

DOVE COTTAGE,
GRASMERE,
CUMBRIA

HISTORIC BUILDING REPORT

Adam Menuge



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**Dove Cottage
Grasmere
Cumbria**

Historic Building Report

Adam Menuge

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SUMMARY

Dove Cottage, a Grade I listed building, is internationally famous as the home, between 1799 and 1808, of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and as the meeting place during their residence of many of the greatest figures of British Romanticism, including Coleridge, Southey, Scott, Wilson and De Quincey.

Built as a two-storeyed vernacular house probably in the late 17th century or around 1700, Dove Cottage is constructed of irregular fieldstone rubble with a Cumbrian slate roof. It is built to an irregular plan consisting of a two-bay front range, a single-bay rear range, a small projecting pantry (known to Dorothy Wordsworth as the 'out-jutting') and, at the opposite end of the house, an attached outbuilding, probably intended as a stable. Photographs of the front range, taken when external roughcast was removed in the 1970s, show that it originally incorporated wider, lower windows which must have been mullioned. They were altered to receive taller, narrower casement windows probably in the second quarter of the 18th century, when raised-and-fielded panelling was introduced to the ground-floor rooms of the front range, and several panelled internal doors were introduced.

Wordsworth's poem *Benjamin the Waggoner* is the source for the tradition that the house served as an alehouse (the Dove and Olive Bough) at some point prior to 1799. Corroboration for the tradition comes from an extant record of an alehouse license, granted in respect of premises named only as the 'Dove' at Grasmere in 1791.

The Wordsworths made a number of modest but significant alterations during their occupancy. In 1804 they inserted a doorway opening directly from the stair landing into the rear garden. The following year the roof above the 'peat room' was raised to make the small, low and probably ill-lit bedroom in the 'out-jutting' more serviceable; previously, in 1800, they had inserted a new window in an attempt to improve this room. The need to house a growing family, as well as frequent and often long-staying guests, led the Wordsworths to move to a larger house in 1808.

Following the Wordsworths' departure the house was refurbished for Thomas De Quincey, who held the lease until 1835. Either he, or one of the acquaintances of the Wordsworths who subsequently occupied the house for short periods, was responsible for inserting the series of Carron fire-grates. From before 1850 until about 1880 the house was occupied by a succession of lodging-house keepers, one of whom also kept a shop on the premises. Probably early in this period the outbuilding was raised to provide domestic accommodation on the first floor.

In 1890 the house was acquired by the newly formed Dove Cottage Trust (now the Wordsworth Trust), which opened it to the public the following year. In 1900 a museum opened on the upper floor of the outbuilding and a new boiler house was built adjoining it in 1928. Many small alterations and repairs are documented in the Trust's minute books, and a major overhaul was undertaken in 1976-9 under the direction of Peter Jubb of Newcastle University.

CONTRIBUTORS

The investigation and survey of the house was carried out by Adam Menuge and Naomi Archer. Naomi Archer prepared the ground and first-floor plans, which were then prepared for publication by Allan T. Adams. Adam Menuge undertook research and wrote the report; it was brought to publication by Jo Bradley and Lucy Jessop. Bob Skingle took the high-resolution digital photographs which principally illustrate the report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been prepared in response to a request from the Wordsworth Trust for a detailed understanding of the evolution of Dove Cottage and an assessment of the significance of its various parts (excluding the furniture, exhibits and other movables). It is intended to inform long-term management and interpretation of the house, and forms one element in a broader review of the conservation management and interpretation of the house and garden, last comprehensively overhauled between 1976 and 1979.

In the preparation of this report the author has been much assisted and encouraged by staff, trustees and volunteers of the Wordsworth Trust, particularly curator Jeff Cowton, Pamela Woof, successive custodians Ann Lambert and Angela Kenny, trustee Lawrence Harwood, Lucy Clarke, Mark Ward, Rebecca Turner, Amy Concannon and Carrie Taylor. Special thanks are owed to Jeff Cowton, who has been unfailingly helpful over a long period, to Stephen Hebron, who kindly shared his knowledge during the preparation of his recent book on the wider cultural history of Dove Cottage,¹ and to Peter Brears, who discussed heating and cooking arrangements in the house. Robert Howard and Alison Arnold of the Nottingham Tree-Ring Dating Laboratory undertook sampling of roof timbers at Dove Cottage in June 2010, but the samples failed to yield dates.² I must also acknowledge the kind assistance of volunteers at the invaluable but hard-pressed Armitt Library, Ambleside, especially John O'Hara and Deborah Walsh, who made available photographs taken by Herbert Bell. Thanks, as ever, are also offered to the staff of the Kendal branch of the Cumbria Record Office, now known as the Kendal Archive Centre of the Cumbria Archive Service, for their help with a variety of queries and sources. References to 19th-century newspapers are sourced from the British Library's online services.

Other illustrations are reproduced with the permission of the Wordsworth Trust, the Armitt Library and Cumbria Archive Service. The library of the Wordsworth Trust (housed at the Jerwood Centre, Grasmere), the Armitt Library, the British Library and the J B Morrell Library of the University of York furnished many of the books and other materials cited in the report.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

The project archive will be deposited with the English Heritage Archive in Swindon.

DATE OF RESEARCH

2007 to 2015

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ABBREVIATIONS

CRO(C)	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, now known as Carlisle Archive Centre, Cumbria Archives Service
CRO(K)	Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, now known as Kendal Archive Centre, Cumbria Archives Service
CW	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society</i>
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society
DW	Dorothy Wordsworth (1771-1855), sister of William Wordsworth
Minute Book	Dove Cottage Trust (later Wordsworth Trust) Trustees' Minute Book, 1890-1979
MW	Mary Wordsworth (1770-1859), née Hutchinson, wife of William Wordsworth
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (www.oxforddnb.com)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn
SH	Sara Hutchinson (1775-1835), sister-in-law of William Wordsworth
TNA	The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office), Kew
Wordsworth Letters	Ernest de Selincourt (ed.), <i>The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth</i> , 2 nd edn, rev. Chester L Shaver, Mary Moorman & Alan G Hill, 8 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967-93
WW	William Wordsworth (1770-1850), poet

INTRODUCTION

Dove Cottage, once the home of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and subsequently of Thomas De Quincey ('the Opium-eater'), is a Grade I listed building within the Town End Conservation Area in Grasmere, Cumbria.³ It stands on the north-eastern side of the old Kendal–Ambleside–Keswick–Cockermouth road in the hamlet of Town End, about 500m south-east of the village of Grasmere. Historically the house fell within the township and ecclesiastical parish of Grasmere in the Kendal Ward of the county of Westmorland. It is now part of the extensive civil parish of Lakes, Cumbria, within the Lake District National Park.

