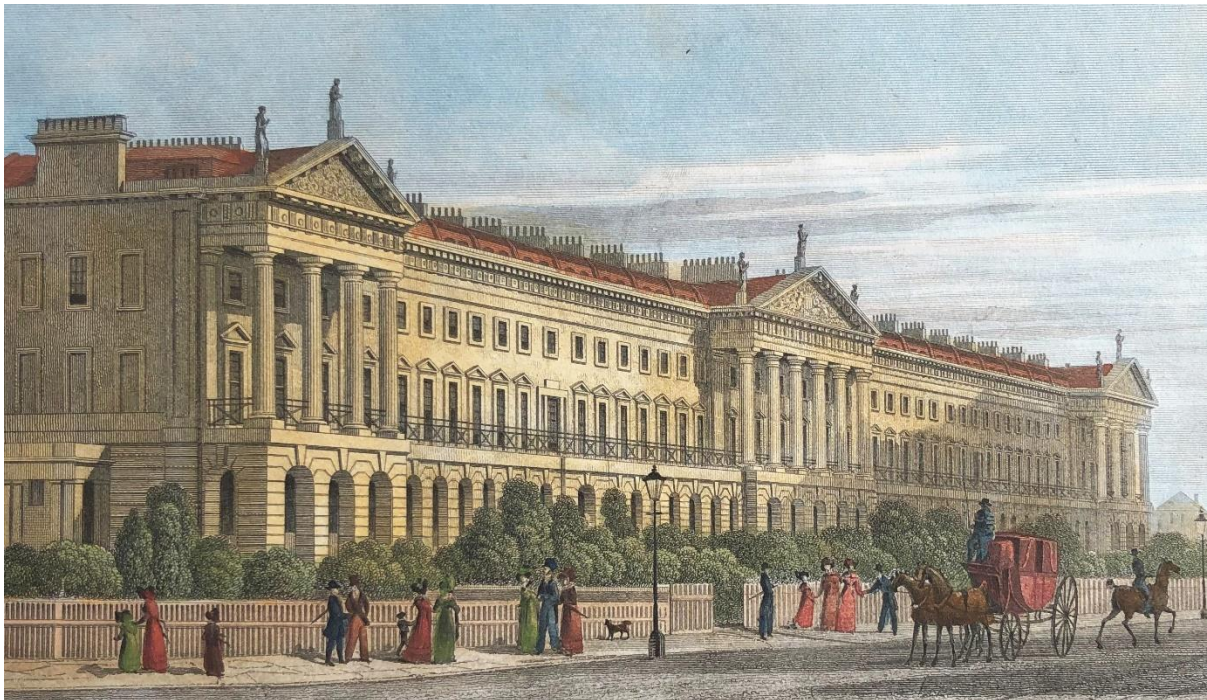




THE WILKIE COLLINS SOCIETY

A LIFE IN SIX SCENES Wilkie Collins in the Census

by
Paul Lewis



Hanover Terrace, London in 1827. The Collins family is recorded in the 1851 census at no. 17.

Wilkie Collins Society
April 2021



85 Oxford Terrace (now 167 Sussex Gardens)
 where the Collins family lived from 1840 to 1843
 Its Census records for 1841 are lost.

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The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Parish (or Township) of	Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town of	Hamlet or Tything, &c., of	Ecological District of			
Marylebone	Marylebone	Cavendish	Marylebone			All Saints			
No. of Schedule	Household, Street, &c., and No. of Name of House	HOUSES In Inhabited (U.S. or Building (S.))	Name and Surname of each Person	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of Males Females	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	Whether Blind, or Deaf and Dumb
			Elizabeth -	Servant		19	Servant	Edley	
			Oliver Groves -	do		18	do	Midlet	
			William Crick -	do		31	do	Weymouth	
			John Adams -	do		28	do	Weymouth	
135	12 Harley St	1	George Gresham	Head	Unm	46	Surgeon Dentist	Leamington Spa	
			Mary Gresham	Wife	Unm	38	Servant	West of London	
135	do		Wilkie Collins	Servant	Unm	26	Domestic help in kitchen	London	
			Caroline -	Wife	Unm	26	Domestic help	Worcestershire	
			Mary Willing	Servant	Unm	26	House Servant	Cambridge	
			Harriet Montagu	do	Unm	16	do	London	
136	13 do	1	James Peoria	Head	Unm	60	Householder	do	
			George -	Son	Unm	35	Editor of the Standard	Weymouth	
			Mrs. Nephew -	Son	Unm	31	Auditor General Hong Kong	Rome	
			Richd Temple -	Son	Unm	9	Scholar	New York U.S.	
			John Aston -	Servant	Unm	22	House Servant	Weymouth	
			Elizabeth Servant	do	Unm	25	do	Weymouth	
			Henry Popcott -	do	Unm	27	Cook	Worcestershire	
137	72 do	1	John James Rendell	Head	Unm	44	Parriester	Weymouth	
			Martha Callaway	Servant	Unm	57	Washer	Worcestershire	
138	73 do	1	Walterley S. Craig	Head	Unm	40	Capt. Royal Army	Ireland	
			John Wetherby -	Wife	Unm	30	Captain	Weymouth	
			Mrs. Weston -	Son	Unm	19	Student	Weymouth	
			Chas Albert -	Son	Unm	16	do	Weymouth	
			Miss F. Craig	Servant	Unm	14	do	Weymouth	
			Maria Maryam -	Servant	Unm	9	do	Weymouth	
5	Total of Houses...	4			Total of Males and Females...	11	14		

Eng.—Sheet D.

The Census entry on 7 April 1861 for 12 Harley Street, Marylebone showing Wilkie Collins and Caroline. Every single box of her entry is untrue. (National Archives RG9/72/146/33).

A LIFE IN SIX SCENES

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Wilkie Collins in the Census

Years ending in ‘1’ have been census years in Britain for more than two centuries, years in which the light of a single Spring day illuminates the population – who it was, where it slept, and what it did. In this census year of 2021 this short study looks at what light those decennial flashes cast on Wilkie Collins and his family. Census data for 1801 to 1831 has been largely lost so the 1841 census is the earliest available.¹

First Scene – 1841

Wilkie and his family do not appear in the 1841 census records. More than 200 parishes and hamlets are missing including the Parish of Paddington where they lived. We can, though, reconstruct the entry fairly closely. On census Day, Sunday 6 June 1841, William Collins R.A. and his family were at their home at 85 Oxford Terrace (now 167 Sussex Gardens) where they had moved the previous summer. In the morning they would have visited Christ Church, Albany Street where William had contributed £5 towards the building fund and rented pew D28 with a good line of sight to the pulpit from which the Revd. William Dodsworth enlightened them.² The rest of the day would be spent reading appropriate books or praying but not working or playing – William was a Sabbatarian.³ We know he was at home, not on one of his painting trips, as the Royal Academy Exhibition was open and he had five pictures on display there, one religious and four taken from his visit to Italy during 1837 and 1838.⁴ The entry, brief in 1841, would have been like this

Reconstruction of the lost census return for 85 Oxford Terrace, Sunday 6 June 1841

Place	Houses	Names of each person	Age and sex		Profession, trade, employment or of independent means	Where born	
			Male	Female		Same County	Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Parts
Oxford terrace	1	William Collins	50		Artist	Y	
		Harriet do.		50	—	N	
		William W.	15		Clerk	Y	
		Charles	13		—	Y	
		[Mary unknown]	.	?	FS	?	
		[Susan unknown]	.	?	FS	?	
		// [housemaid]	.	?	FS	?	

