Deeds *and* Words Walk

Royal College of General Practitioners to
Royal College of Physicians

Start: Royal College of General Practitioners,
30 Euston Square, London NW1 2FB
Finish: Royal College of Physicians, 11 St Andrew's Place, London NW1 4LE
Walk duration: approximately 3 hours
Walk length: approximately 4.7 miles
Please note that there are cafés on the route, including on and around Tottenham Court Road, Great Portland Street, and Regents Street.

The title of this linear self-guided walk (passing the Royal College of Nurses and terminating at the Royal College of Physicians) deliberately nods to Emmeline Pankhurst's call to action but the misquotation ('and' instead of 'not') is deliberate. If words were not, in themselves, enough to equalise opportunities for women, up to and beyond the extension of the franchise in 1918, they had motivated and educated the women who pioneered their way into the professions. They had also helped to challenge entrenched attitudes to the place of women in society. A century and more on, they also document a past London cityscape.

Start

The current Grade II* listed building now owned by the Royal College of General Practitioners was built for the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Assurance Company here in Melton Street from 1906 onwards. Shortly before this building was erected, the social researcher Charles Booth had undertaken a poverty survey. His 1898 notebook deemed Melton Street purple, meaning 'mixed: some comfortable, others poor'. Around the corner, however, Booth notes that the properties on the Euston Road were business premises and hotels "all of which are now respectably conducted: the proprietor of one has been prosecuted and now has up a notice 'For men and travellers only'". One explanation for this wording may perhaps be found in the existence, just a couple of doors away, of The London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution which had been headquartered at 200 Euston Road from the late 1850s. This charity offered residential accommodation and training to young women and girls who might otherwise be at risk of resorting to prostitution for survival. In just ten months in 1869 it was reported that "178 friendless and distressed females of good character were admitted; 279 penitents were taken from the streets; 890 poor creatures were received into the Night Reception House…, which is for young females only, neither tramps nor vagrants being admitted." In the 1911 census, its premises now included both 198 and 200 Euston Road – the ages of the eight inmates ranged from 15-21 and the occupations of all were given as domestic servants. Although

we have celebrated the centenary of the extension of the franchise in 1918, it should be noted that even the two staff here, already over 30 years of age, may not have benefited as there was still a property qualification for women that did not apply to men.

Friends House, diagonally opposite from the College, was built on part of Endsleigh Gardens in the mid-1920s as a national headquarters for the Quaker movement. As crossing the Euston Road safely is difficult, it is recommended that you cross Melton Street first, and then Euston Road at the pedestrian lights, walking East along the Euston Road towards the gardens. The Society of Friends had an egalitarian reputation and prominent individuals though the generations have been advocates of social reform, such as campaigning to abolish slavery. However, the suffrage question was not a cause that found universal approval, particularly when more violent means were to be used. Nonetheless, Mabel Richmond Brailsford (1875-1970) would explore the historic experiences of non-conforming women confronting the state through the lens of contemporary experience in her *Quaker Women 1650-1690* published in 1915.

Alice Clark (1874-1934), however, was a Quaker executive committee member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who studied at the London School of Economics on a scholarship open only to women. She participated in the Great Pilgrimage of 1913 with a banner made by her sister Esther. Another sister, Hilda (1855-1955) was a doctor who had successfully treated her for tuberculosis in 1910. Hilda went on to found the Friends War Victims Relief Committee, and to champion other humanitarian causes. She is buried with her friend Edith Pye, a future President of the Royal College of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, with whom she had established a maternity hospital close to the Western Front between 1914 and 1918.

Turn right through the garden which has some key events in Quaker history commemorated on the path, including a mention for the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry (née Gurney, 1780-1845), and a Quaker campaign for same-sex marriage. Emerging into Endsleigh Gardens, turn left and then first right into Endsleigh Street.

From 1913, number **14** Endsleigh Street was the home of Jessie Margaret Murray (1867-

1920) and her friend, colleague, and putative partner Julia Turner (1863-1946) whom she had mentored into the medical profession. It also served as the initial consulting space of their Medico-Pyschological Clinic. Both women were members of the Women's Freedom League and Jessie of the Women's Tax Resistance League. Although Jessie donated funds to allow other members to buy back furniture that had been seized to cover tax debts, she refused to benefit from this herself. She also wrote the preface to *Married Love*, published by Marie Stopes (1880-1958) in 1918, noting that "it is calculated to prevent many of those mistakes which wreck the happiness of countless

lovers as soon as they are actually married." Jessie had also co-authored, with the journalist Henry Noel Brailsford (brother of Mabel, and member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage), *The Treatment of Women's Deputations by the Metropolitan Police*. This was a report on the police violence against women during the Black Friday March of November 1910. A deputation of women that had included Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (1836-1917), now in her mid-seventies, had been subject to aggressive policing. The Brailsford report's call for a public inquiry was ignored by the Home Secretary, one Winston Churchill.

Retrace your steps back to Endsleigh Gardens and turn left. Cross Gordon Street into Gower Place and stop at **Gower Court**. There were scientific laboratories at this corner of the main campus in the early twentieth century. It was alleged by two visiting Swedish women students (ordinarily studying at the London School of Medicine for Women, hereinafter LSMW), that, in one of them a dog was used in multiple experiments, that it was not anaesthetised and was in distress (to the amusement of the male students). The testimony of Emilie Augusta Louise "Lizzy" Lind af Hageby (1878-1963) and Leisa Katherina Schartau (1876-1962), prompted a public speech by Stephen Coleridge. Although a subsequent libel action found against Coleridge, public decency had been outraged by the 'Brown Dog Affair', resulting in the second Royal Commission on Vivisection, and also the (controversial) erection, in 1906, of a memorial to the dog in Battersea Park, paid for by public subscription. 'Fallist' male medical students sought to destroy the statue of the dog and have it thrown in the Thames. This burdened the local council with the substantial cost of round the clock police protection and rather than 'retain and explain', it was quietly taken down by the council overnight in 1910 and secretly disposed of.

However, the outraged students also disturbed suffragist meetings, including one organised by Millicent Fawcett. From this distance of time, it may not seem obvious that women's rights and animal rights should go together, but in many ways their causes were alike because neither were deemed "persons". Although there was not a complete crossover between opposition to vivisection and advancing the cause of women's suffrage, it was certainly not surprising that students from the LSMW (which did not employ vivisection) were politically engaged, and, indeed, Lizzy Lind would become a member of the Women's Freedom League as well as founding the Animal Defence and Anti-Vivisection Society. Also prominent in support of the brown dog statue was the so-called 'Mother of Battersea' Charlotte Despard (née French, 1844-1939), a founder member of the Women's Freedom League. We might also note a footnote in a mock-scholarly biography of a dog, by Virginia Woolf (née Stephen, 1882-1941) which mentions "the inscrutable, the all-but-silent, the all-but-invisible servant maids of history" whose lives were less easily recovered than those of their mistresses' pets.

The National Anti-Vivisection Society, of which Coleridge was secretary, had been founded by Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904) in 1875. Cobbe had also served on committees advocating for women's rights, including the right to vote, and also espoused them in her journalism. Her article *Wife torture in England* observes that the human male was "the only animal in creation which maltreats its mate", unfavourably contrasting bestial human cruelty with canine gentlemanliness, for example. After the second Royal Commission reported, UCL's Professor of Anatomy, George Dancer Thane was dissuaded from stepping down as a vivisection inspector by Churchill's successor as Home Secretary Reginald McKenna – the same man who defended the force-feeding of hunger striking suffragettes as "necessary medical treatment".

