: Springate, Megan E., ed. *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. Washington, DC: National Park Foundation and National Park Service, 2016. https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm

[1] Building Permit #0358, for details see Eric Griffitts and Katherine Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House, Washington, D.C.," National Register of Historic Places Nomination 100005324 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, October 5, 2020), footnote 1.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

Estimated Burden Statement. Public reporting burden is 2 hours for an initial inquiry letter and 344 hours for NPS Form 10-934 (per response), including the time it takes to read, gather and maintain data, review instructions and complete the letter/form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate, or any aspects of this form, to the Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Mail Stop 242, Reston, VA 20192. Please do not send your form to this address.

3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

___ Yes

_X_ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. **Acreage of Property:** 0.17

2. **Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:**

   Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)**:**

   Datum if other than WGS84: N/A

   Latitude: 38.930871 **Longitude: -**76.989080

3. **Verbal Boundary Description**: The boundary is Lot 3 in the square numbered 3930, in Washington, DC.

4. **Boundary Justification:** Lot 3 represents the historic and current legal description of the land on which the Slowe-Burrill House stands. The Slowe-Burrill property originally included lots 3 and 4, for a total of 15,000 square feet. The property was reduced by half (7,500 square feet) when the lots were sold to separate owners in 2004.

5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Slowe-Burrill House at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, in Washington, DC, is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criteria 1 and 2. It is significant under Criterion 2 for its association with Lucy Diggs Slowe (1883–1937), dean of women at Howard University from 1922 until her death in 1937. A ground-breaking educator and feminist, Slowe was a staunch advocate for the education of African American girls and women throughout her career, arguing that it was through education that women would be able to improve economic and social circumstances for themselves and their families. She embodied this philosophy in her own life, through an extended battle for self-determination and equality with her male colleagues, waged against Howard University leaders. Her efforts in this regard allowed Slowe to continue living with her life partner, Mary Powell Burrill (c. 1882–1946), and so can be understood not only as feminist activism but also as part of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) advocacy prior to the beginning of an organized LGBTQ-rights movement. Slowe's commitment to broadening opportunities for African Americans, especially women, is reflected in her many accomplishments and contributions including her pioneering work as the founding principal of Washington, DC's earliest junior high school for African American children; her seventeen national tennis championship titles; and her role in cofounding Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, the first intercollegiate African American sorority in the United States. Her multifaceted advocacy highlights the intersectional identities of many traditionally overlooked historical figures and aligns Slowe with the concept of New Negro womanhood prevalent in between the two world wars.

The property is also significant under Criterion 1 as an outstanding example of a lesser-known turn-of-the-twentieth-century historical pattern of professional women partnering together to share their lives, their resources, and their homes. Such partnerships facilitated the entry of women into the professions, which in turn enabled generations of women to support themselves outside of heterosexual marriage. This is significant both in women's history and history of feminism, and within the context of activism amongst lesbian and queer women of the early twentieth century.

The property's period of significance is 1922 to 1937, the period Slowe and Burrill lived together in the house. The dates represent the period from when Slowe purchased the home in December 1922 until her untimely death at age fifty-four in 1937.

PROVIDE RELEVANT PROPERTY-SPECIFIC HISTORY, HISTORICAL CONTEXT, AND THEMES. JUSTIFY CRITERIA, EXCEPTIONS, AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE LISTED IN SECTION 2.

Significance Summary: Criterion 2 [Association with Lucy Diggs Slowe]

The Slowe-Burrill House is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 2: (Significant Persons), for its association with Lucy Diggs Slowe, an African American educator and advocate, as well as a feminist and nascent LGBTQ activist. Slowe served as Howard University's first dean of women from 1922 until her death in 1937. (Figure 4) In this period, she rose to national prominence for her innovative ideas about African American women's education. She is also significant for her efforts to integrate the existing professional network of women educational leaders, which was racially segregated by custom but not policy.

The impact of Slowe's career can be seen in the history of education; in African American culture; in feminism; and in the history of LGBTQ activism.

Education

Throughout her adult life, Lucy Diggs Slowe saw a clear connection between a person's education and their ability to contribute to society. This value was likely passed on by the aunt who raised her and who moved Lucy and her sister from Lexington, Virginia, to Baltimore, Maryland. While the specific reasons for the move are not known, it enabled the girls to attend high school, an opportunity not available to them, as African Americans, in small-town Virginia in the early twentieth century. Slowe's graduation from high school second in her class at the age of twenty demonstrates a commitment to her own education, despite the disruptions of her early life. Slowe's belief in education was also evident in her drive to make the most of her college education at Howard University. While attending the university from 1904 to 1908, Slowe participated in a wide range of extracurricular activities, rose to leadership positions in many of them, cofounded the first African American sorority (Alpha Kappa Alpha), and still finished at the top of her academic class. After graduating from Howard, Slowe continued her education by attending summer classes to earn a master's degree, providing still more evidence of her profound belief in the power of education.

Slowe devoted her career to the education of African Americans and emerged as a leader in the field beginning in 1919, when she accepted the position of founding principal of Shaw Junior High School in Washington, DC.[2] In this position, she engaged with the latest trends in the field of education, which was only then beginning to experiment with a transitional educational experience between elementary school and high school. She brought those ideas to one of the largest urban African American communities in the United States.

She continued her innovative approach to education in her next position as the first dean of women at Howard University, which she began in 1922. In that office, Slowe diversified women students' career outcomes (previously Howard women had overwhelmingly focused on teaching); expanded mentorship traditions; created an environment for women's leadership development by creating a "female campus" of Howard University; and focused on enriching student life, because she believed that extracurricular development was as important as classroom learning in creating contributing members of society. The idea of nurturing students' personal development as well as their intellect was at the forefront of educational theory in the 1910s and 1920s. This approach, known at the time as "student personnel theory," had not yet significantly influenced educational thinking within the country's historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Today these ideas are known as "student affairs" and are an established part of United States education; most universities now have a division of student life tasked with overseeing this aspect of what is now understood as integral to a standard university education.[3]

Slowe's greatest national contribution to American education can be seen in the influence she had on HBCUs throughout the United States. As a dean at Howard, one of the leading and most progressive HBCUs, Slowe's programs and innovations influenced her peers at similar institutions, and she traveled widely to other universities to speak to students and consult with university administration. The aggregate effect, argues educational scholar Richard Herdlein and his coauthors, was that Slowe played an instrumental role in the modernization of HBCUs. This modernization transformed the education at many HBCUs from basic

[2] Note that Shaw Junior High was originally known as M Street Junior High.
[3] Linda M. Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of the Self-Determination of African-American Women in Higher Education," *Journal of Negro History* 81, no. 1/4 (1996): 92; Tamara Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly: Black Collegiate Women, Howard University, and the Audacity of Dean Lucy Diggs Slowe* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2022), 1–4.

professional-training programs to full institutions of higher learning on par with their historically White counterparts.[4]

African American Culture

As a tireless advocate for African American education and leadership development, Lucy Diggs Slowe created opportunities for African Americans to advance themselves personally and economically. She espoused the ideas of the New Negro movement, the dominant approach to racial advancement following World War I.

The New Negro movement had its roots in the "talented tenth" philosophy, championed by W. E. B. Du Bois at the turn of the twentieth century, which encouraged African American elites to reinvest their skills and resources into the larger African American community, to "lift others while we climb." The phrase was the motto of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, founded in 1896. It was coined by Mary Church Terrell, a founder of the organization and its first president—and also an educator in the DC public school system who taught alongside Slowe's partner Mary Burrill at M Street High School.[5]

Slowe was part of the legions of middle-class African American women who were influenced by the talented tenth philosophy and who devoted their lives to improving the circumstances of African Americans. However, as the twentieth century progressed, new philosophies of racial uplift emerged. Beginning in the 1910s, a more democratic vision of racial advancement developed known as the New Negro movement. Rather than focusing solely on the most elite African Americans (the top tenth), the New Negro movement embraced the agency of all African Americans to contribute to the goal of racial equality. [6]

As dean of women at one of the most prestigious African American universities in the United States, Slowe was able to play a significant role in enacting her vision of racial equality. Her specific contributions to African American history come from her insistence that African American women be given the same opportunities as other members of U.S. society. Specifically, her efforts to diversify African American women's career choices, her role in modernizing African American higher education through her advocacy of students' overall development, and her efforts to racially integrate the education profession combined to offer concrete pathways on the journey to racial and gender equality.

Slowe believed that it was essential for African American women to enter the professions in order to contribute to society as well as earn money for their families. Although she herself was an educator, she urged other women to move beyond this most common of female professions. As early as 1918, she was publishing

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[4] Richard Herdlein, Christine Frezza Cali, and Joanne Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: A Story Left Untold," *Journal of Negro Education* 77, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 291–305; Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., "Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Education in the United States," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000), 14.

[5] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Alison M. Parker, *Unceasing Militant: The Life of Mary Church Terrell* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 69; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 62–71. Slowe also worked alongside Terrell in the College Alumnae Club. See Wendy L. Rouse, *Public Faces, Secret Lives: A Queer History of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2022), 84. The influence of the talented tenth philosophy on education is explored in the National Historic Landmark theme study on desegregation in education. Salvatore et al., "Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Education," 31–34.

[6] Treva B. Lindsey, *Colored No More: Reinventing Black Womanhood in Washington, D.C*, Women, Gender, and Sexuality in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), chapter 1, eBook accessed 02/23/2024 through ProQuest Ebook Central.

articles urging African American female college students to pursue training in the fields of law, social work, and business.[7] After joining the administration of Howard University, Slowe worked with a team to study women students' career plans and found that 90 percent were studying to become teachers. Within a few years of that study, the number had dropped to 44 percent among women students at Howard. Toward the goal of expanding women students' career aspirations, she implemented a Women's Vocational Seminar at Howard in 1929 and a Senior Mentor Program in 1930.[8]

Slowe is also significant to African American history for her role in modernizing HBCUs by advocating for the adoption of innovative educational ideas. Most notable was Slowe's promotion of student personnel work. The leading advocates for this educational approach—John Dewey and Sarah Sturtevant, both at Columbia University Teachers' College, Thyrsa Amos at University of Pittsburgh—were European American. Slowe interacted with them as a professional peer. She was the first professionally trained dean of women within the HBCU system and, through her professional networks among both European American and African American educators, she was able to disseminate the innovative approaches she was developing to Howard and the other HBCUs.[9]

Finally, Slowe contributed to African American history by breaking racial barriers in the higher education field. Upon taking her position at Howard, Slowe applied for membership in the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW), which had heretofore been an all-White organization (by custom, but not official policy). NADW accepted Slowe as a member, and she remained active in the organization for the rest of her career. By becoming the first African American member of this national professional organization, Slowe opened networking and communication opportunities among deans of women at all U.S. universities, regardless of the racial makeup of their student bodies. The connections she built through this organization both exposed her to the most innovative educational theories of the day and enabled her to share her own experiences and ideas more widely.[10]

Feminism

Among Lucy Diggs Slowe's contributions to history was her work toward the economic empowerment of women, expressed through her advocacy of women's education and her personal struggle to be treated as an equal to her male colleagues at Howard University. In addition to her advocacy, Slowe embodied her principles in her work life. As a condition for accepting her position at Howard, Slowe negotiated terms of employment that more closely resembled those of male deans than those of other deans of women. These terms included the right to live off-campus, faculty rank, and a salary comparable to the other (male) deans at the university.[11]

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[7] Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 90; Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920*, 74.

[8] Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 81; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294-297. Note that Linda Perkins's 2024 book titled *To Advance the Race: Black Women's Higher Education from the Antebellum Era to the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2024) was published too late to be included in this study. Part 3 of the book deals directly with Slowe and her influence on the development of deans of women in HBCUs. Other new publications on Slowe include *Her Truth and Service: Lucy Diggs Slowe in Her Own Words* edited by Amy Yeboah Quarkume (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024).

[9] Carroll L. Miller and Anne S. Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand: The Life of Lucy Diggs Slowe* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 97–99; Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 89–92; Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, x.

[10] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 97.

[11] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 79–86.

These negotiations tie Slowe to the major feminist debate in the years following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote in 1920.[12] In the years following this achievement, the U.S. women's movement became embroiled in a debate over what its post-suffrage agenda should be. The movement split over whether to pursue the Equal Rights Amendment, demanding that women be treated equally to men under the law, or to embrace a series of laws known collectively as "protective legislation," which would offer women added protection, as a particularly vulnerable class, under the law. In essence, this split revolved around the larger philosophical and legal question of whether women should be approached as a distinct group, valued and protected for their role as mothers and caretakers, or be treated legally the same as men.[13]

Slowe supported the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. One of her earliest speeches on record was in support of women's suffrage. In October 1915, when she was serving as executive secretary of the Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Slowe spoke before an audience at Sharp Street Memorial Methodist-Episcopal Church where she argued that universal suffrage was a key component in the fights for racial and gender equality.[14] In addition, her negotiations with Howard reveal that she aligned herself with the gender equality branch of the post-suffrage movement. This stance makes sense, given that she chose to share her life with a woman. Unencumbered (and unprotected) by legal marriage to a man and remaining childless, Slowe's needs under the law centered on her ability to support herself in the same manner that a man would be able to.[15]

Slowe paid a professional price for this stance. With the arrival of a new university president, Mordecai Johnson, in 1926, Howard University leaders began a long-term effort to reverse the terms of Slowe's employment that she had so successfully negotiated. Her salary increases did not match those of her male peers, and she received pressure—and, eventually, an outright demand—to move into university housing, essentially reducing her role to more of a house mother than a dean. Slowe resisted these changes and engaged a powerful national network of university alumni and women leaders, both African American and European American, to support her in her challenges to the university administration.

In her fight to stand on equal footing with other deans (all male) at Howard University, Slowe embodied the issues central to the major feminist debate of the 1920s. She also put her principles about women's education and advancement into action, using her own career as an example of what women could achieve when given equal opportunity. Although her advocacy for women's education generally dominates the ways she is remembered, Slowe's insistence on equal treatment for herself—and the professional sacrifices she made in repeatedly disobeying Johnson's directives—is emblematic of women's broader efforts to gain professional equality with men.

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[12] Although the Nineteenth Amendment ostensibly granted all women the right to vote, many barriers remained for women trying to exercise the franchise. In the South, local voter registration rules prevented the vast majority of people of color—both men and women—from voting, and federal law at the time of this amendment's ratification removed U.S. citizenship from American women who married a citizen of another country. As historian Treva Lindsey points out, voting rights remained a salient issue for African American women throughout the twentieth century. See Lindsey, *Colored No More*, eBook.

[13] Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 483–93.

[14] "Miss Slowe for Women's Suffrage," *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 23, 1915; Rouse, *Public Faces, Secret Lives*, 83–86; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 44–46.

[15] While Slowe's negotiations with Howard reveal her alignment with the gender equality branch of 1920s feminism, the author has found no direct evidence that she gave any public comment on the Equal Rights Amendment specifically.

LGBTQ Activism

Slowe's ongoing fight to live off campus was primarily a fight to be treated equally to her male peers, but it also, implicitly, was a fight to continue living with her partner, Mary Burrill. (Figure 7) In this sense, Slowe's protest can be understood as an early example of LGBTQ advocacy, predating the homophile movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which argued that homosexual people's personal lives should not be a factor in determining their employability or fitness as citizens.

The first recorded effort by LGBTQ people in the United States to advocate as an organized group for equal protection under the law occurred during Slowe's lifetime, though it is unlikely she was aware of it. In Chicago in 1924, Henry Gerber and a small group of other men formed the first known LGBTQ civil rights organization in the United States, the Society for Human Rights. It disbanded the following year in the face of police harassment.[16] A sustained public LGBTQ civil rights movement did not begin in the United States until the late 1940s, with the start of what was known as the homophile movement. This movement was primarily comprised of White, gay men and, to a lesser extent, White lesbians. It was the main source of LGBTQ activism until the late 1960s, when the increasing radicalization of social movements, expanded awareness of identity politics, and the Stonewall Uprising of 1969 combined to initiate a new era of LGBTQ organizing known as gay liberation.[17]

The homophile movement argued that gays and lesbians should be treated equally to heterosexuals. If their private lives did not lead to such outrageous consequences—arrest, ostracism, incarceration in mental hospitals, loss of employment, physical attack—the thinking went, then homosexuals (as homophile activists described themselves) would be free to be contributing members of society. In this sense, one of the major tenets of the homophile movement was LGBTQ people's right to privacy.[18] While the homophile movement began after Slowe's death in 1937, her efforts to resist her employer's demand that she leave her private residence and live on campus—ostensibly so she could be a greater positive influence on women students, but also effectively enabling the university to monitor her private life—was a stand she took in defense of her right to privacy. Slowe's personal battle for privacy and equal treatment illustrates a common and continuous trend in LGBTQ history, the private struggles that most LGBTQ citizens encountered prior to the advent of formalized social movements in the 1940s and 1950s. Even though she lived in an era before the idea of LGBTQ activism was fully developed, Slowe can be understood as a nascent LGBTQ activist and an important representative of a national trend. Historian of queer history, Cookie Woolner in her book *The Famous Lady Lovers: Black Women and Queer Desire before Stonewall*, identifies Slowe and Burrill as "one of the few known long-term African American female couples of their generation."[19] The LGBTQ National Historic Landmark Theme Study explores the idea of pre-1950s LGBTQ advocacy more fully, particularly in chapter 18, "LGBTQ Civil Rights

[16] Megan E. Springate, "LGBTQ Civil Rights in America," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016), 18, 15. The Henry Gerber House is now a National Historic Landmark, NRIS #15000584; see Michelle McClellan and University of Michigan Public History Initiative, "Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois," National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014).
[17] Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 66–82.
[18] Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 41–87; John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[19] Cookie Woolner, *The Famous Lady Lovers: Black Women and Queer Desire before Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2023), 127. Woolner's work records the complex queer Black women's networks and cultures that developed between the World Wars in places like Harlem (NY City) and other intellectual and entertainment centers like Washington, DC, amongst intellectuals, artists, entertainers, and elite Black women.

in America."[20]

Significance Summary: Criterion 1

In addition to being significant under Criterion 2 for its association with Lucy Diggs Slowe, the Slowe-Burrill House is significant under Criterion 1 for its exceptional ability to illustrate an important trend in the broad national pattern of women's entry into the professions, 1880-1930. Women's increasing ability to obtain middle-class employment in this era decreased their financial dependence on men, which in turn expanded some women's ability to exercise self-determination. The Slowe-Burrill House is significant to this historical trend because it outstandingly represents a domestic partnership between two women in the early twentieth century. Such relationships were quite common among professional women of this era, and yet have been overlooked or intentionally obscured, most likely because of their similarity to lesbian relationships. However, whether or not such partnerships involved sexual activity, they are significant because they facilitated the entry of women into the middle-class workforce at the turn of the twentieth century.

