

Deeds *and* Words Walk

Circular Route



Start and finish: Royal College of General Practitioners, 30 Euston Square, London NW1 2FB

Walk duration: approximately 3 hours

Walk length: approximately 4.8 miles

Please note that there are plenty of cafés on the route, including at the Brunswick Centre and in the area around the British Museum.

The title of this self-guided almost circular walk (terminating at nearby Euston Square underground station) 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 College of General Practitioners was not founded until 1952, but the current Grade II* listed building it now occupies was built for the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Assurance Company from 1906 onwards, and seems to have been intended to complement the Greek style of the adjacent mainline station with its famous 'Arch' and coffered ceilings, and St Pancras Parish Church across Euston Square. With the main entrance of the Royal College of General Practitioners behind you, cross Melton Road to what remains of the gardens of Euston Square in front of the station.

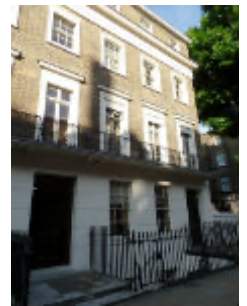
The current station complex wiped away most traces of its Victorian predecessor, which stood even further back, but not the Euston Road **lodges** inscribed with a range of destinations. These must represent some of the hometowns of the thousands of women who travelled down to London for the Women's Sunday (June 21 1908) march to Hyde Park, one leg of which started here, led by Mrs Elizabeth Wolstenholme-Elmy (1833-1918) and Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928). Arguably less well known, now, Elizabeth had been involved in the franchise struggle since the 1860s and had also campaigned for the rights of married women and against the Contagious Diseases Acts. Mass demonstration had been stated by



the Home Secretary Herbert Gladstone to have been essential in imposing pressure on governments to reform, but he doubted that women could muster the numbers to effect change. Understanding this as a challenge, Mrs Pankhurst notes, in her autobiography, that over £1000 had been spent on advertising, both in London and provincial cities, with the posters not only stating that the event would take place and highlighting the speakers but showing the seven different routes of the processions to Hyde Park where the rally would gather at least a quarter of a million participants, more than three times the size of the largest crowd previously gathered there. Ruth Slate (1884-1953), a London clerk, observed in her diary “It was all very wonderful, but I could not help thinking their object would not be half-attained.”

Cross the Euston Road and look into the gardens next to the Society of Friends. At the time of the march there were more extensive gardens here, running all the way from Gordon Street to St Pancras church. Walk through into the road named after them Endsleigh Gardens, turning right and then first left into Taviton Street.

Number 10, was the home of Emily Faithfull (1835-1895), one of the Langham Place group which founded the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women in 1859. Having herself trained as a typesetter, Emily founded the Victoria Press in 1860 to open the printing profession to women, which took over the publication of *The Englishwoman’s Journal*, a periodical which promoted equality issues. In 1860 it published Elizabeth Blackwell’s “*Letter to Young Ladies Desirous of Studying Medicine*” and “*Medicine as a Profession for Women*”. In 1862, when Elizabeth Garrett’s application to matriculate from the University of London was rejected, Emily Faithfull published a leaflet of opinions in favour to be sent to members of the University Senate with contributors including the scientist Mary Somerville (née Fairfax, formerly Greig, 1780-1872) who had been the first signatory of John Stuart Mill’s 1868 suffrage petition.



At the end of the street, turn left into Endsleigh Place and left again into Endsleigh Street. At



Number 5 lived Isabella Skinner Clarke–Keer (née Clarke, 1843-1926), one of the first women to be admitted to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain (in 1879), and founder of the Association of Women Pharmacists in 1905. The pioneering doctor Elizabeth Garrett (1836-1917) had taken on several women to train as dispensers at her Dispensary for Women and Children and among them was Isabella, who also went on to be a tutor in pharmacy at the London School of Medicine for Women.

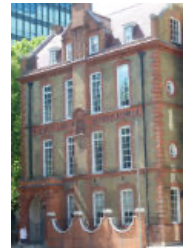
This street is also significant, under its fictional pseudonym of Tansley Street in the novels of Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957), who took rooms two doors south at Number 7 in 1896. It is quite likely that she knew Isabella. Mr Dolland, one of the patient characters mentioned in her novel *The Tunnel*, discussing women pharmacists, asserts “To my mind, there’s no reason why they shouldn’t do thoroughly well. All the hospitals would employ ’em in the end. They’re more natty and conscientious than men, and there’s nothing in the work they can’t manage.” The dentist Mr Hancock observes, “I think he’s quite right. And it’s not at all badly paid.” At the end of the street, turn right (back into Endsleigh Gardens) and left into Upper Woburn Place walking back towards the Euston Road.



Cross over to **St Pancras Church**. Its bells resound in Richardson’s novel *The Tunnel* amplifying Miriam’s feelings of joy at her privacy and new independence in her Bloomsbury garret room with its then uninterrupted view across Endsleigh Gardens and Euston Square. The funeral of the pioneering surgeon Louisa Aldrich Blake (1865-1925) was held here on January 1st 1926. The *British Medical Journal* obituary notes that she became the first woman holder of the M.S.Lond in 1895, going on to become the first woman “to hold the posts of surgical registrar, anaesthetist, and lecturer on anaesthetics at the Royal Free Hospital.” She was first Vice Dean and then Dean of the London School of Medicine for Women. Her contemporary, Maud Chadburn is quoted as saying: “Miss Aldrich-Blake qualified at a time when opposition to women in the profession was still very marked, and here again she was a source of strength to the cause; any work she did was sure to be good.” She was “a pioneer in solid, brilliant work, a pioneer whose character influenced for good all who came in contact with her, and one to whom, fortunately for her, it fell to demonstrate rather than to fight. I doubt if she could have fought actively; it was not in her nature, though she could certainly sit tight and hold on against opposition, and this without any ill will to those fighting her; she expected the truth to win by its own weight.” Mary Scharlieb, President of the London School of Medicine for Women, said “Great as she was as a surgeon and as an administrator, she was far greater as a guide and leader among medical women and students.”

Walk round the north side of the church, along the Euston Road, pausing to admire the Caryatids on the vestry. Architecturally, such women have been employed in just this supporting role since the sixth century BC. Stop at the corner of Dukes Road.

Diagonally opposite, across The Euston Road, stands what is left of the **Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital** (formerly the New Hospital for Women). Having squeezed through loopholes, that were closed up after she had succeeded in qualifying, Elizabeth not only contributed, as physician and surgeon, to the field of medicine for women, including here, but helped open up medical education to other women (through the nearby London School of Medicine for Women). Misleadingly, the date plaque on the chimney refers to the origin of the institution which eventually bore her (married) name, in the St Mary's Dispensary established by her in 1866. This had been followed by the opening in 1874, on the Marylebone Road, of the first hospital for female patients staffed by women doctors. These larger Euston Road premises were not, in fact, opened until 1890. The room to the right of the entrance porch was used as a 'Medical Institute' being a library for female medical students and practitioners and a rentable meeting room for the Association of Registered Medical Women. Now part of the Unison headquarters, this houses the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Gallery, which puts her life story in the context of wider social changes (but is closed until further notice).