¹ Wilkie’s father William Collins does appear in the 1821 Census taken in Marylebone on 28 May. But it merely records ‘Collins’ and the address ‘11 Cavendish Street New’ where he had lived since his family moved there from 118 Great Portland Street in the second quarter of 1815 (Memoirs, vol. I pp. 73-74 and Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue 1815 p. [47]).

² Alan Bean, *Wilkie Collins’s Religious Upbringing*, Wilkie Collins Society 2017, pp. 5-6.

³ Bean, *op. cit.* p. 2 and p. 8 n.42. And Alfred Story, *Life of John Linnell* (London: 1892) vol. I, pp. 276-277.

⁴ Memoirs, vol. II, pp. 187-191 and pp. 349-350.

The 1841 census did not generally include middle names so William is unlikely to have used his – John Thomas – which were unseen except at his baptism, on his bank account, and in his will. William Wilkie, as the eldest son with the same first name, may have got a middle W. to distinguish him from his father and may have had ‘Clerk’ recorded as his job – he had just begun working for the tea merchant Edmond Antrobus in the Strand. Charles Allston would not have his middle A, nor be recorded as a scholar.

In the 1841 census individuals aged over 15 had their age rounded down to the nearest five years. Hence the 53-year-old William and the 17-year-old Wilkie are given as 50 and 15. Harriet Collins (née Geddes) was aged exactly 50.

In addition to the family, there would have been at least two and probably three servants. In July 1844 the cook was called Mary, there was an un-named housemaid, and also a third servant called Susan.⁵ They would be listed by name and age with FS (Female Servant) as their employment. William certainly could afford them. His five paintings at the 1851 Royal Academy Exhibition were priced at a total of £825 and he had other income from the prints of his famous works such as *Sale of a Pet Lamb*. He was by now a comfortable middle-class man.

Although the Paddington records have been lost, the 1841 census for other areas that do survive gives us three other families who would impinge on Wilkie for much of his life.

Winterton is a village by the sea in Norfolk 140 miles northeast of the Collins home. There lived the 34-year-old shepherd James Rudd, his wife Mary (née Andrews), 32, (both given as 30 in this record) who had married 28 March 1833, with their two sons and two daughters, aged between one and seven. Another daughter, Martha, would not be born until 1845. More of her, the mother of Wilkie’s three children, in 1851.

The parish of Toddington is 95 miles west of London near Cheltenham in Gloucestershire. In the New Town lived 33-year-old Sarah Compton whose occupation was recorded as Carpenter’s Wife. Her husband John has not been found but as a jobbing carpenter may have been away from home. With her are five children. The eldest is Elizabeth, aged 11. She would later be known as Caroline Graves and be Wilkie’s companion for most of his adult life. She was baptised at St Andrews, the parish church of Toddington, on 8 November 1829 as ‘Elizabeth Compton, illegitimate daughter of’. Her mother was recorded as Sarah Pully, a single woman living in Grove Lays in the neighbouring parish of Hailes.⁶

Just a mile east of the Collins’s home a 29-year-old man was listed at 1 Devonshire Terrace as ‘Chas. Dickens’. He gave his profession as ‘Gent’. With him were Catherine his wife, born in

⁵ See [0019] and [0020] Wilkie Collins to Harriet Collins 30 July 1844 and 8 August 1844.

⁶ Lycett p. 156.

Scotland, and their four children, including the 1½-year-old Catherine who in 1860 would marry Charles Collins. Dickens and his family would become a central part of Wilkie's life.

Scene two – 1851

Ten years have passed. William Collins had died on 17 February 1847, aged just 59, of heart disease at 1 Devonport Street where the family had moved in August 1843. Wilkie was present and registered the death. Harriet and her two sons moved to 38 Blandford Square, where amateur dramatics were got up in the 'Theatre Royal, Back Drawing Room',⁷ and then in August 1850 they moved again to 17 Hanover Terrace, a grand Regency house overlooking Regent's Park where the space was well used

her small dinner parties acquired quite a reputation among her son's friends. She was in many ways a remarkable woman. Millais found her the charming Hostess and would make an elaborate pretence of being in love with her, a game in which Mrs Collins, who possessed this keen sense of humour, joined with spirit.⁸

What Harriet paid to rent the house is not completely clear from her accounts as most transactions then were in cash. But in the later 1850s she paid about £38 a quarter to its owner Mr Brownley.⁹ Her income amounted to around £550 a year from the dividends on investments left by William.¹⁰



17 Hanover Terrace. From *The Bookman* 1912 p. 109.
The house was two arches wide. The balcony looks over The Regent's Park.

⁷ Peters, p. 82 and see [0058] to Miss Clarkson, early June 1849.

⁸ Kenneth Robinson, *Wilkie Collins*, London 1951, p. 65.

⁹ Coutts.

¹⁰ Coutts.

The census was taken on 30 March 1851 and the entry reads

Name of place	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
No. 17	Har ^t Collins	H of F	Wid.	.	60	None	Hegley Worcestershire
	W ^m W. Collins	Son	UM	27	.	Law student	Marylebone
	Cha ^s A. Collins	"	"	23	.	Artist	Hamsted Midx
	Frances M Geddes	Visitor	"	.	17	Non	St George's Han ^r Sqr
	Fanny Green	Servant	"	.	25	Cook	Gt Tottam Essex
	Emily Ballard	"	"	.	26	House Maid	Romsey Hants

Harriet was born in Worcestershire on 27 July 1790 where her father, Alexander Geddes, a Lieutenant in the army, was stationed.¹¹ The family soon returned to Salisbury and she was baptised in the Cathedral six months later.

Wilkie – William W. Collins – was technically a law student as he was registered at Lincoln's Inn. To become a barrister did not involve much studying – young men only had to dine in hall a number of times. In fact, he was writing. The biography of his father had been published in 1848 on subscription – people paid a guinea – and his first novel *Antonina* appeared early in March 1850 with a second edition later in the year. *Rambles Beyond Railways*, his account of his walking tour of Cornwall in the summer of 1850, had been published early in February 1851. On 12 March he had met Dickens and in May would take part in his amateur production *Not So Bad as We Seem*, watched by Queen Victoria. It was the start of a close friendship and literary collaboration that would last until Dickens's death in June 1870.