Female partnerships among middle-class women in the early twentieth century, such as Slowe and Burrill's, facilitated the entry of women into the professions by enabling middle-class women to bypass heterosexual marriage and motherhood, while still retaining a level of economic comfort and respectability that would not have been afforded to a single woman. Examples abound of these types of relationships among well-known European American educators, reformers, and artists of this era. They include the partnerships of reformers Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith; author Willa Cather and editor Edith Lewis; author Sarah Orne Jewett and Annie Addams Fields; painter Romaine Brooks and author Natalie Barney; politician Molly Dewson and philanthropist Polly Porter; lawyers Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read; and educator M. Carey Thomas and philanthropist Mary Elizabeth Garrett, to name but a few.[21]

While it is part of a larger, significant national trend, the partnership of Lucy Slowe and Mary Burrill represents a distinctive, and little documented, component of this historical pattern, because of their role in African American history. Most of the documented early twentieth-century female partnerships of professional women were comprised of European American women. Most likely, this is because of the greater educational

[20] Springate, "LGBTQ Civil Rights," especially 18.10-18.15.

[21] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 52–54, 136–39; Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); "Natalie Clifford Barney - Dayton - OH - US," Historical Marker Project, accessed February 4, 2018, http://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HM1Z3O_natalie-clifford-barney_Dayton-OH.html; Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63–75. Several of these women's partnerships are represented by extant buildings that have been designated historic sites at various levels. Some are recognized for their connections to LGBTQ history and others only for their connection to important women. These include Jane Addams Hull House in Chicago, IL (NHL 1965); and the Jewett House in South Berwick, ME (NHL 1991). Willa Cather's childhood home is an NHL, but it does not relate to Cather's adult relationship with Edith Lewis. Brooks and Barney lived together in Paris, France, so there is no known property associated with their partnership in the US. Dewson and Porter lived together in an apartment in Greenwich Village in New York City; the building still stands at 171 West 12th Street and has been recognized as a New York City landmark as the home of at least two major LGBTQIA "power couples," the other being educator Marion Dickerman (1890–1983) and political operative Nancy Cook (1884–1962), who worked closely with friend and colleague Eleanor Roosevelt (https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/171-west-12th-street-residence/). Lape and Read owned an apartment building at 20 East 11th Street in New York's Greenwich Village, but escaped to the countryside where in 1929 they bought an 18th-century farm known as Murdock Hill and built the Lape-Reed House, now part of the Salt Meadow unit of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge (https://connecticutcreativeplaces.org/places/murdock-hill-lape-reed-house-salt-meadow-unit-stewart-b.-mckinney-national-). Finally, educator M. Carey Thomas had a stable partnership with philanthropist Mary Elizabeth Garrett, but their home at Bryn Mawr College no longer stands. (Thomas is recognized with an NHL at the M. Carey Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr, PA, NHL 1991).

and employment opportunities granted to White women in this era. In contrast to this general trend, Slowe and Burrill were African American, and their professional contributions were distinctly African American as well. While Slowe was an educator in African American schools and later dean of women at Howard University, Burrill was a teacher at M Street (later Dunbar) High School, nationally known for the quality of education it provided its African American students. She was also a playwright of moderate renown. Her plays chronicled the challenges faced by African Americans from systemic racism, and some scholars have interpreted her work as an early influence on the New Negro Renaissance.[22] The Slowe-Burrill partnership suggests that the trend of historical female partnership represented advantages not just to European American professional women, or to women in professions that were predominantly European American, but to women with various ethnic identities in various professions.

In addition to offering insight into women's history and the era when women entered the professional workforce, early twentieth-century female partnerships are also significant to LGBTQ history, whether or not there is evidence of a sexual component within a particular relationship. Such relationships demonstrate the diversity of human connection; they offer a challenge to the nostalgia that clings to the idea that, historically, the heterosexual nuclear family was the only acceptable type of family.[23]

In addition, such relationships involved love and commitment between two members of the same sex, and thus provide evidence of same-sex love in an era when same-sex sexual behavior was first being defined as diseased. Female partnerships of the era—and their wide acceptance—demonstrate that the category of "homosexuality" had different parameters in the early twentieth century than it does in the early twenty-first century. Somehow these relationships escaped censure—either because of the class of the women, their gender, their lack of overt sexuality, their mental and emotional stability (at a time when "homosexuals" were understood to be mentally ill), cultural assumptions about women's sexuality, or some combination of these or other factors.[24]

History and Context: Lucy Diggs Slowe

Early Life and Career, 1883-1915

Lucy Diggs Slowe was born on July 4, 1883, in Berryville, Virginia (Clarke County), in the Shenandoah

[22] Doris E. Abramson, "Angelina Weld Grimké, Mary T. Burrill, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Marita O. Bonner: An Analysis of Their Plays," *Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women* 2, no. 1 (1985): 9–13; David B. Smith, "Intersectionality in the Dramas of Mary Burrill, Alice Childress, and Pearl Cleage," *Continuum Journal* 1, no. 2 (January 2015), http://continuumjournal.org/index.php/33-volumes/issues/vol-1-no-2-content/ysc-1-2/93-intersectionality-in-the-dramas-of-mary-burrill-alice-childress-and-pearl-cleage; Patricia Alzatia Young, "Female Pioneers in Afro-American Drama: Angelina Weld Grimké, Georgia Doublas Johnson, Alice Dunbar-Nelson, and Mary Powell Burrill" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1986).

[23] Brown, "Queer or Not," 70; Sacha Coward and Diana Morton, "How Can Museums Better Reflect the Lives of LGBT Communities?," *Museums Journal* 116, no. 6 (June 2016): 17; Jennifer Tyburczy, "All Museums Are Sex Museums," *Radical History Review*, no. 113 (Spring 2012): 199–211; Mark Meinke, "Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

[24] The issue of same-sex relationships "hiding in plain sight" has been explored by the LGBTQ NHL Theme Study along with other scholarship. See, for example, Tracy Baim, "Sex, Love, and Relationships," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016), 17.2-17.5 and 17.18-17.23; Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 1–11; Margaret Middleton, "Queer Possibility," *Journal of Museum Education* 45, no. 4 (December 2020): 426–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/10598650.2020.1831218.

Valley. She was the youngest of seven children born to Henry Slowe (1825-1884) and Fannie Potter Slowe (c. 1844-1889). Her parents were listed in government records as "colored" and were both born in Virginia, although it is not known if they were born enslaved or free. They were married on January 15, 1867. At that time, Henry Slowe listed his occupation as restaurant keeper; his death record seventeen years later listed him as a mail carrier.[25]

Henry Slowe died when his daughter Lucy was less than a year old. Fannie Potter Slowe followed her husband in death five years later, leaving Lucy an orphan at age six, along with her siblings. Henry Slowe's sister, Martha Price, took over the care of Lucy and her older sister Charlotte. The girls moved to Lexington, Virginia, and lived in the home of their widowed aunt and her three grown or nearly grown children.[26]

After some years in Lexington, Martha Price moved the girls to Baltimore, where they lived with Martha's grown daughter Louise Stuart and her family. In Baltimore, Lucy Slowe was able to attend high school, an achievement in that era of segregated schools, when not every locale offered secondary schooling to African Americans. She attended Baltimore's Colored High and Training School (renamed Frederick Douglass High School in 1925) and graduated in 1904 as class salutatorian.[27]

After high school, Slowe attended Howard University, in Washington, DC, on full academic scholarship. Howard was founded as an African American college in 1867, shortly after the end of the Civil War. It is named after General Oliver Otis Howard, the European American head of the U.S. Freedman's Bureau. It admitted both male and female students from its beginnings, making it a rare example of coeducational post-secondary education in the postbellum era. In 1904, when Slowe arrived at Howard, the College of Arts and Sciences had fewer than a hundred students, and the incoming class that year numbered only nineteen. Such numbers demonstrate the rarity of African American access to higher education in this era of racial segregation and of violence perpetuated by White people against many African Americans who challenged the status quo of racial inequality.[28]

Slowe's extracurricular activities while at Howard illustrate her multiple interests and early leadership abilities. She was a member of the university culture club, the debate team, and the university choir. She served as vice president and secretary of the Alpha Phi Literary Society and as president of the Christian Endeavor Society. She played tennis while at Howard and served as president of the tennis club.[29]

Slowe also helped co-found the first national African American sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA), in 1908, during her senior year.[30] Howard student Ethel Hedgman Lyle was the lead organizer of this organization, supported by Slowe, Anna Easter Brown, Beulah Burke, Lillie Burke, Marjorie Hill, Margaret Flagg Holmes,

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[25] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 8; "Henry Slowe Biographical Materials" (Ancestry Library Edition, n.d.), accessed August 18, 2021; "Fannie Potter Slowe Biographical Materials" (Ancestry Library Edition, n.d.), accessed August 18, 2021. Note that the Slowe name is sometimes spelled Slow.

[26] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 7–10, 12–13.

[27] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 1–2. From 1901 until 1925, the Colored High School was located at Pennsylvania Avenue and Dolphin Street in Baltimore; Mark R. Heckman, "Frederick Douglass High School, Baltimore, MD," National Register of Historic Places Nomination 100005324 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1989), 8.2, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/106776504. The school became Frederick Douglass High School in 1925, when it moved to a new location at 1600 North Calhoun Street, Baltimore. This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its role in African American education.

[28] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 21–23.

[29] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 27–30.

[30] Deborah Elizabeth Whaley, *Disciplining Women: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Black Counterpublics, and the Cultural Politics of Black Sororities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 2.

Lavinia Norman, and Marie Woolfolk Taylor. Slowe served as the sorority's first president.[31] The vision for AKA was far more than a social club; instead, its founders saw it as a civic organization seeking to improve society and the circumstances of African Americans. Notable past members included civil rights activist Septima Poinsette Clark (1898-1987), champion athlete Althea Gibson (1927-2003), and author Toni Morrison (1931-2019). The sorority, still active today, continues to be a training ground for African American female leaders in the twenty-first century. Well-known living members include Vice President of the United States Kamala Harris, actor and outgoing Howard University dean Phylicia Rashad, and entrepreneur Cathy Hughes.[32]

Slowe graduated from Howard in 1908, serving as class valedictorian. This achievement was quite extraordinary. In the eighty-five years between 1823 and 1908, only nine hundred African American women graduated from college; Lucy Diggs Slowe was one of them.[33] After graduation, Slowe returned to Baltimore to teach English at the African American high school that she herself had attended. She remained in that position for seven years. During this same period, she attended summer classes at Columbia University Teachers' College, earning her master's degree in English in 1915.[34] That year, she accepted a position as teacher and dean of girls at Armstrong Manual Training School, in Washington, DC. She relocated to Washington and within a few years began sharing a home with Mary Burrill, whom she would live with for the rest of her life.[35]

Washington, DC, 1915-1922

In the early twentieth century, Washington, DC, was a center of middle-class African American life and culture. It had the highest proportion of African Americans among the United States' thirty largest cities. Whereas African Americans comprised only 2 percent of the populations of New York City and Chicago in 1910, fully 28 percent of the population of Washington, DC, was African American. Although DC's schools were segregated, its African American public schools were among the best in the country, employing highly educated and talented teachers blocked from other employment by Jim Crow-era restrictions. Likewise, Howard University and (prior to 1912) the federal government provided an unusually high number of middle-class job opportunities for African Americans.[36]

The African American nadir—the period between roughly 1890 and 1920 when racial oppression and violence reached its most extreme levels of the post-slavery era—arrived in Washington later than much of the rest of the country. However, by the 1910s, racial tension was markedly increasing in the nation's capital. President Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, initiated racial segregation in federal offices, establishing a precedent that would not be overturned until Franklin Roosevelt's presidency twenty years later. In 1919, European American soldiers instigated a race riot in the city but escaped legal consequences.[37]

Despite these setbacks, Washington remained a hub of African American thought and culture. Well-known activists for women's suffrage and African American advancement were based in DC, and many earned their livelihoods as educators in the city's segregated public school system. The city's artistic community

[31] Whaley, 37.
[32] Whaley, 38.
[33] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294-297; Lisa Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe, Howard University Dean of Women, 1922-1937: Educator, Administrator, Activist." (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 2009), 149–51.
[34] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294-297.
[35] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78.
[36] Beemyn, 49–50.
[37] Beemyn, 50; Rayford Whittingham Logan, *Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 188–89.

rivaled the Harlem neighborhood in New York City. In fact, in the twenty-first century, scholars have taken a second look at the so-called Harlem Renaissance of the interwar years and renamed it the New Negro Renaissance, in part to recognize the pivotal contributions of artists and thinkers in Washington.[38] Historian Jeffrey A. Harris, writing in the LGBTQ National Historic Landmark Theme Study, specifically mentions the city as an artistic and intellectual center for African Americans in this era, and explores its associations with African American LGBTQ history.[39]

This was the context that Lucy Slowe encountered in 1915 when she moved back to DC. As a college-educated teacher in an African American school, Slowe could count herself among the local African American professional class as well as its intelligentsia.[40] Her partner Mary Burrill, a public-school teacher and playwright of some renown, brought her still further into these circles. Burrill was a friend of fellow playwright Angelina Weld Grimké, studied with philosopher and writer Alain Locke, and attended the famed literary salon of Georgia Douglas Johnson.[41] Grimké taught physical education at Armstrong Manual Training School, where Slowe taught English.[42] Mary Church Terrell, suffragist and first president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, taught English at M Street High School alongside Burrill.[43] Coralie Franklin Cook was a co-founder of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and the second African American woman (after Mary Church Terrell) to be appointed to the Washington, DC, Board of Education. She taught oratory at Howard University and her husband, George William Cook, was head of the English Department. Both of the Cooks were important mentors to Slowe throughout her career.[44]

Amid all this intellectual and artistic foment and with a demanding professional position, Slowe managed to also play competitive tennis, winning seventeen trophies in national competitions between 1917 and 1924, when she retired from the sport. In 1917, she won her first national competition, securing the singles title at the first American Tennis Association (ATA) national tournament. The ATA, founded in 1916, is believed to be the oldest African American sports organization in the United States. It was created so that African Americans, who were excluded from most sports leagues, could have the opportunity to compete at the championship level. With this honor, Slowe became the first female African American national champion in any sport.[45] Such achievement in the realm of sports is yet another example of Slowe's drive to challenge restrictions placed on her because of her gender and her race.

Four years after moving to DC and joining the faculty of Armstrong Manual Training School, in 1919,

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[38] See, for instance, Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 55–84; Zachery R. Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth: Howard University Public Intellectuals and the Dilemmas of Race, 1926-1970* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Jeffrey C. Stewart, *The New Negro: The Life of Alain Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Davarian L. Baldwin and Minkah Makalani, eds., *Escape from New York: The New Negro Renaissance beyond Harlem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[39] Jeffrey A. Harris, "'Where We Could Be Ourselves': African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 13.12–13.14. Historian Genny Beemyn explores this DC artistic and intellectual community and its relationship to LGBTQ history more fully in Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 47–99.

[40] Historian Stephanie Shaw notes that African American professional women born before 1884 seldom completed a college education; see Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 136–37.

[41] Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote*, 70–74. Locke's and Johnson's association with LGBTQ history are also mentioned in the LGBTQ theme study; see Harris, "'Where We Could Be Ourselves': African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter," 13.12-12.14.

[42] Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote*, 62.

[43] Terborg-Penn, 63–69.

[44] Terborg-Penn, 63–69; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 26–27; Danielle Brogdon et al., "Biographical Sketch of Coralie Franklin Cook," Women and Social Movements, 2019.

[45] Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," 8.11; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 72–73.