Walk to the end of the street and turn left into Gower Street. Cross it at the lights and turn right into Grafton Way, and cross it, turning right. Stop opposite the entrance to the **Elizabeth Garrett Anderson wing** of University College Hospital. No longer staffed exclusively by women, this is the successor to the defunct New Hospital for Women renamed after her in 1918, an institution which originated as her St Mary's Dispensary, near Marble Arch, which opened in 1866. Four years before that, while Elizabeth Garret was fighting the establishment to become the first openly female medical practitioner licensed in the UK, Frances Power Cobbe had noted that no man would dream of presenting themselves for advice or treatment for a cold or cut finger to "his grandfather, or his uncle, his butler or footman," adding that "Doctoring is one of the 'rights of women'… [I]f patients choose to go for advice to women, and women inspire them with sufficient confidence to be consulted, it is a piece of interference quite anomalous in our day… to prevent the woman qualifying herself legally." In 1891, objecting to the idea that emancipation meant becoming like men, Elizabeth's sister Millicent Garrett Fawcett, noted of the New Hospital for Women, "Not only from the immediate neighbourhood… but also from the far East of London do they come because "the ladies" as they call them… show their poor patients womanly sympathy, gentleness and patience, womanly insight and thoughtfulness in little things, and consideration for their home troubles and necessities."

Take the next left into Huntley Street and keep walking to the far end, crossing both University Street and Torrington Place and stopping at the junction with Chenies Street. On your right are the Chenies Street Chambers constructed and administered by the Ladies Dwelling Company. On the board were Elizabeth Garrett's sister Agnes and cousin Rhoda, both suffragists. These dwellings first opened round the corner in 1889 and were so popular that adjacent premises here in Huntley Street were added by 1897, affording residents a communal club room/dining room in the basement. The Company built a further block in York Street, Marylebone in 1892, where Edith Shove (1848-1929) would live for more than a decade.

She had been the first woman doctor given a public appointment, as medical officer responsible for the women in the Post Office, an appointment made by Henry Fawcett (husband of Millicent).
During the lifetime of the Company, these flats might only be occupied by single professional women and the only man habitually on the premises was the Hall Porter (who was, of course, respectably married). In flat 5 in the 1911 census we find Edith Sophia Hooper a writer, self-identified as a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, refusing to participate "as a double protest against the government's denial of the vote to duly qualified women, and its refusal, through the home secretary, of an enquiry into the treatment of the women on deputation by the police in November 1910."
Another significant woman who had resided here was Mary Louisa Gordon (1861-1941), recorded here as a General Practitioner in 1891. She would go on to be the first woman Prisons Inspector, and refused to resign when it emerged, from a police raid of the WSPU, that she had been in clandestine correspondence with Emmeline Pankhurst. Her 1936 novel about the women of Llangollen notes "No one thinks it remarkable now if two friends prefer to live together. They do so all over the country." One such pair living here in 1911 were medical students at the London School of Medicine for Women, Mildred Blanche Stogdon (1875-1964), and Gertrude Brooks (1875-?1960), subsequently an anaesthetist. Gertrude and Mildred's joint London practice at 2 Seymour Place (now Seymour Walk), does not appear in medical directories after the mid-1920s, and it may be then that they removed to Ringmer, Sussex, where they were still living together according to the 1939 Register.
Mary Gordon's neighbours in 1891 had included both a medical student at the LSMW and another graduate. The student was Ethel Mary Nucella Williams (1863-1948), who went on to be the first woman doctor in Newcastle upon Tyne and its first woman general practitioner and was co-founder of the Northern Women's Hospital and was a suffragist. She too would choose to live with her friend – the mathematician Frances Hardcastle (1866-1941). The graduate was Margaret Mary Sharpe (1854-?1926) who would go on to publish articles in the journal Archives of the Roentgen Ray, and whom the census enumerator somewhat misleadingly claims to be "practising as electrician". She was a signatory of the 1905 *Petition to the central educational authorities of England, Wales, Scotland & Ireland, distributed to the medical profession of the United Kingdom*, advocating health education in schools, including with reference to alcohol.

Turn right into Chenies Street and, at the end, cross Tottenham Court Road. Watch out for fire engines: the Geordie suffragette Kathleen Brown (1886-1973) reportedly commandeered one for the cause, driving it along this very road, during one of her visits to London. Imprisoned for her activism three times, she went on hunger strike in both Newcastle and London. After Kathleen's first hunger strike, she was examined by the GP Ethel Bentham (1861-1931), formerly the first practice partner of Ethel Williams. As a

result, Ethel (Bentham) wrote of her concerns about prison conditions to the Home Secretary.

Turning north up Tottenham Court Road, stop at the **corner** of Tottenham Street (first left), looking north. Hilda Margaret Byles (1879-1931) was a worshipper at what is now the American Church when she was studying at the LSMW. Only seven years after the Boxer rebellion of 1900 and relatively recently qualified, this "little woman of amazing energy and capabilities" left England to lead the women's section of the Renji Hospital in Hankou, Wuhan, China, where she spent the rest of her career.

Just beyond the Church, police intelligence, in 1912, suggested that suffragettes were using a shooting range at number 92 to practise their marks[wo]manship with a view to assassination, but it is far from clear that any plot actually existed beyond the imagination of the informant and the police force. Emmeline Pankhurst that year countering objections to activists supposedly endangering the lives of others, observed, "There is something that governments care far more for than human life, and that is the security of property", the endangerment of which had, in her view, even if not immediately, secured voting rights for working men. What followed was the Suffragette campaign targeting pillar-boxes, practical items of street furniture used symbolically in the writing of Virginia Woolf: the posting of a letter was a legitimate reason for a patriarchally controlled middle-class woman to be in the streets, unescorted because close to home, but it could also represent that patriarchy.

Turn left along Tottenham Street, crossing first Whitfield Street and then Charlotte Street, turning back to look across the street to **the corner** of Tottenham and Charlotte Streets.

The Scala Theatre once stood here (giving its name to nearby Scala Street). Long before it featured in the Beatles' film *A hard day's night*, it was the venue for the premiere performance of *A Pageant of Great Women* in 1909. Written by Cicely Mary Hamilton (1872-1952), co-founder of the Women Writers' Suffrage League, in collaboration with Edith Craig (1869-1947) of the Actresses Franchise League who directed and performed in it, this morality play introduced a cast of significant women from history as evidence against Prejudice (the only part given to a male actor). Scientific figures include Florence Nightingale and Marie Curie, who had won the Nobel Prize in 1903, and "the girl graduate of a modern day, working with man as eagerly and hard, and oft enough denied a man's reward." There are clearly some cross-overs between the show and Votes for Women processions, such as that witnessed by Ruth Slate the previous year featuring "Madame Curie, Black Agnes of Dunbar, Joan of Arc, Boadicea." Ruth added "I could not name half" which may suggest an educational motive for the entertainment, which went on to be very popular around the country. Edith Craig said, "Plays have done such a lot for the Suffrage. They get hold of nice, frivolous people who would die sooner than go in cold blood to

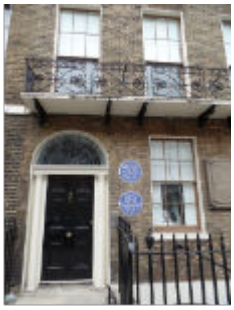
meetings. But they watch the plays, and get interested, and then we can rope them in for meetings."
Another AFL/WWSL production staged here that year was Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St John's *Pot and Kettle*, which exposed the hypocrisy of using violence to object to the use of violence in the suffrage cause. Christopher Marie St John (1871-1960) had been born Christabel Gertrude Marshall, and she had been in a relationship with Edith Craig since 1899. A third woman would join their household in 1916, the artist Clare 'Tony' Atwood (1866-1962).

Head north up Charlotte Street, stop at the **junction** with Chitty Street. Look west across the road, to the approximate site of number 51, the founding hostel of Mary Jane Kinnaird's YWCA, which was in the words of Baroness Burdett Coutts "a Home in which young women above the rank of domestic servants were boarded and lodged for a guinea a week. Some two years later this Home altered its character. Rooms were thrown open every evening except Saturday, for the use of young women engaged in business during the day, who were invited to make use of a good library, to join classes for French, German, singing, drawing, and to listen to lectures on various subjects." The original idea for a hostel seems to have been connected with Mary's interest in housing nurses stopping off in London *en route* for service in the Crimea.