In March Wilkie's story 'The Twin Sisters' had been published in *Bentley's Miscellany* and in May it would be followed by his whimsical 'A Pictorial Tour to St. George Bosherville'. Later in the year he would begin to write reviews for a radical newspaper, *The Leader*, which he would continue to do for three years. His writing career was taking off, but he was correctly recorded as a law student which he would be until the Call to the Bar on 20 November.¹²

Charles was an artist. In 1843 aged 15 he had become a student at the Royal Academy schools and his first works were exhibited at its Exhibition in 1847 – portraits of Dr. West and their neighbour Mrs. John Bullar. In 1850 *Berengaria's Alarm* became his sixth in the Royal Academy Exhibition (now hanging in the Manchester Art Gallery) and one of his most famous paintings *Convent Thoughts*, was exhibited a year later in May 1851. It was from the balcony of the house in 1851 that he painted one of his best known pictures *May, in the Regent's Park* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1852 and still to be seen at the Tate Gallery.¹³ His birthplace of 'Hamsted Midx' is misspelt for 'Hampstead Middx'. He was born in Pond Street, Hampstead on 25 January 1828.

¹¹ Paul Lewis, *Alderbury Girl*, autobiography of Harriet Collins, forthcoming.

¹² *Records of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn* (The Black Books), vol. V, 1851, p. 399.

¹³ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts – A complete Dictionary of Contributors*, 1905 I p. 110.

Frances Mary Geddes (born 10 August 1833), who stayed with the family that Sunday, was the daughter of Harriet's younger brother Alexander James Geddes (1797-1852) and his wife Mary (née Letterman). Frances lived not far away at 1 Thames Parade near Hanover Square with her parents and her elder brother Charles, then 19, younger sister Mary, 15, and two younger brothers Henry (12) and Percy (10). The household had one 16-year-old servant, Ann Winder.

The Collins family cook was Fanny Green, born in Great Totham, Essex (misspelt as 'Tottam'). She is almost certainly Frances Green baptised there on 26 January 1825. Her mother was also called Frances and her father was Thomas Green, a carpenter. Emily Ballard the house maid was almost certainly Emily Harriett Ballard, born 24 December 1823, the daughter of Joseph and his wife Harriett. Both servants seem to have doctored a year off their ages. That was not uncommon.

Over in Winterton at 13 Black Street, Martha Rudd makes her first appearance as a girl of six along with her elder sister Alice, then 9, a brother John – a 17 year old agricultural labourer – and two other sisters, Jane, 13, and Mary Ann, 1, who would die aged 11 in 1860 of phthisis. Martha was born on 19 January 1845 and baptised on 9 February in the parish church, Holy Trinity and All Saints. Her father James, her brother James, 15, and probably brother Robert, aged 4, are recorded simply as 'Husband & 2 Boys in the field being shepherds'.

A year before the census Elizabeth Compton had married George Robert Graves on 30 March 1850 at the parish church of Walcot in Bath where she lived in Burdett's Buildings. His father, Lot, had been a mason but had died in 1828 before George Graves was born. George's own profession is given as Accountant. Bride and groom said they were of full age – 21 – which was a bit of a stretch in Elizabeth's case as she was almost certainly at least a few months short of that. George, born 6 February 1829, was 21. Her father, John Compton, was recorded as a carpenter.

They went to live in George's home in London. On 3 February 1851 their daughter Elizabeth Harriet was born. The 1851 census gives her mother's age, accurately, as 21 and George was now a shorthand writer. Elizabeth had done rather better than her sister Martha who was still in Walcot living-in as a general servant to Henry and Ann Roberts, a silk mercer and dressmaker, at No. 1 Gay Street.

Elizabeth and George Graves lived at 12 Cumming Street, Clerkenwell and with them on census day was George's mother, Mary Ann, aged 53 a widow (since 1828) who was described as a Fundholder. In other words she lived off her investments. There is no evidence that was true. Elizabeth's parents, John and Sarah, had moved back to John's home area, Combe Hay, Bath, with five children aged 15 down to 1.

At 1 Devonshire Terrace Charles Dickens was away. His wife Catherine was unwell and she and her sister Georgina Hogarth had been staying since 15 March at a guest house, Knots Ford

Lodge, in Great Malvern run by George and Martha Hicks. Dickens was there on and off for much of that fortnight.¹⁴ Georgina, 24, unmarried, and Catherine, 35, married and both born in Edinburgh are recorded there in the census. But Dickens is not.

In fact he travelled back to London on Sunday and on census night was with his mother, Elizabeth, and his two younger brothers Alfred and Augustus and other visitors at the house of Robert Davey, a 52-year-old surgeon, and his wife Eliza in Keppel Street, St Giles. Davey was treating Dickens father, John, who died that night at 5.35 am on 31 March.¹⁵ Dickens returned to Devonshire Terrace later that morning, thus being recorded in the census at Davey's rather than his own home.

With all the adults away Mary, aged 12, and Catherine, aged 11, headed the Dickens household entry on census night. Both were described as having the occupation of 'Daughter of Charles Dickens'. This may well have been Dickens's own embellishment. As the householder he probably completed the form on Monday morning. Five more children down to Dora Ann aged 0 were being looked after by a cook, a wet nurse and a nurse.

Scene three – 1861

The next ten years saw extraordinary change. Wilkie Collins, now Wilkie not William W. or W. Wilkie, had rocketed into the writing stratosphere with his story *The Woman in White*. It had increased the circulation of Dickens's periodical *All The Year Round* when it was serialised from 26 November 1859 to 25 August 1860, more than doubling the profits for Dickens and his sub-editor Wills.¹⁶ As a result in July Dickens put up Wilkie's pay by a guinea a week to seven guineas and gave him a one eighth share of the profits.¹⁷ A week or so before the conclusion in *All The year Round* the story was published as a three volume novel and went through eight editions in that format before the end of the year. On the day of the census it was about to come out in a single volume with a photograph of Wilkie pasted in (see p. 21). That sold tens of thousands of copies.

Wilkie's finances were sound. The previous August he had opened his own bank account and in the first ten months his income topped £1,200.¹⁸ A kitchen maid was paid £10 to £20 a year. A printer £75 a year, a schoolmaster £100.¹⁹ It was more than his father had earned.²⁰ And Wilkie was just beginning.

¹⁴ Pilgrim VI pp. 315-342.

¹⁵ Pilgrim VI p. 343 to Thomas Beard.

¹⁶ Half-year profits rose from £525 to £1188, Robert Patten, *Charles Dickens and his Publishers* (Oxford: 1978), p.464.

¹⁷ Paul Lewis, *What Wilkie Earned from All The Year Round*, Wilkie Collins Society, August 2015, p. 4 and [0364] Collins to Dickens, 7 August 1860.

¹⁸ Coutts.

¹⁹ Leone Levi, *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes*, London 1867 and 1885.

²⁰ William Collins's earnings from the sale of his paintings exceeded £1,200 in just two years – 1828 and 1829 (Calculated PL from *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 341-351).



Harley Street c. 1900. No.12 is on the right-hand side, the second house before the junction

On 7 April 1861 Wilkie was living on the upper floors of 12 Harley Street,²¹ technically a lodger of the dentist George Gregson who lived in the rest of the house with his 36-year-old servant Mary Stockwin. The slash lines indicated the start of a new household. He paid Gregson £27-10s a quarter for the rooms.