Slowe was recruited by the local Board of Education to organize DC's first African American junior high school.[46] Junior high schools were in an experimental stage at this time; the first junior high school in Washington, restricted to European American children, had been authorized only a week prior to the African American junior high. Junior high schools were part of an effort to create a transitional environment between primary and secondary school and to better educate early adolescents, many of whom left school after the eighth grade. Part of the thinking around the creation of an intermediary school level between elementary school and high school involved the offering of both vocational education and the start of college preparatory work. The hope was both to create more relevant curriculum for each student and to entice more students to continue their education into high school, whether that school was vocational (like the school Slowe had been working in) or academic.[47]

In agreeing to take on the role as founding principal of what became Robert Gould Shaw Junior High School (named after the commander of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment of the U.S. Colored Troops during the Civil War), Slowe took an important leap in her career, taking a position where she could better put the innovative educational theories of the day to work in the service of African American education. In the words of scholar Lisa Rasheed:

> When [Slowe] accepted the invitation to lead this new project, she was essentially taking a gamble with questionable odds. Very few people knew what a junior high school was, and the nebulous and imperfect junior high school movement needed artisans to fit its form into particular communities. Moreover, Slowe proved to be an illuminator by interpreting the spirit of the movement and the new institution that would become a permanent fixture in U.S. education.[48]

Slowe's writing from the period she was principal of Shaw Junior High make plain her aspirations for her students, and by extension the larger African American community. She published an article on the junior high school concept for the *Howard University Review*, in which she stated, "There may be many pupils who do not find themselves until much later in life, but the majority of young people should be able to begin preparation for their life career in a serious way by the time they reach the senior high school. Vocational and professional guidance is a proper function of the junior high school."[49] In addition, the creed of Shaw Junior High under Slowe's leadership made clear that career building was not her school's only goal. The creed read:

> The school stands for the development of the highest ideals of character. Wisdom and worth are handmaidens here. Trustworthiness, dependability, regard for one's word, deference to elders, consideration of one's comrades, respect for one's self are the watchwords. Truth is our cornerstone. Character is our completed structure.[50]

During her time at Shaw, Slowe's innovative ideas about African American education, discussed more fully in the next section, were already beginning to emerge. Moreover, the junior high she created continued to

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[46] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, " 294–297; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 72–75.
[47] Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe, Howard University Dean of Women," 86–94; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 50–59.
[48] Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe, Howard University Dean of Women," 256–57.
[49] Lucy Diggs Slowe, "The Junior High School--An Opportunity," *Howard University Review* 15, no. 7 (May 1921): 364.
[50] *M Street Junior High Review* (May 1920): 1-2, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 54. The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, which holds the Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers as well as numerous other relevant collections, was closed to outside researchers during of the research period of this project because of the Covid-19 pandemic. As such, many of my primary source citations have had to be gleaned from quotations in the secondary literature.

produce leaders. Students from Shaw were involved in the landmark court case *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1951), an effort to desegregate the DC public school system. The following year, 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear arguments in the *Bolling* case, as part of a series of school desegregation cases it was planning to review. This group of cases eventually resulted in the landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which declared racial segregation in schools to be unconstitutional.[51]

Achievements as Dean of Women, Howard University, 1922–1937

After three years at Shaw Junior High School, Slowe was again recruited to take an educational organization in a new direction. Howard University President J. Stanley Durkee invited Slowe to serve as the university's first permanent Dean of Women.[52] Before accepting the position, Slowe negotiated terms of employment that granted her parity with her male colleagues, creating a situation that was far more equitable than most women's deans of this era experienced. Initially, she requested a salary of $4,000 annually. This was just barely below Durkee's salary of $4,050, and he was the highest paid employee of the university. Nevertheless, it was lower than the average salary of $4,567 for high school principals in the DC public school system, a position she was likely to attain if she did not divert her career to work for Howard.[53] The Howard Board of Trustees rejected that proposed salary, and the ultimate terms of her employment were settled as follows:

1. It is agreed that I be appointed to the position of Professor of English in the School of Education with administrative duties of Dean of Women.
2. It is agreed that the salary for the two positions shall not be less than $3200.
3. It is agreed that I be permitted to name a confidential Clerk whose entire time will be spent in my office.
4. It is agreed that the suite of rooms now used by the Acting Dean of Women be placed at my disposal, but that I shall not be required to live on the campus.
5. It is agreed that all women in charge of girls in the University shall be directly responsible to me in all matters affecting the girls in their care.
6. It is agreed that all policies pertaining to the women in the University shall emanate from my office with the approval of the President.[54]

The condition of employment that was most noteworthy was that she be allowed to live off campus. Although it was customary at the time for deans of women to live on campus, the same tradition did not apply to male deans. Women's deans throughout the country were beginning to question this custom, and Slowe felt that to live on campus would send the message that she was more of a parental figure than a professional one. She also demanded academic rank and the right to teach classes in her discipline, again advocating for the position to exist on par with that of other (male) deans.[55]

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[51] Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Education*, 77.
[52] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294–297.
[53] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 83–84.
[54] Slowe to J. Stanley Durkee, May 31, 1922, Folder 52, Box 90-2, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 85.
[55] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294–297; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 82–87; Lisa Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator," in *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision*, ed. Tamara L. Brown, Gregory S. Parks, and Clarenda Phillips (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2012), 250.

Slowe's terms for accepting the position of Howard University's dean of women mirrored her larger beliefs about the need for equality between the sexes. Throughout her career, and particularly during her time at Howard, Slowe was a vocal advocate for African American women's education, arguing that it was a crucial component of African American advancement. Through a variety of programs at Howard, she sought to diversify African American women's career options and create a generation of female civic leaders.

When she began at Howard in 1922, Slowe immediately set about establishing the benchmark she was striving to achieve. She applied for membership in the National Association of Deans of Women, a previously all-White organization, and was accepted. In November 1922, two months after starting at Howard, she also embarked on a tour of other universities to establish relationships with other deans of women and gain familiarity with various ways of managing her new position. Schools she consulted included University of Pittsburgh, Oberlin College, Cornell University, and Swarthmore College. Thus, from the earliest days of her tenure at Howard, she strove to break racial barriers in higher education, creating a professional network that included European Americans as well as African Americans.[56]

Her professional efforts were specifically focused on developing a student personnel approach at Howard. Student personnel, now more commonly known as student affairs, was an innovative educational approach in this era, which called for educational institutions to focus on the well-rounded development of their students, building personal development and good character as much as educational attainment. The first graduate program for women in student personnel management was started at Columbia University Teachers' College in 1913.[57] It is likely that Slowe first encountered this movement during her time at Columbia, where she earned her master's degree in English in 1915. She pursued graduate study in the early days of the student personnel management program, although it was not her main focus of study. Her adherence to its philosophy is evident from her time at Armstrong Manual High School.[58]

In her early years at Howard, Slowe set about creating an infrastructure of communication among the women of the university. She invited all female faculty, wives of male faculty, and wives of university administrators to a conference on women's issues at Howard. Attendees to this conference went on to form the Women's Cooperative Council of Howard University.[59] She also formed a women's league for students that met weekly to discuss concerns and offer input.[60] And in November 1922, she held the first of what would become annual women's dinners. She invited men to observe the festivities from the balcony of the university's new dining hall (where the event was held) "to see a 'twentieth century wonder,' Howard women enjoying themselves without the company of men."[61]

Although Slowe's approach to her position involved a holistic view of student development, she did not ignore the instructional aspects of university life. Rather, she continued her efforts to encourage women to move into professions beyond that of teaching. Working with other colleagues, she surveyed female students about their academic plans and found that 90 percent were enrolled in the teacher preparation program. She implemented a series of programs to expand women's career goals, and eventually her office succeeded in

[56] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 96–99; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 292.
[57] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 292.
[58] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 97; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 295.
[59] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 101–2.
[60] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 105–6.
[61] Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 2; Howard University Record 17 (1922): 88, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 102–3.

dropping the number of female students preparing to be teachers to 44 percent, indicating that most Howard women were pursuing other career tracks. Among Slowe's innovations was a Women's Vocational Seminar, begun in 1929, featuring speakers from various professions. She also instituted a senior mentor program at Howard beginning in 1930, which was based on a program at the University of Pittsburgh developed by her friend and colleague Thyrsa Amos.[62] These efforts reflected larger changes in gender attitudes taking place in the early twentieth century. In the words of scholar Linda M. Perkins, "As new employment opportunities opened for White women, Slowe felt strongly that Black women should be prepared for and aware of these fields as well."[63]

Her efforts to diversity women's career outcomes continued throughout her career. The year of her death, 1937, she published an article in *Opportunity: The Journal of Negro Life* advocating for an egalitarian approach to women's college education. Slowe argued, "Frequently, Negro college women come from homes where conservatism in reference to women's place in the world of the most extreme sorts exists.... Regardless of the wish of many parents that their daughters become adjuncts of 'men,' modern life force[s] them to be individuals in much the same sense as men are individuals."[64]

Slowe was able to combine her interest in supporting the personal development of Howard students with her efforts to increase the professional exchange of ideas across the color line. She invited various speakers—both African American and European American—to visit Howard and speak with the students. She also traveled widely to speak at other college campuses. In 1925, for instance, she was invited to speak at Columbia University Teachers' College and University of Pittsburgh, both leaders in the student personnel movement.[65] In 1927, she attended the sixtieth anniversary celebrations at Talladega College, an HBCU in Alabama, as part of an invited delegation of notable African American educators. She returned to Talladega in 1930 to serve for a week as visiting college pastor, where "in addition to 'chapel talks and the Sunday morning address she spoke at the Student Forum, addressed the women students, held conferences, and attended social functions given in her honor.'"[66]

In the early 1930s, Slowe successfully advocated for the construction of Howard's first women's dormitories, known collectively as the "female campus."[67] These on-campus residences for women students created a place within the university that prioritized the needs and interests of Howard women. In addition to on-campus living space, the female campus offered women-oriented student services including health services, a beauty salon, and assembly space. More importantly, the campus provided "a laboratory for practical education in human relationships," where Howard women could develop the skills of self-governance and

[62] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294-297.
[63] Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 90. Note that Perkins's recent book titled *To Advance the Race: Black Women's Higher Education from the Antebellum Era to the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2024) was published too late to be integrated into this nomination. The book includes a chapter titled "The Emergence of the Deans of Women at HBCUs: Lucy Diggs Slowe—The First Black Woman Dean."
[64] Lucy D. Slowe, "The Colored Girl Enters College," *Opportunity: The Journal of Negro Life*, folder 121, box 90-6, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 296.
[65] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 100.
[66] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 138–39, 295. More detail on Slowe's time at Talladega College can be found on 295; the quotation is from *The Talladegan* and quoted on 295.
[67] Prior to construction of the "female campus," women students lived in Miner Hall, which stood along the east side of the central quadrangle (known as The Yard) from the 1870s through the 1950s when it was demolished. See Howard University's annual catalogs available at Howard University Archives Digital Collections: https://dh.howard.edu/digi_collect/.

interpersonal leadership.[68]

When hiring employees to oversee the women's dormitories, she sought out educated women and pursued joint appointments for them on faculty. Her own home on Kearny Street, which she maintained off-campus with Mary Burrill, was a gathering spot for women students, educators, and social reformers, allowing Slowe to facilitate informal networking and mentoring for the students in her charge and for women educators.[69] (Figure 5) In a June 2, 1933, letter that Slowe wrote to the White president of the Howard University Board of Trustees in response to pressure from the board to live on campus, Slowe describes how her private residence off campus served the female students:

> I bought a home situated on a lot 100 by 150 feet. With six large maple trees on it. I have planted 50 rose bushes and put in a rock garden with many different kinds of flowers in it. I have made numerous improvements to the house to make it more suitable for entertaining students.
>
> Every year groups of students meet with me around my open fire or under the trees on the lawn for conferences on various subjects. Some of my most effective work has been done around my fireside away from all that suggests college routine and official authority. The students have found my home a retreat from college life, and have always come to it with fresh enthusiasm. Our graduates write me that they consider the hours spent at this retreat among the happiest at college."[70]

Slowe's innovations at Howard were adopted by other HBCUs throughout the country and were an important element of the modernization of these institutions into sites of higher learning comparable to historically White colleges and universities. In the words of one group of educational scholars:

> A review of the historical record leaves little doubt that Lucy Diggs Slowe had an enormous residual effect on the modernization of HBCUs, especially in terms of the education of female students. Her innovations, benchmarking some of the most progressive "Women's Departments" in the nation, were quite new to historically Black colleges and set the standard for a variety of programs including: the Christmas Vespers Service, concert-lecture series, discussions on current events, volunteer activities in the community, book clubs, fundraising for student loan programs, Women's Student Leagues (self-governing associations), Panhellenic Council, career guidance, and leadership training and development.[71]

Beyond her specific influence on Howard University and HBCUs, Slowe was a leader in higher education and African American women's organizations nationally. She helped found and served as first president of both the National Association of College Women and the Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools. She was a close associate to civic leader Mary McLeod Bethune and assisted Bethune in the 1935 founding of the National Council of Negro Women, where she served as the group's first executive secretary.[72] Her activism also spread beyond professional advocacy, involving active participation in the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Women's International League for

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[68] Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 46–48. Quotation from "Significant Achievement in the Department of the Dean of Women, Howard University," undated but c. June 1932, box 90-5, folder 113, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Howard University, quoted in Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 47.

[69] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 81; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 295–96.

[70] Quoted in Woolner, *Famous Lady Lovers*, 128.

[71] Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294–297.

[72] Mary McLeod Bethune Council House (also the headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women) in Washington, DC, was designated a National Historic Site in 1982 and is now operated as a museum and historic site by the National Park Service.

Peace and Freedom.[73]

Slowe's contributions to the education of Black women and girls are highlighted in the two organizations she helped found: the National Association of College Women (NACW) and the Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools. These two institutions reflect Black women's desire to "improve higher education opportunities for Black women and thus prepare them for leadership."[74] In 1923, under Slowe's leadership, the NACW (same abbreviation as the better-known National Association of Colored Women) transitioned from a club of African American college alumnae founded in 1910 to a national organization with affiliated chapters established across the nation. The organization was established "primarily to raise the standards in the colleges where Black women were being educated, to improve conditions for Black women faculty, and to encourage advanced scholarship among women."[75] The NACW's standards committee visited Black colleges and universities, reported on, and made recommendations about the facilities and faculty provided to women. Dean Slowe, who also served as the NACW's first president, worked to have the position of dean of women established on all Black campuses and to ensure that the position received "the same respect and status as the key administrative posts held by men."[76] The NACW sent annual surveys to all Black institutions asking pointed questions about resources for women students, promotion opportunities for female staff, and access to facilities. The organization's purpose shifted in the 1950s, but it still exists as the National Association of University Women College Alumnae Club with a mission "to serve women, youth and the disadvantaged in our communities and in developing countries by addressing educational issues, advancing the status of women's issues, and strategically partnering with allied organizations."[77] As historian Linda Perkins asserts, the NACW was "a potent voice for Black women in higher education for more than three decades."[78]

In 1929, Slowe and the NACW's committee on standards convened a meeting of women's deans and advisors from Black schools. The group met under the auspices of the NACW for six years and then, in 1935, formed the independent Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools with the aim of addressing labor conditions and opportunities for Black women administrators. (Figure 6) After Slowe's death in 1937, the association continued its work to foster cooperation and professional fellowship among deans and advisors, to raise the professional status of deans of women, and to study and disseminate best practices in counseling young women and girls. The organization continued its work until 1954 when it merged with the parallel deans of men organization. The new organization was known as the National Association of Personnel Workers with women playing important leadership roles, including one serving as the first president. The impact on Black higher education includes laying "the framework for a philosophy of higher education that was sensitive to the unique circumstances of Black women and girls."[79]

[73] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 294–297; Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 89–90.
[74] Linda M. Perkins, "The National Association of College Women: Vanguard of Black Women's Leadership and Education, 1923–1954," *Journal of Education* 172, no. 3 (1990): 65.
[75] Ibid., 67.
[76] Ibid., 70.
[77] "Mission," National Association of University Women College Alumnae Club website, https://www.nauw-cac.org/ accessed February 27, 2024.
[78] Perkins, "National Association of College Women," 74.
[79] Hilda A. Davis and Patricia Bell-Scott, "Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1993), Vol. I, 49–51 (quoted material on page 51).

Context: The New Negro Woman

Slowe's career spanned a period of African American intellectual thought known as the New Negro movement, which embraced African Americans' right to enjoy the benefits of living in the twentieth-century United States. This movement reflected larger cultural changes taking place after World War I, collectively known as modernity. The modern era in the United States was marked by an increased emphasis on personal fulfillment, autonomy, pleasure, and consumer goods. The new focus on the individual contributed to the idea that people were in charge of their own destinies and that everyone could make a difference in shaping the future. Within African American intellectual circles, ideas about modernity influenced existing theories of racial advancement to create the New Negro movement.[80] Although sometimes described as primarily an artistic movement of the 1920s and 1930s, others used the term more broadly to describe the range of efforts by African Americans in the early twentieth century to exert agency and self-determination in a rapidly modernizing world.[81] Perhaps not surprisingly, Howard University played a central role in both these constructions of the New Negro.

The New Negro as the inspiration for a genre of African American art, music, and literature—known as the New Negro, or Harlem, Renaissance—was most clearly articulated in an anthology entitled *The New Negro*, published in 1925 by Howard professor Alain Locke. Like Lucy Slowe, Mary Burrill, and New Negro artists such as Countee Cullen, Richard Bruce Nugent, Wallace Thurman, and possibly Langston Hughes, Locke was primarily attracted to his own sex. Possibly, the promise of modernism held a particular resonance for these sexual outsiders.[82]

In addition to the New Negro Renaissance, however, Howard University professors were actively involved in exploring the racial implications of modernity through other disciplines as well. Some of the most revered African American intellectuals of the second quarter of the twentieth century served on the faculty at Howard, and they used their positions to explore the role of African Americans within U.S. democracy and culture. Such social theorists included E. Franklin Frazier, Ralph Bunche, Rayford Logan, Charles Hamilton Houston, and Charles H. Thompson. The faculty, staff, and students of Howard also put a New Negro approach to work within the university. The early 1920s in particular were a time of contention and protest at Howard, as the university community debated how quickly to embrace the promise of modernity to effect racial change.[83]

In keeping with the biases of the early twentieth century, however, social commentators tended to assume maleness when discussing the New Negro, a reality that aggravated many African American women who were working diligently to achieve the intersectional goals of racial and gender equality.[84] Thus, a counternarrative of New Negro womanhood emerged, as—in the words of historian Treva B. Lindsey—"both

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[80] Lindsey, *Colored No More*, chapter 1; Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 3–13.

[81] Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 16, ebook accessed 02/23/2024 through ProQuest Ebook Central; Noliwe M. Rooks, *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 17–19.

[82] Stewart, *The New Negro*, 5–13; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 52–67; The LGBTQ aspects of the Harlem/New Negro Renaissance have been explored in multiple chapters of the LGBTQ NHL Theme Study; see, Harris, "'Where We Could Be Ourselves': African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter," 13.7-13.14; Baim, "Sex, Love, and Relationships," 17.25-17.26; Springate, "LGBTQ Civil Rights," 18.12-18.13.

[83] Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth*, 11–39; Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Education*, 57–60; Logan, *Howard University*, 207, 220. Both Bunche and Logan lived in the 1500 block of Jackson Street, NE, in the 1940s, two blocks from the Slowe-Burrill House.