Turn right into Duke's Road, and walk further along, then look back towards the Euston Road.



To the North of the former drill hall of the Artists' Rifles (now **The Place**), now the location of the Premier Inn, formerly stood some tenements (Somerset Terrace) which were home to three women associated with the wider struggle for women's emancipation. First, Emmeline Pethick (1867-1954) lived here, with Mary Neal (1860-1944), with whom she had worked at the Cleveland Hall Girls' Club and then the Espérance Girls' Club. It would be easy to dismiss as well-meaning but patronisingly irrelevant to the social need their interest in introducing the members to folk music, and particularly morris dancing, but in their eyes these clubs were "living schools for working women, who will be instrumental in the near future, in altering the conditions of the class they represent." In fact, both would be involved with the Women's Social and Political Union. Emmeline had married Frederick Lawrence in 1901, each of them changing their surnames to Pethick-Lawrence, and they started the weekly publication *Votes for Women* in 1907.

Constance Lytton (1869-1923) arrived in 1910. In her *Prisons and Prisoners*, she notes that having had a letter from Mrs Pethick-Lawrence stating that she had been made a "paid organizer to the Union," she felt enabled to "take a small flat in London near the Euston Road... not far from the office at Clement's Inn and close, too, to a good many railway stations." This was an unexpected reward for her self-sacrifice in choosing to be arrested in Liverpool under the pseudonym Jane Warton, in order to prove that her treatment by the prison authorities was different when they did not know that their prisoner was the daughter of the former Viceroy of India: as the daughter of an Earl, Constance Lytton had been released because of her heart condition; as a



hunger striking nobody, Jane Warton had been force fed after the most cursory medical examination. Neither she, nor Mary Neal, nor several of their female neighbours, consented to co-operate with the 1911 census. It is perhaps significant that the registrar who completed the census on her behalf said that she was “over 60”, as she was only 42.

Turning your back on the Euston Road, walk up to the end of the road and turn right into what is now called Woburn Walk. A **blue plaque** on your left commemorates Dorothy Richardson who lived here for about eighteen months starting in 1905. Her novel *The Trap* opens with a description of the setting: “An old little street. A scrap of old London standing apart, between the Bloomsbury Squares and the maze of streets towards the City... Entering it now for the first time she had a sense of arriving nowhere... Soon she would daily be slipping out into this small brightness, daily coming back to it, turning from strident thoroughfares to enter into sudden peace.”

At the end of the street, cross back over Upper Woburn Place and turn left, crossing into the gardens of Tavistock Square. In the far right-hand (southwest) corner is a **bust** of a more



famous novelist, Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), positioned here to mark her residence at number 52, between 1924 and 1939. Already scheduled for demolition, the house had been vacated but it was destroyed in the Blitz. Virginia’s diary noted, “I could just see a piece of my studio wall standing: otherwise rubble where I wrote so many books.” If we look over the top of her head to where it once stood, it is poignant to note her pleasure (in the 1932

essay *Great Men’s Houses*) in being able to visit writers’ houses because of their “faculty for housing themselves appropriately, for making the table, the chair, the curtain, the carpet into their own image.” Another writer’s home no longer available to visit is the Tavistock Square home of Charles Dickens between 1851 and 1860, demolished to make way for the premises since 1925 housing the British Medical Association on the east side of the Square.

It is also worth recalling, in a guided walk, that Virginia enjoyed experiencing London’s streets on foot, terming (in the 1927 essay *Street-Haunting*) the lamp-lit evening rush hour “the greatest pleasure of town life in winter.”

Woolf records in her diary that she had a conversation about Dorothy Richardson (with Katherine Mansfield) in March 1919, perhaps in connection with the recent publication of *The Tunnel*. If her reviews and comments do not suggest her to have been that much of a fan, to the modern reader, there is an interesting dialogue between Richardson’s Miriam complaining, in *Deadlock*, that “it ought to be illegal to publish a book by a man without first giving it to a woman to annotate” and the cry of Woolf’s persona, at the bookcase in *A room of one’s own*, “[W]here shall I find that elaborate study of the psychology of women by a woman?” Published during her time here, this text famously argues that, historically, women

have been at a disadvantage compared to men, but exhorts them now to recall that “there have been at least two colleges for women in England since the year 1866; that after the year 1880 a married woman was allowed by law to possess her own property; and that in 1919... she was given a vote.” Whereas, she argued, “the chief occupations that were open to women before 1918” were reporting for newspapers on inconsequential events, “addressing envelopes, reading to old ladies, making paper flowers and teaching the alphabet to small children,” now, in 1928, with “most of the professions... open to you for close on ten years... there must be... some two thousand women capable of earning over five hundred a year.”



Exit the park through the central Southern gate, turning left, but stopping at the corner at the **memorial** to Louisa Aldrich-Blake, which has identical portrait busts, one facing into the park and another into the street. The memorial was designed by Edwin Lutyens, brother-in-law of Constance Lytton, and the sculpture was executed by Arthur George Walker who had produced the Florence Nightingale statue in Waterloo Place and who would also fashion the Emmeline Pankhurst

that now stands in Victoria Tower Gardens. The official recognition of Louisa’s contribution to medicine was noted above. Octavia Wilberforce, a distant cousin of Virginia Woolf, wrote to her friend Elizabeth Robins about Louisa: “I like her. Good all through, imperturbable equanimity, nerves of iron for operating, I’m sure. But speechless. I should feel every confidence in her slicing one into bits deliberately and never losing her head at any crisis... [!]t would give me more pleasure than I can say to stir her up somehow, to some enthusiasm or emotion. But I don’t believe it would be possible.” As can be seen in the sculptures, she dressed in a “stiff collar and tie like a man’s”: suspected by Lady Sybil Smith of, in fact, being a man, she was known to close friends as ‘Harry’ and had shown prowess in boxing and cricket when at school. She lived with the artist Rosamund Wigram from 1915 until her death.

Cross over into Tavistock Place and stop outside **Mary Ward Hall**.

Named after the novelist and philanthropist (Mrs Humphrey Ward, 1851-1920), this was the scene of one of the key debates on women’s suffrage with Millicent Fawcett defeating Mary Ward, in February 1909, by 235 votes to 74, coincidentally a fundraising event for the New Hospital for Women which led to Mary becoming a life governor of the hospital.