Turn right into Chitty Street and then left up Whitfield Street, stopping opposite number

108, identified by the blue plaque as the second location of the first birth control clinic. A eugenicist, Marie Stopes (1880-1958) had been a student at UCL in botany and geology, and subsequently conducted palaeo-botanical research. The free 'Mother's Clinic', here, used midwives to advise on birth control, and teach contraceptive techniques, with the motive of promoting the health and well-being of mothers, and preventing abortions, somewhat like the centres, advocated by the Women's Co-operative League, where "expectant and nursing mothers... can come for advice and treatment so that they may be kept well and made well."

At the end of the street, turn right into Grafton Way and stop outside number **58**. As the blue plaque notes, this was the home of Francisco di Miranda. The army surgeon James



Miranda Steuart Barry was revealed to be physically female when the corpse was being prepared for burial. Born Margaret Ann Bulkley (c.1789-1865) it seems likely that the second forename was adopted in Francisco's honour, and the library here may well have helped with preparations for university study. It has been suggested that had Francisco not been arrested, the original plan had been for her James to revert back to Margaret *en route* to a medical career in Venezuela. James Barry, qualified

as a doctor in Edinburgh in 1812, more than fifty years before the Surgeon's Hall Riot, and in London as a surgeon the following year, nearly a hundred years before Eleanor Davies-Colley (1874-1934) became the first woman fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Head back west along Grafton Way and take the second right turn into Fitzroy Square. Stop outside number **4**, which housed The Female Medical College, later known as The Obstetrical College for Women. Founded in 1864 by Dr James Edmund the aim of this institution, despite its name, was merely to train educated women as midwives. Isabel Thorne (née Pryer, 1834-1910), Matilda Charlotte Chaplin Ayrton (née Chaplin, c.1846-1883) and Alice Vickery (1844-1929) had training here, before undertaking more complete medical training.

Alice was the first woman to qualify as a Chemist and Druggist through the Pharmaceutical Society's exam in 1873 and was one of the first five women to qualify from the LSMW. Another eugenicist, who advocated birth control, she was also a suffrage campaigner through successively the National Society for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Social and Political Union (hereinafter WSPU) and the Women's Freedom League. Although she was in a longstanding relationship that contemporaries took to be marriage, neither partner believed in the institution. Matilda was one of the Edinburgh Seven, accepted as Medical Students in that city, an innovation that provoked a riot in 1870, but not permitted to graduate, who subsequently qualified in Paris. Isabel was another of the Edinburgh Seven but never fully qualified as a doctor, instead serving as administrator of the LSMW from 1877-1908. Within a couple of years of this College opening, Elizabeth Garrett was anxious not to be associated with it, and she refused to give its students clinical experience at the New Hospital for Women.

Continue round the north and west sides of the square and stop outside number **29** where a plaque commemorates the residence here of Virginia Woolf between 1907 and 1911. In

her final months here, and still an unpublished novelist she confided to her sister "all the devils came out—hairy black ones. To be 29 and unmarried—to be a failure—childless—insane too, no writer." Nearly two decades later, writing about the middle-class women of the previous century she would contrast their opportunities with those of their male contemporaries, noting "the age at which they married, the number of children they bore, the privacy they lacked… and the education they never received," and singled out Elizabeth Garrett who "became a doctor because her parents, though shocked and anxious, would be reconciled if she were a success."

The other plaque here mentions George Bernard Shaw, who wrote "Unless woman repudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law, and to everyone but herself, she cannot emancipate herself." He left this home when,

in 1898, he married a self-effacing heiress who had, in his words, “cleverness and character enough to decline the station in life.” Charlotte Frances Townshend-Payne (1857-1943) was an early benefactor of the London School of Economics and would go on to establish the women only scholarship awarded to Alice Clark, whom we met at Friends House. Charlotte had, in fact, proposed first and been rejected partly from his fear of being considered a sponging fortune-hunter, but he relented and proposed to her when she helped save his life: “I thought I was dead, for it would not heal, and Charlotte had me at her mercy. I should never have married if I had thought I should get well.” Her prior nursing experience doubtless helped ensure his recovery from the bone necrosis in his foot, and the arm he subsequently broke during his convalescence, but she went on to be his collaborator and co-creator.

On the south side of the Square to the right of the plaque commemorating (the architect Robert Adam) is number **36**. In 1848 this was the home of St John’s House, offering training for nurses. By 1854, when it had already located to Queen’s Square, it sent six nurses to the Crimea with Florence Nightingale. The institution, though in some ways a religious order, would go on to supply the nurses of King’s College Hospital from 1856 and the Charing Cross Hospital from 1866.

Turn back towards Grafton Way and turn right down Fitzroy Street, passing the statue of Francisco di Miranda, and stopping outside number **27**. In the 1880s, this was the home of the Black sisters (Clementina, Emma, Grace and Constance), Brighton-born but of Russian descent, all of whom were users of the British Museum reading room: Constance (1861-1946) had briefly been a librarian, and promoted the career for women, but became a translator of Russian literature; Clementina wrote novels, but was also a social activist, joining the Women’s Protective and Provident League, the Women’s Trade Union Association, Women’s Labour League, the Anti-Sweating League and the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies. She was also honorary secretary of the Women’s Franchise Declaration Committee which compiled another of the many suffrage petitions. Her publication *Married Women’s Work*, for the Women’s Labour League, reports on living and working conditions across the country from 1909-1910, with Clementina herself contributing the chapter on London (with sections on, among others, laundresses, glove-makers, quilt makers, sewers of furs, carpets and sacks, artificial flower makers, tennis and racquetball coverers, artificial flower makers, feather curlers, milliners, jam and preserve makers, paper bag makers, tie makers and a variety of clothing trades).

Further south down this street, at number **19**, there was a short-lived (1890-1892) International School for the children of political refugees. If this sounds run of the mill educational philanthropy, it wasn’t. Louise Michel (1830-1905), the founder, was a French anarchist, in exile. A member of a society campaigning for women’s education, she had

headed the Montmartre Women's Vigilance Committee during the Paris Commune in 1871, and this school was designed to produce "free and noble-minded men and women, not commercial machines." The school was closed down following the revelation that there were bombs in the basement. However, it is important to note that the person responsible for stashing them there was a Metropolitan Police Special Branch agent provocateur who had offered his services to the school in order to facilitate surveillance, and who had already been asked to resign.

Further down the street, close to the **junction** with Howland Street, once stood premises, at number 5, and later number 7, used by the College for Working Women, which had broken away from the Working Women's College in 1874 under the direction of Frances Martin (1829-1922). Her view was that "it is not only the fallen, the degraded, the destitute, who have claims upon us; that quite as urgent and imperative are the demands of the great army of virtuous workers" intent on improving their employment prospects – just such women, in other words, as Clementina Black would write about. It offered evening classes in mathematics, languages, science, history and the arts. Frances had contributed to the successful campaign to elect Elizabeth Garrett to the London School Board in 1870. In 1878, Elizabeth recommended Emily Bovell Sturge (1841-1885) as a lecturer on physiology and hygiene. The College had its social side, and Louisa Garrett Anderson organised the monthly dances in the early 1890s, by which time it had been offering for a decade "a holiday guild, a sick benefit club and a penny bank."

Turn right into Howland Street and cross Cleveland Street, stopping **opposite the BT tower**. The Cleveland Hall once stood here. After a period when it was used by anarchists (including Louise Michel) and international revolutionists it had reopened through the London Methodist Mission in 1890. This was where Clara Sophia 'Mary' Neal (1860-1944) and Emmeline Pethick (1867-1954) met, running a club here for working class girls. They went on to found the Esperance Girls' Club together. We'll meet them again later, towards the end of the walk.