[84] Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 84–85.

individually and collectively, African American women…sought to more fully articulate their political, consumptive, social, sexual, economic, and professional desires. New Negro womanhood was a discursive, imagined, and lived space for African American female claimants of a new horizon for which African American women could strive."[85]

Lindsey situates Washington, DC, as a center of New Negro thought and activism, due to its vibrant African American intellectual community and preponderance of middle-class Black professionals. Furthermore, she identifies Lucy Diggs Slowe as a key figure in the articulation of New Negro womanhood, because of her fight for equal treatment for women staff and students at Howard. Lindsey claims:

> Under the leadership of Slowe, Howard University became a unique space for New Negro women's voices to arise. Her personal life, specifically her intimate partnership with acclaimed Washington writer Mary Burrill, also contributed to how Slowe defied contemporaneous gender and sexual norms at Howard and in black Washington.… Sharing a home and their lives together pitted Slowe and Burrill against heteropatriarchal expectations for African American women of their stature. Through her work as an administrator at Howard, as a national education activist, and as a writer focused on African American women, Slowe distinctively strove to debunk and reshape prevailing African American gender ideology. Her intimate relationship with an African American woman refused a heteronormative scripting for her intimate life. Slowe's personal life and professional career fashioned a terrain in which new ideas about possibilities for African American women's lives could thrive.[86]

Lindsey is not alone in this assessment of Slowe's life and career. Gender studies scholar Tamara Beauboeuf-Lafontant frames her 2022 biography of Slowe around the concept of New Negro womanhood. She states, "Slowe's educational vision rejected outdated standards of respectability for women and racialized limits to campus belonging. She insisted that Black college women needed, and deserved to develop, their individual talents and decide—for themselves—what contributions to make to society."[87] Beauboeuf-Lafontant goes on to argue, "Slowe's outlook, however, derived from her participation in two contemporaneous interventions into sexist social dynamics. Specifically, the New Woman and the New Negro Woman identity movements supported her challenge to many of the educational structures that regarded Black women's minds and bodies as deficient and expendable."[88]

Slowe's advocacy for African American women's education, leadership, and equality places her at the intersectional nexus of early twentieth-century race and gender theory. Her insistence on women's self-determination and financial independence from men served the needs of all women, but they had particular resonance for women who chose to spend their lives with other women. By articulating "one of the most radical and gender-progressive standpoints" of New Negro womanhood, Slowe was on the cutting edge of envisioning racial and gender equality in the modern age.[89]

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[85] Lindsey, *Colored No More*, Introduction.
[86] Lindsey, *Colored No More,* Chapter 1, quotation from ebook 34.
[87] Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 3.
[88] Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 8-9.
[89] Quotation from Lindsey, *Colored No More*, Chapter 1.

Context: The Position of Dean of Women

Much of the acrimony between Lucy Diggs Slowe and her employer can be understood as a disagreement about the role the dean of women should play in the larger operations of Howard University. Slowe was part of a vanguard of women in higher education during the 1910s-1930s who understood the power of a college degree to create a more fulfilling and prosperous role for women in society. The Howard University Board of Trustees, at the urging of President Mordecai Johnson, instead took a far more traditional view of the dean of women position. They yearned for a docile dean who played an auxiliary role to university administration and concerned herself primarily with the moral supervision of women students. Lucy Slowe, however, refused to be sidelined.

The position of dean of women was established at the turn of the twentieth century to address the realities of coeducational universities. Such institutions became common in this era, as public universities in the midwestern states opened their doors to women students in an effort to keep their enrollment numbers up. These schools were newly opened and so lacked strong reputations and large endowments. As a result, they lost many prospective male students to longstanding private universities on the East Coast. Local public universities were assured of a more steady stream of students if they admitted women as well as men.[90]

Initially, in the late nineteenth century, oversight of women students took the form that Howard University seemed to desire in the 1930s. The dean of women in this earlier era often served as a maternal figure, monitoring women's moral behavior and reassuring parents by their presence that their daughters would not go astray if they went off to college. Over time, however, women in higher education began to imagine a significantly more progressive role for deans of women in the twentieth-century university, addressing the specific needs of women in the university while also ensuring that they received an education truly on par with men. The position professionalized, and women in these positions sought to learn from each other and to standardize best practices, in part through social scientific studies. Moral oversight was still a component of this work, but the role expanded to be much more about preparing a younger generation of women to succeed in a rapidly modernizing world.[91]

By the time Lucy Slowe completed her master's degree and moved into working with the DC public school system in 1915, the work of dean of women was further professionalizing. The University of Wisconsin and Columbia University Teachers' College (Slowe's graduate alma mater) offered graduate curriculum in women's deanship; journals were publishing studies of outcomes for women college students; and the National Association of Women's Deans was established a few years later, in 1917.[92]

While the professionalized position of dean of women was well established at historically White colleges by the 1920s, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) lagged in this regard. Given a social climate that assumed African Americans were intellectually and morally inferior to European Americans, HBCUs embraced a politics of respectability where they held their students to high behavioral standards in an effort to prove wrong the racial stereotypes. Such an approach was further enforced by the religious affiliations of many HBCUs.[93] Even Howard University, which was established by the federal government and did not

[90] Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator," 117–19; Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 28–30.
[91] Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator," 117–23.
[92] Rasheed, 123–35; Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 292.
[93] Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 19–46. Coincidentally, Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (b. 1945), a historian and professor at Harvard University who has written extensively about the history of African American women, grew up in the Slowe-Burrill House,

have an official church affiliation, had a tradition of being headed by presidents who were also ordained ministers.[94] And despite Slowe's ongoing disagreements with Howard's Board of Trustees, education scholar Elizabeth L. Ihle contends that in the 1920s, Howard was notably more progressive than other prominent HBCUs, such as Fisk and Hampton.[95]

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, multiple HBCUs either instituted the position of dean of women or reconceived the position in the ways that Slowe and the professional organizations she led advocated. By 1935, membership in the Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools, which initially met in conjunction with the NACW, had grown large enough that the organization became independent and started meeting separately. By that time, Black women were serving as deans of women at HBCUs such as Talladega College and Tuskegee University in Alabama, Fisk University in Tennessee, Shaw University in North Carolina, South Carolina State University, Alabama A&M University, and Tennessee State University. Among the early deans of women were several who had previously worked or studied with Slowe. Juliette Derricotte, dean of women at Fisk University from 1929 until her tragic death in 1931, and Marion T. Cuthbert, the first dean of women at Talladega College, knew Slowe through the YWCA, and both cited Slowe as an inspiration for their work. Hilda Davis, who was among the upperclasswomen at Howard that Slowe selected to serve as mentors to younger students, served as dean of women at Shaw University from 1932–1936 and at Talladega College from 1936–1952.[96]

Within this context, Slowe's position as a trailblazer for African American women's education is illuminated by the network of deans of women at HBCUs that she nurtured through her mentorship and organizations such as Alpha Kappa Alpha, the NACW, and the Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools. She was the first dean of woman at Howard University, which was at the progressive helm of the HBCU system. Slowe's fight to be treated as a professional had implications for her peers at other HBCUs, and her role in cofounding the Association of Deans of Women and Advisors to Girls in Negro Schools illustrates her efforts to modernize not just Howard, but the entire African American university system.

Disagreements with Howard University, 1925-1937

In addition to her professional endeavors, Slowe advocated for women's equality through her own employment battles with Howard University. When approached to serve as Howard's first dean of women, Slowe made sure to negotiate terms that would place her position on equal footing with male deans. President Durkee agreed; however, Mordecai Johnson, who replaced Durkee as university president in 1926, launched an ongoing effort to reduce Slowe's status vis à vis her male colleagues. Slowe's battle to retain the terms of her

living there from birth until 1956 when her family moved to another DC neighborhood. The family retained ownership of the house until the early 2000s. Dr. Higginbotham's sister lived in the house for about twenty years prior to the sale. Dr. Higginbotham's father, Albert Neal Dow Brooks, worked for the Association for the Study of African American Life and History with Dr. Carter G. Woodson, and Dr. Higginbotham's aunt, Julia Evangeline Brooks (1882–1948) was one of the incorporators of the sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, which Lucy Diggs Slowe helped to found at Howard University.

[94] Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth*, 18–20.

[95] Elizabeth L. Ihle, "Lucy Diggs Slowe," in *Women Educators in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994), 447, quoted in Herdlein, Cali, and Dina, "Deans of Women at Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 295.

[96] Several of these institutions had different names in the 1920s and 1930s; current names are used in this list. Margaret Smith Crocco and Cally L. Waite, "Education and Marginality: Race and Gender in Higher Education, 1940-1955," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2007): 78, 81; Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 56, 69; Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 94, 95, 96; "Wilson Hall," Tennessee State University Library, https://library3.tnstate.edu/library/bldgs/wilsonhall.htm, accessed February 21, 2024. Juliette Derricote was injured in an automobile crash in Georgia in 1931; she died after a segregated, Whites-only hospital refused to treat her.

employment was an embodiment of her feminist ideals and can be seen also as nascent LGBTQ activism, as detailed earlier in this nomination.

J. Stanley Durkee was Howard University's eleventh president, serving from 1918 to 1926, and he was the last of a long line of European American presidents of this African American-serving university. He was also, like most of his predecessors, a Congregational minister. However, the 1920s were decidedly different from the 1860s, when these traditions had begun. Durkee's tenure coincided with the start of the New Negro movement, and Howard's faculty—some of the leading thinkers on race and society in the United States—grew increasingly vocal in their demands that the university reside at the cutting edge of this movement, rather than staying mired in nineteenth-century ideas of white paternalism. Amid this faculty revolt, Durkee resigned as university president in 1926.[97]

After Durkee's departure, the university hired its first African American president, Mordecai Johnson, who would lead the institution for thirty-four years (1926-1960). Johnson was a Baptist minister, who came to understand his position at Howard as a higher calling in service to his race. As historian Zachery Williams puts it:

> In accordance with his mission and vision to make a significant contribution to the higher education of African Americans, Johnson set out to make Howard University a model for the entire country. With its placement in the nation's capital, Johnson had the perfect backdrop against which to develop this mission. He intended to make Howard a training ground for future leaders of the race. He was determined to train them for service to their communities, to the nation, and to the world. He believed that a thorough liberal education could properly train and develop individuals to impact social problems in the United States and around the world.[98]

Slowe and Johnson shared many of the same ideas about African American education, both seeing it as the main tool for challenging racism and oppression. This common motivation is ironic, because Slowe and Johnson had a famously acrimonious relationship. By numerous accounts, Johnson was a complicated figure who left a mixed legacy at Howard. While he is rightly credited with transforming the university into a leading research institution of the twentieth century, he often accomplished his goals through autocratic decision-making that strained the goodwill of more faculty than just Lucy Slowe. As a minister, Johnson also tended to conflate high-quality education with moral discipline, and he sought to instill both in Howard's undergraduates. Such a pairing was increasingly at odds with twentieth-century trends in scholarship and ideas about academic freedom. Thus, Johnson had a fair number of contentious relationships with Howard faculty members.[99]

Nevertheless, Johnson seemed to take particular umbrage with Slowe's modern interpretation of womanhood. He was not an advocate for women's equality and repeatedly clashed with Slowe over the parameters of her position. Her requests for a salary increase were rejected by the university in 1926, 1927, and 1929. In 1928, she instead requested a part-time student position in her office, and this too was denied.[100]

A particularly notable incident in 1927 illustrates the clash between Slowe's feminist interpretation of her role and Johnson and some of her other colleagues' more conservative approach to gender issues. In January 1927, Slowe received a complaint from the parent of a woman student, stating that Professor Clarence Mills, then head of the Howard Department of Romance Languages, had used inappropriate language and discussed

[97] Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth*, 11–39.
[98] Williams, 40–41.
[99] Williams, 40–66; Lindsey, *Colored No More*, Chapter 1.
[100] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 133.

sexual topics with his students. Other women students corroborated the story. The parent and Slowe agreed that Slowe would have an informal talk with Mills about his behavior; this she did on January 10, and the matter appeared to be resolved. The next day, however, Slowe received a vitriolic letter from Mills in which he accused Slowe of "blackmailing my character and attacking my name" and accused the female students who had raised the issue of consorting in "a cat house" (slang for a brothel) with men. He went on to demean Slowe by stating, "You forget you are merely the Dean of Women and not the custodian of morals of the male teachers of Howard University...."[101] Mills went so far as to impugn Slowe's own moral character, with an insinuation that could be seen as a reference to Slowe's relationship with Burrill: "And if what I can hear about your character is true, you would be summarily dismissed from Howard University and made hall matron of the principal whore houses in Washington."[102]

Slowe discussed the letter with Dudley Woodward, dean of the Howard School of Liberal Arts, within which Mills's department resided. Woodward agreed with Slowe that they needed to inform President Johnson of the situation, which they did. They showed Johnson Mills's letter, and Slowe advocated that he be terminated immediately. Johnson, Woodward, and Slowe agreed that, to avoid negative publicity for the university, Mills would be allowed to finish out the term, which was to end in March, and then quietly be relieved of his duties. However, this did not come to pass. Johnson conferred with Mills, and the two decided that Mills would apologize to Slowe.[103] When Mills returned for the following term, Slowe inquired why he had not been removed. In her words:

> The President then called a conference of the Deans on the Hill and the Registrar and asked them in my presence whether they thought Prof. Mills ought to stay. No formal action was taken on the matter, but one Dean expressed the opinion that because Prof. Mills was sick he should be given a chance to get well and remain at the University....I said that if he was so sick that he did not know what he was doing when he insulted me and the students of the University, he was too sick to remain on the staff....Finally, the matter was presented to the Trustees and Prof. Mills was given a year's leave of absence with half pay. He spent his year at the University of Chicago and secured the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He could not have been very sick to have been able to do this.[104]

In the undated memorandum where Slowe described the above incident, most likely written in the early 1930s, she concluded:

> From the time this case happened down to the present, I have not had the cordial support of the President. When the time came to raise salaries, he raised mine $200 and raised other Deans with qualifications no better than mine in amounts ranging from $850 to $1150. He, without explanation, [excused] me from his conferences with the Academic Deans, although prior to 1930 the Dean of Men and the Dean of Women had sat with the Board of Deans. He has never sympathetically studied the real work of the Dean of Women, and still seems to have a wrong conception of her function. He confuses her with a matron. He seldom comes to any function

[101] Clarence H. Mills to Dean Slowe, January 11, 1927, folder 80, box 90-4, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 135–36. The incident is discussed in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 134-38; Patricia Bell-Scott, "To Keep My Self-Respect: Dean Lucy Diggs Slowe's 1927 Memorandum on the Sexual Harassment of Black Women," *NWSA Journal* 9, no. 2 (1997): 70–76. The Bell-Scott article includes the full memorandum about the incident that Slowe wrote for her files.
[102] Quoted in Beauboeuf-Lafontant, *To Live More Abundantly*, 90.
[103] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 134–38; Bell-Scott, "To Keep My Self-Respect," 73–74.
[104] Lucy Diggs Slowe, undated memorandum [probably early 1930s], reprinted in full in Bell-Scott, "To Keep My Self-Respect."

> sponsored by the Department of the Dean of Women and cannot have first hand knowledge of her work. I have tried in every way to correct this but can get no co-operation from the President.[105]

Although the Mills incident indisputably revealed a stark difference in Slowe and Johnson's approaches to women at Howard University, the pair's conflicts had begun before 1927 and continued long after. In fact, the university's first attempt to have Slowe live on campus occurred in 1925, during the presidency of J. Stanley Durkee. By 1925, Durkee was coming under increasing criticism from faculty and students, and it seems the university trustees may have seized this moment to question the terms of employment he had reached with Slowe. In June 1925, Emmett J. Scott, writing for the Howard University Board of Trustees, informed Slowe that it was the opinion of the board that she should move onto campus. Slowe responded by outlining a professionalized vision for her position and countering the more traditional role the board seemed to be espousing:

> If the members of the Committee will consult some outstanding authorities on the function of the Dean of Women, they will discover that in the judgment of women who had had years of experience with university women's problems that the best interests of women students are <u>not</u> served by the presence of the Dean of Women on campus.
>
> The Dean of Women is too valuable an officer of the University to have time devoted to minute details of dormitory administration, when her time should be occupied with the larger problems of housing, social conditions, health, vocational guidance, discipline, student self-government, associating the University in women's affairs with other universities and making contacts for the University with various agencies outside its walls....I should like to refer the Board of Trustees to the American Association of University Women, representing every first-class university in the country, for its opinion of a Dean's living on campus.
>
> In the next place, it is a reflection on the Women students of the University that they need some one [*sic*] to watch them at night or at any other time to compel them to do right because someone is watching. When I find students who cannot be placed on their honor, I ask them to withdraw from the University...Any other course of action would be contrary to sound educational practice in enlightened communities and could not be defended by us.[106]

From there, Slowe enlisted the help of Mina Kerr, executive secretary of the American Association of University Women, who sent a letter to the university agreeing with Slowe's assessment of current thinking on the question of women's deans living on campus. In December 1925, Slowe sent a list of her duties to President Durkee, outlining her work in seven areas of student life: scholarship, health, housing, vocational guidance, employment, social life, and student self-government. He enthusiastically thanked her for the information, and the question of her moving onto campus was dropped for the time being.[107]

With regard to Slowe's conflict with President Johnson, her salary requests were denied in 1926 and 1927, before and during the issue with Professor Mills. And yet, Slowe believed that their relationship only grew worse in the aftermath of that conflict. In late January 1930, Slowe wrote to Johnson once again listing her responsibilities and again requesting a salary increase. She noted that her salary was $3,500 annually, while

[105] Ibid.
[106] Slowe to Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1925, folder 90, box 90-2, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 124–25.
[107] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 125–28.

another (male) dean earned $3,900 and still another, also male, earned $4,150. Johnson once again denied her request for a raise.[108] Also in 1930, Johnson stopped including Slowe, and it appears the dean of men as well, in deans' meetings.[109]

In 1933, at Johnson's urging, the Howard University Board of Trustees voted to require Slowe to live on campus, a move she vigorously opposed—both because of its inherent gender disparity (no male deans were required to do this) and because of the financial hardship it would cause. Explicitly to Slowe, she would incur financial loss by selling the house so soon after she had invested in various home improvements. One might see in this argument a greater concern for the financial hardship to her partner, Mary Burrill, if Burrill and Slowe were forced to live separately.[110] Slowe once again reminded the trustees of the terms of her employment that she had negotiated before accepting the position. But this time, in response, the chair of the Board of Trustees, Abraham Flexner[111] stated,

> It is plain that President Durkee's letter exceeded his authority and is not binding upon the present or future Board of Trustees.... I think it would be hard to justify residence on the part of the Dean of Women at a distance of two miles [the distance of Slowe's Kearny Street residence to the Howard University campus]. On the other hand, I concede that the Dean of Women ought not at the same time be mistress of a hall burdened with the minute details of the latter.[112]

Three days later he wrote, "If the persons now connected with Howard University cannot conduct its affairs with the dignity that is characteristic, we will say of Fisk University, we have no other recourse except a change in personnel." Fisk University's dean of women lived on campus.[113]

Another letter from Flexner may on the surface read as an attempt at reconciliation. However, if the university's efforts were indeed an attempt to coerce Slowe to stop living with Mary Burrill, can also be seen as an attempt to call Slowe's bluff:

> I should be very glad if you prepare for me a careful statement setting forth the financial situation in which the Board places you [by requiring you to live on campus]. Meanwhile, I cannot but believe that your presence in easy reach of women students will enable you to exercise a wholesome influence more effectively than in any other circumstances without violating in any way the privacy to which you are entitled.[114]

During this same period, spring 1933, Howard's Board of Trustees made the decision to eliminate the bulk of the women's program, firing the women's physician, women's dietician, and director of women's dormitories. The creation of the women's physician position had been a major achievement of Slowe's early

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[108] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 133–34.
[109] Lucy Diggs Slowe, undated memorandum [probably early 1930s], reprinted in full in Bell-Scott, "To Keep My Self-Respect."
[110] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 81–82; Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator," 262–63; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 176–82.
[111] Flexner served as the secretary of the General Education Board (1912–1928), an influential philanthropic organization that focused on supporting higher education and medical schools in the United States, helping rural White and Black schools in the South, as well as modernizing farming practices in the South. Teresa Iacobelli and Barbara Shubinski, "'Without Distinction of Race, Sex, or Creed': The General Education Board, 1903–1964" *RE:source* (from the Rockefeller Archive Center online exhibit, 2013), accessed February 27, 2024, https://resource.rockarch.org/story/the-general-education-board-1903-1964/
[112] Flexner to Slowe, April 24, 1933, folder 57, box 90-3, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 177.
[113] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 177–78, quotation from 178.
[114] Flexner to Slowe, May 18, 1933, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 183–84.

years as dean, as it both supported the physical health of her charges (who were presumed to be hesitant to visit a male physician with their health concerns) and created another position at Howard for a female professional. Upon the elimination of these key elements of women's student services, Slowe declared that the Howard Trustees had "destroyed, in one day, practically everything that I had built up over a period of eleven years."[115] In response, women students at the university launched a campaign to change the administration's decision, requesting to meet with the president and submitting a petition. The administration, however, blamed Slowe for the protest. Flexner once again made a veiled threat to Slowe's continued employment with the university. "And now may I say in conclusion that if you are wise, you will do everything in your power to cultivate on the Howard campus an entirely different spirit."[116]

In the summer of 1933, Slowe wrote:

> It is obvious to me and to many people in the University that the President is seeking a way to humiliate or inconvenience me, so that in desperation I will give up the Deanship.... He suggested to me on August 15th that I devote myself to teaching and then I could stay home. It means nothing to him that I am one of the few trained and experienced Deans in the country.... Howard women graduates all over the country are writing me about the matter, for they see in it not the mere change of residence for the Dean, but a change in the status of the position.[117]

And indeed, not only Howard alumni, but other women in the field of higher education came to Slowe's defense. The African American press reported on the ongoing situation, and by the fall of 1933, none other than Mary McLeod Bethune, a leader of the African American women's club movement and one of the most influential African American women in the country, stepped in to support Slowe. Contacting various associates of hers on the Howard Board of Trustees, Bethune, along with Slowe's other supporters, appears to have convinced the board to cool their efforts to reduce Slowe's influence and make her move onto campus.[118] Writing to Slowe in November 1933, Bethune said:

> I shall use my own sane methods to get certain things to the attention of those who need to know them and I am sure of results. Just be patient and understand that we are with you. I think that the demonstration the girls made at your twelfth anniversary dinner and their sentiment as is expressed all over the country ought to give you great cheer. Keep your head up and stand by your task. All will be well.[119]

Although some of the more flagrant efforts to diminish Slowe's standing at Howard were quelled and she never did relinquish her private residence with Mary Burrill, tensions between the Howard administration and Lucy Slowe continued for the rest of her tenure. They ended in October 1937 with her death. She was only fifty-four years old but had high blood pressure that led to the kidney failure that killed her. In the words of one biographer, "Apparently, Slowe considered this relationship [with Mary Burrill], the home life she protected, and the profession she loved to be worth the fight of her life." The Slowe-Burrill House on Kearny Street represents Slowe's struggles against the paternalistic view of women in higher education as well as her desire

[115] Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 98, including quotation.
[116] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 178–81, quotation from 178.
[117] Slowe to George Crawford, August 17, 1933, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 192.
[118] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 183–206.
[119] Bethune to Slowe, November 18, 1933, folder 28, box 90-2, Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Miller and Pruitt-Logan, 199–200.

for privacy relative to her committed same-sex partnership with Mary Burrill.[120]

Relationship to Mary Burrill

Lucy Diggs Slowe first met Mary Burrill in 1912. Slowe, at the time, was teaching English at Baltimore's African American high school. Burrill was also an English teacher, working at Washington, DC's M Street High School, also a segregated African American public school. In 1915, within three years of starting their relationship, Slowe moved to DC. Sometime between 1918 and 1923 the pair began living together, an arrangement they would continue until Slowe's death in 1937.[121]

Mary Powell Burrill (c. 1882-1946) was born in Washington, DC, and graduated from M Street High School (later named Dunbar High School) in 1901. She then went on to become one of the first African Americans to earn a degree from Emerson College of Oratory (later Emerson College), in 1904. After graduating, she taught English, speech, and dramatics, primarily at M Street High School, for thirty-eight years. In addition, she served as director of the School of Expression, a part of the Conservatory of Music, from 1907 to 1911. There, she also taught elocution, public speaking, and dramatics.[122]

In addition to her teaching career, Burrill was a playwright associated with the New Negro Renaissance. She is best known for two of her plays, *Aftermath*, which was published in the *Liberator* in 1919, and *They That Sit in Darkness*, also from 1919, which was initially published in the *Birth Control Review,* a magazine edited by family-planning activist Margaret Sanger. During the 1920s, Burrill revised *They That Sit in Darkness* and published the new version, titled *Unto the Third and Fourth Generations,* in the 1930 Emerson Yearbook.[123]

Scholars situate Burrill as a member of a small, influential group of Black female playwrights from the early twentieth century who shared a middle-class background, received a classical education, and wrote about African American women's lives. In addition to Burrill, this group included Alice Dunbar Nelson, Angelina Weld Grimké, and Georgia Douglas Johnson. Their work was recognized and promoted by prominent early-twentieth-century commentators on African American life and culture, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Montgomery T. Gregory, and Alain Locke, and together their writing influenced later African American playwrights such as Lorraine Hansberry, author of *A Raisin in the Sun*.[124]

As a teenager, Burrill appears to have had a romantic relationship with fellow playwright and later fellow teacher, Angelina Weld Grimké. Grimké wrote a series of romantic poems to Burrill, and although the

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[120] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 81–82; Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Not a Matron but an Administrator," 262–63; Rasheed, "Lucy Diggs Slowe, Howard University Dean of Women," 180–89.

[121] Most secondary sources list Slowe and Burrill living together beginning in 1918; however, some directories indicate that they lived at separate addresses until 1924. Part of the confusion likely stems from the delays in this era between collecting information and having it printed in a city directory. For information on where they may have lived when, see Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 79; Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 76; Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," 8.12; Molly Ricks to Kathryn Smith, "DOI Mail - Lucy Diggs Slowe Research," October 12, 2017.

[122] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 78–79; Kathy A. Perkins, ed., *Black Female Playwrights: An Anthology of Plays before 1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 55–56; Claire M. Tylee, "Womanist Propaganda, African-American Great War Experience, and Cultural Strategies of the Harlem Renaissance," *Women's Studies International Forum* 20, no. 1 (February 1997): 155.

[123] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 38–39; Perkins, *Black Female Playwrights*, 55; Tylee, "Womanist Propaganda, African-American Great War Experience, and Cultural Strategies of the Harlem Renaissance," 157.

[124] Abramson, "Angelina Weld Grimké, Mary T. Burrill, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Marita O. Bonner: An Analysis of Their Plays"; Deanna Lynette Downes, "Towards a Queer Black Feminist Theatre Aesthetic: Black American Theater by Three Black Feminist Playwrights in the Years 1915-1920." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 2015).

romance did not last long, the two remained close friends and professional colleagues.[125]

As an adult, Burrill partnered with Lucy Diggs Slowe, and together the two became an important part of African American women's leadership circles in the nation's capital. Their shared home was a regular gathering place for women students, educators, and activists, and their peers recognized them as being in a committed long-term relationship, without delving into the question of whether the pair were lovers. Letters to Slowe regularly include references to the two women entertaining together and requests that Slowe convey the letter writers' regards to Burrill.[126] When Slowe became ill with the kidney disease that would eventually kill her at age fifty-four, Burrill became her primary caretaker.

Upon Slowe's death, friends and colleagues addressed their condolences to Burrill, as they would to a grieving spouse.[127] When the chair of the Howard University Board of Trustees wrote such a letter, Burrill sent a scathing reply to all board members and the press, claiming that Howard's administration had repeatedly undervalued Slowe when she was alive. "Howard University had in its midst in the person of Lucy D. Slowe a great woman but its President and Board of Trustees could not see it."[128] Burrill also organized Slowe's papers for posterity, tellingly donating them to Morgan State University, an HBCU in Baltimore, rather than Howard University. (Morgan in turn donated the collection to Howard in 1966, twenty years after Burrill's death.)[129]

In Slowe's handwritten will dated September 10, 1937 (the month before she died), she directed a trustee to convey the house and lot at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, to herself and Mary Burrill as joint tenants and not as tenants in common, explaining that Burrill had "contributed her personal money to the purchase and carrying charges" of the property. She further informed her executor that "all the household furniture" at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, "with the exception of the furniture in the front bedroom on the second floor" was the property of Burrill.[130]

A codicil to her handwritten will, dated October 13, 1937 (a week before her death), corrects the deed conveyance of the house, stating that in "a subsequent agreement" Slowe and Burrill had decided to hold the real estate as tenants in common and not as joint tenants. Tenants in common do not hold equal rights to the full property; instead, each owns a share of the property. The implication is that when one tenant in common dies, their share of ownership does not pass automatically to the surviving owner. In her codicil, Slowe amended her will to convey her one-half interest in the property to her sister, Nellie Slowe Hawkes.[131]

Slowe died on October 21, 1937, and by April 2, 1938, Mary Burrill was living at 1111 Columbia Road #309. However, a year after Slowe's death, her heir Nellie Hawkes conveyed the half ownership stake in 1256 Kearny Street, NE, to Mary Burrill, and census records confirm that Burrill was living there with an adult niece

[125] Terborg-Penn, *African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920*, 70–71.
[126] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 79.
[127] Beemyn, 79.
[128] Quoted in Beemyn, 80.
[129] Beemyn, 83; Greta S. Wilson, *Finding Aid: Lucy Diggs Slowe*, 175 (Washington, DC: Digital Howard @ Howard University, 2015), https://dh.howard.edu/finaid_manu/175.
[130] Last Will and Testament of Lucy D. Slowe, September 10, 1937, "Estate File of Lucy D. Slowe" (November 1, 1937), 1937 ADM 053280, Executive Office of the Mayor Archives, Washington, DC. The author thanks Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, for locating the estate file and compiling the information in this and the following paragraph.
[131] Codicil, October 13, 1937, "Estate File of Lucy D. Slowe"; "Difference Between Joint Tenancy and Tenancy in Common," *Black's Law Dictionary*, 2023, https://thelawdictionary.org/article/difference-between-joint-tenancy-and-tenancy-in-common/.

and two nephews who were minors.[132] In 1940, Burrill secured a loan from the Perpetual Building Association of the District of Columbia to pay off debts on the property, and in 1941, she sold the property.[133] Upon her retirement from the DC public school system in 1944, Burrill moved to New York City; she died there in 1946.[134]

In joining together in long-term domestic partnership, Lucy Slowe and Mary Burrill shared a life trajectory similar to many professional women of their generation. Indeed, female partnerships were a common enough occurrence in the early twentieth century that they constitute a broad national pattern. Whether or not these relationships involved a sexual component, they are crucial to understanding women's entry into the professions, because they allowed women to pool their resources, live outside of heterosexual marriage, and maintain their respectability. In addition, because such partnerships enabled women to support themselves, they also played a critical role in enabling women who *were* attracted to other women to pursue such relationships, and thus these early twentieth-century female partnerships are significant to LGBTQ history, whether or not these relationships were themselves sexual.

Context: Early-Twentieth-Century Female Partnerships

Female partnerships among educated women, such as the relationship between Lucy Diggs Slowe and Mary Powell Burrill, were surprisingly common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so common in fact that there was a term to describe this phenomenon. They were known as "Boston Marriages," a reference to the novel *The Bostonians*, by Henry James (1886), which described a fictitious female couple who were active in social reform.[135]

Many changes took place in American society during the Progressive Era (1880-1920) that help explain the proliferation of these domestic arrangements. These changes include women's increasing access to higher education and professional work; expanding roles for women; a societal critique of traditional marriage and motherhood, which led some women to reject these roles altogether; and the ongoing double standard of morality, by which women were held to stricter standards of behavior than were men. These larger societal changes led many women to form lifelong partnerships with other women, and as a result, many such pairings outlasted the Progressive Era, continuing into the mid-twentieth century. This was the case with the partnership of Slowe and Burrill, whose relationship began in 1912, developed into a cohabitation around 1918, and continued until Slowe's death nineteen years later in 1937.

To begin with, the late nineteenth century witnessed the rapid expansion of opportunities for women to receive a college education, something virtually impossible before the Civil War. Although a variety of seminaries and finishing schools offered post-secondary education to women in the antebellum period, these institutions were not on par with the country's colleges and universities, the vast majority of which did not allow women to attend. This changed in the twenty years after the Civil War with an explosion of women's colleges, including Vassar (1865), Smith (1872), Wellesley (1875), Atlanta Baptist Female Academy (1881,

[132] Document 1939017191, Roll 7357, Frame 347, dated December 28, 1938, recorded June 13, 1939, Washington, DC, Recorder of Deeds, https://otr.cfo.dc.gov/node/381242. U.S. Census, 1940, District of Columbia, E.D. 488, Sheet 13B, Lines 44-47. Burrill's niece is listed as 32-year-old Clara Guy, formerly of New York City. The two minors were Bruce (6 years) and Barrington (11 years) Guy.
[133] Document 1940030858, Roll 7525, Frame 231, September 27, 1940, Washington, DC, Recorder of Deeds, https://otr.cfo.dc.gov/node/381242; Document 1941026274, Roll 7648, Frame 571, August 5, 1941, Washington, DC, Recorder of Deeds, https://otr.cfo.dc.gov/node/381242.
[134] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 80.
[135] Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Women's Press, 1985), 190–95.

now the HBCU Spellman College), and Bryn Mawr (1886). Howard University, the school Lucy Slowe attended, opened as a coeducational facility in this era as well, in 1867. By 1880, over a third of college students in the United States were female, and these numbers only increased with the approach of the twentieth century.[136]

In college, women were exposed to an unprecedented range of opportunities, far beyond the traditional female roles of wife and mother. And significant numbers of college-educated women chose to pursue other paths. Between 1880 and 1900, about 10 percent of American women never married, but about 50 percent of female college graduates remained unmarried in this same period.[137] College may have introduced this wider range of options, but they were in fact made possible by the expansion of professional work that occurred during this same era. Longstanding areas of work—such as architecture, teaching, law, and medicine—professionalized in the late nineteenth century, introducing new standards of practice, training, and licensing. In addition, new professions emerged in response to new needs created by rapid urbanization. Public health, urban planning, social work, psychology, and sociology all became established as fields of specialty during the Progressive Era.[138]

To be clear, the professions were not equally open to men and women. Gender discrimination was widespread, to the point that many traditionally feminine roles—such as education, healing, midwifery, and charitable work—were absorbed by the newly emerging professions, which in turn favored men in compensation and advancement. Nevertheless, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented the first era of U.S. history when large numbers of women at least had a chance of supporting themselves in a comfortable manner. (Working-class women, of course, had been working since the advent of wage labor, but without male wage earners in the household, these women struggled to survive on their wages alone.) Even among the female professional class, lower wages for the same work as men meant that many unmarried women chose to partner with other women in the same situation so that both could live more comfortably by pooling resources.[139]

Such significant changes in gender roles did not go unnoticed. The popular press christened the generation of women born in the 1870s and 1880s (such as Lucy Slowe and Mary Burrill) "New Women." The major characteristics of New Women, the press proclaimed, were their challenge of traditional gender roles and their desire to contribute to society and their own personal fulfillment. This stereotype most certainly did not apply to all women of this generation. Popular portrayals invariably cast the New Woman as White and middle class, and even among this group, many chose to embody a more traditional ideal of womanhood. Nevertheless, a significant number of women—of all ethnicities and classes—embraced the new opportunities for women in

[136] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 52; Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 13–18.
[137] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 14.
[138] Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Don S. Kirschner, *The Paradox of Professionalism: Reform and Public Service in Urban America, 1900-1940* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Gary R. Lowe and P. Nelson Reid, eds., *The Professionalization of Poverty: Social Work and the Poor in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1999); Robyn Muncy, "Gender and Professionalization in the Origins of the U.S. Welfare State: The Careers of Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, 1890-1935," *Journal of Policy History* 2, no. 3 (July 1990): 290–315, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898030600004760; Daniel J. Walkowitz, "The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s," *American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (October 1990): 1051–75.
[139] Walkowitz, "The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity," 1063–65; Mary P. Ryan, *Mysteries of Sex: Tracing Women and Men Through American History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 209–12; Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

the public sphere, including higher education, social reform, professional work, and participation in the suffrage and labor movements. And among this group of New Women, some formed partnerships with other women who shared their passions for the work of improving society and expanding women's role. Within this context, it seems reasonable to see how such a partnership would be more appealing than traditional heterosexual marriage for many New Women.[140]

And yet, amid all the expanding opportunities for women during this era, societal assumptions about marriage did not keep pace. It was nearly unheard of for married women to work for wages unless it was required for the family's survival. Similarly, marriage was assumed to lead to children, and even though average family size decreased steadily during this era—evidence of increased use of birth control—a married couple who remained intentionally childless was still a social anomaly. Married couples experienced tremendous social pressure to become parents. Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century, women by and large had to choose between marriage and motherhood on the one hand and fulfilling professional work on the other. As mentioned previously, 50 percent of college-educated women between 1880 and 1900 opted to remain unmarried.[141]

Unmarried women faced challenges beyond the issue of lower wages, however. Even though heterosexual marriage was largely incompatible with women's careers, it was not yet socially acceptable for a woman to live alone. There was a societal assumption that a woman alone was of questionable moral character. In addition, because of this assumption about moral character, women alone were often approached and harassed by men they did not know. This situation was all the more dangerous for African American women, who were generally assumed in this era of segregation to be of loose moral character, regardless of their actual behavior, and were in constant danger of sexual predation from European American men. Thus, unmarried women needed to find living, travel, and social arrangements that would allow them to maintain their reputations and to stay safe from unwanted sexual attention. Female partnerships provided an acceptable means of accomplishing these tasks.[142]

Within this context, the reasons behind the preponderance of female partnerships in the early twentieth century become clear. To women inspired by the opportunities newly open to them, the choice to forego traditional marriage and instead share their lives with another woman engaged in the same revolutionary work must have seemed for many a far better choice. All these long-term pairings demanded a commitment—some might say devotion—to each other. Many involved love and a good deal became same-sex marriages in all but legal terms. The historical pattern of female partnerships demonstrates the futility of delineating relationships solely on the basis of whether they involved a sexual component.[143] These pairings challenge the homosexual/heterosexual binary, and thus are significant to LGBTQ history, as well as the larger history of gender and sexuality.