The house, which is separated from the road by a low stone wall and a narrow, tapering strip of garden, faces south-west towards the lake from which the village takes its name (Fig 1). Behind the house, to the north-east, a garden enclosed by a high dry-stone wall rises steeply; a portion of the garden extends past the south-east side of the house to meet the front garden. A further small garden area immediately north-west of the house encroaches on a former access road leading to Howe Head and the site of an outbuilding, demolished in 1891.

The name Dove Cottage has not been encountered earlier than the middle of the 19th century and was not universally adopted for some years thereafter. The name echoes that of the Dove (or Dove and Olive Bough) alehouse briefly documented in 1791.⁴ Before the middle of the 19th century it was customary, when giving the address



Fig 1: Dove Cottage from the south-west. The old road through Townend (forming the route of the turnpike between 1760 and the 1820s) passes in front of the house [dp056060]

of the house, to refer merely to the hamlet of Town End,⁵ though in 1810 Dorothy Wordsworth (writing to a close friend) referred to it simply as 'the Cottage' – risking confusion with William Gell's nearby house of the same name.⁶ In the 1870s and 1880s, alongside 'Dove Cottage', the name 'Wordsworth Cottage' or 'Wordsworth's Cottage' appears in documentary references, though it is not always clear whether proper names or descriptive labels are intended.⁷ The form 'Townend Cottage' was also sometimes used.⁸ The house was known as 'Dixon's Lodgings' during the 1860s (see below), and similar names may have enjoyed brief currency as occupants changed.

Dove Cottage was empty when William Wordsworth, in the course of a tour with Samuel Taylor Coleridge in November 1799, picked it out as a possible future residence, describing it in a letter merely as 'a small house at Grasmere empty which perhaps we may take'.⁹ In the same letter Wordsworth broached the possibility of buying a plot of land and building a house in Grasmere, but in the event Dove Cottage was to be the first of four houses in the ecclesiastical parish of Grasmere that he rented or leased between 1799 and his death in 1850. He took up residence there with his sister Dorothy on 20 December 1799 and stayed until May 1808, bringing his bride Mary Hutchinson to live there in 1802. Three of Wordsworth's children were born there – John in 1803, Dorothy ('Dora') in 1804, and Thomas in 1806. In 1808, with a fourth child – Catherine – expected, the household finally relinquished Dove Cottage in favour of a succession of larger houses in Grasmere. They moved first to a recently built villa, Allan Bank, where they lived from 1808 to 1811, and then to the Parsonage (1811-13), before settling at Rydal Mount – Wordsworth's final home (1813-50) – in the neighbouring hamlet of Rydal.

Dove Cottage is of particular importance to students and devotees of Wordsworth because it was the scene of what is widely acknowledged to be his most intense and fruitful period of creative activity as well as being briefly a meeting place for a remarkable array of talents, including the poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey and Walter Scott, the critics John Wilson and Charles Lamb, the patron and amateur artist Sir George Beaumont, the scientist Humphrey Davy, the anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson, and the aspiring writer Thomas De Quincey, who subsequently leased the house from 1809 to 1835. Much of Wordsworth's finest poetry was composed during his residence at Dove Cottage, including poems added to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* (1800), the greater part of his autobiographical poem *The Prelude* (first published posthumously in 1850), the *Poems in Two Volumes* of 1807 and the fragment known as *Home at Grasmere* (also published posthumously, in 1888). Dorothy Wordsworth's 'Grasmere Journals', covering the periods from May to December 1800 and from October 1801 to January 1803, and the many surviving letters of the Wordsworths and their circle, document this residence with peculiar intimacy, and are supplemented by De Quincey's detailed recollections, particularly of the period 1807-9, which were first published between 1834 and 1840.¹⁰ But despite the abundance of contemporary accounts, inconsistent usages and frequent changes in the way the household used the building mean that difficulties of interpretation remain.

During the period in which Wordsworth lived at Town End his poetry was appreciated by a relatively small band of admirers. His great fame came later in life, by which time he was living at Rydal Mount and his earlier, humbler residence attracted scant attention

from visitors or the compilers of guidebooks. Perhaps the earliest guidebook reference to the house comes in William Green's 1819 *Tourist's New Guide*, which simply points out 'a neat white cottage [...] inhabited by Mr. De Quincey'.¹¹ The connection with Wordsworth is not highlighted until many years later. Edward Baines noted in 1830 that one of the houses in Grasmere 'was formerly occupied by Wordsworth', but must be referring to either Allan Bank or the Rectory, since he continues by saying that 'another still belongs to De Quincey';¹² and the Revd William Ford, in his 1839 *Guide*, persists in linking the house with De Quincey, not Wordsworth.¹³ Interest in the details of Wordsworth's life mounted following the posthumous publication of *The Prelude* and Christopher Wordsworth's *Memorials of William Wordsworth*, published in 1851, which reproduced a small engraving of Dove Cottage,¹⁴ and in 1854 Harriet Martineau directed the attention of her readers to 'the cottage in which the poet and his sister lived, many long years ago, when Scott was their guest'.¹⁵ One of the earliest tourists to set down a record of a visit to the house was the minor poet and essayist Susanna Trubshaw (1811-79), who lodged briefly at Dove Cottage in 1864.¹⁶ Disappointingly, she devotes more space to quoting De Quincey than to recording her own impressions, but some significant details emerge from her account and are discussed below.