Street and No. of house	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
12 Harley st.	George Gregson	Head	Un	41	.	Surgeon Dentist	Lancashire Liverpool
	Mary Stockwin	Serv ^t .	Un	.	36	Servant	Kent Orpington
\\	Wilkie Collins	Lodger	Marr.	36	.	Barrister not in practice. Author of works of fiction	London
	Caroline –do	Wife	Marr.	.	26	Author's wife	Gloucestershire Cheltenham
	Mary Wilding	Serv ^t .	Un	.	26	House Servant	Cambridgeshire
	Harriet Montague	do.	Un	.	16	– do –	London

Wilkie, of course, was not married. He did write fiction and Caroline's entry was a fine example of it! Perhaps she took this advice.

Pray, Ladies, have you made your minds up as to what age you intend to be for the next ten years? Because the 7th of April, dears, is drawing near and you had better be prepared to answer this momentous question." (*Punch* 16 March 1861, p. 115)

²¹ Following renumbering in the 19th century this would now be no. 26.

She was 11 in the census in 1841 as Elizabeth Compton and 21 in 1851 as Elizabeth Graves, but decided ten years later she would be 26. Every other entry was false too. Her name was Elizabeth Graves – but here she is Caroline Collins. She was a widow not married. She was not Wilkie’s wife. And as we saw she was not born in genteel Cheltenham but out of wedlock ten miles away in the small, poor parish of Hailes, near Toddington.

You may wonder why people bothered with such inventions as no one would see the census for 100 years. The forms were delivered the week before and filled in by the householder. In the week after census day the enumerator called to collect the forms and check the information was accurate. He later copied the details from the forms into his enumerator’s book – the records that survive today. No one wanted to be judged on their living arrangements by the enumerator who was a local person who may even have been known to them.



12 Harley Street is the middle house. All now demolished and replaced by a medical clinic.

Caroline’s journey to Wilkie’s side had been difficult. Her husband George had contracted tuberculosis in the months following his daughter’s birth and died of it (called Phthisis on the death certificate) on 30 January 1852, aged just 23. He died not in London but in Moravian Cottage, Weston Road, near Bath. His mother was present and registered the death, recording his job as ‘Solicitors Clerk’. Whether she took him back to Bath where he had been at school or whether the whole family moved there is not clear. But they were all soon back in London where Mary Ann Graves opened a tobacco shop at 25 Hertford Street (now Whitfield Street) and Caroline, now a single parent with a daughter barely one year old, opened a cheap second-hand shop – a marine store – nearby at 5 Charlton Street (now Hanson Street). Her own mother, Sarah, had died suddenly in April 1852.²² Elizabeth is first listed in Charlton Street in the 1853 Post Office London directory so opened the store in 1852. It was probably there one summer in the early fifties that Wilkie met her on his walk from Hanover Terrace to the artist Millais’s house in Gower Street, a journey that could easily pass that address. The marine store changed hands in 1857²³ and in that year she first became the ratepayer at 124 Albany Street, not far from the old Collins family church. Wilkie started

²² The death certificate records cause of death as ‘Escape of the contents of the stomach into the abdomen’.

²³ The Post Office London Directory shows 5 Charlton Street empty up to 1852. From 1853 to 1857 it lists Elizabeth Graves – marine store. As the Directory was published at the end of the previous year it is likely she had the shop from some time in 1852 to 1856. In 1858, 5 Charlton Street is listed ‘Edward Gatesby marine store.’

writing letters from that address in January 1859, and shortly after, in April, they moved to 2a New Cavendish Street. It is possible they had to leave both addresses because of their living arrangements²⁴ but clearly Gregson – perhaps because of his own circumstances – was more tolerant.

Caroline's daughter Elizabeth Harriet, then 10 years old, and often called Harriet or Carrie, was long thought to be in this census entry disguised as Harriet Montague the 16-year-old servant. In fact she was at the Ladies Boarding School in Church Lane, Farnham, Surrey. It recorded her as Elizabeth H Graves, aged 10 and born in Islington. Wilkie paid her half-yearly school fees to Miss Milne, the school proprietor. The January 1861 payment was for £15-8s-6d.²⁵ Caroline's widowed father, John, is listed, aged 64, as a journeyman carpenter in Combe Hay with three of his children, now aged 10 to 16.

The servant Harriet Montague herself is elusive. She is probably the daughter of William, a labourer, and his wife Mary both born in 1812 and living at Uxbridge Street Kensington in 1851 where she may well have been born. No later record is found. She probably replaced the servant who was let go in August the previous year

We have another servant – a hybrid white-haired young person engaged to help Mary – going! The hybrid and Mary don't agree. I am sorry to lose the hybrid. She sees me into the water-closet and out of it regularly – and tries the door every time I make water. I have reason to believe that the hybrid must have seen My Person!²⁶

Mary Wilding is untraced in the public records but she is mentioned as 'Mary' in two of Wilkie's letters in 1860. She presumably left the household a couple of years later as her elusiveness was mentioned by Wilkie in a letter in late 1864

I wish I could help you to find Mary out. But so far as I know that excellent girl has (in the language of Mr Carlyle) "vanished into infinite space".²⁷

The rest of Wilkie's family were elsewhere. His mother Harriet had rented 2 Clarence Terrace near Regent's Park from late 1858. But when Charles and his new wife Katie (Catherine Dickens) returned from their very extended honeymoon tour of France in a coach – which he wrote up as his most successful book *A Cruise Upon Wheels*²⁸ – she insisted they stay there with just a spare bed for her when she was in London.²⁹ They returned in February 1861 and are recorded in the census at that address as Charles A Collins, married, 33, 'Author journalist' and Katherine E M Collins his wife, 21, with no occupation. Also there was Mary Bull, a 22-

²⁴ [0311] to W H Wills, 15 August 1859 "I am at mortal enmity with my London landlord, and am resolved to leave him".

²⁵ See Paul Lewis, *Educating Elizabeth Harriet Graves*, Wilkie Collins Society, May 2010.

²⁶ [0368] to Charles Ward, 14 August 1860.

²⁷ [0605] to Anne Thackeray, 22 November 1864.

²⁸ *A Cruise Upon Wheels: The Chronicle of Some Autumn Wanderings among the Deserted Post-roads of France* (2 vols, London: Routledge, 1862).

²⁹ Charles Allston Collins to Harriet Collins 24 January 1861 (Morgan 3153(30)).

year-old unmarried servant who had been with Harriet for some time. She is untraced in the public records but is mentioned in letters from Charles Collins and from Wilkie from 1859 to 1861.³⁰

On census night Harriet Collins was staying with the family of the barrister John Bullar – an old neighbour from Oxford Terrace – at his home Basset Wood near Southampton. Apart from Bullar himself and his three children aged 6 to 17 there were four other visitors, all looked after by six servants and a governess. At this time Harriet moved between several addresses of friends and relatives and finally gave up 2 Clarence Terrace, for which she paid £21 a quarter, late in 1862 when Charles and Kate moved to 5 Hyde Park Gate South.

Finally, what of Martha Rudd? She was not at her home in Winterton where her father, the shepherd James, and her mother Mary are still recorded at Black Street – now at no. 10 – along with brothers James, 25, and 15-year-old Robert, both ‘Laborer Agriculturals’, and her youngest brother Benjamin aged 8, listed as a scholar. Martha and her elder sister Alice were already earning a living, 9 miles south of Winterton down the coast in Yarmouth working for the 40-year-old John Bartram, an Inn Keeper at Vauxhall Gardens and his wife Phoebe. Alice, 18, and Martha, 16, were listed as General Servants and a third girl, Eliza Aldrich, 16, born in Wissett in Suffolk, was listed as a Bar Maid. Martha would probably have been earning less than £10 a year. Soon she would move to a different life.