It now seems extraordinary for a woman who had been a campaigner for women’s university education as a secretary of the committee which oversaw the opening of Somerville College (named after the scientist), Oxford in 1879, to have been an anti-suffragist, arguing that women could not safely be given the vote now that men had created an empire with problems that could “only be solved” if male politicians were “unhampered by the political inexperience of women.” After the defeat, Mary vowed never to speak again on the subject in

public. She did not let her stated belief in the “special knowledge of men” prevent her from entrusting Louisa Aldrich-Blake with her gynaecological problems, which were considerably eased by a successful operation. Through her involvement with the Passmore Edwards Settlement, a physical resource to meet the needs of local families, Mary Ward perhaps maintains a place on the right side of history. The premises were used for Saturday and both after school and holiday play clubs, and for special needs education during weekdays in term-time including, for the first time, subsidised lunches supervised by dinner ladies!



Continue eastwards, along Tavistock Place, taking the fourth right into Hunter Street. Stop, facing the large **plaque** labelling the red-brick building opposite as “Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine University of London.” From this, you would not necessarily gather that this was the (revolutionary) London School of Medicine for Women (LSMW), which had been founded in 1874, three years before any arrangement with the Royal Free Hospital, and four

years before the University of London finally voted to confer degrees on female students! However, the full name is given above the main entrance, although rather hidden. This institution owed its creation to Sophia Jex-Blake (1840-1912), who had struggled to follow Elizabeth Garrett into the profession, and as one of the Edinburgh Seven, had been the unwitting cause of the so-called “Surgeons’ Hall riot” in Edinburgh in 1870. Her treatment by the University of Edinburgh won her sufficient influential sympathisers to agree in August 1874 that a school be opened “with a view of educating women in medicine and enabling them to pass such examinations as would place their names on the medical register.” Elizabeth had been opposed to the idea of separate medical schools for men and women, doubting that the graduates would ever be treated equally (it would be too easy to state that they had achieved training inferior to that afforded male students in established medical schools), but Sophia secured her support not only for the project in principle, but also as a tutor. With astonishing speed, this site (‘The Pavilion’, an old-fashioned house with a large, secluded back garden) was found, and leased (by Jex-Blake), ready for taking its first 14 students in October 1874. The current, purpose-built premises (with the prominent, if slightly misleading, plaque) date from the re-building which took around a decade to complete, from 1893. So that the LSMW could continue in operation, the first stage of this project saw a new block built in the back garden, on Wakefield Street (the Pfeiffer Building), the second on Handel Street running back towards ‘The Pavilion’ (the Oakes Wing), and then finally the demolition and rebuilding of the Hunter Street premises to include garret bedrooms for 16 of the now nearly 200 students. By this time the successful tie-in with the Royal Free Hospital was of very long-standing, and the LSMW was no longer paying compensation for any potential losses arising from their association with female medical students!

The library here was the first meeting place of the Association of Registered Medical Women, (a predecessor organisation of the Medical Women's Federation) which campaigned for equal pay and advocated for the enfranchisement of both women doctors and their women patients.



Cross over Hunter Street and walk along Handel Street, turning left up Wakefield Street. The Pfeiffer Building on your left had a physics laboratory in the basement and the ventilated dissecting room up on the second floor. It would have been here that Octavia Wilberforce's friend Pam Kettle met Queen Mary during her tour of the School in 1915. Asked by Her Majesty what she was working on, and feeling "it would be indelicate to answer 'Guts'", she had the presence of mind to state, "This Ma'am is the material we have to work with to learn Anatomy."

At the end of the street, cross over Tavistock Place and turn right, continuing eastwards and stopping in Regent Square. With the gardens behind you, look across to numbers **4-6 Regent Square**, formerly the Homes of Hope for the Restoration of Fallen and the Protection of Friendless Young Women, a charitable institution founded in 1860 for those "of previous good character" supporting the mother before the birth of the child, and helping maintain the child for a short period after the birth. This was one of several such charities in the area, reflecting the vulnerability to exploitation of young women in Victorian and Edwardian London, another motivation for extending them employment opportunities. In March 1913, *The British Journal of Nursing* reports the case of Ethel Maud Driver, who had been an assistant nurse here: illness (gastritis and insomnia) led to her losing another placement and within days she was being procured, in uniform, in the King's Cross area, in order to support herself.



Also in this square, at number 20 (no longer standing) was the first headquarters and "mother house" of the 'Ranyard nurses', a pioneering scheme for establishing District nursing in the capital. This was established in 1868 by the London Bible and Domestic Female Mission's founder Ellen Henrietta Ranyard (née White, aka LNR, 1810-1879), who lived nearby in Hunter Street, in memory of Agnes Elizabeth Jones (1832-1868) a dedicated workhouse nurse who had trained with Florence Nightingale (1820-1910). Ranyard nurses were trained for three months in surgical, medical and lying-in wards at hospitals including Guy's, Westminster and The London, before dealing, six days a week, with a range of non-contagious conditions in the community to which they were attached, including 'bad legs' (from standing), tumours, abscesses and ulcers, scalds and burns and broken limbs. The initial eighteen nurses made an

average of 1500 visits each in the first year of operation, and one aim was to teach the poor to better nurse themselves, including caring for women and their babies after childbirth. The nurses reported to 'Lady-superintendents' itemising the supplies they would need for their case-loads, which they could collect from the "mother house" when collecting their salaries. LNR hoped in particular to recruit the wives and daughters of doctors as Lady-superintendents: "a lady who can really interest herself... in every case that comes under their nurse's care, and one who can either provide, or collect locally, the supplies that will be needed." Their social class could also be useful in winning round doctors with (perhaps not entirely unjustified) prejudices about nursing standards.

Continue walking eastwards along Regent Square and Sidmouth Street, turning right at the end into Gray's Inn Road. Continue walking until you are opposite the **Eastman Dental**



Hospital, which occupies the site of the Royal Free Hospital where, after 1877, the students of the LSMW gained clinical experience. One important alumna was Helen Chambers (1880-1935) who, having been the gold medallist MD in pathology in 1908, went on to lead the pathology department here. She later served as a pathologist for the Endell Street Hospital during the First World War, and co-published (with Louisa Garrett Anderson, Elizabeth's daughter) in *The Lancet* in 1917 on BIPP paste, a revolutionary slow-release antiseptic treatment for wounds that facilitated

healing by no longer requiring dressings to be changed on a daily basis. After the war, she pioneered radiotherapy treatments and went on to found the 30-bed Marie Curie Hospital for Cancer and Allied Diseases in Hampstead, which was staffed entirely by women. Another first, was the introduction of the first 'Lady Almoner' (a forerunner of hospital social workers), Mary Stewart, in 1895.