Early cartographic evidence for the house and garden is sparse. The earliest large-scale county map – published by Thomas Jefferys in 1770 and based on a survey made two years earlier – does no more than distinguish Town End as a hamlet and indicate the old course of the turnpike road across White Moss Common.¹⁷ What may be the first individuated depiction of Dove Cottage is on James Clarke's 'Map of the Roads Lakes & between Keswick, and Ambleside', published in 1787.¹⁸ This names 'Town end' and shows seven buildings or groups of buildings belonging to it; the most northerly and southerly examples can probably be identified with Howe Head and Howe Top respectively. Two of the other buildings front the north-east side of the old turnpike road and it is likely that the more southerly of the two represents Dove Cottage; but it is depicted, like all the others, as a plain rectangle, and the mapping of associated boundaries looks conventional. Dove Cottage, along with an outbuilding immediately to its north-west, can be identified with greater certainty (though still not named) on a map made in 1823 in connection with a proposed diversion of the turnpike road.¹⁹ The 1843 Grasmere Tithe Map, tantalisingly, shows buildings, plot boundaries and occupiers on the south-western side of the old turnpike through Town End, but not on the north-eastern side where Dove Cottage lies (Fig 2).²⁰ The first detailed map to show it

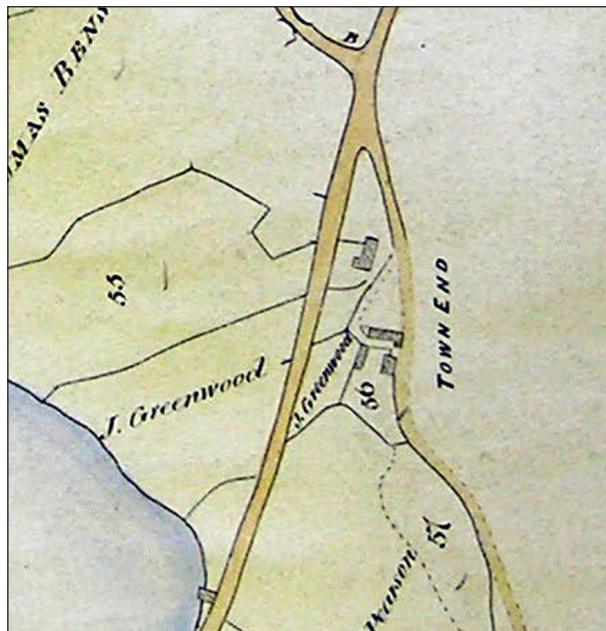


Fig 2: The 1843 Tithe Map omits Dove Cottage and other buildings on the same side of the road [CRO(K); photo AM]

is therefore the 1848 map of Grasmere Township, on which it appears as part of parcel 98 (Fig 3).²¹ This was followed just over a decade later by the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 sheet surveyed in 1859 (see Fig 4).²² The 1848 and 1859 maps both show the footprint of the house as it is now with the exception of the 20th-century boiler house extension to the north-east. In the garden the Ordnance Survey map shows a network of paths, one of them continuing beyond the garden boundary towards the recently built villas of Craigside, Wood Close and Woodland Craig.

Apart from an uninformative thumbnail sketch in one of Dorothy Wordsworth's letters²³ what is thought to be the earliest depiction of Dove Cottage is an anonymous, undated pen-and-wash drawing hitherto attributed to the artist Amos Green (1735-1807).²⁴ The view (Fig 5) depicts the wall or 'shard fence' (i.e. one made of large upright slates set in the ground) dividing the front garden from the road, which Dorothy Wordsworth described in September 1800,²⁵ but it also shows a wall returning along the south-east side of the



Fig 3: The first recognisable cartographic depiction of Dove Cottage is on the 1848 map of Grasmere Township; the annotation dates from the 20th century [CRO(K); photo AM]

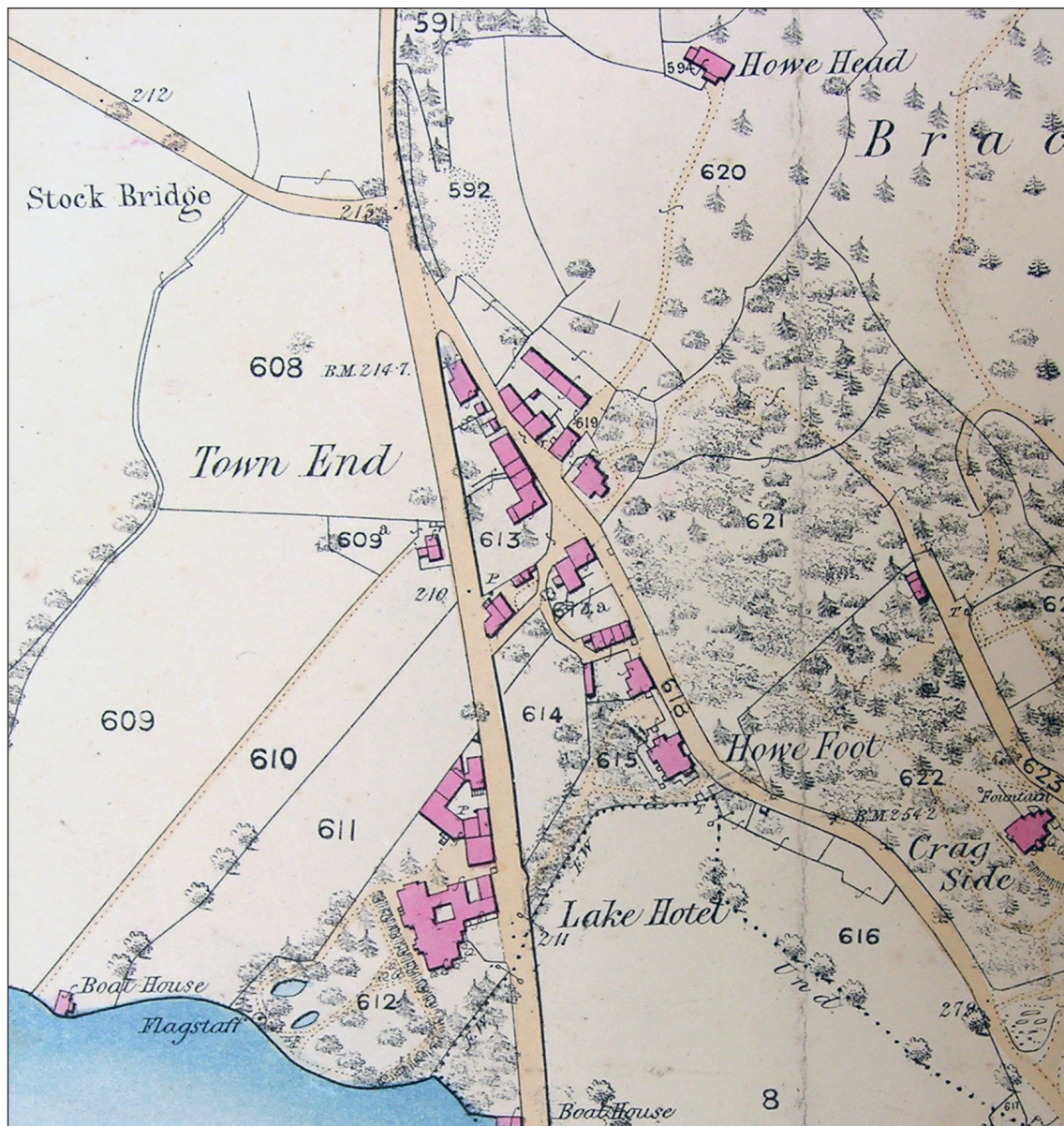


Fig 4: Townend as shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, surveyed 1859 [WT; photo AM]