While early twentieth-century female partnerships were initially seen as an acceptable (but not equal) alternative to heterosexual marriage and escaped association with the medical construction of homosexuality as a sexual perversion, this public acceptance began to change in the years leading to the ratification of the

[140] Ellen Carol DuBois, *Suffrage: Women's Long Battle for the Vote* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), 134; Ann Heilmann, ed., *Feminist Forerunners: New Womanism and Feminism in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Pandora, 2003); Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).
[141] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 13–18, statistic from 14; Trisha Franzen, *Spinsters and Lesbians: Independent Womanhood in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 75–77.
[142] Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*, 21–42; Franzen, *Spinsters and Lesbians*.
[143] Brown, "Queer or Not."

Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. As the debate surrounding women's suffrage became increasingly intense, opponents of suffrage began portraying women who desired the vote as abnormal, because they were not content to adhere to traditional understandings of femininity. The insinuation of gender deviance, which at the time was conflated with homosexuality, brought middle-class women in female partnerships under a heightened degree of scrutiny. In the 1920s, a backlash against women's political gains further connected these female partnerships to lesbianism in the popular imagination. Quite likely, this larger cultural shift played an important role in Howard University leadership's desire to force Slowe to move on campus, effectively preventing her from continuing to live with Burrill.[144] Also, within this context, Slowe's fight to be treated equally to her male peers at Howard University—to earn equal pay for equal work, to have her academic credentials recognized and compensated, and to live off-campus with the person she had chosen to spend her life with—takes on larger significance. More than a personal struggle, Slowe's career encompasses some of the major trends of her historical era.

Property Justification and Comparable Properties

The house at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, best represents the career of Lucy Diggs Slowe because it is associated with the height of her career as an educator and advocate, encompassing the entire time she spent as Howard University's first Dean of Women, 1922-1937. The property best represents Slowe's activism because it was from this residence that she waged her ongoing battle with the leadership of Howard to be treated equally to her male peers.

This property best represents the partnership of Slowe and Burrill because it was the couple's home for fifteen years, and one that they (officially, Slowe) owned. It thus best represents the economic benefits and stability offered to professional women who partnered with other women in the early twentieth century and demonstrates that female partnership was a viable option for professional African American women.

Comparable Properties

Other properties associated with Slowe's professional accomplishments include the following:

Shaw Junior High School was initially located at the former M Street High School (128 M Street, NW, Washington, DC), until 1928. This was the school where Slowe served as founding principal from 1919-1922. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRIS# 86002924), this building represents a consequential element of Slowe's career, but it does not represent the apex of her national influence.[145]

Slowe Residence, 1758 T Street, NW, Washington, DC. Slowe (and, according to some sources, Burrill) lived at this address from 1918 to 1921, while Slowe worked first at Armstrong Manual High School and then

[144] Rouse, *Public Faces, Secret Lives*, 5–14; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870-1936," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985), 245–96; Estelle B. Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 199–225.

[145] Antoinette J. Lee, "M Street High School, Washington, D.C.," National Register of Historic Places Nomination 86002924 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, October 23, 1986), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117692291. Note that Shaw Junior High School is also listed on the National Register, but this nomination pertains to the school's post-1928 location. Kim Prothro Williams, "Shaw Junior High School, Washington, D.C.," National Register of Historic Places Nomination 08001206 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, December 28, 2008), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117691716.

Shaw Junior High School. This building still stands and is a contributing building within the National Register-listed Strivers' Section Historic District, NRIS# 85000239.[146] Although Slowe lived here during her productive career, her association was relatively short-lived in comparison to her house on Kearny Street house and her accomplishments while living here were largely limited to the local educational context.

Slowe Residence, 1744 K Street, NE, Washington, DC. Slowe (and possibly Burrill) lived at this address from 1921 to 1922, while working at Shaw Junior High School and negotiating the terms of her position at Howard University. This building no longer stands.[147] Again, Slowe lived here during her productive career, but her association was relatively short-lived and her accomplishments while living here were limited.

Female Campus, Howard University, Washington, DC. This section of the Howard University campus was opened in 1931 to serve the specific needs of women students. Slowe was the major impetus behind the creation of the female campus, which included three women's dormitories, a women's dining hall, and various student services aimed at female students. It embodied many of Slowe's ideas about female educational autonomy and empowerment and allowed her to test out many of her theories about leadership development and student self-governance. However, it represents only the final few years of her career. It also is not as closely associated to her struggles to live off-campus and is not associated with the Slowe-Burrill partnership. The former female campus is now part of Howard's Harriett Tubman Quadrangle.[148]

Research using Howard University's annual catalogs from the 1920s and 1930s indicates that Dean Slowe's office was likely located in either Main Hall or Miner Hall on the main quadrangle. Both buildings are no longer standing.[149]

Other properties associated with African American women who advocated nationally for Black women's education are represented by National Historic Landmarks such as the Mary Church Terrell House in Washington, DC (NHL 1975) and the Mary McLeod Bethune Home in Daytona Beach, Florida (NHL 1974). Both women had a large impact on education but were not as active in the administration and organization of equity in higher education for women, like Slowe.

Of properties associated with the historical pattern of early-twentieth-century middle-class female partnership, very few relate to African American couples. There are several National Historic Landmarks associated with White women who maintained long-term relationships with women. However, none of these NHL nominations recognized this significant trend explicitly. Examples of long-term female partnerships linked to existing NHLs include Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois (NHL 1965);

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[146] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 76; Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," section 8, page 12; Ricks to Smith, "DOI Mail - Lucy Diggs Slowe Research," October 12, 2017; Suzanne Ganschinietz, "Strivers' Section Historic District, Washington, D.C.," National Register of Historic Places District Nomination 85000239 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, December 21, 1984), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117692512.

[147] Miller and Pruitt-Logan, *Faithful to the Task at Hand*, 76; Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," section 8, page 12; Ricks to Smith, "DOI Mail - Lucy Diggs Slowe Research," October 12, 2017.

[148] Perkins, "Lucy Diggs Slowe: Champion of Self-Determination," 92; Lindsey, *Colored No More*, chapter 1. The Tubman Quadrangle was completed in 1932. Slowe helped lead the effort to build these modern dormitories for Howard's female students. While Howard University's campus contains two National Historic Landmarks (the Oliver Otis Howard House and the Rankin Memorial Chapel, Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall, Founders Library District), neither landmark designation encompasses the Tubman Quadrangle.

[149] Howard University's annual catalogs are available through Moorland Spingarn Research Center's Digital Collections: https://dh.howard.edu/hucatalogs/. The 1923–24 and 1926–27 catalogs note that deans' offices were located in Main Hall. By 1931–32, the offices of the Deans of Men and Women are listed as being temporarily located in Miner Hall, which was formerly the women's dormitory. In 1931, Miner Hall dormitory was replaced by the Women's Quadrangle (nee Female Campus), a capital improvement project championed by Slowe herself.

and author Sarah Orne Jewett's and Annie Addams Fields's Jewett House in South Berwick, Maine (NHL 1991). Educator M. Carey Thomas had a stable partnership with philanthropist Mary Elizabeth Garrett, but their home at Bryn Mawr College no longer stands (Thomas is recognized with an NHL at the M. Carey Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, NHL 1991). These sites represent European American women partnerships, but cannot speak to the unique African American experience of women partnered with women.

Using the National Park Service's LGBTQ Theme Study, the NHL database, various statewide LGBTQ contexts and historic sites inventories, along with scholarly works such as historian Cookie Woolner's dissertation and book *Black Lady Lovers*, the author found few analogous examples of Black domestic partnerships represented by an extant house or other property. The only other comparable property identified that represents a long-term partnership between two Black women is Azurest South in Petersburg, Virginia, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is currently being studied for National Historic Landmark designation.[150] Azurest South was the home of African American educators Amaza Lee Meredith and Edna Meade Colson, both professors at Virginia State University, another HBCU. This property has a later period of significance (1939–1984). In addition, while the significance of the Slowe-Burrill House lies in part in the couple's success at fitting into a middle-class ideal of respectability, the significance of Azurest South lies in Meredith and Colson's challenge to those ideals. Their home is a one-of-a-kind structure, employing high-modernist design on the exterior and African motifs on the interior, essentially creating a monument to the women's self-determination and flouting the segregationist, sexist, and homophobic culture of mid-twentieth-century Virginia, which caused African Americans, women, and same-sex couples to live in constant danger.

Woolner, in her book *Black Lady Lovers*, explores other African American domestic and romantic partnerships that warrant further investigation for association with extant properties. Some partnership examples revealed by Woolner include writers Dorothy West and Marian Minus who lived together for ten years in New York City and then on Martha's Vineyard. Their house on Martha's Vineyard still stands.[151] Others include A'Lelia Walker, heiress and daughter of millionaire Madam C. J. Walker, and her secretary Mayme White who lived together in New York.

[150] Calder Loth, Mary Harding Sadler, and James Hill, "Azurest South, Petersburg, Virginia," National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1993), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41680146. The National Historic Landmark nomination for Azurest South, authored by Susan Ferentinos, has been submitted and as of December 2023 is under review by the National Park Service.

[151] Mark Alan Lovewell, "Dorothy West's East Chop Highlands Home" The African American Heritage Trail of Martha's Vineyard, accessed March 7, 2024, https://mvafricanamericanheritagetrail.org/trail-sites/dorothy-wests-east-chop-highlands-home/.

6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s): X
Public-Local:	District:
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing		Noncontributing	
Buildings:	1	Buildings:	0
Sites:	1	Sites:	0
Structures:	0	Structures:	0
Objects:	0	Objects:	0
Total:	2	Total:	0

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated.)

Architectural Description

The property at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, is a two-story, asymmetrical frame dwelling clad in wood siding (1 contributing building) set on an 0.17-acre lot (1 contributing site) that contains a steep slope up from the street, ornamental trees and shrubs, and a set of stone access stairs and retaining walls. Located in the Brookland neighborhood of Washington, DC, the house faces south and sits on a hill high above the sidewalk. The 1890 cottage features a cross-gable form, a one-story, two-bay wood porch fronting the street, and a second-story oriel window above the porch. The main entrance is located on the west side of the building, while the east side features a square projecting bay with multi-light wood casement windows on the first floor. The house has a large, steeply sloping front yard with two terraced levels and a grassy, largely level, fenced backyard, with narrow side yards to the east and west. The rear of the house has been extended on both the first and second stories. Despite modifications made to the house to accommodate later occupants, the building retains its form, materials, and primary design features that identify it as the modest, middle-class home that Slowe and Burrill purchased, occupied, and maintained together from 1922 until Slowe's death in 1937. (Figure 8)

Location

1256 Kearny Street, NE, is situated on Lot 3 in Square 3930 in Northeast Washington, DC, in a neighborhood known as Brookland. This square is bounded by 12th Street, NE, to the west, 13th Street, NE, to the east, Lawrence Street, NE, to the north, and Kearny Street, NE, to the south. The house stands on a steep hill

above the street and is accessed by a stairway comprised of flagstone steps. Square 3930 is a residential area that developed slowly between the late 1880s and the late 1930s. The historic character of the block remains evident with the exception of the lot directly west of 1256 Kearny, which contains a contemporary dwelling built in 2005.[152]

The Brookland neighborhood is located in the northeast quadrant of Washington, DC, in an area known for its preponderance of churches and for being the home of Catholic University. In the 1920s, when Slowe and Burrill moved to this location, Brookland was predominantly European American, but throughout the 1930s increasing numbers of middle-class African Americans moved into the neighborhood. Another Howard University professor, poet Sterling A. Brown, moved two doors down from Slowe and Burrill, at 1222 Kearny Street, NE, in 1935.[153] Other well-known Howard professors Ralph Bunche and Rayford Logan also lived in the neighborhood, though after Slowe's residency.[154] The Slowe-Burrill House is approximately two miles northeast of the Howard University campus and about two-and-a-half miles northeast of Dunbar High School, where Mary Burrill worked.[155]

Site Description

The Slowe-Burrill House lot occupies the north side of Kearny Street. The lot includes a steep incline extending up from the sidewalk. The slope is retained at its base by a historic low, stone retaining wall with an irregularly coursed, rock-faced ashlar pattern and ribbon-style mortar joints. The uppermost row of ashlar blocks forms a cap and feature irregular, rough-cut edges. The retaining wall runs the full width of what was the original double lot that Slowe purchased in 1922. A stone staircase extends north up the slope providing access to the front of the house. The staircase features irregular, rough-cut stones framing either side of the steps and a bent-iron railing that terminates in scrolls. Two roughly square stone posts frame the base of the flagstone stair that leads up to the house. An intermediate stacked-stone retaining wall extends to the east of the staircase at about the mid-point of the slope. This intermediate retaining wall appears to be more recent than Slowe's occupancy.

The slope is planted with mature shrubs and groundcover to the east of the staircase. To the west, the slope is largely covered with low groundcover plantings. At the top of the staircase, a decorative iron gate opens onto a short stone path that leads to the main entrance. The gate appears to be historic though its design does not

[152] District of Columbia, "HistoryQuest DC," n.d., https://dcgis.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=4892107c0c5d44789e6fb96908f88f60.
[153] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, chaps. 2, n147. Brown is associated with the New Negro Renaissance in art and literature and was appointed Washington, DC's first poet laureate in 1984. He joined the Howard University English Department in 1929; see Marya Annette McQuirter, "African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC" (Washington, DC: Cultural Tourism DC, 2003), 40, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/African%20American%20Heritage%20Trail%20Brochure.pdf.
[154] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, chaps. 2, n147; Bunche, a political scientist and diplomat, moved to 1510 Jackson Street, NE, in 1941. This property is now listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Melissa Plotkin and Glen Leiner, "Ralph Bunche House, Washington, D.C.," National Register of Historic Places Nomination 93001013 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, September 30, 1993), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117691995; historian Rayford Logan lived at 1519 Jackson St., NE, beginning in 1939. DC Historic Preservation Office, "Civil Rights Tour: Education - Rayford Logan, Historian - 1519 Jackson Street NE (Site)," DC Historic Sites, n.d., https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/963.
[155] Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 79. Dunbar High School was located at 101 N Street, NW; it was demolished in 1977; Amber N. Wiley, "The Dunbar High School Dilemma: Architecture, Power, and African American Cultural Heritage," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 20, no. 1 (2013): 95–128, https://doi.org/10.5749/buildland.20.1.0095.

match the historic iron staircase railings.

The lot levels out at the top of the staircase, and the stone path to the entrance continues around the west side of the house. A non-historic wood privacy fence encloses the rear yard and connects to the house near its rear wall. The backyard is dominated by grass with one mature tree near the house's northwest corner, and a non-historic concrete-paver patio adjacent to the rear wall of the house. The remainder of the lot features grass and small plantings near the house foundation and along the lot's perimeter.

The house has a narrow side yard to the east, which is taken up by the dining room bay window and the exterior entrance to the basement. During the period of significance, the west elevation opened on an expansive yard and garden. Historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, who lived at 1256 Kearny Street, NE as a child in the 1940s and early 1950s, recalls, "After climbing the steep steps going up to the house, I always admired…the magnificent yard to the side of the house…. As a child, I was told that the large side lot contained Lucy Slowe's tennis court. She was an avid tennis player, but the tennis court was gone while I was a child."[156] In 2004, the original lot was subdivided, and a house now stands where the west lawn once stood. What remains is a narrow side yard leading to the main entrance of the house.[157] According to Higginbotham, in the mid-twentieth century, "The landscape surrounding the house was beautiful—lots of shrubs, trees, rose beds, a peach tree, and later an apple tree." Currently (2023), the lot contains one mature tree in the rear yard and scattered shrubs and other plantings.

House Description: Exterior

The Lucy Diggs Slowe and Mary Burrill House is a two-story wood-frame house clad in wood weatherboard, constructed with Queen Anne architectural detailing. It is situated on a hill well above the sidewalk. The house originally sat on a brick foundation, but damage required replacement of portions with concrete block parged on the exterior. The rear of the house was extended by Slowe and has been extended again by subsequent owners. The basement, once only under the main portion of the cottage, was enlarged on the north side (under the rear addition), and an exterior basement entrance was added. The date of the basement extension is unknown.

The building has wood weatherboard siding, which is original to the house, with decorative wood octagonal-butt shingles located within the top portion of the front and east-facing gables atop the two bay windows. Asbestos siding was placed over the wood siding in 1948, but, according to the current owner, the asbestos siding was removed by the house's previous owner, circa 2004.[158] The house is currently painted blue with white trim; the house's color during the period of significance is unknown. The cross-gable roof is clad in asphalt shingles. The eaves are open with no decorative cornice.

The south elevation of the dwelling, which faces Kearny Street, has a two-bay, one-story wood porch that runs the full width of that side of the house. The porch floor is wood tongue-in-groove flooring. It rests on painted brick piers, and its minimally sloped roof with wide eaves is supported by three full-height Tuscan

[156] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham to Kathryn Smith, "Lucy Diggs Slowe House," November 17, 2023. Dr. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham is a historian who has written about the history of African American women. Her father, Albert Neal Dow Brooks worked for the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. Dr. Higginbotham's aunt, Julia Evangeline Brooks (1882-1948) was, coincidentally, one of the incorporators of the sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, which Slowe helped to found at Howard University.
[157] District of Columbia, "HistoryQuest DC"; Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," 7.7.
[158] DC Building Permit 308431, Microfilm Reel 790, People's Archives, DC Public Library, Washington, DC.

columns. A plain wood railing with square wood balusters encloses the three open sides of the porch, so that the porch can only be accessed from the interior of the house.