Scene four – 1871

There had been seismic changes in the last decade. Wilkie’s mother Harriet died on 19 March 1868. It was, he wrote, ‘the bitterest affliction of my life’.³¹ He had spent many weeks travelling to and from Southborough near Tunbridge Wells in Kent to be with her, writing *The Moonstone* in her back bedroom. But illness prevented him being there when she died or even going to her funeral at the Speldhurst parish church on the 25th.

Before that in 1864 Wilkie had met the 19-year-old Martha Rudd at a hotel in Yarmouth while he was researching the Norfolk Broads for his book *Armada*.³² We do not know exactly how or when she moved to London but it was no later than 1868. Caroline had clearly become aware of Martha as she married Joseph Charles Clow on 29 October 1868 under her extended name Caroline Elizabeth Graves at Marylebone parish church where Wilkie had been baptised. His father was given as a Distiller. Caroline’s father was given not as John Compton, Carpenter but as John Courtenay, Gentleman. Wilkie was present in the congregation³³ and the marriage was witnessed by his family doctor, Francis Beard, and Caroline’s daughter who signed ‘Elisabeth Harriette Graves. The marriage did not last long and Clow emigrated to

³⁰ See for example [0309] to Harriet Collins 26 July 1859 and [0369] to Harriet Collins 22 August 1860, Charles Allston Collins to Harriet Collins 23 September 1860 (Morgan 3153(17) and 24 January 1861 *op. cit.*

³¹ [3210] to George Russell, 26 March 1868.

³² The details of their meeting are unclear – see Peters pp. 293-294, Clarke, pp. 110-111, Lycett pp. 260-262.

³³ Gladys Storey, *Dickens and Daughter*, 1939, p. 214.

Australia, probably to Brisbane in January 1870.³⁴ No trace of him appears in UK records again until 1911.

Wilkie's writing career had blossomed. *No Name* (1862), *My Miscellanies* (1863), *Armadale* (1866), *The Moonstone* (1868), and *Man and Wife* (1870) cemented his position at what he called the top of the tree.

On 26 August 1867 Wilkie moved to 90 Gloucester Place, a whole house at last, where he would stay for the next 21 years. He paid £41-1s-3d a quarter for it. On 2 April 1871 his census form records

Street and No. of house	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
90 Gloucester Place	Wilkie Collins	Head	Unm	47	.	Author of Works of Fiction	London
	Caroline E Graves	Servant	W.	.	37	Housekeeper Domestic Servant	Cheltenham, Gl.
	Harriet E Graves	Her daughter	Unm	.	20		London
	Mary A Graves	Her mother in law	W.	.	70		Greenwich
	Lydia Bradford	Servant	Mar.	.	34	Cook Domestic Servant	Somerset Watchet
	Emily Bradford	Serv.	Unm	.	15	Housemaid Domestic serv ^t	London
	John Humpis	Serv.	Unm	15	.	Page. Domestic servant	Hampshire

Caroline, not long back from her failed marriage, has been demoted in the record to a Housekeeper at best and a servant at worst. This was not the truth as both her daughter and her mother lived with her and were largely kept by Wilkie, as was she. He had effectively adopted Harriet. Her school education had ended when she was 17½ in July 1868. Wilkie had spent £426-16s-9d on it over seven years – the equivalent of almost £38,000 in today's money.³⁵ She put her education to good use as his amanuensis.

Caroline's mother-in-law, slightly younger than she should be – born in 1798 and 53 in the 1851 census – was also there. Her whereabouts in 1861 have not been established but on 8 May 1877 she died nearby aged 79 at 21 Molyneux Street. Two days later Caroline sent a servant, Sarah Masey, to register the death.

³⁴ Lycett pp. 309, 415-416.

³⁵ *Educating Harriet Elizabeth Graves, op. cit.*



Wilkie's home 90 Gloucester Place, now no.65, much as it would have been in the 1870s



In Bolsover Street, no. 53 is the last of its 18th century terraces still standing. Martha and their daughters lived in rooms at no. 33 (1868 to 1873).

Caroline's younger brother Silvanus was a carter in Bath, married with three young children, while youngest brother Levi, 19, was a forge carpenter in Bedwellty, Monmouthshire.

Lydia and Emily Bradford – the cook and the housemaid – are a rare example of people who appeared twice in the census. Victorian censuses recorded where every individual was on census night. Everyone was supposed to be in it just once where they slept on – in this case – 2 April 1871.

But a search on Lydia Bradford – who is listed at Gloucester Place as married – finds her and her daughter Emily also listed in the census at 14 Abbey Gardens, St John's Wood, about a half hour walk north from Gloucester Place. In this entry she is listed with husband John Bradford a coachmaker, Emily and their three other children, Alfred (7), Catherine (5) and John (3). We can be sure it is Lydia because in both she was listed as born in the tiny village of Watchet in Somerset. The only Lydia found in the 1841 census in Watchet was Lydia Short aged 7, youngest daughter of agricultural labourer Richard and his wife Jane. Lydia Short married George Bradford in Camden 11 April 1858. Sadly he died shortly after this 1871 census was taken, leaving Lydia a widow. In 1881 she is recorded as such, a laundress living in Hampstead with two of her sons and lodger James Byers, 42, also a coachman.

Finally, there is the enigma of John Humpis, the 15-year-old page from Hampshire. He is not found in any other record and his name may have been given or recorded incorrectly. One of his jobs was probably to run Wilkie's copy to and from publishers.

Less than a mile away at 33 Bolsover Street, another family's record is found. Martha Rudd had been living in London since at least 1868, in lodgings at 33 Bolsover Street which runs

south from opposite the old Collins family church in Marylebone Road. The house was 20 minutes' walk from Wilkie's house in Gloucester Place. Here she was Mrs Dawson, wife, and – if anyone asked – her frequent caller was her barrister husband William Dawson.³⁶ It was here in 1869 that she gave birth to their first child, a daughter called Marian, named after Marian Halcombe in *The Woman in White*. The census entry for that house records her stay.