garden and probably continuing (beyond the picture's frame) to enclose the orchard behind. This might suggest that it post-dates December 1811, when Wordsworth's sister-in-law Sara Hutchinson complained that De Quincey had 'cut down the hedge all round the orchard' – with the implication that the wall replaced the hedge.²⁶ However, the section of wall portrayed – although it appears in its present form to be of a piece with the orchard wall – belongs, strictly, to the garden and not to the orchard.²⁷ Other evidence appears to place the date of the view before the raising of the 'out-jutting', which, it is argued below, had occurred by June 1805. Although architectural details are few, the view clearly differentiates the details of the two chimneys, and shows the windows on the front elevation as being slightly wider than they are tall (the reverse of their present proportions). Adjoining the house to the north-west, two small outbuildings, later demolished, are shown. An almost identical view (Fig 6), which has generally been considered a copy of the other, has long been attributed to Wordsworth's daughter Dorothy ('Dora', 1804-47).²⁸



Fig 5: Dove Cottage in the watercolour attributed to Amos Green [WT]



Fig 6: A second watercolour, attributed by Professor Knight to Wordsworth's daughter Dora, is closely based on the earlier view [WT]



Fig 7: John Wilson Carmichael watercolour, dated 1843 [WT]

Two further views, both by artists based in Newcastle upon Tyne, give greater prominence to buildings on the opposite side of the road than to Dove Cottage, but like Dora's view and that on which it is based they retain substantially the same viewpoint, looking roughly northwards with Helm Crag, and the Lion and Lamb Rock on its summit, as a distant focal point. One, signed by John Wilson Carmichael (1800-68) and dated 1843,²⁹ shows the left-hand bay of Dove Cottage and the garden wall (see Fig 7); the other, by Thomas Miles Richardson senior (1784-1848), undated but probably *circa* 1846-7 when Richardson undertook a tour of the Lakes with his pupil James Burrell Smith (1822-97),³⁰ shows little more than the garden wall of Dove Cottage and the slender yew adjoining (see Fig 8). Both confirm the replacement of the shard fence with a more commonplace stone wall. Carmichael's also shows, rather sketchily, the presence of windows with transoms in the north-western bay of the front elevation.

Two detailed sketches, one of Dove Cottage and one of its garden, have recently come to light in a sketchbook donated to the Wordsworth Trust.³¹ They were made by an anonymous artist in August 1850 in the course of a tour taking in many sites with Wordsworthian associations. The view of the house (Fig 9) is taken from the west and is the first to show something of the outbuilding (now the museum wing) extending behind the house towards the north-east. Both sketches also distinguish species of trees and other details by means of annotations intended to allow the sketches to be worked up, perhaps as watercolours. The earliest photograph may be only a little later than these two sketches and is discussed in more detail below.



Fig 8: Thomas Miles Richardson, senior, watercolour [WT]



Fig 9: The anonymous 1850 sketch of the house [WT]

By the 1880s the Lake District was fast emerging as a focus for a new conservation movement, actuated by threats to both natural and cultural heritage such as Manchester Corporation's Thirlmere Reservoir scheme, authorised in 1879 and opened in 1894, which entailed engineering a pipeline some yards above the Dove Cottage garden.³² Inspired also by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, which in 1847 safeguarded the playwright's Stratford-upon-Avon birthplace, and by the more recent example of the Milton Cottage Trust, which was formed in 1887 to save the poet's home in Chalfont St Giles, Buckinghamshire, the newly formed Dove Cottage Trust acquired Dove Cottage in 1890 following a public appeal, opening it to visitors in the following year.³³ The Trust's Minute Book, together with the minute book of the Local Committee set up later, forms an important source for studying the management and conservation of the property since that date, detailing many changes to the fabric. A museum opened in part of the house in 1900, transferring in 1935 to a converted barn nearby; and in 2005 the Jerwood Centre, an archive and research facility built under the direction of Napper Architects to designs by the partnership of Benson & Forsyth, opened adjoining the Museum.

Photographic records of the house proliferated after it opened to the public in 1891, when it quickly became a popular subject for postcards. An important sequence of early exterior and interior photographs by the distinguished Ambleside photographer Herbert Bell (1856-1946) – from 1903 a member of the Dove Cottage Local Committee³⁴ – forms part of the Armitt Collection (there are also a number of images held by the Wordsworth Trust).³⁵ One of the earliest of Bell's photographs cannot be later than 1892, since it shows windows which were replaced in that year (see Fig 23),³⁶ but some are certainly later, and a number post-date the installation of the Museum boiler in 1898.

Among later photographs, two of particular interest were taken by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in 1933 in preparation for its Westmorland inventory. The accompanying manuscript record is brief, but suggests a phased evolution commencing with the front range in the mid-17th century.³⁷ Among other sources bearing on the history and architectural evolution of the house one of particular value, not least because it explores the wider setting of Dove Cottage, is a typescript prepared in 1996 by Peter Jubb, architect to the Wordsworth Trust.³⁸