Walk south down **Cleveland Street** and stop just before the King and Queen public house (on the right). Here in 1910, the West London Mission in the name of the philanthropist Emerson Bainbridge established a Hostel for Young Women and Girls and, in separate but adjacent premises, a hostel for Fallen Women. It faced the buildings of the Strand Union workhouse. This was already fifty years old when Charles Dickens lived nearby as a teenager, when working at the Blacking Factory (perhaps with apprentices from this workhouse). It has plausibly been considered a model for the workhouse in *Oliver Twist*,

although that is purported to be outside central London. Certainly as long ago as 1898, Louisa Twining (1820-1912) reflecting on her first charitable visit there in 1853, quotes the Medical Officer as follows:

> The master of the workhouse was a man who might have been the original of "Bumble" in Oliver Twist... The "nurses" were pauper inmates, usually infirm and more often drunk than sober, who were remunerated for their services by an amended dietary and a pint of beer, to which was added a glass of gin when their duties were peculiarly repulsive.

She later refers to an attempt to prevent her from visiting and, shortly thereafter, hearing news of the departure of the master and matron. She reports:

> There was universal satisfaction expressed, and I believe there was good cause for the general hatred of them, though the chairman had told me that they were excellent for management and economy. After they were gone, they were found to have purloined quantities of tea and sugar, and very bad practices were discovered; many of which I could have told them, had they been willing to listen.

In addition to her workhouse reform work, Louisa Twining opened a convalescent home for recovering East End cholera patients, and was in 1904, at the age of 84, President of the Women's Local Government Society.

Continue downhill. Opposite the end of Tottenham Street, near Dickens' lodgings, take the cut through into **Pearson Square**. This occupies the site of The Middlesex Hospital, where Elizabeth Garrett had first been a nursing student, and attended lectures for medical students. Nothing now remains of the hospital except the Fitzrovia Chapel, in the central courtyard, and that was not constructed until the 1920s. A plaque inside commemorates Diana Jean Kinloch Beck (1902-1956), a graduate of the LSMW, recipient of both the Gant Medal for Clinical Surgery and the Lynn Prize for Surgery and a House Surgeon at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, she went on to be the first female neurosurgeon (from 1947).

As you exit into **Mortimer Street**, you look straight down Berners Street where once were headquarters of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, the Ladies Sanitary Association, which among other things campaigned for equal provision of public toilet facilities for women, and the National Society for Women's Suffrage, as well as the Berners Club, offering middle class women a reading room, drawing room and dining room.

Turn right along the front of the block until you are directly opposite number **21** which from 1881-1883 was the home of the Somerville Club, open to women of all classes and set up by, among others, Matilda Chaplin whom we encountered in Fitzroy Square. The Rational Dress Society was formed after a debate here and Sarah Eastwood Franks (1866-1921) ran a depot next door at number 23, where it was possible to

choose less constrictive and more hygienic underwear and divided skirts (which fostered the spread of cycling for women). Sarah had previously been employed at Hamilton & Co. This woman-only shirt-making co-operative was founded in 1875 but removed to 27 Mortimer Street in 1878. Hamilton's co-founder was Edith Jemima Simcox (1844-1901). With Emma Anne Paterson (née Smith, 1848-1886), Edith had founded the Shirt and Collar-Makers Union in 1875, and they were the first women ever to attend a Trades Union Congress (also in 1875). Edith was also on the London School Board with Elizabeth Garrett Anderson between 1879 and 1882 and wrote and lectured on social issues including suffrage.

Cross Mortimer Street, and heading west, take the first left into **Wells Street**, and the first right into **Margaret Street**. This end of the street had a series of institutions linked by the Society of All Saints Sisters of the Poor – named All Saints after the church just up the street on the right. Harriet Brownlow Byron (1818-1887) founded this order in 1851 initially to look after the "aged and infirm" poor. In 1853, the community was running a twelve-bed children's hospital at **3** Margaret Street, and a hospital later opened next door at number **4** for "fallen women in need of medical aid". By the time the Sisterhood moved into premises opposite the church in 1856 they were also taking care of orphans, and training young women and girls. Nurses from the community would go on to work with Florence Nightingale in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71). By 1886, there were separate premises for a girls' orphanage at number **69** Margaret Street and a training school for older girls at number **70**. In addition there was a hospital for incurable women at number **74**.

It would be wrong to think that a cloistered community could have little to do with contemporary debates about the place of women in society. Here is Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860) reflecting on the example of Florence Nightingale, in particular, and the potential role of Sisters of Charity in a speech printed in the *English Woman's Journal* in 1857:

> Everyone admitted the great, the almost insuperable difficulty of finding women… competent to nurse. To furnish them with the means of acquiring skill and competency in their own department of work has never been regarded as the duty, the business, the interest of our pastors and masters; while, with a strange injustice, the want of such skill and competency has been a perpetual source of complaint and ridicule.

At this point Florence Nightingale's Training School for nurses at St Thomas' Hospital was still in the future, but her vision of educated, self-denying women fulfilling a vocation was not that different from the All Saints Sisterhood, which, in 1862, had begun to provide all nurses and domestics for University College Hospital, following the pattern we saw in Fitzroy Square for the St John's order (which Anna Jameson referred to in the same work).

For the hospital this was an opportunity to lose “women of inadequate skill, coarse manners, low character, and bibulous tendencies” who contributed to “the distress of the patients, the despair of the doctors, and the demoralization of the medical students”, but also to create a pool of committed and experienced nurses whose services could be called upon when needed but did not require individual remuneration. For the Sisterhood, there was the benefit of regular income (even if it did not cover the cost of supply) and of hospital training that could develop competence to earn more money from individual nursing from private patients. Elizabeth Garrett noted general agreement as to the improvements brought by ‘the volunteer method’ in a paper for the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science but argued that nursing was a profession and that women should be paid “sufficient to attract respectable women of the rank of good domestic servants”.
The unexpected relationship of an Anglican sisterhood and a non-sectarian institution ended in 1899, outlasting that of St John’s with both King’s and Charing Cross. Between 1888 and 1895 they were also supplying nurses to The Metropolitan Hospital in Hackney. The Sisterhood began to move out to newly built premises in Hertfordshire in 1901.

Continue up Margaret Street to the corner of Great Titchfield Street. The building on this corner is **Audley House**. Living here in the 1911 census was Agnes Forbes Blackadder Savill (1875-1964), who the following year contributed to the British Medical Journal *Preliminary report feeding on the forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners* deeming it “severe physical and mental torture”. During the first world war, she was Radiographer at the Scottish Women’s Hospital at Royaumont and by 1920 she had worked not only at the New Hospital for Women (founded by and subsequently named after Elizabeth Garrett Anderson), and the Women’s Hospital for Children (founded by Louisa Garrett Anderson and Flora Murray) but the South London Hospital for Women, co-founded by Eleanor Davies-Colley (whom we have seen was the first openly female Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons) and her mentor and friend Maud Mary Chadburn (1868-1957). It has to be remembered that this was still a time of opposition to the employment of women in hospitals not under women’s control.

The premises on the opposite corner, across Great Titchfield Street, incorporate both numbers 13 and **14**. This is where James Miranda Steuart Barry died in 1865 and the surprising discovery was made about the mismatched sex and gender expression. It is just round the corner from the home of a late uncle, the artist James Barry (d.1806), from whom Margaret Bulkley appropriated first and last names. Florence Nightingale’s observation, based on personal but not intimate experience in the Crimea, damns Barry as “the most hardened creature I ever met”, an exterior perhaps developed to survive as a Victorian army surgeon,

but it should also be said that Florence was thought more like a man than a woman (by her own sister). Sidney Herbert said of women's contribution in Crimea, "If this succeed, an enormous amount of good wall be done now, and to persons deserving everything at our hands; and a prejudice will be broken through and a precedent established which will multiply the good to all time." In a similar vein, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was surely right to predict of the Women's Hospital Corps in 1914, "if you succeed, you will put your cause forward a hundred years."