Street and No. of house	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
33 Bolsover St	Elizabeth Wall	Head	W.		50	Owner of House Property	Worcestershire Dudley
	Benjamin R. do	Son	Unm	24		Bankers Clerk	London
	Matilda do	Daur	do		22		do
	David do	Son	do	20		Rent Collector	do
	Sarah A. Wall	Daur	Unm		18		London
	Edward do	Son	Do	16		Scholar	do
	Annie Stonehouse				17	Domestic servant	do
	\ Martha Dawson	Wife	Mar		26	Nil	Norfolk Martham
	\ Marian do	Daur			1		Middlesex London
	\ Charles S Lepage	Lodger	Unm	36		Hairdresser	Paris

Ten people in three households – indicated by the \ in the left-hand column – might seem crowded but Martha probably had a reasonable space for her and her daughter, who was nearly two. Ten years earlier her rooms had been occupied by five people – John Orman, an upholsterer from Germany and his wife and three children. The houses were tall late eighteenth-century terraces with four main storeys, basements, and probably loft rooms as well. Next door at No.32 there were eighteen adults and four children in seven households. At No.34 there were 12 adults and three children in six households. Much of Bolsover Street was occupied by lodging houses and was home to more than 500 households at just over 100 addresses. At no. 53 (see illustration p. 12) lived an “Artificial leg, hand & nose maker” Henry Stump, his wife Eleanor and their four little Stumps.³⁷

Elizabeth Wall née Hase (b. 1821) was the leaseholder of no. 33, inheriting that on the death of her husband Benjamin (1805-1857). She may have owned other houses too. Her son David probably worked in the family business collecting her rents – her husband had been a rates collector. Despite that Elizabeth herself was often in arrears.³⁸

What the census did not show of course is that Martha was nearly eight months pregnant with her second child who would be born there six weeks later, on 14 May and named Harriet Constance. Wilkie probably did not call to see his new daughter for some time. His letters

³⁶ No-one knows why Wilkie picked this name. However, on 6 July 1738 a William Dawson was admitted to Lincoln's Inn as a barrister – *Lincoln's Inn Admissions Register, 1420-1893*, Lincoln's Inn, 1896 vol. I p. 416.

³⁷ He was in fact a successful and pioneering prosthetics maker who featured in the *British Medical Journal*, 4 April 1868, p. 329

³⁸ Westminster Rate Books.

indicate that he was seriously unwell with rheumatic gout and blindness in one eye.³⁹ Two days after the birth he wrote in a business letter

I am suffering from illness, and I am dictating these lines to an amanuensis from my bed.⁴⁰

His amanuensis was Carrie Graves. It is possible that at least some of the three payments to his doctor, Frank Beard, of £5, £50, and then £20 between February and June 1871 were connected with Harriet's birth though clearly they mainly related to his own troubles. From October 1869 Wilkie had paid Martha £20 every month, occasionally £25 and then £25 regularly from September 1871. That was almost £2,400 in today's terms.⁴¹

Martha's parents, James and Mary, had moved to 8 Beach Road in Winterton and an 85-year-old lodger lived with them, James Amis, a Fisherman. Martha's youngest brother, Benjamin, had died in 1868 aged just 15. Her sister Alice had also moved to London, working as a cook for a physician John Duris and his wife at 24 Harley Street, just ten minutes' walk from Bolsover Street.

At 10 Thurloe Place, opposite what was then the Museum of Manufactures – now rebuilt as the much grander Victoria and Albert Museum – Wilkie's brother Charles, 43, gave his profession as 'Literature' on the 1871 census having abandoned painting in the late 1850s in preference for writing books and contributing to periodicals. He lived with his wife Katie, 31, and her profession was also given as literature though there is no evidence that she wrote anything for publication at that time. There were two servants, Emma Pratt a 19-year-old cook from Strood in Kent and Maria Crombie a 25-year-old domestic servant from Woolwich.

Charles, unwell at the time, would die at that house two years later, on 9 April 1873, of stomach cancer. Wilkie was present and registered the death on the 11th. Five months later, on 11 September, Katie married the artist Charles Perugini in secret at the local Register Office and then married him again in the parish church on 4 June 1874 with family present.⁴² In both cases she gave her address as 81 Gloucester Terrace, where Dickens's sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth had lived since his death in 1870.⁴³ She then began her own successful career as a painter, exhibiting at the Royal Academy every year from 1877 to 1904.⁴⁴ She outlived Perugini by ten years, dying at the age of 89 in 1929.

³⁹ [1095] to Walter Lacy, 23 May 1871.

⁴⁰ [1094] to unidentified Italian translator, 16 May 1871.

⁴¹ Measuringworth.com price changes.

⁴² This highly unusual procedure means they have two valid marriage certificates.

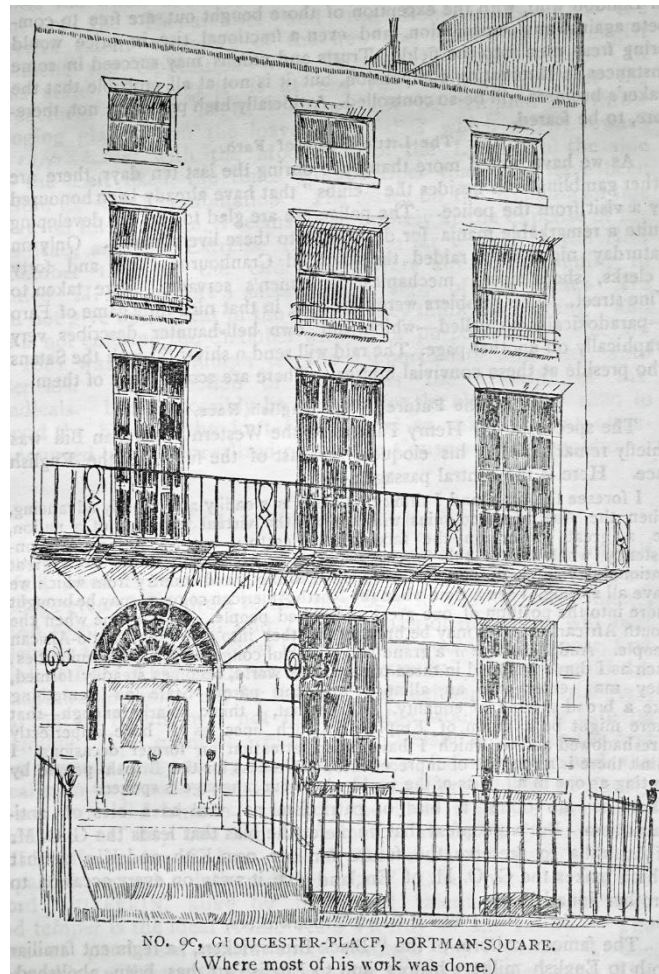
⁴³ Gloucester Terrace was over a mile west of Gloucester Place.

⁴⁴ Graves *op. cit.* vol. VI, pp. 111-112.

Scene five – 1881

Wilkie's final census entry was 1881. He now had a son, William Charles Collins Dawson, born 25 December 1874. Wilkie wrote to his lawyer William Tindell

I have had a Christmas Box, in the shape of a big boy. We must add him, in a codicil (I suppose?) to the new will – merely stating that he is to have his share with the two girls.⁴⁵



A contemporary drawing of 90 Gloucester Place published in *Pall Mall Budget* 26 September 1889, p. 1224

William was the first of their children to have a birth certificate. Although registration of births had begun in 1837 it was not until 1 January 1875 that it became compulsory. Technically Wilkie could have avoided registering this birth too. But Martha did so on 1 February 1875. It records that his father was William Dawson, Barrister at law and his mother Martha Dawson formerly Rudd. He was born at 10 Taunton Place. By then Martha had moved twice. The first time in February 1873 was to 55 Marylebone Road after Elizabeth Wall decided to leave 33

⁴⁵ [1500] to William Tindell, 29 December 1874.