The setting of the house has changed considerably since the Wordsworths lived there. The old road, which between Grasmere and Rydal winds over an elevated shoulder of land known as White Moss Common, formed part of the main road between Kendal and Cockermouth, and was turnpiked by an Act of 1762. On 7 April 1773 Michael le Fleming, Bart, of Rydal Hall contracted 'to make a Turnpike road from the Horsestone on the south side of whitemoss [...] to the house usually called George Otley's' at a cost of 10s 6d per rood, and to complete the work before 12 May 1774.³⁹ Doubtless this was intended to improve a section of inferior road inherited by the Turnpike Trust. In 1824 the newly formed Ambleside Turnpike Trust, which had assumed responsibility for the road between Kendal and Keswick, obtained a Renewal Act and in 1825-6 the hilly section over White Moss Common, including the hamlet of Town End at its foot, was bypassed with the construction of a wider and more level route, partly along the lake shore, partly blasted through a rocky outcrop.⁴⁰ In 1843 Dr William Pearson, exploiting a position on the new road, roused Wordsworth's ire when he built a modest boathouse

on the lake shore below Howe Top.⁴¹ During the 1840s and 1850s a series of villas were built on the higher ground close to the old road, where they enjoyed enviable views over the lake and vale. By contrast the new road's proximity to the lake, immediately adjacent to Town End, attracted development of a more commercial nature. Pearson's boathouse was dwarfed when in 1855 the substantial Lake Hotel (later the Prince of Wales Hotel and now the Waterside Hotel) was constructed close to the shore, and the three three-storey houses of Lake Terrace, built by local builder Levi Hodgson *circa* 1870, were on a comparable scale, blocking the view from Dove Cottage (Fig 10). Fears concerning the insensitivity of much commercial and speculative development in the Lake District in the latter part of the 19th century contributed directly to the birth of the conservation movement, which sought to protect both the tangible and the intangible heritage of the Lake District, and to the formation of the Trust which eventually secured the future of Dove Cottage.



Fig 10: Dove Cottage from the garden, showing the setting in Grasmere Vale and the impact of Lake Terrace [dp056059]

NOTE TO READERS

In the ensuing discussion of the house and its evolution attention is drawn to the use of the following terms to describe the various elements of the house.

Terms used in describing the house

The house currently consists of the following elements, all of two storeys:

- a two-bay **front range**, gabled north-west and south-east, and aligned roughly parallel to the road;
- a single-bay **rear range** which extends north-eastwards from the south-eastern portion of the front range, which it overlaps slightly;
- a projection, referred to by Dorothy Wordsworth as the '**out-jutting**', straddling the south-east gable of the front range and part of the rear range and having a roof largely consisting of a single pitch;
- a wing, roofed in two bays, parallel to the rear range but extending further north-east, and projecting further north-west than the front range – known, from the later use of the upper floor, as the **museum wing**.

In addition the following single-storey elements are, owing to the rising ground towards the north-east, at a level roughly equivalent to the first floor of the remainder of the house:

- a narrow **boiler room**, extending in line with the north-west wall of the museum wing and terminating at a north-east gable;
- a water closet, formerly the **necessary house**, occupying the re-entrant of the boiler room and the museum wing and having a roof which is gabled to the north-east.