Head north up Great Titchfield Street back up to Mortimer Street, where the right-hand corner-plot once housed yet another All Saints institution, the St Elizabeth's Home for Incurable Women, which operated from 1856 to 1914. Look diagonally across the junction to **Ames House**. 42-44 Mortimer Street is a building designed by Arthur Beresford Pite (the architect of 30 Euston Square, here eschewing Euston Greek for Arts and Crafts). Dating from 1904 it is on the walk because it was a purpose-built hostel of the YWCA, boasting electric light and a window in each bedroom and with a communal drawing room and laundry facilities. It could accommodate 97 residents (a mix of permanent boarders and short-stay visitors). Meeting a similar need to the Chenies Street accommodation we have already visited, the 1911 census reveals a different demographic, with 'professional women' such as teachers outnumbered by dressmakers and millinery assistants, typists and stenographers. Two boarders, however, Louise Isobel Phoebe Smith and Fanny Pedlar, were listed as nurse attendants in dentists' surgeries.

Just a bit further west at number **81 Mortimer Street**, the Ladies Restaurant Association had opened the first, female run, Dorothy Restaurant in 1889 "exclusively for Ladies" but offering quick service eightpenny dinners across the lunch hours of working women. Something was amiss with the business model as the Dorothy folded in 1895, but the ongoing demand for safe, affordable and time-efficient dining for the working woman was perhaps picked up in the inclusion of a restaurant as an integral part of the Beresford Pite design for Ames House and separate from the residents' dining room. The YWCA had opened its first Welbeck restaurant, at 101 Mortimer Street, even before the Dorothy had opened.

Cross Mortimer Street and continue walking up Great Titchfield Street, taking the third left into Langham Street. At the junction with Great Portland Street, look across to **Brock House**, formerly the Philharmonic Hall and before that St James' Hall built as a replacement for the hall of the same name, just off Regent Street, which had been demolished in 1904. In the other St James Hall, at the Grand Demonstration in 1880, the crowds had been addressed by Rhoda Garrett, but this building too has a suffrage

connection. There was a performance of the Pageant of Great Women here in 1912 following a speech by Emmeline Pankhurst.

Continue along Langham Street, crossing Great Portland Street. It continues, pedestrianised, turning left towards All Souls, Langham Place. Consecrated in 1824, it has survived while other buildings have been swept away in redevelopment. One of these lost buildings is 19 Langham Place, the premises which gave the street name to the group of women who met there between 1859 and 1863. The same premises were the headquarters of the Victoria Press whose outputs included the *English Woman's Journal* itself based there from December 1859. Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910), British born, but raised and medically qualified in the United States, met and was impressed by the resolve of Elizabeth Garrett, who would in later years appoint her mentor to the LSMW. Blackwell penned a letter of advice to "Young Ladies Desirous of Studying Medicine", and an essay on *Medicine as a Profession for Women, both* published in the *Journal* in 1860. Elizabeth Garrett's attempt to break into the medical profession was particularly supported by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-1891), Emily Davies (1830-1921) and Isabella 'Isa' Knox (née Craig, 1831-1903). Emily wrote on *Female Physicians* and *Medicine as a Profession for Women* in 1842. In the former, replying to 'A Physician', she asserts, "the diseases to which women and children are liable would naturally come within the province of the female physician" and that there were "refined women of the poorer classes" who would give equivalently educated women the preference over men for their complaints. Other women we have already met who were associated with the group were Frances Power Cobbe and Anna Brownell Jameson.

Walk round the front of the church. On the far side of **Riding House Street** a hotel now occupies the site of the Queen's Hall, a conference and concert venue that was destroyed in the Blitz, but there is a plaque on one of the pillars in front of the Pizzeria. Back at the site of the Scala Theatre we encountered the 1909 play *Pot and Kettle*. A programme note for that performance informed spectators that "The idea of this play was suggested to the Authors by an incident which occurred at a Meeting by the Anti-Suffrage League at Queen's Hall in March 1909." At another Suffrage meeting here, Clara Evelyn Mordan (1844-1915), a benefactress of the WSPU presented Emmeline Pankhurst with a necklace in the movement's colours to celebrate the latter's release from prison. The Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith attempted to make a political speech here later that year from which all women had been scrupulously excluded, only to find himself interrupted by suffragist men demanding to know if all the women in England had been arrested. It was also here in 1910 that Constance Lytton (1869-1923) made her first public appearance after

release from imprisonment in Liverpool. There, she had been subjected to force-feeding when disguised as Jane Warton (proving that the authorities treated her differently when they knew her to be the daughter of a Viceroy).
In 1911 there was a concert devoted to the music of the composer and suffragette Ethel Mary Smyth (1858-1944) which the newspaper *Votes for Women* noted concluded with her, only recently composed, *March of the Women* to lyrics by Cicely Hamilton: "The greater part of the audience joined in, and Dr Smyth turned from the orchestra and frankly conducted us. At the last verse we all stood. We couldn't help it." The following year she was arrested for stone-throwing and imprisoned for two months in Holloway, where the singing continued but the conductor's baton had to be improvised from a toothbrush.

Continue south down Langham Place and Regent Street taking the second right (into Margaret Street) and first left into **John Princes Street** (formerly Princes Street). At **14a** was the first home of the Ladies' Institute and for its initial 21 months the home of the *English Woman's Journal*. This suggests that Emilia Jessie Boucherett (1825-1905) met Adelaide Anne Procter (1825-1864) here in "the little comfortless unfurnished room, which we dignified with the name of our 'office'". They thrashed out plans for what would become the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (which we saw was later sited in Berners Street). One aim was improving schooling for girls and offering training to prepare women for more skilled employment (including secretarial skills such as those in evidence among the occupants of Ames House). Jessie Boucherett's inspiration was an article, published by Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) anonymously, but using a male persona as 'bread-winner', which had noted that half of Englishwomen were in work and two-thirds of those were independent of male support. This undermined the claims that women, supported by male family members therefore had no need of their own vote – a weak spot that was later exploited in Cicely Hamilton and Christopher St John's humorous suffrage play of 1909 *How the Vote was Won* (in which all women workers lay down their tools and demand to be supported by their male relations).

Another profession targeted by the Society was pharmacy. When Elizabeth Garrett set up the St Mary's Dispensary for Women and Children (the precursor body to the New Hospital for Women) in 1866, her first dispenser was male. However, he had women pupils sponsored by the Society, one of whom succeeded him in 1868. When the Pharmaceutical Society conceded that women could attend lectures in 1872 (but not yet access to its laboratories or eligibility for prizes), its journal published a letter from Elizabeth (now Garrett Anderson) in support of the women students seeking registration, two of whom, Rose Coombes Minshull (1845-1905) and Louisa Stammwitz (1850-1916) were working for her as dispensers. Rose was finally admitted to membership in 1879 with another of Elizabeth's dispensers, Isabella Skinner Clarke (subsequently Clarke-Keer, 1842-1926).

These premises also supplied the first office and meeting room of the Ladies National Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge (subsequently Ladies Sanitary Association, which we saw was also later in Berners Street). This was founded in 1857 with a committee including women from the Langham Place group including Emily Faithfull (1835-1895) and Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925) with aims including offering schoolmistresses and pupil teachers, governesses and nursery-maids free tuition in health issues, publishing tracts (some of which were to be distributed to the poor), establishing lending libraries, and the delivery of public lectures. Pamphlet topics included fresh air, basic human biology and personal hygiene measures from soap to vaccination, swimming as exercise for women, and post-partum care (for the woman and the baby), but also female suffrage.