Bolsover Street.⁴⁶ Wilkie spent £100 on furniture for the new accommodation.⁴⁷ But less than a year later in November 1873, while Wilkie was on his reading tour of the USA, the landlord decided to sell up.⁴⁸ Wilkie “hastened [his] departure” from America leaving “at the beginning, instead of at the end of March”.⁴⁹ He sailed from Boston on the Parthia on 7 March 1874 arriving back at Liverpool on 18th and went straight to see Martha. Their son was born nine months later. He rented a house for her at 10 Taunton Place where Caroline Graves became the ratepayer who was later oddly recorded as Caroline Dawson.⁵⁰

On census night – 3 April 1881 – Wilkie was still at Gloucester Place and would be there for another seven years.

Road, Street etc and No. or name of House	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition as to marriage	Age last birthday of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
90 Gloucester Place	Wilkie Collins	Head	Widr Unm	57	.	Author	Middx London
	Marian “	Daughter	–	.	11	–	de
	Caroline Graves	Servant	Widow	.	47	Housekeeper	Gloucestershire Cheltenham
	Sarah Masey	do	Unm	.	33	Cook	Oxon
	George Wells	do	do	24		Manserv ^t	Kent

Wilkie lived there alone with Caroline, once again listed as Housekeeper, and two servants. In this census Caroline sticks with the fibs she told in 1871, the 51-year-old is 47 and was born in Cheltenham. Whatever her relationship with Wilkie was after their earlier troubles, in the autumn of 1877 he took her on a twelve-week trip to France, Germany, and Italy. Wilkie is listed as unmarried which is crossed out and replaced with widower. Perhaps he was seeking consistency with his 1861 entry of married, forgetting his unmarried census status in 1871.

Caroline’s daughter Carrie had married the solicitor Henry Powell Bartley on 12 March 1878 under the name Harriette Elizabeth Laura Graves, aged 24. She was in fact 27 and christened Elizabeth Harriet and her long dead shorthand writing father was promoted on the marriage certificate to be a Captain in the Army. She shared her mother’s disdain for accuracy in public records. On census night she was still calling herself Harriette and lived with her husband and their one-year-old daughter Doris E and three servants at 129 Alexandra Road in Camden. Caroline’s father, John Compton, had died aged 76 on 16 January 1874 of old age.

On this night Wilkie’s elder daughter, Marian, was staying with him under the name Marian Collins, not Dawson. There is some evidence that his children were there quite often in the 1880s.

⁴⁶ Westminster Rate Books show her leaving in the spring of 1873. In this census she is in Hackney.

⁴⁷ Clarke pp. 136-137 shows a receipt for £100 of new furniture dated 3 February 1873.

⁴⁸ See [1393] 21 November 1873 and [1414] 27 January 1874 both the Tindell.

⁴⁹ [1431] to George Childs, 16 March 1874.

⁵⁰ Westminster Rate Books.

Sarah Masey the cook is almost certainly the daughter of Elizabeth and William Masey, a gamekeeper, who, in 1851, lived in Burley Lodge, Woodstock, Oxfordshire. Then aged 4 she was described as a scholar as was her slightly older sister Welthen. Brothers Elias (12) and Stephen (13) were already Agricultural labourers. Sarah had been in the household at least four years as on 10 May 1877 she had been sent to register the death of Caroline's mother-in-law Mary Ann Graves.

George Wells is probably the same George Wells who was an errand boy, aged 14, in the 1871 census, the son of George Wells, gardener, and his wife Miriam all living in Speldhurst, near Tunbridge Wells in Kent. It is possible Wilkie or his mother knew the family when she lived there in the 1860s. In 1886 George was still with Wilkie who mentioned him in a letter to his agent A. P. Watt

my domestic establishment is passing through a "crisis." The faithful George, and one old woman (who would frighten away you and other friends if she answered the door) alone remain to me.⁵¹

George has not been traced later.

At 10 Taunton Place the household on 3 April 1881 was a little reduced as Marian was at her father's.

Road, Street etc and No. or name of House	Name and Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Condition as to marriage	Age last birthday of		Rank, profession, or occupation	Where born
				Males	Females		
10 Taunton Place	Martha Dawson	Wife	Mar		36		Winterton Norfolk
	Harriett C do	Daur			9	Scholar	Marylebone, Middx
	William C do	Son		6		Do	do do
	Alice Rudd	Serv	Unm		38	Housekeeper	Winterton Norfolk

Martha and their two other children are listed accurately, though as Dawsons, and Harriet has gained a double 't'. The Housekeeper is Alice, Martha's older sister, with whom she worked at the Inn in Yarmouth twenty years earlier. Their parents, James and Mary, now aged 74 and 72, live in a cottage in Winterton near the beach. Despite his age James is listed as a farm labourer. With them was a granddaughter, 5-year-old Anne Rudd, and a lodger James Spooner aged 36, also a farm labourer, though later a fisherman. Martha's sister Alice would marry him on 15 January 1888, a few months before her mother Mary died on 15 September; James would live until 25 December 1893.⁵²

⁵¹ [2632] to A P Watt, 27 October 1886.

⁵² Interment records of Holy Trinity church
http://www.interment.net/data/eng/norfolk/holytrinity/trinity_lz.htm.

Final Scene – 1891 and beyond

Wilkie moved from 90 Gloucester Place to 82 Wimpole Street on 23 March 1888.⁵³

my lease at Gloucester Place has expired – and my landlord, the enormously rich Lord Portman, asked such exorbitant terms for allowing me to continue to be his tenant that I confronted the horrors of moving in my old age – and here I am in another house...and in a much quieter place of abode.⁵⁴

His daughters helped him settle in, much to the consternation of Caroline

Wilkie! when you told Marian and Harriet that they might help to put the books in their places, did you know that Faublas and Casanova's Memoirs were left out on the drawing-room table?⁵⁵

Then aged 18 and 16, Caroline thought the girls too young for even the chance of glimpsing the salacious late 18th century trilogy describing the love life of the Chevalier de Faublas and the extensive *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*, dating from the same period.⁵⁶

It was in this house on 23 September 1889 that Wilkie died. Carrie Bartley wrote the next day to Wilkie's friend, the actor Frank Archer

My news is so sad. I could'nt write to you before it has all been so miserable. Our dear has left us – at 10.35 yesterday morning. We are so sad. He died so peacefully & so quietly – and his face is beautiful with such a calm expression. Poor dear Wilkie. – We bury him on Friday next at Kensal Green at noon.⁵⁷

Apart from a few small legacies, Wilkie split his fortune of £11,414-16s-1d – roughly £1.25 million in today's terms⁵⁸ – equally between his two families.⁵⁹ Half would go to Martha and their three children and, astonishingly, his will set out their names and when and where they were born. Martha is referred to as Martha Rudd, except initially as 'passing under the name of Mrs Dawson'. The other half went to Caroline and on her death to her daughter, but when she died it would revert to Martha and family.

⁵³ [2824] to A Fuller Maitland, 22 March 1888 'On, and after, tomorrow (Friday 23rd) my address will be 82. Wimpole Street. W.'

⁵⁴ [2855] to Mary Anderson, 31 May 1888. Wilkie writes in a later letter, [2872] to de Heussy, 12 July 1888, that Portman had asked £1,200 just to renew the lease and wanted 'other merciless stipulations'.