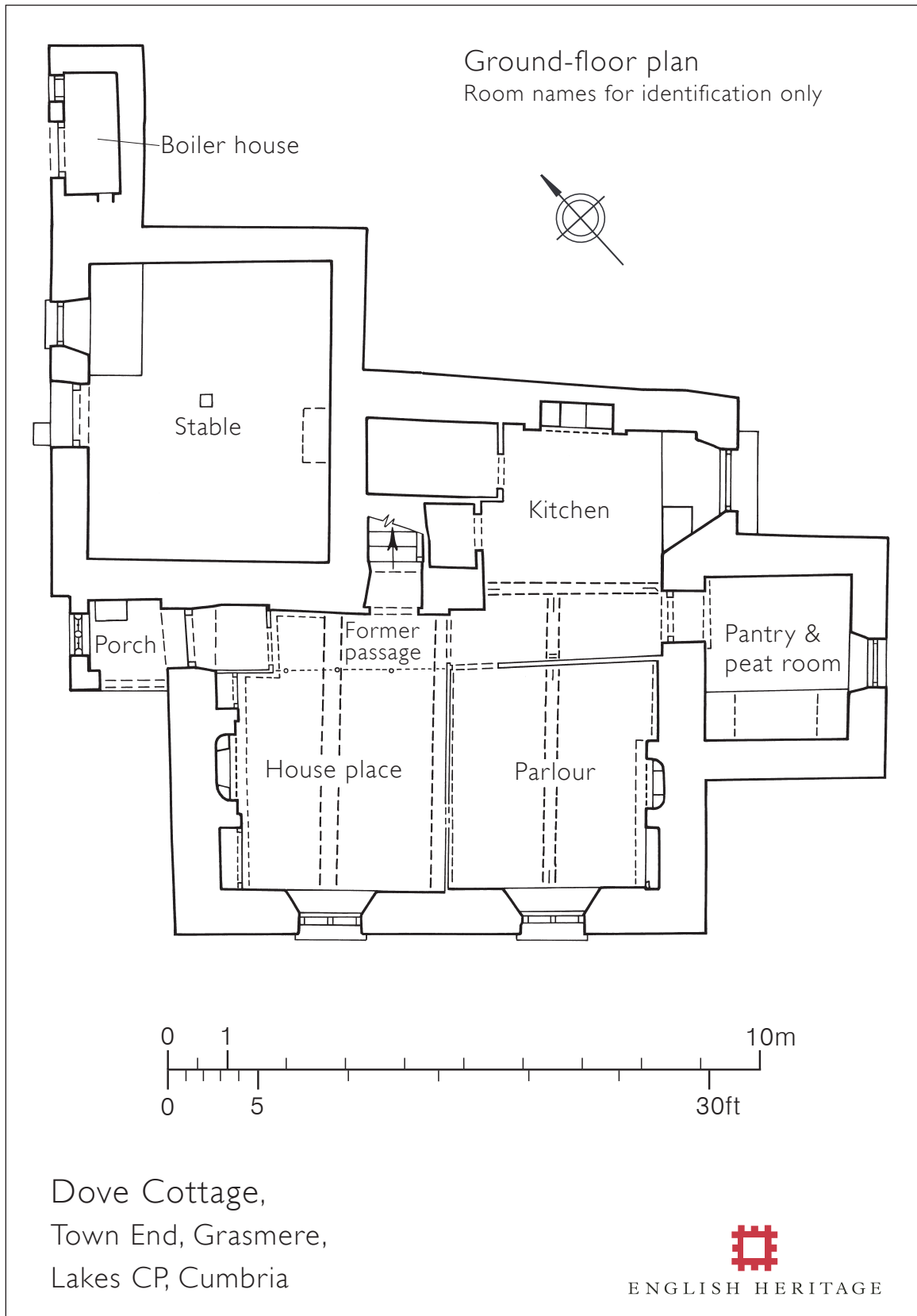


Fig 11: Ground-floor plan of Dove Cottage. © English Heritage

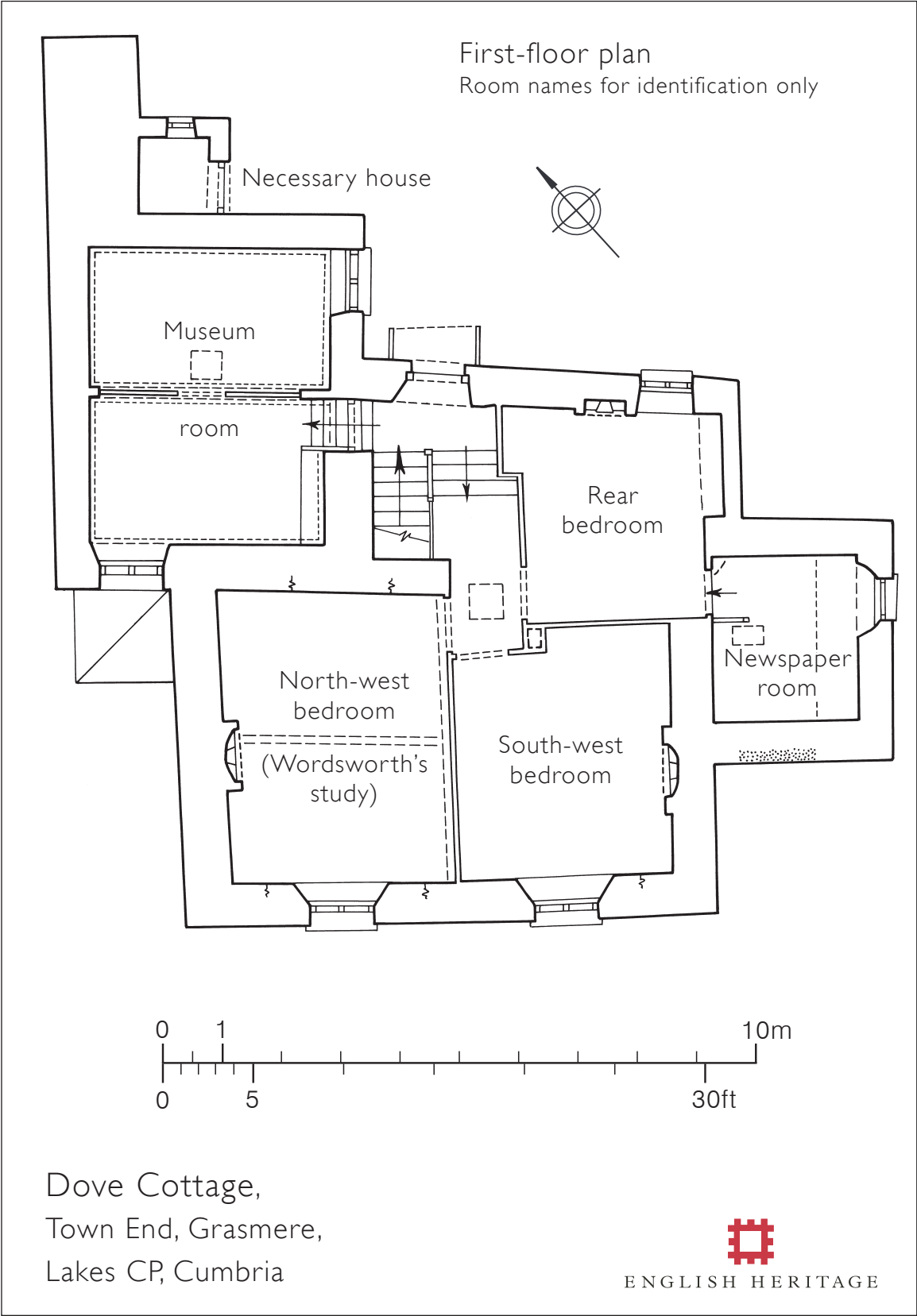


Fig 12: First-floor plan of Dove Cottage. © English Heritage

Room names

Floor	Cumbrian vernacular name	Name during the Wordsworths' occupancy	Subsequent name(s)	Name in 2007 guidebook
Ground floor	Firehouse	Kitchen, Parlour	Shop? 'entrance room'	Houseplace
	Parlour	Lodging room WW's, then DW's bedroom	Parlour (De Quincey)	Downstairs bedroom
	Downhouse	?		Kitchen
	Buttery (in 'out-jutting')	Pantry and Peat Room?		Buttery
	Stable?		Stable & barn (De Quincey); Peat House; Wash House	
First floor	Chamber	Sitting Room	Drawing room (De Quincey)	Sitting Room
	Chamber	Lodging Room or bedroom		William's bedroom
	Chamber	'a sort of lumber room' Bedroom		Guest bedroom
	Loft (in 'out-jutting')	'room' (DW's bedroom)		Newspaper room

Table 1. Historic and modern room names in Dove Cottage

Room names pose particular problems when discussing Dove Cottage. Some of the generic names familiar to modern students of vernacular architecture – as well as (in all likelihood) the house's 18th-century occupants – were not adopted by the Wordsworths. Their use of the house was unconventional in a number of respects, and also changed in response to the needs of visitors and a growing family, so that care is needed when disentangling references in their writings to particular rooms. Most subsequent accounts of the building have attempted to interpret and follow the variable usages of the Wordsworths, but room names have continued to proliferate. The table above attempts to summarise these; the evidence on which it is based is discussed more fully in the room-by-room summaries below. Owing to the complexity of the evidence the plans included with this report give room names purely to aid identification; the room names given on the plans do not represent the range of names or uses at any single point in time.

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSE

The late seventeenth-century or circa 1700 house

Dove Cottage is a small vernacular house ostensibly dating from the early to mid-18th century, but with some indications of earlier origins. Just how early is unclear. The gable-entry plan-form, for example, is conceivably derived from an earlier longhouse or hearth-passage plan, in which what is now the front range would have extended further to the north-west and the present north-west gable would have formed an internal wall; the irregular external face of the wall lends some weight to this suggestion. But the evidence is inconclusive, and the absence of evidence for certain typological features or re-used building materials arguably diminishes the likelihood that an earlier house forms the nucleus of the present building. The length of the front range seems to rule out the existence in the firehouse or houseplace of a smokehood (or firehood), a bulky feature characteristic of cooking hearths in Lake District vernacular houses for much of the 17th century, and while a smokehood in the kitchen or downhouse is a plausible conjecture, evidence for it (on either the gable exposed in the roof-space or the adjacent roof timbers) is lacking, and the very presence of a separate kitchen in a house of this size argues for a relatively late date. In addition the main first-floor rooms appear always to have been ceiled, contrary to earlier practice in lesser vernacular houses.