Turn back into Margaret Street, heading west into Cavendish Square. In 1906, number **20**,

at the southern end of the west side of the square, was the home of Herbert Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and known to be a significant obstacle to the extension of the franchise. Emmeline Pankhurst tried to arrange a deputation to meet him in Whitehall and was rebuffed, so they tried to visit him at home. On the first occasion he slipped out of the back door and "sped away in a fast motor car." The second time, the group of women found police blocking their entry to the square, who then responded with disproportionate force when they insisted on their rights. Arrests included Annie Kenney (1879-1953), Jane Sparborough (1842-1925) and Teresa Billington (1877-1964), and they became the first suffragettes to be imprisoned in Holloway. The Asquiths were obliged to sell in 1920 and the buyer was Annie Pearson, Viscountess Cowdray (née Cass, 1860-1932), a Liberal suffragist, who made it first a clubhouse for nurses and then the home of the College of Nursing. It remains the home of the Royal College of Nursing.

Continue north up the west side of the square and turn left into Wigmore Street and second right into Wimpole Street. Number **9** on the right was the married home of Emily Bovell Sturge (1841-1885), one of the Edinburgh Seven. She eventually qualified in Paris, where she met her husband, and was on the teaching staff of the LSMW from 1877-1881. Emily's obituary in the *British Medical Journal* notes that "few could plead so eloquently for the breaking down of all barriers to the intellectual development of women."

Almost opposite is the entrance to Welbeck Way. Walk down it and stop

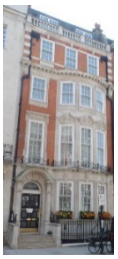
outside the **artist's entrance** to the Wigmore Hall (formerly the Bechstein Hall). Australian Muriel Lilah Matters (1877-1962) was a performer here, but she merits a mention on this walk as the real-life Lady Agatha D'Ascoyne (from *Kind Hearts and Coronets*) who furthered the suffrage cause with a pamphlet dropping balloon flight timed to coincide with the King's

opening of parliament in 1909. Active in the Women's Freedom League, she had been one of the women who chained themselves to the grille in the Ladies' Gallery of the House of Commons and shouted "'We have been behind this insulting grille too long!'" words not entered in Hansard, but which by a technicality are considered the first words spoken 'on the floor of the House of Commons' by a woman.

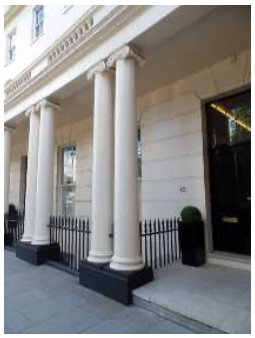
Retrace your steps to Wimpole Street. Number **79** on the corner was the address listed in the 1905 medical directory for Charlotte Louisa Ellaby (1854-1909), an ophthalmic surgeon at the New Hospital for Women and lecturer at the LSMW. She was one of many pioneering women doctors who developed their practice abroad. In India, at the Cama Hospital in Bombay (Mumbai), alongside Edith Pechey Phipson (1845-1908), Charlotte had inaugurated the eye department, and several years after her return to England she was called back to perform cataract surgery on one of the wives of the ruler of Jamnagar, in Gujarat. Her BMJ obituary notes that she had been able to fulfil her vocation "only by the exercise of the most indomitable pluck and perseverance."

Continue north, crossing Queen Anne Street and stopping outside number **20**. This was the home of the suffragette doctor Octavia Margaret Sophia Lewin (1869-1955). Here, in February 1910, the *British Journal of Nursing* advertised a suffrage meeting open to nurses, observing that the name of Miss Muriel Matters as speaker should "ensure a crowded attendance." Like Edith Sophia Hooper in Huntley Street, Octavia refused to co-operate with the 1911 census, and like Jessie Margaret Murray, Julia Turner, and Louisa Garrett Anderson she was a member of the Women's Tax Resistance League.

Retrace your steps back to Queen Anne Street. Here at number **25** was a woman dentist Dr Harriet Anne Parkes Boswell, in practice with her husband. Margaret Bateson interviewed her for her *The Queen* and the article was republished in her1895 book *Professional Women upon their Professions: Conversations*. This promoted the career potential of dentistry for women despite the fact that the Royal College of Surgeons were still forbidding women from undertaking the Licence in Dental Surgery. The 1900 Dentists Register notes she had been practising since before 1878 and registered since 1888. This Michigan trained daughter of a dentist, reports "A good many nervous women come to me, and children, too, form a large part of my practice," but cautions the reader, "Dentistry is not healthy work and no woman who is not thoroughly robust should think of entertaining it… I ought to say further that a woman must possess some mechanical ingenuity to make a success."



At the next intersection, turn left into Harley Street and stop outside **Queen's College**. As



originally conceived, this was to have been a home for unemployed governesses, but it always had an educational aim. The school proper began in 1848 amidst controversy about whether teaching mathematics to female minds was healthy. The fourth and sixth Principals here were both John Llewellyn Davies (brother of Emily, member of the Langham Place Group, co-founder of Girton College and friend of Elizabeth Garrett). Sophia Jex-Blake (1840-1912), later one of the Edinburgh Seven, who after qualifying in Berne and Dublin became the third registered woman doctor in the country, and co-founder of the LSMW, began studying here in 1858: "Work and independence! What can be more charming? Really perfection. So delicious in the present, what will it be to look back upon?" She was soon offered the opportunity to tutor in mathematics at five shillings an hour for four pupils. Her father, it should be said, was horrified at the idea of her earning, rather than doing it as a lady's generous gift for the good of others, whereas she could not see why her position should be any different from her brother's, just because he was a man and she was not. Sophia challenged parental expectations once more when she set up home a few streets away in 1860-1861 with another alumna of this College Octavia Hill (1838-1912) on the basis that they would cover some of their costs with renting rooms. Octavia, of course, would go on to be a socially responsible manager of houses for the working classes, and a founder of the National Trust. Another near contemporary alumna was Edith Bovell, whom we met in Wimpole Street. After her death, the laboratories here were renamed in her honour.

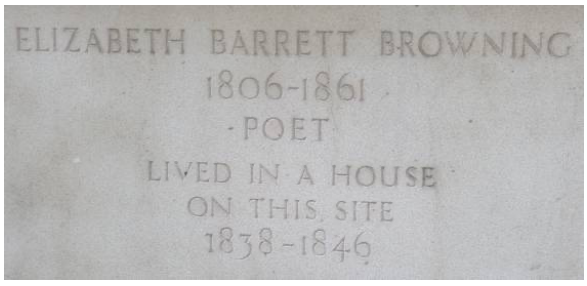
Adelaide Anne Procter, whom we encountered founding the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, had studied here in 1850. The 1851 census records that Mary Wardell (1832-1917) was a student here. Through mission work in the East End she would realise the need for a Scarlet Fever convalescent home/isolation hospital and went about securing support from the medical establishment, royal patronage and start-up funding from donors including the wife of the Prime Minister, Catherine Gladstone (née Glynne, 1812-1900) and the Ladies Sanitary Association. The home established at the summit of Brockley Hill, Stanmore, opened in 1884 with Mary operating initially as Matron, domestic and secretary. It was still considered a unique example in the world in 1900. Converted into an auxiliary hospital for French and Belgian servicemen during the first world war, the site was later the home of the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital's country branch.

A later Queen's College alumna was Beatrice Harraden (1864-1936), a founding member of the WSPU, who was also in the Women Writer's Suffrage League and the Women's Tax Resistance League. The plot of her 1909 suffrage play *Lady Geraldine's Speech* centres around Lady Geraldine's mistaken assumption that her old school-fellow, a woman doctor, would share her own anti-suffrage views. Beatrice was librarian at the Endell Street Hospital, the first military hospital staffed entirely by women (many of whom had been

active campaigners for the vote), with Elizabeth Robins (1862-1952), another suffrage playwright, and the mentor who persuaded Octavia Wilberforce (1888-1963) to study medicine. Beatrice would go on to write the preface to *Women as Army Surgeons* published in 1920 by Flora Murray, commemorating the deeds and words of the Women's Hospital Corps and the Endell Street Hospital. Another alumna, Octavia Lewin was aural surgeon there.