Retrace your steps a short way back up the Gray's Inn Road, turning left into Heathcote Street, left again into Mecklenburgh Street and right onto the north side of Mecklenburgh Square. Cross over to the Garden side of the square and turn back to face **Goodenough House**, which occupies the plots of 34 and 37 Mecklenburgh Square, both of which have links to Virginia Woolf. In the former address were offices of the

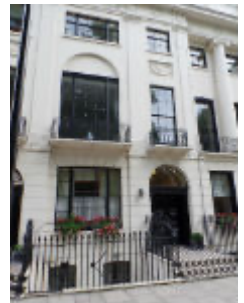


People's Suffrage Federation (PSF), where, the as yet unmarried, Virginia had addressed envelopes in 1910. We have seen that she listed this very form of employment as one open to women in *A Room of One's Own*, and it seems likely that she had been doing her bit for the cause as a volunteer. Although she stated that the extension of the suffrage in 1918 was of less significance to her than the inheritance that enabled her to have a room for writing, she did subsequently say "The vote being won, only great eloquence could celebrate the triumph." The PSF was associated with the Women's Co-Operative Guild (WCG), and Virginia, around this

time, came into contact with its leader Margaret Llewelyn Davies (1861-1944) who was the niece of the educational pioneer and suffragist Emily Davies. Virginia encouraged Margaret to publish *Letters from Working Women* (1915) in connection with the WCG's national scheme for maternity and infancy, which called for "women doctors as municipal officers" of "Maternity and Infant Centres". In 1930, she composed a long "Introductory Letter" to the WCG publication *Life as we have known it: The voices of working class women*, which notes that "[t]he writing has been done in kitchens, at odds and ends of leisure, in the midst of distractions and obstacles", not, in other words, in rooms of their own.

37 Mecklenburgh Square was secured as a replacement for the Woolfs' Tavistock Square home in 1939. This area was bombed several times in September 1940, and she heard on the 18th that "all our windows are broken, ceilings down, and most of our china smashed." A month later, having viewed the destruction of her previous London home, she returned here: "All again litter, glass, black soft dust, plaster and powder. Books all over dining room floor. Only the drawing room with windows almost whole... I began to hunt out diaries."

On the Eastern side of Mecklenburgh Square, stop outside number **24**. The 1911 census shows that three women doctors were living here: Ellen Mary Pickard, Cecily May Peake and Ethel Mary Magill. The last of these was a radiologist at the Endell Street Hospital from 1916. Her *Notes on Galvanism and Faradism* appears to have been a textbook for the Incorporated Society of Trained Masseuses (now the Chartered Society of Physiotherapists), for whom she was an examiner, which had been formed by nurses to distinguish them from non-medical massage practitioners. Next door, at 23, back in 1891, the New Hospital for Women had experimented for a couple of years with a maternity outdoor department where an examination room was made available in the basement, and a resident medical officer and two (LSMW) students would be on call to attend women in their homes.



Continue southwards down Mecklenburgh Square, which becomes Doughty Street. Stop at number **29** (which shares its door with number 30). For a short time around 1890 this was the communal residence of the Fellowship of the New Life, an organisation espousing simple living that gave birth to the Fabian Society. Edith Mary Oldham Ellis Lees (1861-1916), who went on to write novels, and also for the short-lived radical feminist periodical *The Freewoman*, famously did not enjoy the experiment, declaring "Fellowship is hell and lack of Fellowship is heaven." Next door is a blue plaque for the poet Charlotte Mew (1869-1928), who lived here as a child – her adult home at 9 Gordon Street is, like the houses of Virginia Woolf, no longer standing. Like Emmeline Pethick and Mary Neal, Charlotte was involved in a club for girls, and like Louisa Aldrich Blake she tended to dress in masculine style. She also often adopted male personae when writing.

Continue down Doughty Street, crossing Guilford Street and stop outside number **48**. This is now the Charles Dickens Museum, marking his residence here in the late 1830s when his career was just taking off. However, we are not here for Rose Maylie or Kate Nickleby, who were both created when he was living here. In the early twentieth century it had become a lodging



house run by Jane Lyons. The 1911 census gives an idea of her predominantly female clientele which includes an artist and a stage performer as well as housekeepers, governesses, teachers, short-hand typists, a manageress, a dress cutter and a book-keeper. Interestingly, a number of these were unemployed and one wonders how they paid their way, and what they did with their time. Certainly, Mary Richardson (1883-1961) of the Women's Social and Political Union was brought here, clandestinely, in 1913 after her release from Holloway under the so-called 'Cat and Mouse Act' (which temporarily released hunger striking women to recover their health, so that they could then resume their sentences). Mary claims that Annie Kenney had also been hidden here. This was also the address from which Mary set out for the National Gallery on March 10th 1914 when she slashed the Rokeby Venus because "You can get another picture but you cannot get a life," asserting that her militant action was a defence of Mrs Pankhurst who had just been re-arrested. Both Mary and Annie came under the care of Dr Flora Murray (1869-1923), a suffragette who had founded the Women's Hospital for Children with Louisa Garrett Anderson (1873-1943) and went on to work with her in the Women's Hospital Corps, including at the Endell Street Hospital.



Further along the street, stop again outside number **58**. A blue plaque marks the residence here of Vera Brittain (1893-1970) and Winifred Holtby (1898-1935). Both women had served during the First World War, Vera as a nurse with the Voluntary Aid Detachment and Winifred, more briefly, with the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, a body led by Dr Mona Chalmers-Watson (1872-1936) who had been Edinburgh's first woman M.D., and had refused to marry until she had achieved this status, equalling that of her husband. After the war, and Oxford, Winifred and Vera lived in a flat here

from 1921 until Vera's marriage in 1925, although they continued to live together. In September 1933 Virginia Woolf noted in her diary that she had been reading the newly published *Testament of Youth* with "extreme greed" and praised it as "The new sort, the hard angry sort, that the young write; that I could never write. Nor has anyone written that kind of book before."

Retrace your steps back to Guilford Street and turn left. Take the third left into Lamb's Conduit Street (opposite the gates of Coram's field), and turn right into Great Ormond Street. This corner, opposite the Perseverance pub seems to have housed, from 1841, the St John's Servants' School for training girls, founded by Mary Jane Kinnaird (1816-1888) who would go on to co-found the YWCA. Between 1861 and 1878 the premises became an Industrial Home for workhouse girls, founded by Louisa Twining (1820-1912). This gave practical tuition in domestic skills but was also designed to be a home to which former residents could return for holidays and "on leaving situations". Unusually, it also extended nursing opportunities both at the adjacent Home for Incurables, founded by Louisa the following year, and in the nursery at Great Ormond Street Hospital, where Louisa had investigated nursing for herself in 1858-1859, only to be put off by the suffering of the children and the knowledge that hard-won recoveries would prove temporary once they were returned to the care of their mothers. Nonetheless, in 1861, she wrote



"On all sides there is a cry for 'employment for women.'... Now there is one calling and profession that is far from being over-stocked. It is a noble, honourable, and remunerative one,—one essentially belonging to women, and yet I believe it is little known or thought of by the class of persons who might fill it so advantageously. Nurses, good nurses, are wanted everywhere, in private families, in hospitals and institutions without number; everywhere physicians are saying, 'Send us good nurses...'"