The extent of the house as first built is not easy to determine with certainty, since the external coating of roughcast on the earlier parts of the building may conceal structural breaks that might otherwise be apparent. The irregular relationships on plan between the front range, rear range and 'out-jutting' are suggestive of phased evolution,⁴² but could also reflect the practical limitations of building back into the rocky hillside to the north-east. Another approach to the problem is to see whether the front range on its own corresponds to a recognised plan-form, to which the rear range may be seen as additional. One plan-form which is particularly associated with a gable entrance, and which is relatively common in the 17th and early 18th centuries, has two cells, the larger forming the houseplace (this term, adopted in the current presentation of the house, will be used henceforth in preference to the vernacular 'firehouse') and the smaller shared by a front parlour and a much smaller rear buttery. In such arrangements the buttery is often only a little wider than a passage. It is possible to see the front range of Dove Cottage (which is also of two cells) in this light, and to hypothesise the removal of a portion of the rear wall in order to increase the space available for a kitchen in an added rear range. But the available space is almost certainly too small for a buttery, which would be no more than 80-90cm wide assuming a parlour of the same dimensions as now.

Two relationships between the various ranges making up the house appear to be established by observation of the building fabric. First, the rear wall of the front range runs on beyond the north-west gable without an apparent break, a circumstance which suggests either that the front range has been truncated, or that the lower part of the museum wing (it was raised in the mid-19th century) is contemporary with the front range, or possibly both.⁴³ Second, roof evidence suggests that the front and rear ranges were roofed at the same time. The rear range roof is awkwardly propped off

the timbers of the front range roof, but such arrangements are not uncommon and the fact that the rear slope of the front range roof appears not to have been covered across the junction with the rear range tends to confirm that the two roofs are coeval.⁴⁴ Corroboration for this conclusion can perhaps be drawn from the arrangement of the first-floor boards where the two ranges meet. What appear to be the original boards survive in that part of the rear bedroom lying within the front range, but they extend further to the north-east than would be needed if the front range was enclosed originally by a continuous rear wall.

The earliest features susceptible to stylistic dating are confined to the front range and stair. They are consistent with a late 17th-century or *circa* 1700 date. They include the form of the gable entrance, which has a chamfered oak frame finished with scroll stops. The counter-boarded plank door, which is pintle-hung on tulip-head hinge straps fixed with large, early nails, is probably contemporary. The stair looks no earlier than *circa* 1700. The wide, mullioned first-floor windows in the front wall, inferred from evidence revealed by the removal of plaster in the 1970s (Fig 13) and presumably replicated on the ground floor, are, like gable-entry plans, characteristic of the 17th century, but remained common features of Lake District vernacular houses into the early decades of the 18th century. The spacing of the original first-floor windows is consistent with the existing partition dividing the upper rooms in the front range, though the form of that partition suggests that it is a replacement. Unfortunately the evidence for the original dimensions of the ground-floor front windows is slender: photographs taken during the 1970s repairs probably indicate that these windows matched the dimensions of those more clearly



Fig 13: A 1970s photograph showing evidence for former first-floor window openings [WT]

identifiable on the upper floor, but the lower part of the elevation is concealed behind the garden wall in the photograph and remaining patches of roughcast further obscure the masonry, making it hard to be certain.

Internally the front range is divided into two almost exactly equal roof bays, though on both floors the division between the two principal rooms is positioned against the south-east side of the central beam, affording just a little more space to the houseplace and corresponding chamber. On the ground floor the central beam is supplemented by two others, giving four more or less regular ceiling bays. There is thus no suggestion that a smokehood (which typically results in an uneven distribution of beams) ever existed in the front range, nor is evidence visible in the roof-space for the characteristic tapering sides of the hood or the corbels to support the stone chimney above it. All the structural timbers are of oak. The joists run axially, and where they can be examined (above the houseplace) they are plain, set vertically, and average 92mm by 72mm in cross-section.⁴⁵ The single roof truss is of oak timbers, traditionally assembled using pegged mortice-and-tenon joints and with the aid of ruddle snap-lines, and although not closely datable it too is consistent with the date range proposed. Both the front range and the rear range have diamond-set ridge purlins and side-purlins of square section and similar scantling.

The houseplace is the largest of the ground-floor rooms and was originally entered directly from the gable entrance (there may have been a timber 'heck' or screen shielding the hearth). It was heated by a fireplace on the north-west gable, the original form of which is obscured. The parlour occupies four-fifths of the depth of the adjoining bay of the front range, the remainder of which forms part of the kitchen. The division between the parlour and the kitchen may have been adjusted slightly: the beam spanning the parlour extends into the kitchen where there is a notch cut in the soffit – possibly for an earlier timber partition – about 6cm north-east of the present partition. It is not known whether the parlour was heated from the outset, but it seems likely since there is no indication that the flue has been inserted subsequently. The position of the parlour fireplace, which is roughly central to the room, confirms that the room dimensions have not changed substantially.

The principal decorative features of the interior – notably the panelled wainscot in the houseplace and parlour, and the panelled doors on both floors – are characterised by a style of panelling for which a date between about 1720 and 1750 can be conjectured, with the latter part of the period perhaps likelier in a small house such as Dove Cottage. That the wainscot is not an original feature of the house might seem to be indicated by the fact that the houseplace ceiling was not originally underdrawn (the joists and boards are limewashed on their undersides); evidence from the Wordsworth letters (see below) indicates that the joists remained exposed until the preparations for De Quincey's arrival in 1809. It remains the case, however, that the combination of classically proportioned wainscot with such vernacular features as long, low, mullioned windows, a gable entrance and exposed joists is sufficiently incongruous that it is unlikely that they belong to the same phase of building, whereas such incongruity might be an acceptable or unavoidable compromise to someone intent on modernising the appearance of an existing building. The compact dimensions of the front range presuppose a plank or panel partition (rather

than anything bulkier) dividing the two principal rooms from the outset, but the existence of an earlier partition (perhaps of plank-and-muntin form, as commonly in Lake District houses) cannot be confirmed from physical evidence since the ceiling beam that might retain evidence for it is currently cased.