Continue north up Harley Street, but turn left into New Cavendish Street, and take the first right back into Wimpole Street. Number **38**, no longer exists but was the left-hand plot of the building now occupied by the General Dental Council. This was the married home of the third woman seeking registration by the Pharmaceutical Society in 1872, Alice Marion Hart (née Rowland, 1848-1931). She did not, in the end, become a chemist or, like Alice Vickery (whom we met in Fitzroy Square), a fully qualified doctor. However, neither was she was just a "surgeon's wife" as the enumerator deemed her in the 1881 census. She translated a three volume "elementary work on the microscopical appearances of diseased structure" and had scientific articles published in both the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science and Nature*. In 1895 she published *Diet in Sickness and in Health* and a later book on Burma drew on articles she had already published in fashionable magazines. Alice and her husband also set up the Donegal Industrial Fund to provide employment and relieve poverty following the famine, but also "to develop and improve the ancient arts of spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, and embroidery", not only spearheading the Celtic design revival but ensuring the craftspeople profited from the sale. The Fund's first retail outlet was a few minutes' walk away at 31 New Cavendish Street. By the 1901 census Alice was listed both as author and millowner (manufacturer of woollens and linens), and a decade later she was a manufacturer of waterproofed fabric.

Opposite at number **50**, in another lost building, Elizabeth Barrett Moulton Barrett (afterwards Browning, 1806-1861) lived in dark, sick-room seclusion for the eight years until she eloped to marry Robert Browning in 1846. Virginia Woolf's biography of Elizabeth's dog Flush was mentioned earlier. She suggests that the appearance of visual uniformity in Wimpole Street was a reassuring reminder that "civilisation is secure." However, this is perhaps somewhat undercut by the dog's olfactory perspective: "He smelt the swooning smells that lie in the gutters; the bitter smells that corrode from iron railings; the fuming, heady smells that rise from basements." Following her marriage, Elizabeth was disowned by her father, who had been a beneficiary of the 1837 Slave Compensation Act, a heritage of colonial exploitation that she regarded as a curse. Her



1848 poem *The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point* attempted to further the abolitionist cause in America, associating the founding fathers (from the Mayflower settlers to George Washington) with slavery rather than liberty, and gave sympathetic voice to an enslaved woman.

Continue northwards and Wimpole Street becomes Upper Wimpole Street. At number **2** Ann Frances Piercy Evans (1867-1940), who had married from the Chenies Street Chambers went into practice here with both her husband and their friend Dyddgu Hamilton (1866-c.1950?), a witness at their wedding. They had upgraded to Harley Street, by 1915. The plaque on this building commemorates not these three, but the physician Arthur Conan Doyle, whose attempt at opening an ophthalmic surgery here seems not to have been a success, leaving him time to write Sherlock Holmes short stories. Doyle was carelessly inconsistent when referring to the marriage(s) of his fictional *alter ego* Dr John Watson. Of his own first wife Louisa 'Touie' Hawkins (1857-1906), however, he noted: "I rejoice to think that though she married a penniless doctor, she was spared long enough to fully appreciate the pleasure and the material comforts which worldly success was able to bring us. She had some small income of her own which enabled me to expand my simple housekeeping in a way which gave her from the first the decencies, if not the luxuries, of life."

At number **20**, a blue plaque commemorates Ethel Gordon Fenwick (née Manson, 1857-1947). Ethel is another luminary in Margaret Bateson's book of conversations with professional women, where she dreams of establishing an International Nursing Congress. She was founder and first president of the International Council of Nurses 1899-1904. A founder of the Royal British Nurses' Association (almost thirty years before the College of Nursing) and the Registered Nurses' Society, she had already acquired control of and edited the *Nursing Record* (subsequently *The British Journal of Nursing*). This journal, as we have seen, had an explicitly pro-suffrage editorial stance.

At the next junction, number **13** was the home of Christiana Jane Herringham (née Powell, 1852-1929). A friend of the Garretts, she was one of the early Directors of the Ladies Residential Chambers, made banners for the suffrage movement and founded or was involved with both the *Women's Tribune* and *The Englishwoman*, as well as being on the committee of the India Society and a founding benefactor of the National Art Collections Fund. One picture it saved for the nation was the Rokeby Venus, in 1905, nine years before it was attacked by Mary Raleigh Richardson (c.1883-1961) as a protest against the treatment of

Emmeline Pankhurst whom Mary deemed “the most beautiful character in modern history.”

Turn right into Devonshire Street and first left back into Harley Street, walking north the length of the block. There are gates at number **149** relating to the rear of the London Clinic,

but this large private hospital was not built until the 1930s, and we are here instead for two women doctors named Mary Scharlieb, mother and daughter. Mary Ann Dacomb Scharlieb, (née Bird, 1845-1930) set up her practice here in 1888 and Mary Ethel Sim Scharlieb (1870-1926) joined her from 1904. Mary Ann had started medical training in Madras, completed at the LSMW and gone on to be the first woman MD of the University of London. She was the first woman practising in Harley Street albeit on the outer fringe of the prestigious road name. In their day, “There was a small square garden in front and a truly magnificent plane tree” and the house behind offered a “good dining-room, library and smoking-room, which I could devote to my professional purposes.” These purposes were not just a surgery for private practice, but space to tutor individual medical students and even teach classes to groups.

In her book *The Seven Ages of Woman* she observed that the girl aspiring to be a doctor needed not just health and acumen but “other qualities, such as knowledge of character, a great capacity for loving sympathy, patience with the wayward and perverse, and an imagination which will enable her to place herself in the position of her patients and to see their troubles from their point of view.” She also suggested that women benefited from developing experience in another field before studying medicine, citing “their increased knowledge of the world, their wider outlook and their greater versatility.”

In writing her autobiography she notes that her aim was “to convince medical women students and junior practitioners that a successful, happy, and useful career can be, and ought to be, the guerdon of their toil… I also wished to supply an answer to those who ask whether professional life is compatible with wifely and motherly duties.” She may have been a dutiful wife, but her husband continued to practise law in India as she developed her career here. In a schedule of a typical week in February 1890, transcribed in her memoir from a letter she sent her husband, the only motherly note is tutoring her medical student son in anatomy on Thursday morning and physiology on Friday afternoon. In addition to her other tutoring (of the Misses S, B and C), consultations and home visits, she was anaesthetising at the Dental Hospital, attending outpatients at the New Hospital for Women, and lecturing at the LSMW, to Jubilee Nurses and at Blackfriars.

Reflecting on how women’s experience differed from that of their male colleagues, she noted “we pioneer medical women were never able to be what is called pure physicians or pure surgeons. We had of necessity in those early days to be willing to give advice to women as to their health, whether from the medical, surgical or obstetric point of view.” Of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson she observed that “Like Napoleon she did not believe in the word *impossible*.”

In another of Mary Ann's books, *The Bachelor Woman and her Problems* she comments "there are many others who remain unmarried because they wish to do so, some of them simply because in the unmarried state they have more freedom and are more or less the arbiters of their own fate. Some appear to have a certain repugnance to the bonds of matrimony, silken though those fetters be, and there are other classes of women, classes which are rapidly increasing at the present time, who quite definitely and intentionally avoid marriage because it interferes with their scheme of life and usefulness... There are other women, who quite intentionally, guided by personal ambition, or more nobly by a desire to serve their day and generation, renounce the joys of wifehood and motherhood, and devote themselves to their profession." It is not clear to which camp her daughter Mary Ethel had belonged. She had been able to list this, her mother's address as the place of commencement of her medical study in 1892, and she practised here from 1904 until her death, unmarried, in 1926.