"I see a prospect of increasing happiness and a boundless sphere of occupation for women;... we shall hear less of the want of 'employment for women,' as well as of their sorrows, real or imaginary, physical or mental."

Keep walking west along Great Ormond Street stopping outside number **49** on the left hand side. Louisa Twining noted "Pupil-nurses are received at the Hospital for Sick Children, 49, Great Ormond-street, where, after a short training, certificates and recommendations are given which will ensure good places as nurses for children in private families." Living at this address, in the 1881 census, was Catherine Jane Wood (1841-1930), Lady Superintendent at Great Ormond Street Hospital, head of a household comprising both ward and outpatient sisters, nurses and three "Lady pupils". Catherine became the first secretary of the British Nurses' Association and, with interests in the education of nurses and mothers, wrote pamphlets such as *A handbook for the Nursing of Sick Children*, *A handbook of Nursing for the Home and for the Hospital*, and *Food and Cookery for Infants and Invalids*. Her obituary in the *British Nursing Journal* notes "In 1892-1895 she acted as a Special Commissioner of the British Medical Journal in connection with the Inquiry which it instituted into the conditions of Workhouse Infirmaries in England and Ireland, and considered this one of the best pieces of work which she undertook."



Continue west along Great Ormond Street into Queen Square. On the east side of the square until 1901 was the Working Women's College opened in 1866, where Elizabeth Garrett taught regularly in the early days. The night school's co-founder, Elizabeth Malleson (née Whitehead, 1828-1916) had been one of the founders of the Ladies' London Emancipation Society, established during the American Civil War to allow women to show their opposition to the ongoing institution of slavery in the Southern states. In 1884, she appointed a rural district nurse in Gloucestershire, and through royal patronage was able to expand this provision in England through the Rural Nursing Division of the Queen's Nursing Institute from 1891. By the early 20th century, although the 'Ranyard nurses' claimed no affiliation to this institute, they were considering their own nurses to meet equivalent standards.

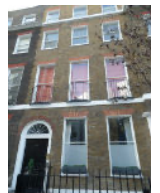
On the far side of the square, pause outside numbers **8-11**. This was built as a medical examination hall for the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons, opening in 1908. Octavia Wilberforce, who struggled to pass examinations (having had a deficient education in childhood) records her attempts to come here to view her Anatomy and Physiology results in October 1917, in the face of air raids.



Continue north around the square and stop outside number **19** (now Alexandra House). This was a purpose-built hospital (for children with hip disease) replacing the original domestic premises that had been used since the hospital was founded on the site in 1867. Four women had founded the hospital originally, two of whom had hitherto been nurses at Great Ormond Street Hospital. Catherine Jane Wood, we have already met; her colleague was Jane Perceval who went on to marry the hospital's surgeon Frederick Howard Marsh in 1870, remaining honorary secretary after the marriage. Next door at number 20, Louisa Twining had established the St Luke's Home for Epileptic and Infirm Women in 1866 and moved in herself, as supervisor.



Take the cut through to Guilford Street in the north-west corner of the square. Cross over and turn right, stopping outside number **81**. For several months in 1882 this was the home of Olive Schreiner who had left South Africa hoping to become a doctor, and enrolled to study at the, nearby, LSMW. As with her previous attempts to prepare for entering the profession, she was not fit enough to continue, which must have been a crushing disappointment:



"I can't remember a time when I was so small that it was not there in my heart. I used to dissect ostriches, and sheeps' hearts and livers, and almost the first book I ever bought myself was an elementary physiology... It seems to me that a doctor's is the most perfect of all lives, it satisfies the craving to know, and also the craving to serve."

Edward Carpenter recalled her as having “laid herself open to the gravest suspicions” because she was “a young and pretty woman of apparently lady-like origin who did not wear a veil and seldom wore gloves, and who talked and laughed even in the street quite naturally and unaffectedly”. Her proto-feminist novel *The Story of an African Farm* was published the following year. The future novelist Flora Macdonald Mayor (1872-1932) wrote home from Newnham College to say she had been reading it, prompting her clergyman father to pronounce that it was “opening the way to positive immorality” and “not in the least the book for young and thoughtless girls”. In 1911, Schreiner’s work entitled *Woman and Labour* was dedicated to Lady Constance Lytton (the erstwhile Jane Warton) and includes these words addressed to us, her future readers:

"You will look back at us with astonishment! You will wonder at passionate struggles that accomplished so little... but, what you will never know is how it was thinking of you and for you, that we struggled as we did and accomplished the little which we have done; that it was in the thought of your larger realization and fuller life that we found consolation for the futilities of our own."

Keep walking east along Guilford Street and turn left into Grenville Street and left again into Bernard Street. Stop facing the **steps** going up to the square in the middle of the Brunswick



Centre. Number 32 Bernard Street, which once stood here had been the home of Sophia Jex-Blake, founder of the LSMW. She had moved here, with her mother in the run-up to the opening. After qualifying as a doctor, she had anticipated formalizing her previously unofficial role there as Secretary, but not for the last time, her interpersonal skills prompted those in authority to look elsewhere, although she remained as a trustee. Returning to Edinburgh, she founded the Edinburgh Hospital and Dispensary for Women and Children and, in 1886, the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women. She opposed the rebuilding of the LSMW, and eventually resigned as a trustee in acrimonious circumstances. As early as 1871, Sophia had spoken at a Suffrage meeting in London, at a time when, as her first biographer (her companion in retirement, and putative partner) Margaret Georgina Todd (1859-1918) noted, many people thought the vote would be granted before women could qualify as doctors. In the 1880s, Sophia wrote, “If I correctly understand the British Constitution, one of its fundamental principles is that Taxation and Representation should go together, and that every person taxed should have a voice in the election of those by whom taxes are imposed... I am unable to see that the sex of the tax-paying householder should enter into the question at all.” She continued to write articles and letters espousing the cause, although Margaret Todd states “[s]he never approved of tax-resistance, and militant methods made her uneasy, though she admitted that they had given the cause a prominence that nothing else could have done.”

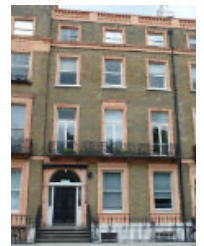
Cross over and walk up through the Brunswick Centre square, stopping at the **entrance** to the passageway, on your left, leading to Coram Street which once extended in this direction. The suffragette Emily Wilding Davison lived in lodgings at 31 Coram Street, both in 1911, when she evaded the census by hiding in the broom closet in the Houses of Parliament, and when she travelled to the Epsom Derby two years later. Between 1864 and around 1890, 35 Coram Street had been the Main Memorial Home for Deserted Mothers. Although characterized in the press, in 1878, as “an exchange and mart for children” and “a kind of turnstile through which children are passed” into undocumented private adoption, the institution survived, becoming part of the Church Penitentiary Association for the Reclamation of Fallen Women, which lives on still as the Church Welfare Association.