The south elevation contains two bays at the first story; the west bay contains a pair of wood and glass, single-light doors that extend the full height of the porch and are framed by a simple wood surround. In the east bay, there is a fixed sixteen-light replacement window with applied muntins. This window also runs to the top of the porch. The porch ceiling's wood beadboard appears to be historic. Above the porch, on the house's second story, a projecting gable features a three-sided oriel window. Each of the three windows in the oriel are double-hung, one-over-one vinyl replacement sash. Decorative octagonal-butt shingles appear above this oriel.

The house's main entrance is located on the west side of the building. A small two-story entry porch described in the 2020 National Register nomination has been enclosed on the first floor (the second story above the porch was previously enclosed), and a wooden stair and small square entry landing has been added. The entrance contains a replacement six-panel door with five-pane sidelights.[159] To the south of the main entrance are two inward-opening, hopper-type single-light windows situated at the top of the first story and just under the eaves of the porch. A small one-story, shed-roofed addition, comprising a mud room, has been added north of the main entrance. It has its own exterior entrance on the addition's north side. This entrance has a six-panel door and its own square wooden entry landing, accessible by one wooden stair. The second story of the west elevation features a three-sided projecting square bay that was likely in place during the period of significance. The second-story bay contains double-hung, one-over-one vinyl replacement windows on the north and south sides and paired double-hung, one-over-one vinyl replacement windows on its west elevation.

The rear (north) elevation represents a recent two-story addition to the building that did not exist during the period of significance. This addition is covered in cement siding. The first floor features a glass double-pane door in the east bay and a connected pair of six-light casement windows with applied muntins in the west bay. The door is level to the ground and leads onto a concrete-paver patio. The second story of this addition contains a single-pane vinyl window in the east bay and a pair of vinyl one-light casement windows in the west bay.

On the east side of the building adjacent to the rear extension, and enclosed by the backyard fence, lies a recently built poured-concrete window well for a basement window. A metal ladder leads into the window well and allows access to the window. The window well is surrounded by a metal safety fence.

The east elevation of the main side-gable section of the house features a first-story three-sided projecting bay supported by parged concrete piers. The windows in this bay are wood eight-light casements that are historic. The north and south windows of the bay are single eight-light casement windows, while the east wall of the bay contains a pair of eight-light wood casement windows. The east elevation of the original side-gable section of the house features a single one-light replacement window on its second story, centered above the first-story projecting window bay. The gable contains square-butt wood shingles in the lower two-thirds and octagonal-butt wood shingles in the top one-third.

Immediately to the north of the east bay window is a vertically oriented single-light vinyl casement window, and slightly off-center to the north is a double-hung, one-over-one second-story window, also a replacement in vinyl. To the north of these windows, a poured concrete exterior flight of stairs runs parallel to the house and provides access to a basement-level entrance, containing a flush metal door. The stairs begin at ground level on the north end of the east elevation and descend south. The stairwell is enclosed on the south and east side by an aluminum safety railing. This stairway is not original to the structure, and from the interior of the

[159] Griffitts and Wallace, "Slowe-Burrill House," 7.5.

house, it appears the entire north section of the basement was excavated sometime after the home's original construction.

On both the east and west elevations of the rear extension, vertical white trim marks the point where the non-historic rear addition, with its newer siding, begins. On the east elevation, the trim begins in the middle of the basement stairwell and runs to the roof, interrupted by a double-paned casement window at the edge of the addition.

House Description: Interior

First Floor

The main entrance of 1256 Kearny Street, NE, is located on the west elevation and opens into a small foyer that occupies the non-historic enclosed porch. The foyer leads into a front hall that is part of the historic building, from which one can proceed straight (east) into the dining room, right (south) into the parlor, or left (north) up the stairs to the second floor. The front hall retains original hardwood floors and door trim from the period of significance; however, its footprint and layout have been altered by the reconfiguration of the main stair in 2021-2022.

The parlor runs the width of the house with two interior entry points. The doorway from the front hall to the parlor is standard width and still retains its original bulls-eye molding. Another entry, from the dining room, lies to the east. This entry retains its original pocket door, though it has been painted shut. (The western entrance to the parlor does not appear to ever have had a door.) On the wall between these two parlor entrances (on the parlor's north wall) stands a brick fireplace with a simple wood mantel shelf. Evidence in the basement and the design of the brick chimney surround suggest that the fireplace was added or altered in the twentieth century, possibly during Slowe's occupancy.[160]

The south wall of the parlor features double full-light doors leading onto the front (south) porch. This exterior door retains bull's-eye molding that matches the interior entrances, indicating that this opening dates to the period of significance (although the door itself has been replaced). This exterior door is located across from the doorway into the front hall. The south wall of the parlor also contains a single front window overlooking the porch. The west wall of the parlor features two small single-light windows set high on the wall. The east wall features an original window opening trimmed with bull's-eye molding. The parlor floor is hardwood, and the walls are plaster, as they were during the period of significance.

A main feature of the dining room, located on the east side of the house, is the semi-octagonal bay window, which dominates the room's east wall. It retains its historic trim and wood casement windows, which all date to the period of significance. The dining room floor is hardwood, and the walls in this room are also plaster, as they were during the period of significance. Thus, the public areas of the house, where Slowe and Burrill demonstrated and maintained their roles as mentors, local intelligentsia, and exemplars of New Negro womanhood retain much of their integrity.

[160] While no building permit exists for this modification, the style and materials of the firebox and mantel along with Slowe's 1933 letter indicating that she "made numerous improvements to the house to make it more suitable for entertaining students," and that she met with students "around my open fire," point to the possibility that modifications to the fireplace were among the improvements she made prior to 1933. Letter quoted in Woolner, *Famous Lady Lovers*, 128.

To the north of the dining room lies a small butler's pantry, which leads into the home's kitchen. This area of the building has undergone multiple changes. Slowe and Burrill added a second-floor bedroom above the kitchen in 1932.[161] A 2005 renovation extended the kitchen, and in 2021-2022, both the second-floor north bedroom and the kitchen were further extended. During this most recent renovation, the stairway from the front hall to the second floor was reconfigured, and a foyer and mudroom were added on the west side of the first floor.

Second Floor

The second floor of the house contains three bedrooms and two bathrooms. A hallway runs south to north (from the front to the rear of the house). On the south end of the hallway lies the front (south) bedroom. This bedroom and the west bedroom retain their historic footprint and features. The south/front bedroom features an oriel window on the south wall. The windows have been replaced and a window seat has been added, but the oriel reflects the house's original design. The window trim is historic and matches other historic door trim seen on the second floor. The room retains its historic hardwood floors and plaster walls.

On the west side of the upstairs hall, over the foyer, is a modest-sized bedroom. The west wall of this bedroom juts out to create a rectangular nook, with windows on each of its three sides (north, south, and west). This nook was built above the west entry porch at some point, though the date is not known. The plain wood window trim with curved edges suggests this modification may have happened after Slowe and Burrill occupied the house. The closet (on the room's east wall) retains its original four-panel wood door and molded wood trim. The room also contains historic hardwood flooring and plaster walls.

The north bedroom, located in the rear of the house over the kitchen, is the largest of the three bedrooms and has recently been reconfigured from the 1932 suite configuration built for Slowe and Burrill.[162] In the 2021-2022 renovation, the back bedroom was extended approximately four feet to the north to cover the full extent of the kitchen below. No historic fabric remains visible in this room.

The east side of the second story, accessible from the upstairs hallway, is a bathroom. During the 2021-2022 renovations, this bathroom was expanded by removing a wall that previously demarcated a large bathroom closet.

Basement

The structure's basement is accessed from the front hall via a dog-leg staircase that was constructed in 2021-2022. (Originally, the basement was accessed via a door in the south wall of the kitchen.) The basement is unfinished and was expanded during one of the twentieth-century renovations. An exterior entrance was added on the east elevation, as was a window located to the north of the basement's exterior entrance.

Evolution of the House

The house at 1256 Kearny Street, NE, was originally built in 1890 as a two-story frame, cross-gable, L-shaped cottage, likely with a rear one-story kitchen wing. The full-width front porch was added in 1915. The main 1890 section contains the present-day front hall, dining room, and parlor on the first floor. These rooms

[161] DC Permit 158540, Microfilm Reel 486, People's Archive, DC Public Library, Washington, DC.
[162] DC Permit 158540, DC Public Library.

retain their size and general layout; they also display historic wood floors, window and door trim, and plaster walls. The parlor retains its historic fireplace and pocket door into the dining room, although this door is currently inoperable. The rear kitchen wing has been reconfigured, and little original material or design is recognizable. On the second floor, the original cottage appears to have contained at least two bedrooms that remain largely intact.

In 1932, Slowe and Burrill expanded and reconfigured portions of the house. A building permit from that year shows that they added a second story to the rear kitchen wing. They designed this second-floor addition as a bedroom suite. When the current owner purchased the house, the second story overhung the first story at the rear by approximately 4 feet, and there was an open shed constructed beneath the overhang. While the 1932 building permit indicated that no enlargement would be made to the footprint of the residence, it's possible that the contractor "cheated" and added the overhanging second floor to gain Slowe more square footage in the bedroom. The overhang is still visible in the trim that covers the transition in exterior wall cladding on both the east and west elevations. In 2005, the current owners enclosed and expanded the area under the overhang by bumping it out by approximately 4 feet; and in 2021-2022, they again, extended the bump-out on both the first and second floors.

The 2021-2022 Slowe-Burrill House renovation included a small expansion at the rear, removal, replacement, and relocation of the main stair, and a small west-elevation expansion to create a foyer and a mudroom. The kitchen was remodeled and the hallway leading to the kitchen was modified. On the second floor, the bathrooms and closets were reconfigured, trim and flooring replaced in some areas, and the rear bedroom suite expanded and reconfigured with all new finishes. The exterior design and materiality remain the same as prior to the renovation other than where the small expansions were added. On the first floor, the parlor and dining room remain largely intact; the hallway retains much of its historic character, along with two of the upstairs bedrooms.

Statement of Integrity

Although the property has been modified to meet each of its owners' needs over its 130 years of use as a dwelling, the exterior and interior features that remain still clearly represent Slowe and Burrill's use of the property. The property retains the essential physical features or character-defining elements that enable it to convey its historical association with Slowe and Burrill's occupancy. It continues to be readily recognizable as a late nineteenth-century middle-class cottage with minor modifications made through the 1930s. The public parts of the house—the front hall, parlor, and dining room—remain largely intact. These were the rooms where Slowe and Burrill entertained other professional African American women in Washington, DC, who comprised their social circle, and where they hosted events where Howard women (and possibly Burrill's female high school students) could mingle and network with female leaders of the day. While other portions of the house retain less integrity, these public spaces have changed little since the period of significance. When considered against the lack of other extant properties closely associated with the height of Slowe's career and with other properties that represent the broad historical trend of middle-class African American female couples, the Slowe-Burrill House retains a high degree of integrity.

Seven aspects of integrity are assessed in consideration of a building's degree of historic integrity: Location, Setting, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Association, and Feeling.

Location and Setting: The house and lot retain integrity of location and setting, as the house sits in the same location where it was built, and the surrounding block retains its historic character as a residential

neighborhood of single-family dwellings, developed at the turn of the twentieth century. The lot immediately to the west of the Slowe-Burrill property now contains a contemporary residence built in 2005, which is not in keeping with the historic character of the block. During the period of significance, this lot was part of the Slowe and Burrill property. Slowe used this area as a garden and may have maintained a grass tennis court at one time.

Design: Regarding design, the building now occupies a slightly larger footprint than it did during the period of significance, as detailed above. However, the exterior form and general layout of the house remains the same, and the public areas (front hall, parlor, and dining room) retain the bulk of their design elements. These include the distinctive dining room bay window, the parlor fireplace (mentioned in Slowe's June 2, 1933, letter to the president of the board of trustees of Howard), and the pocket door between the dining room and the parlor, as well as original wood floors, plaster walls, and decorative trim work.

Materials and Workmanship: The house retains its historic wood weatherboard siding, roof form, porch columns, historic radiator heating fixtures, and original building materials are evident in most of the house, especially in the most public gathering spaces. Plaster walls, hardwood flooring, molded baseboards, and decorative trim remain in the dining room, parlor, front hall, and south and west bedrooms. These elements combine to evoke the historic nature of the property and, in particular, the period of significance, 1922-1937.

Association: The property's association with Lucy Diggs Slowe is clear and well documented. This site was her primary residence during the entirety of her tenure as the first Dean of Woman at Howard University. She reached the pinnacle of her career while living at this site and faced her most significant professional battles. It is the home that she fought to remain living in despite her employee's desire for her to live on campus and supervise the female students. Slowe's office at Howard University was likely located in one of two buildings, now demolished, so this house has the strongest associations with her professional and personal struggle for parity with her male counterparts. It was also the site of mentoring sessions and salons held with her female students, representing her commitment to women's leadership development and her belief in the ideals of New Negro womanhood.

The property also best represents her partnership with Mary Burrill. The couple lived together for nineteen years, fifteen of which were spent living at 1256 Kearny Street, NE. This residence is where they lived their relationship day-to-day and where they presented themselves to the world as a partnership.

Feeling: Feeling is a property's ability to convey the historic sense of a particular period of time, or to express the ties between cultural significance and a specific place. The aspect of feeling results from the presence of physical features that, collectively, convey the property's historic character or the relationship between a place and intangible aspects of culture. The Slowe-Burrill House and lot still convey the feeling of an early-twentieth-century middle-class residence.

The feeling of the period of significance is clearly communicated on the exterior of the house and within the public areas of the interior (front hall, parlor, and dining room). Through its visible historic materials, design, and workmanship, the house conveys a strong sense of the era and of Slowe and Burrill's presence in this place. The dwelling still conveys its most important message from the Slowe-Burrill period: this was a solidly middle-class home, made all the more impressive by the fact that it was owned by two (officially) unmarried African American women. Two professional African American women made a home here, where they performed their roles as mentors, educators, and role models for future generations of African American women, and this fact is still clearly communicated by physical characteristics of the property.

Likewise, visitors to the house still get a sense of what was at stake in Slowe's battles with Howard

University about whether she should move onto campus. The house conveys a level of professional attainment and personal autonomy that would have been erased had Slowe capitulated to Howard and moved onto campus.

The upstairs bedrooms are also significant. It seems possible that Slowe and Burrill shared the larger front (south) bedroom during the first decade of their residency in the house, until they created a larger shared bedroom in the rear of the house in 1932. Here, they would have shared their most intimate moments. Alternatively, Slowe and Burrill may have occupied separate bedrooms. In either scenario, the integrity of the bedrooms remains significant. Even if the Slowe-Burrill partnership did not involve shared sleeping space, the private nature of the upstairs bedrooms represents these women's personal autonomy. Further research on Slowe and Burrill's use and layout of the rooms would help reinforce the historic feeling and associations of the property.

Taken together, the integrity of the front hall, parlor, dining room, and bedrooms conveys the story of Lucy Slowe Diggs, including both her personal aims, her professional struggles, and her twenty-year partnership with Mary Burrill.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_X_ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)

__ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 100005324
2. Date of listing: 10/05/2020
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A_X_ B _X_ C__ D__
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
6. Areas of Significance: Education

__ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office:

Other State Agency:

Federal Agency:

Local Government:

University: Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Collection 90-1 to 90-15, Howard University Special Collections, Washington, DC.

Other (Specify Repository):

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FIGURES

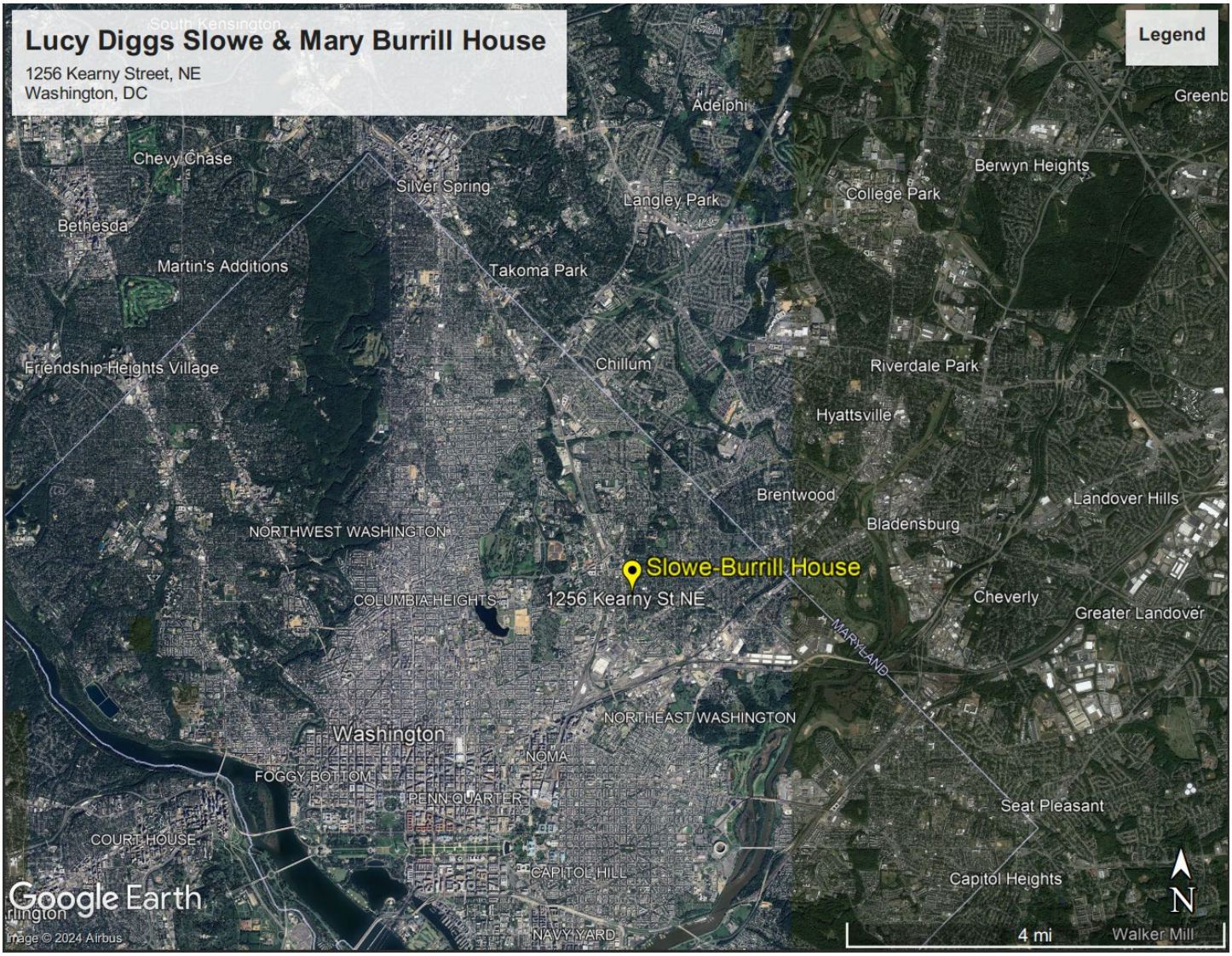


Figure 1. Satellite map showing the Slowe-Burrill House's location within the wider District of Columbia. Created March 2024 using GoogleEarth Pro.