⁵⁵ [2826] to Harry Quilter, 11 April 1888.

⁵⁶ Perhaps his executors took the same view. Neither work was in the sales of his books after his death – see William Baker, *Wilkie Collins's Library*, 2002.

⁵⁷ [X012] Carrie Bartley to Frank Archer, 24 September 1889.

⁵⁸ www.measuringworth.com.

⁵⁹ See Wilkie's Will www.paullewis.co.uk/wilkie/will/willt.htm.

Barely a month later, on 24 October, the furniture and possessions were sold and Caroline had to leave.⁶⁰ She moved to rooms at 24 Newman Street, quite nearby which runs north from Oxford Street to Goodge Street. Also at the address was tailor Frank Wiseman, 33, with his wife and 2 year old daughter and one servant. The ground floor was a cloth merchant's shop. She died there on 8 June 1895 of Chronic bronchitis and Emphysema. Her daughter Harriet Bartley was with her and registered the death that day giving her mother the name Caroline Elizabeth Graves, ignoring her second marriage.

In 1891 Harriet was living with her husband Henry and their now three children in Finchley Road. But he abandoned them soon after, went bankrupt, and apparently dissipated the half of Wilkie's estate that had passed to his mother-in-law then his wife. He died of cancer in 1897. No will has been found. Harriet was supported by Henry's mother, Margaret, until her death in 1900.⁶¹ Harriet herself died of heart failure on 26 February 1905.

Martha is recorded in the 1891 census at 28 Dennington Park Road, West Hampstead 'Living on her own means' with her daughter the 19-year-old Harriet Constance and son William, then 16, a clerk. Living with them was Jonathan Andrews, a cousin from Winterton, presumably the son of her mother's brother. But Marian was already out as a governess looking after 19-year-old Enid and 4-year-old Vivian, children of a stockbroker George Morphey and his wife Caroline at their house in Billericay.

In 1901 Marian is back with her mother and sister at 30 St Julian's Road in Kilburn. Martha still lives 'on her own means' but now Marian, 31, is a nursery governess and Harriet, 29, a mother's help. With them are lodgers Sylvia Stonham, a 36-year-old widow from Southsea also living on her own means, and her 10-year-old son Herbert born in Bayswater.

By 1911 they have moved to 19 Hastings Road, Southend-on-Sea where Martha still lives on 'private means'. The two daughters, 41 and 39, have no occupation listed. The form, filled in and signed by Martha in her own hand, records she had three children and all are living. By this time William had joined the army – the South Wales Borderers on 9 May 1894, served in the Boer War, returned to civilian life in 1902, and opened a garage in Ramsgate as a motor engineer. He married Florence Sugg in 1905 and they had two children. The first, Helen Martha, was born in 1907.

In the 1911 census he is listed as Charles Dawson aged 36 and Secretary of the Motor Car Mechanics Society. Florence and daughter Helen, aged 3, are with him at 26 Chapel Mews, Grosvenor Place, Hanover Square. In 1912 their son Lionel Charles was born but not long after that, in 1913, William caught the flu, went to stay with Martha in Hastings Road, Southend to recuperate but died there on 25 February of a cerebral haemorrhage aged 38.

⁶⁰ See wilkiecollinssociety.org/newsletter-winter-2010 and 'A Visit to Wilkie Collins', Wilkie Collins Society 2017, pp. 11-13.

⁶¹ Clarke pp. vi, 193-194.

Martha died on 23 April 1919 aged 74 at 19 Hastings Road of bronchitis and heart failure. Harriet Constance registered her death the next day and described her as 'Widow of William Dawson, a Journalist'.

The 1921 census will not be available until January 2022 so the next snapshot is the 1939 Register of all non-military personnel to prepare identity cards which was taken by the Government on 29 September. It included Marian and Harriet C at 28 Northview Drive, both living on private means.

More than fifteen years later, they died within three months of each other on 6 April and 6 July 1955 while living in Crowstone Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Their wills show they had just a few hundred pounds left from Wilkie's legacy.

Wilkie Collins	Head	Widow	47	Author of Works of Fiction	London
Caroline Graves	Servant	Widow	37	Housekeeper Domestic Service	Colchester 98
Harriet Graves	her Daughter	Widow	20		London
Mary Graves	her Mother-in-law	Widow	70		Greenwich

The 1871 census record of the family at 90 Gloucester Place

Wilkie Collins	Head	Widow	57	Author	Midx Lond
Marian "	Daughter	Widow	11		do
Caroline Graves	Servt	Widow	47	Housekeeper	Colchester (Chelt ^h)
Sarah Massey	do	Widow	33	Cook	Oxon
George Wells	do	do	24	Man Servt.	Kent

The 1881 census record of the family at 90 Gloucester Place

References

The bulk of the information in this work comes from censuses and other official records of births, baptisms, marriages, burials, and deaths. References to them are not given. They can all be found online using the excellent indexes that now exist.

Quotations from letters that begin with a four-digit number in square brackets are from *The Collected Letters of Wilkie Collins*, edited Baker, Gasson, Law, and Lewis (Virginia: Intelix 2018 ISBN 978-1-57085-269-5).

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- Coutts – Accounts held by William Collins, his executors (used by Harriet), and Wilkie Collins at Coutts Bank. All references to income, spending, and costs come from that source unless otherwise stated. The author is grateful to Coutts for access to them.
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A drawing by Edward Matthew Ward of Wilkie on the coach from Paris to Boulogne. Early 1840s



Wilkie Collins in 1853 painted by his brother Charles Allston Collins



Photograph by Cundall & Downes in 1861 for the first one volume edition of *The Woman in White*



Photograph taken in 1871 by Elliott & Fry



Woodbury type from a photograph taken in 1881 by Lock & Whitfield

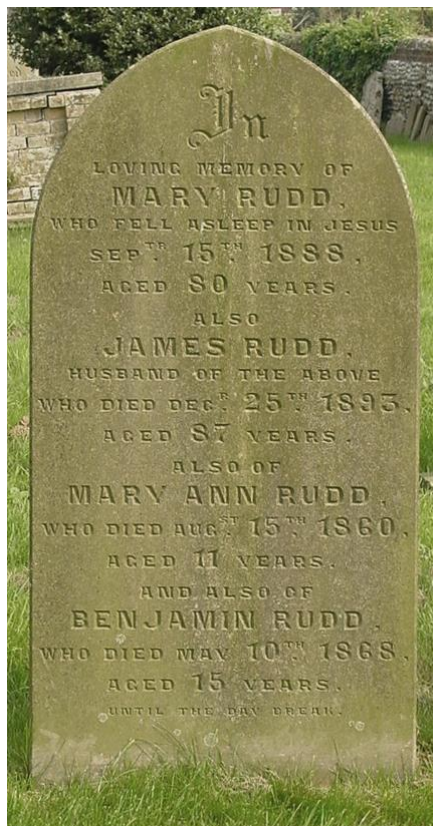


The last known photograph of Wilkie Collins taken in 1888 by Alexander Bassano

This edition of

A Life in Six Scenes
Wilkie Collins in the Census

is limited to 200 copies.



The grave of Martha Rudd's parents Mary and James, and two of her siblings Mary Ann and Benjamin