Walk through the passageway and continue West down Coram Street, where (in another lost building) Emily Faithfull, whose home we passed earlier, had established the Victoria Press, at number 6. Turning left into Woburn Place, and then right into Russell Square.

Stop near the **corner**, facing diagonally across to The Kimpton Fitzroy London, formerly the Hotel Russell, which was built in 1898, and the façade of which incorporates statues of four British queens (Elizabeth I, Mary II, Anne and Victoria). The hotel was built on the site of the London home of the Pankhursts, where Emmeline had hosted meetings of the Women’s Franchise League. It is probably the hotel referred to in Virginia Woolf’s *Night and Day* as being “across the square” from the office where the character Mary Datchet works for the (fictional) suffrage organization SGS.



Keep going along the north side of Russell Square, stopping outside number **23**. In 1919 this became the headquarters of the British Dental Association. As well as living in a flat above the offices from 1920, Lilian Lindsay (1871-1960) was honorary librarian here until 1946, when she became the first woman president of the BDA. In 1895, she had been the first woman to qualify as a dentist in the UK (in Edinburgh), and had won prizes for dental surgery and pathology, and materia medica and therapeutics. Having taken out a loan to fund her studies, she worked for a decade in London before returning to Edinburgh to marry a former fellow-student. By 1914 the LSMW had five dentistry students, and its secretary was advocating the course of study there as a “splendid investment” with total fees of £180 contrasted with potential incomes upwards of £600 a year.



At the next (northwest) corner of Russell Square pause to look north up Thornhaugh Street towards Woburn Square (the green space in the distance beyond SOAS). Until the 1970s, Woburn Square extended much further in this direction. Number 39, now demolished, was the childhood home of the pioneering research General Practitioner Julian Tudor-Hart, who theorised the Inverse Care Law in 1971 ("The availability of good medical care tends to vary inversely with the need for the population served"). However, we are not pausing here for him. His mother Alison Macbeth (1897-1953), who brought him up here as a single parent, was a GP and a published endocrinologist. Family tradition had it that she had secured an interview at medical school on the strength of her forename, which was then considered unisex. Pause outside number **25** Russell Square, which became the headquarters of the 'Ranyard nurses' in 1907. Continue around the western side of Russell Square and keep going down Montague Street. Turn left into, and then cross Great Russell Street.



Stop outside **72/73**, a side entrance to premises in Bloomsbury Square, which comprised the home of the Pharmaceutical Society between 1841 and 1976. A small plaque commemorates the inaugural meeting here of the Association of Women Pharmacists in 1905. As we saw earlier, this institution was the brainchild of Isabella Skinner Clarke-Keer. The other woman admitted here as a pioneering woman member, in 1879, was Rose Coombes Minshull (1845-1905) who observed of the prejudice faced by women dispensers: "Of course she must know her work thoroughly, for she will find it to be more sharply criticised than a man's would be in the same position."



Walk around the corner into Bloomsbury Square to stand outside the main entrance to number **17**. Elizabeth Garrett herself had attended chemistry and botany lectures here in 1861, before this was prohibited by the Society's council. Although this decision was reversed in 1872, women were excluded from the chemistry laboratories here for a further five years (which did not stop women attaining top places in Chemistry examinations). As a male witness of Elizabeth Garrett's attendance commented later, "We were conscious that when once a lady come into a class she means to take prizes, and I am afraid we were selfish enough to think of that rather than anything else."

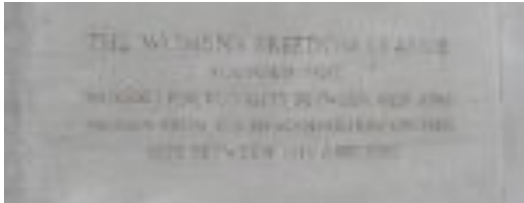


A student here from the next generation of women was Elsie Higgon (née Hooper, 1879-1969), who was registered in 1902 and went on to be a demonstrator here while studying for a BSc in Botany and Chemistry at Birkbeck College. This qualification was noted in the *Chemist and*

Druggist's account of her participation in the Women's Coronation Procession on 17 June 1911, a Suffragette march, which featured other women pharmacists.

Look across to number **23** Bloomsbury Square, on the right-hand corner of Bedford Place. This was the nurses' home and training premises for a rival attempt to provide "Nurses for the Sick Poor". The Metropolitan and National Nursing Association begun seven years after the Ranyard nurses started a few streets away, but incorporating the East London Nursing Society which had also begun in 1868. Florence Nightingale appealed for donations to support "the crusade against dirt and fever nests—the crusade to let light and air and cleanliness into the worst rooms of the worst places of sick London." Louisa Twining, whom we met in nearby Great Ormond Street and Queen Square, was on the Association's Council. The premises subsequently became the central home and training-school for the Queen's Nursing Institute.

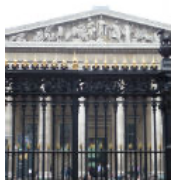
Continue walking south down Bloomsbury Square and turn right into Bloomsbury Way. Cross at the crossing and continue West turning immediately left into Barter Street, following the road round to the right. Stop at the junction with Bury Place where an unassuming **plaque** commemorates what was the base of the Women's Freedom League between 1914 and 1959. A



splinter group from the Women's Social and Political Union, founded in 1907, and advocating nonviolent resistance (including non-compliance with the 1911 census), its members were generally opposed to the first world war and to the suspension of suffrage campaigning for the duration. Two of the leaseholders of these 144 High Holborn premises were doctors who had studied at the LSMW: Elizabeth Knight (1869-1933), a General Practitioner who was imprisoned several times for her activism including for non-payment of tax, and Octavia Margaret Sophia Lewin (1869-1955), who notwithstanding her WFL membership did serve as an assistant surgeon in Dieppe and physician at Charenton, and at the nearby Endell Street Hospital (of which more later). The Minerva Café here was used as a meeting place by the Emily Davison Club, intended to help keep alive the memory of her struggle for the vote.

Walk up Bury Place and cross Bloomsbury Way, turning left. Stop in front of St George's Church. This was where the funeral procession of Emily Wilding Davison paused for a short service *en route* to King's Cross Station, before her eventual interment in Morpeth (in 1913). Having bought her ticket to Epsom, she had been run down by the king's horse and fatally wounded. Although she had attempted a martyr's suicide in Holloway, to halt force-feeding, it is not completely certain that this was her intention at The Derby.