Figure 2. Location Map. Bing maps satellite imagery showing 1256 Kearny Street, NE, and its surrounding neighborhood. Created March 2024. [Datum: WGS84]

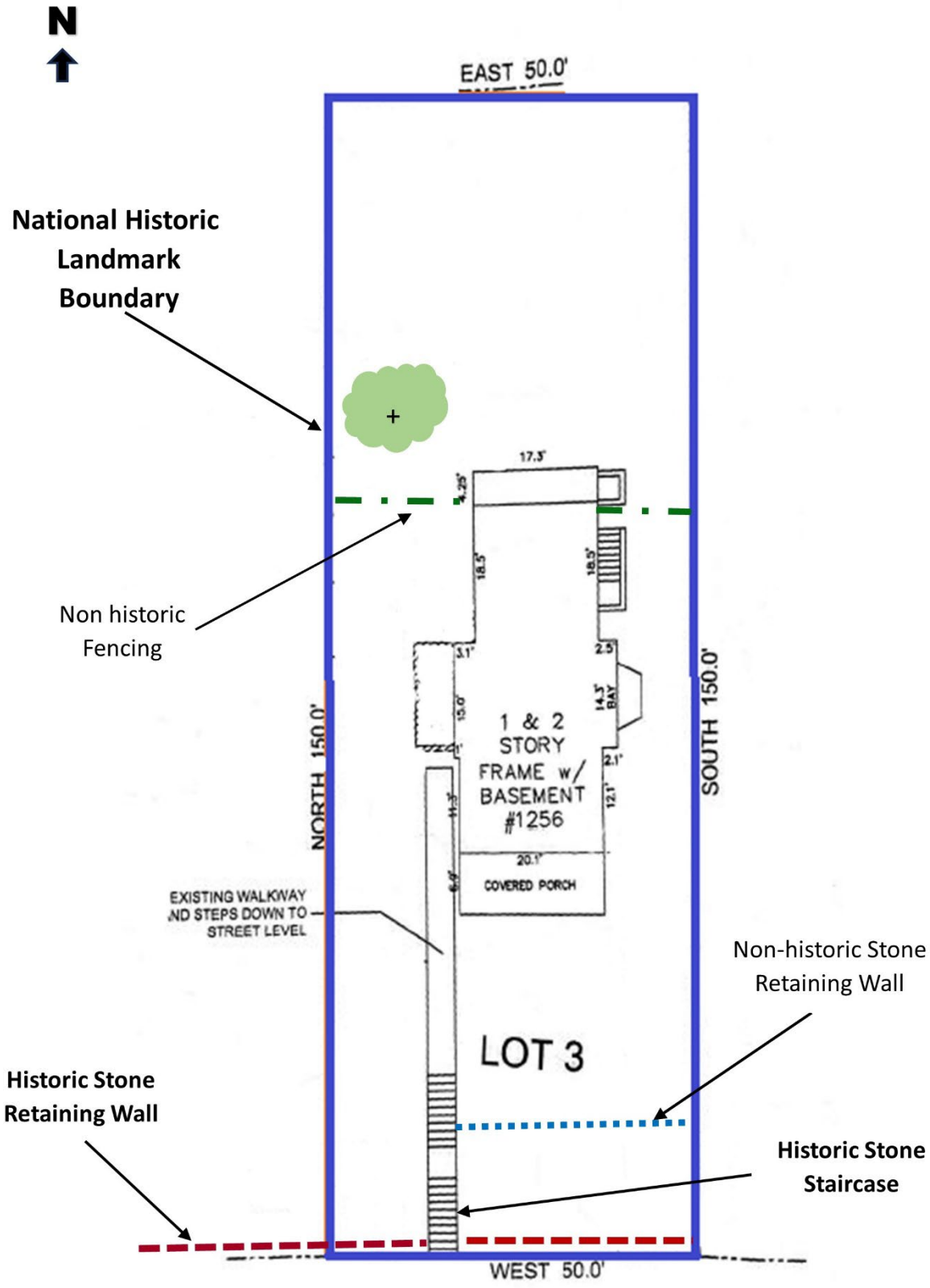
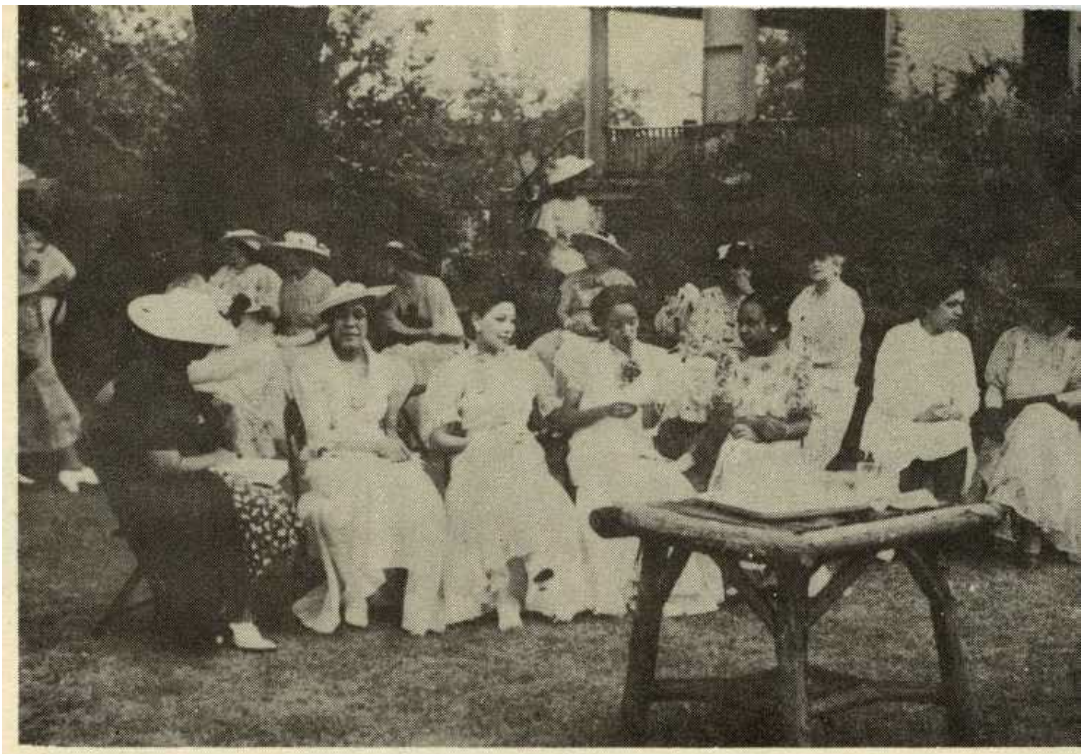


Figure 3. Slowe-Burrill House NHL Boundary and resource map. Created March 2024.

Figure 4. Portrait of Lucy Diggs Slowe taken when she entered into her duties as dean at Howard University (circa 1922), Dean Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Photo identifier: 090-P-013_229_009, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.



GUESTS AT DEAN LUCY D. SLOWE'S ANNUAL GARDEN PARTY

THE HOSTESS SMILES GRACIOUSLY IN THE RECEIVING LINE

Figure 5. Guests at Dean Lucy D. Slowe's annual garden party, no date. Slowe smiling in lower photo. Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Photo identifier: 090-P-013_230_025, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.

Figure 6. Meeting of Colored Deans Conference, March 1936. Slowe appears in the image to the left of the woman in the light-colored skirt. Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Photo identifier: 090-P-013_230_038, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.

Figure 7. Lucy Diggs Slowe (seated in chair) and Mary Burrill in the garden at their home at 1256 Kearney Street, NE, Washington, DC, 1932. Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Photo identifier: 090-P-013_229_004, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.

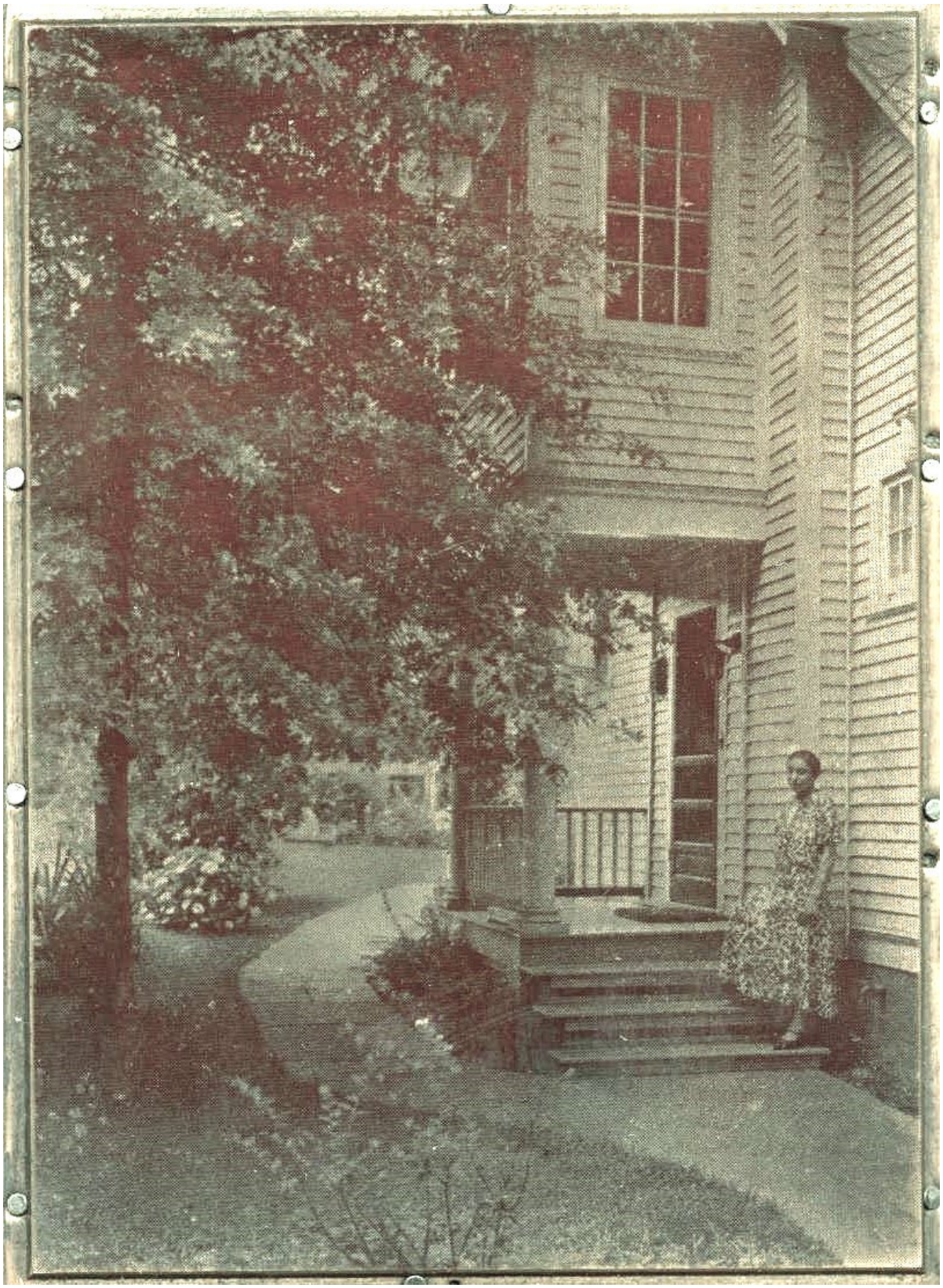


Figure 8. Copper plate of Lucy Diggs Slowe on the stoop of her house at 1256 Kearney Street, NE, Washington, DC [color corrected and reversed]. Lucy Diggs Slowe Papers, Photo identifier: 090-P-013_232_041, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC.

PHOTO LIST:

Photo 1 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0001)
South elevation. Camera facing north. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 2 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0002)
South elevation, showing flagstone steps, railing, and stone edging. Camera facing north. Photograph taken by Susan Ferentinos, April 2022.

Photo 3 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0003)
South elevation, showing front porch, oriel window, and octagon-butt shingles. Camera facing north. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 4 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0004)
Southwest elevation, showing gabled roof and enclosed west entryway. Camera facing northeast. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 5 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0005)
West elevation, showing main entrance. Camera facing east. Photograph taken by Susan Ferentinos, April 2022.

Photo 6 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0006)
West elevation, showing start of rear addition and change of siding. Camera facing east. Photograph taken by Sarah E. Canfield, National Park Service Intern, April 2022.

Photo 7 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0007)
North elevation, showing rear addition and west-side mud room addition. Camera facing south. Photograph taken by Susan Ferentinos, April 2022.

Photo 8 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0008)
North and east elevations, showing basement window well and east bay window. Note the white trim marking the start of the rear addition. Camera facing southwest. Photograph taken by Sarah E. Canfield, National Park Service Intern, April 2022.

Photo 9 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0009)
East elevation, showing basement stairwell and exterior basement entrance along with the start of rear addition and change of siding. Camera facing southwest. Photograph taken by Sarah E. Canfield, National Park Service Intern, April 2022.

Photo 10 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0010)
East elevation, showing bay window and square-butt and octagonal-butt shingles in the top third of the bay. Camera facing southwest. Photograph taken by Sarah E. Canfield, National Park Service Intern, April 2022.

Photo 11 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0011)
Interior, front hall and dining room, with entrance to the parlor on the right. Camera facing east. Photograph taken by Sarah E. Canfield, National Park Service Intern, April 2022.

Photo 12 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0012)
Interior, parlor, with fireplace, bull's-eye molding, wood floors, and doorway into the dining room. Camera

facing northeast. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 13 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0013)
Interior, parlor, with doors leading to the front porch. Camera facing southwest. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 14 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0014)
Interior, dining room, showing east bay window, decorative radiator cover, and part of the doorway into the butler's pantry. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 15 ((DC_Slowe Burrill House_0015)
Interior, dining room, showing decorative radiator cover, doorway into parlor, and doorway into front hall. Camera facing south. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

Photo 16 (DC_Slowe Burrill House_0016)
Interior, south bedroom, second floor, showing the oriel window. Camera facing south. Photograph taken by Kathryn G. Smith, National Park Service, November 2023.

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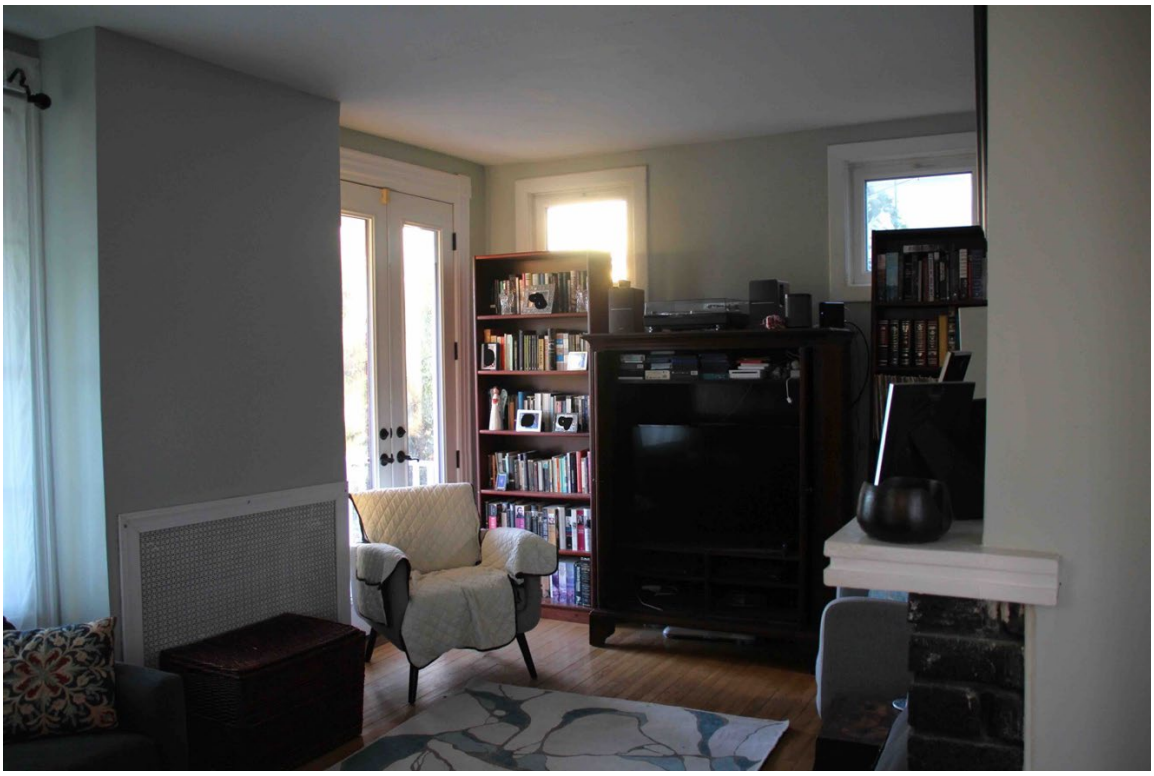

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