Opposite at number **152**, Mary Louisa Gordon, the Inspector of Prisons and Inebriate Reformatories, whom we previously met in the Chenies Street Chambers, was listed here in the 1910 Medical Directory. Two doors south was listed Mary 'May' Thorne (1861-1951), surgeon and anaesthetist, and lecturer in vaccination at the LSMW. Her mother Isabel (whom we saw in Fitzroy Square as one of the Edinburgh Seven who never fully qualified) had died here in 1910.

Heading back south down Harley Street, pause at number **134** home of Florence

Nightingale Boyd (née Toms, 1856-1910). She had studied at the LSMW, was a longstanding surgeon at the New Hospital for Women and went on to be Chair of Gynaecology at the LSMW. In an obituary tribute by Mary Scharlieb (senior) in the British Medical Journal, she was described as "fearless and straight to a degree not common in the human race" and her career as "of remarkable value and usefulness". Almost opposite, at 131, lived Ethel May Vaughan-Sawyer (1868-1949), Mary Ann Scharlieb's Assistant Gynaecologist at the Royal Free Hospital, and deemed by her "one of the best and most skilful surgeons of the next generation… not only a good diagnostician, but… also a born teacher". In her final months Ethel observed "I've had a wonderful life and am still thrilled when I think about it."

Continue down to **122** Harley Street, home of Jane Harriett Walker (1859-1938). She had set up a countryside convalescent home for the New Hospital for Women (away from the Euston air), at no expense to the hospital. Rhoda Garrett's half-brother Edmund had then contracted tuberculosis in 1889 and had found benefit in new open-air treatment offered at the Nordrach Colony in the Black Forest. Jane went out to see how what she would later call "medical mothering" was done and took charge of his recovery back in London before setting up experimental

homes near Downham Market. Once these had proved successful, the East Anglian Sanatorium was built at Nayland, near Colchester, in 1899, under the Chairmanship of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and with shareholders including Agnes Garrett and Christiana Herringham, as well as Jane's Harley Street neighbours Mary Scharlieb, May Thorne and Florence Boyd. Patients included Clara Evelyn Mordan, whom we met at the Queen's Hall, and the suffragette Edith New (1877-1951) who was still recovering from her hunger strike during a brief imprisonment for breach of the peace in Dundee in 1909. In 1905, when Jane's address is given as the Sanatorium, her practice here was carried on by her friend and colleague Lilian Mary Chesney (1869-1935) who would go on to run a hospital in Serbia for the Scottish Women's Hospitals. Mary Scharlieb mentioned the sanatorium as one of Jane's "two outstanding achievements", the other being a member of the 1912 Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, the first time a woman doctor had taken such a role. Jane was a co-founder and first President of the Medical Women's Federation, which campaigned for equal pay and status for women in the profession, but also around issues facing women patients.

At the next intersection, look out for **114**a where Louisa Garrett Anderson was based. She

was also non-compliant in the 1911 census declaring that she was not prepared to "furnish information that may be used as a basis of further legislation – until women have the vote and are able to express their views about the making of the laws under which they have to live." The enumerator filled in her name but was unable to identify the other four women known to have been present.

Having crossed Devonshire Street find number **97** toward the next junction on the right-hand side. This was the birthplace and

childhood home of Violet Gwynne (later Gordon Woodhouse, 1872-1942) who was a pioneering performer of early keyboard music on authentic instruments. She broke off her first engagement on discovering from her mother how babies were made and subsequently undertook a *marriage blanc*. She was a friend of Ethel Smyth and in 1910 hosted a suffrage meeting addressed by Emmeline Pankhurst and attended by Marguerite Antonia 'John' Radclyffe Hall (1880-1943), and her partner Mabel Batten (1856-1916) as well as Edith Craig and her partner Christopher St John.

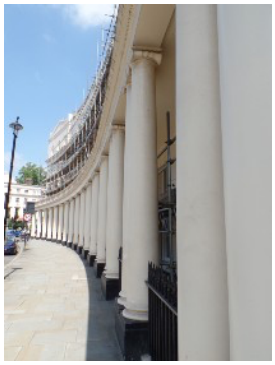
The building on the **opposite corner** has a perhaps misleading plaque, marking the site of a hospital which was for "gentlewomen during illness." Florence Nightingale was nursing superintendent there from 1853-1854 before she went off to the Crimea, but she may well have been at the Middlesex during that summer's cholera epidemic.

Turn left into Weymouth Street and continue across Portland Place. The street ends at Great Portland Street. Between 1897 and 1900, just a few doors downhill from this junction, at number **155**, were the first premises of Maison Espérance, brainchild of Mary

Neal and Emmeline Pethick whom we met at the site of the Cleveland Hall. This was a tailoring business for women such as those who attended their club there, which paid 15 shillings a week as a minimum wage which was considerably above what the women could previously have expected, offered fixed hours in hygienic premises and paid holidays. It was through this business that Emmeline met her husband Frederick Lawrence and both, under the mutually altered surname Pethick-Lawrence, then became more involved with the campaign for suffrage, publishing *Votes for Women* from 1907 and establishing the United Suffragists in 1914.

Turn back north up Great Portland Street and stop outside the site of the National Dental Hospital (**187-193**). This was where the prospective dental student Lilian Murray (later Lindsay, 1871-1960) was interviewed in the street by the Dean, out of concern for the male students inside, and advised to apply to Edinburgh. She went on to be the first woman dentist qualified in the UK, the first woman member of the British Dental Association and, in 1946 its first woman President.

Continue heading north up Great Portland Street, turning left into the Marylebone Road, and left again into Park Crescent. At number **6**, no longer a valid address, lived the



bacteriologist Almroth Wright, remembered here for his 1912 letter to *The Times* "on militant hysteria" and his subsequent 1913 publication *The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage*. The former imagines a procession of passing suffragists, such as those which he might well have seen pass his window here, but in his mind's eye composed of four sections: first, those inclined to violence; second "the sexually embittered women in whom everything has turned into gall and bitterness of heart, and hatred of men"; third the "epicene" (those of indeterminate sex) with ridiculous ideas about a world "in which man and woman shall everywhere work side by side at the selfsame tasks and for the selfsame pay"; and finally the woman "poisoned by her misplaced self-esteem." To remedy what he deemed to be their grievances, he suggested that girls be educated about their intended status in life (and general inferiority to men) and had this 'invaluable' advice for the individual, dissatisfied woman:

> She can emigrate; she can go out from the social class in which she is not self-supporting into a humbler social class in which she could earn a living; and she can forsake conditions in which she must remain a spinster for conditions in which she

> may perhaps become a mother. Only in this way can the problem of finding work, and relief of tedium,.. be resolved… For the happy wife and mother is never passionately concerned about the suffrage.

Rececca West (born Cicily Isabel Fairfield, 1892-1983) deemed it "the worst book ever written" and concludes "Miss Pankhurst at her worst is worth ten Sir Almoth Wright's." Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) suggested that he had "become the laughing-stock of the century". Mary Amelia St. Clair (aka May Sinclair, 1863-1946) referred him to "Mrs Despard, and Dr Garrett Anderson, Mrs Pethick Lawrence, Mrs Pankhurst and… Mrs Fawcett" as representative of the movement. Although May Sinclair rhetorically denied that he could be "arguing from a single painful, intimate, domestic instance", it is only fair to point out that his own wife Jane Georgina Wilson (1860-1926) had been to Cambridge and their marriage was not happy. They separated shortly after the book's publication.

Use the pedestrian crossings over Park Crescent and the Marylebone Road, and then walk north up Park Square East. The **Royal College of Physicians**, where this walk ends, is on the right, accessed from St Andrew's Place.