Take the next right into Museum Street and walk back up to Great Russell Street until you are in front of the **British Museum**. Until 1997, the building was also home to the British Library, centred around the famous reading room which had opened in 1857. This was no gentleman's club and it was a place where radical thinkers (both male and female) not only researched, but met each other. This was, for example, where Olive Schreiner met Eleanor Marx (1855-1898) and Amy Levy (1862-1889). In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf's persona enters the library to research women, finding that most texts on the subject were written by men. It is striking that Ruth Slate, a clerk who complained in a 1905 letter to a friend, "I am ashamed... how hard it is to get any spare time at home" recorded her particular interest in "autographs" of George Eliot, rather than any male author, when noting a visit to the museum in her diary.

Keep going to the junction with Bloomsbury Street, and look left. Round the back of the building on the horizon (which appears to block the road) is the site of the Endell Street Hospital. This was the first military hospital in the country to be staffed entirely by women, and their service was explicitly a contribution to the suffrage cause. As Flora Murray (whom we last saw treating women released under the Cat and Mouse Act) said "Women who had trained in medicine and in surgery knew instinctively that... a hitherto unlooked-for occasion for service was at their feet." In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf reflecting on changes to the position of women, considered that the Crimean war had "let Florence Nightingale out of her drawing room, and the European war... opened the doors to the average woman." Flora's memoir recalls some patient objections, and the odd encounter between the wounded and women who had previously been arrested by them, but the hospital treated 26,000 patients, and in January 1918 Sir Alfred Keogh said, "I think your success has probably done more for the cause of women than anything else I know of." That month, the hospital was rigged with bunting in celebration of the House of Lords passing the Representation of the People Act that extended the franchise to women over 30 years of age.

Turn right and up the east side of Bedford Square. On the far side of the square, this road becomes Gower Street. Stop outside number 2, which has a blue plaque for Millicent Garrett



Fawcett, the sister of Elizabeth Garrett, who had helped found Newnham College, Cambridge, been secretary of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, and led the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. She had married the (blind) liberal politician Henry Fawcett in 1867, who, in his role as postmaster general appointed Edith Shove (1848-1929), one of the first women to graduate M.B. Lond., "as medical officer to the women post office clerks." Millicent moved in with her sister Agnes (1845-1935), after Henry's death in 1884. Agnes Fawcett had lived here since 1875 with their cousin Rhoda (1841-1882) her partner in their arts and crafts interior decoration business, which played a role in the interior design of

the future Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital. Rhoda and Agnes established the Ladies' Dwellings Company to build private and respectable accommodation for unmarried, professional women and were also both suffrage campaigners, making public speeches for the cause around the country.

Another woman deserving to be remembered at this address is Millicent and Henry's daughter Philippa (1868-1948). Having outstripped all the men in her year in the Mathematical Tripos at Cambridge, even the Telegraph commentator was moved to observe, "There is no longer any field of learning in which the lady student does not excel." She was one of the so-called 'steamboat ladies' who were permitted to graduate from Trinity College Dublin (instead of Cambridge, which only permitted study). After lecturing at Newnham College and in South Africa, she went on to be Principal Assistant to the Director of Education at the London County Council for almost thirty years.

Pause at the junction with Keppel Street. Looking left across Gower Street is Store Street where Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was lodging when she wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, published in 1792. In this work, she comments:

How many women thus waste life away, the prey of discontent, who might have practised as physicians, regulated a farm, managed a shop, and stood erect, supported by their own industry... Business of various kinds, they might likewise pursue, if they were educated in a more orderly manner, which might save many from common and legal prostitution. Women would not then marry for a support...; nor would an attempt to earn their own subsistence, a most laudable one! sink them almost to the level of those poor abandoned creatures who live by prostitution. For are not milliners and mantuamakers reckoned the next class?

Cross Keppel Street and walk up the side of the London School of Hygiene which has stood here since 1929 to the **Gower Street entrance** and look up. After 120 years of commemorating only men, the institution added the surnames of Marie Skłodowska-Curie (1867-1934), Florence Nightingale and Alice Augusta Ball (1892-1916). Alice was an African-American chemist who developed a treatment for leprosy but died before she could publish her research. A man took the credit for it, and her role was only discovered decades later.

Walk back to Keppel Street and stop outside the **Keppel Street entrance**.

Before the school was erected, this site, then set aside for a projected Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, had become home to a prefabricated Shakespeare Hut, opened in August 1916 to mark the tercentenary of the Bard's death and as a YMCA hostel for soldiers from Australia and New Zealand, staffed day and night by women volunteers. The facilities included a small theatre managed by Gertrude Forbes-Robertson (née Elliott, 1874-1950). She was a co-founder of the Actresses' Franchise League some of whose members formed the Junior Players company, which performed at the Shakespeare Hut in all woman performances of scenes from *Henry V*. The League's war work was not limited to entertaining the troops, however, but also included the foundation of the Women's Emergency Corps, and the British Women's Hospital Fund. The lounge at the hut was named after the late son of Ethel Brilliana Tweedie (1862-1940). Her 1918 book, *Women and Soldiers* notes of the Commons vote to extend the franchise in 1917:



and so at last some of us women are to have the vote. And why?
 Not because Mrs Fawcett, Lady Frances Balfour, Dr Mary Scharlieb, and a dozen others, had worked for it for well over fifty years; but because, after practically three and a half years of strife, men actually realized that women had helped to win the war...
 There is no name more worthy of honour than that of Dr. Elsie Inglis... who originated the Scottish Woman's Hospitals, leaving her large surgical practice in Edinburgh for the purpose. She staffed her hospitals entirely with women, and the British War Office refused their services... Serbia conferred on her the Order of the White Eagle; it was the only time a woman has ever received such a distinction.
 In Great Britain she received nothing — but snubs! And so died in harness, a great woman, a great organizer, untiring in her work for the women's cause, and, later for the sick and suffering in war. A woman of pluck, energy, striking personality, and above all, always a woman; yet she never had a British decoration or a vote, much as she would have appreciated either.

Turn right towards Malet Street, and straight ahead you will see the looming Art Deco tower of Senate House. Before it was built, Keppel Street extended all the way through to Russell Square and on the far side of the building is a plaque commemorating Mary Prince (b.1788) who dictated the first autobiography of a black woman in this country, which contributed significantly to the abolitionist movement in the early 1830s because of the immediacy of her first-person account of enslavement.

Cross over Malet Street and head left. **Birkbeck College**, on your right, shares two heraldic symbols with the RCGP, the owl representing the night (when we have seen that Elsie Hooper was studying, while working at the Pharmaceutical Society) and the lamp the illumination of

learning. Although not on this site at the time, Birkbeck had admitted its first women students as long ago as 1830. Its alumnae also included Annie Besant (1847-1933). Her 1888 article entitled *White Slavery in London* introduced polite society to the working conditions of women in Bryant and May's match factory and led indirectly to the first occasion when a Union of (so-called) unskilled workers secured better pay and conditions through strike action. At the far end of the College premises, cut through under it, past the bike racks, into Torrington Square.

On the far side of Torrington Square, stop outside number **30**. There is a plaque for Christina Rossetti (1830-1894) who lived here for the final 17 years of her life. These bleak lines opening a short poem entitled *From the Antique*, and summing up the place of many women in her lifetime, remained unpublished at her death:

It's a weary life, it is, she said:
Doubly blank in a woman's lot:
I wish and I wish I were a man:
Or, better than any being, were not.



It is worth contrasting this with the closing line of the gravestone commemorating the suffragettes and surgeons Flora Murray and Louisa Garrett Anderson: "We have been gloriously happy."

Living next door at number **31**, in 1894, Charlotte Carmichael Stopes (1840-1929), a member of the Rational Dress Society and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, had published her book *British Freewomen: Their Historical Privilege*. Noting that granting women the vote would be both just and advantageous, Stopes comments in her introduction, "when the only objection brought against a thing is, that it has not been, it is time to test if that statement be really true. We have not found the received assertions true in regard to this subject." In an appendix she notes that women could be admitted to the British Medical Association but were still barred from studying medicine at University College London even though the University had supposedly been accepting women on equal terms with men since 1878.

Charlotte's daughter Marie Stopes (1880-1952), would go on to establish the country's first birth control clinic, offering bodily autonomy to women (although not necessarily for the 'right reasons' given her eugenic beliefs). Marie had joined the Women's Social and Political Union and wrote to *The Times* in April 1914 objecting to a London County Council ruling forbidding the employment of married women doctors.

Turning to your left walk north crossing Byng Place, turning right and then left into Gordon Square. Stop outside the **Tudor Gothic (revival) building** which opened in 1849 as University Hall, a hall of residence for (male) students. To the right of the main entrance a second door gave access to part of the premises which, in 1909, became the registered address of a School of Pharmacy for Women, which provided training for those seeking accreditation by the Pharmaceutical Society and the Society of Apothecaries. Its founder, Margaret Elizabeth Buchanan (1865-1940) taught Pharmacy at the London School of Medicine for Women and had established the Association of Women Pharmacists in 1905 with Isabella Skinner Clarke-Keer (whom we met a couple of streets away, early in the walk). Elsie Higgon, who had been the AWP Joint Secretary at its foundation, began lecturing here in 1921 and eventually took over proprietorship of what became the College of Pharmacy for Ladies in Gordon Square.

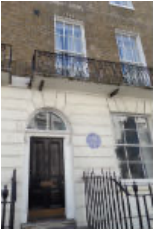


Retrace your steps to **Byng Place**. Straight ahead, at right angles to the church, are the premises which once served as College Hall, a hall of residence for women students. Explicitly, at first, not limited to UCL students, many early residents were studying at the London School of Medicine for Women. Opened at number one only, in 1882, it expanded to include numbers two and three Byng Place in 1883 and 1887, before moving round the corner to Malet Street in 1932. Financially, its initial backers were Annie Leigh Browne (1851-1936) and Mary Stewart Kilgore (1851-1955) and they also drew practical support from Henrietta Müller (1846-1906). With Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Annie and Mary were instrumental in setting up the Society for Promoting the Return of Women as County Councillors, subsequently the Women's Local Government Society. Annie and Mary also formed the Union of Practical Suffragists to force the Liberal Party to back extending the franchise. Like Elizabeth Garrett, Henrietta managed to get elected to the London School Board, but she also went on to found the Women's Penny Paper and the Society for Promoting the Return of Women as Poor Law Guardians. One of the first women so elected was Louisa Twining whom we met in Great Ormond Street, Queen Square and Bloomsbury Square.

Keep walking west as far as Gower Street. Turn north before stopping outside the UCL **Anatomy Building** which was opened in 1923. A number of houses were demolished to make room for it, 122 Gower Street among them. A flat at that address was, in 1903, not only the home of Margaret Grace Bondfield (1873-1953), the first woman delegate to the TUC, who became chair of the Adult Suffrage Society, and ultimately a Labour Member of Parliament, but also her friend Mary Reid Macarthur (1880-1921), who would go on to be secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, and founder, in 1906, of the National Federation of Women's Workers. Margaret's origin as a Brighton and Hove shopgirl



enabled her to advise Cicely Mary Hamilton (née Hammill, 1872-1952), co-founder of the Women Writers' Suffrage League (and lyricist of Ethel Smyth's *The March of the Women*) on the opening scenes of her novel (and play) *Diana of Dobson's*, which take place in a workers' dormitory above the shop, a common situation at the time which she described as follows: "overcrowded, insanitary conditions, poor and insufficient food were the main characteristics of this system, with an undertone of danger." Margaret later became the first female Cabinet Minister and first woman to grace the Privy Council. Mary led the successful chainmakers' strike in Cradley Heath in 1910, commenting that, hitherto, working "women are unorganised because they are badly paid, and poorly paid because they are unorganised."



Cross the road and stop outside **129**. The blue plaque notes that this was the home of Victor Horsley but does not say that this was only between 1882 and 1885. Dorothy Richardson's *Miriam*, learns that Horsley was world famous in medical circles, but his place, here, on this walk (as the token man) hinges on his later co-publications with suffragist doctors, first *Alcohol and the Human Body* with Mary Darby Sturge (1865-1925), a suffragist who would go on to campaign for equal pay through her presidency of the Medical Women's Federation, and Agnes Forbes Blackadder-Savill (1875-1964), with whom he had investigated the force-feeding of suffragette prisoners, their report in *The Lancet* asserting that the Home Secretary had misled the public about the safety of the practice.

Crossing back to the east side of Gower Street, pause at the gates to the main quadrangle at UCL. The north wing, tucked just out of sight to your left, includes the Slade School of Fine Art, founded in 1871. Famous alumnae with connections to the suffrage movement include Constance Georgine Markievicz (née Gore-Booth, 1868-1927), the first woman elected to the House of Commons, Mary Lowndes (1857-1929), founder of the Artists' Suffrage League and designer of banners and posters for the movement, and Bertha Newcombe (1857-1947) a member of the Artists Suffrage League who submitted to the 1910 Summer Exhibition a 'historical painting' of events 44 years previously when Elizabeth Garrett and Emily Davies handed over the completed suffrage petition to John Stuart Mill, having hidden it until his arrival under an apple cart in Westminster Hall.

Continuing north up Gower Street takes us to **Euston Square** station.

Acknowledgements: With thanks to Elizabeth Crawford for her publications, time and encouragement.