The kitchen takes up the greater part of the rear range with the dog-leg stair occupying the remainder. The stair was probably lit at the half-landing by a window in the position of the present doorway to the garden, but the kitchen is below ground level on this side, and must therefore always have been lit, as now, from the south-east. The nature of the original cooking hearth is unclear. A smokehood seems to be ruled out by the proximity of the stair and the absence of substantial support for a bressumer, but the present fireplace (now occupied by a range inserted as late as 1936) is inadequate on its own for the likely range of tasks. Baking, in an 18th-century context, would have required the presence of a masonry oven, and the domestic routines of the Wordsworth household in the first decade of the 19th century seem to have differed little if at all from 18th-century practice.⁴⁶ No oven survives, and the gable wall is not thick enough to contain one in its entirety, so it is possible that an oven projected into the room to the left of the fireplace. It is less likely that it occupied the deeply recessed window since this position would have been favoured for activities requiring good light.

The first-floor arrangement of rooms broadly repeats that of the ground floor but the parlour chamber extends slightly further towards the rear range than the parlour below. It is unclear whether this is an original variation or one introduced at a later date, but it is noteworthy that lightweight partitions (such as are common in Lake District houses) are not constrained by the need to run in line with partitions on the floor below. There is clear evidence, visible in the roof space, that the first-floor landing was originally the same width as the top flight of the stair, and that it was widened subsequently. There is no indication that the roof-space was used.

The eighteenth-century house and alehouse: two traditions

Two traditions, both derived from Wordsworth's writings, relate to the early history of Dove Cottage. One is that the house belonged to the family whose frugal virtues and painful stoicism Wordsworth chronicled in 'Michael', composed late in 1800 and included in the expanded 1800 edition of *Lyrical Ballads*. Dictating his recollections to Isabella Fenwick in 1843, Wordsworth stated that 'The character and circumstances of Luke [Michael's son] were taken from a family to whom had belonged, many years before, the house we lived in at Town-End, along with some fields and woodlands on the eastern shore of Grasmere'.⁴⁷ It has been suggested that the family was that of the Bensons, long-established Grasmere small proprietors.⁴⁸ But it was to John Benson (d.1808) of Tail End (now Dale End), Grasmere, that Wordsworth paid the rent for Dove Cottage, and the house remained in the Benson family until sold to Edmund Lee in 1888, so that the phrase 'many years before' seems inappropriate. The identification with the Bensons may therefore be questioned.

The other tradition is that the building served, at some time before 1799, as an alehouse, a function for which its roadside position on the Kendal to Cockermouth turnpike

rendered it eminently suitable. Indeed Town End, like Town Head further towards Dunmail Raise, might properly be characterised as a thoroughfare settlement, which grew up at some distance from the village centre at least partly in order to capitalise on passing trade. In his *Benjamin the Waggoner* (composed 1805; published 1819) Wordsworth has Benjamin pass through Town End with his wagon and team, where he is relieved to find (for alehouses are a temptation he can ill resist) that

Where once the Dove and Olive-Bough
Offered a greeting of good ale
To all who entered Grasmere Vale
 [.] a Poet harbours now,
A simple water-drinking Bard[.] (lines 53-60)

This places the alehouse's period of operation within living memory, and indeed it is stated that the last license for the Dove and Olive Bough was issued as late as 1793.⁴⁹

A surviving list of licenses granted at Kendal in 1791 names the alehouse simply as the 'Dove' at Grasmere, and would appear to confirm the alehouse tradition beyond reasonable doubt.⁵⁰ It gives the licensee as James Atkinson, of whom no more is known at present. Other potential sources have yielded no further information. The building was not declared as an alehouse in 1742, when a rare surviving Constable's Return of Innkeepers among the records of the Westmorland Quarter Sessions lists the following 'Alehouse keepers in Grasmere[.] William Scott of Church Stile[.] William Benson of Mosside[.] John Fleming of Underhow' – none of which can be identified with Dove Cottage.⁵¹ William Benson's name might seem to suggest a connection, but Moss Side, as shown on Jefferys' 1768 survey of Westmorland, is in the village of Grasmere on the west side of the River Rothay, and therefore set well apart from Town End.⁵² Unless the 1742 Return coincided with a purely temporary cessation of business, the period of operation of the Dove or Dove and Olive Bough is therefore likely to have been somewhere between 1742 and the 1790s. An examination of the Grasmere Parish Registers has failed to identify any further references to an alehouse corresponding to Dove Cottage.⁵³ The surviving 1773 Land Tax Assessment for Grasmere Township is no more informative, and it seems likely that the Dove Cottage property was not deemed liable for the tax.⁵⁴

Alehouses, a category of licensed house which prior to the 1828 Alehouse Act (quickly superseded by the 1830 Beerhouse Act) were forbidden to sell wine or spirits, were generally small-scale establishments. Unlike inns, which tended to cater for better-off travellers, they did not typically have large numbers of rooms to let or extensive stabling, though some overnight accommodation for man and beast would be available. And because the better-off made use of alehouses only *in extremis* – as for example when touring the remoter corners of the Lake District – they feature much less prominently than inns in early travellers' accounts. Many were humble establishments in which the internal arrangements are likely to have differed little from those of contemporary houses.⁵⁵ It is thus difficult to corroborate the Dove and Olive Bough tradition from purely architectural evidence, but it is likely that the houseplace formed the main public room, with the parlour perhaps providing more refined accommodation and the ale finding a natural home in the cool ground floor of the 'out-jutting'. The presence of an

outbuilding capable of being used as a stable would have been an undoubted advantage for an alehouse beside what was, from 1762, a turnpike road.

Eighteenth-century alterations

Probably during the second quarter of the 18th century the house was modernised substantially. The original windows of the front range were replaced by windows which were slightly taller and a good deal narrower, and the two principal ground-floor rooms were brought up to date by the insertion of panelled wainscot. There is nothing to prove that the two alterations occurred at the same time, but it seems likely that they did. The new windows, judging by the earliest photograph and De Quincey's account, were not sashes but casements of three lights, with a transom set above mid-height – an adaptation of the mullion-and-transom window form characteristic of better houses in the later 17th century and the first decades of the 18th. These windows appear to have survived into the second half of the 19th century before they were replaced by sashes. The wainscot adopts the newly fashionable classical proportions, consisting of a low



Fig 14: The early to mid-18th-century door to the rear bedroom, looking across the landing to the north-west bedroom (Wordsworth's Sitting Room) [dp056093]

dado and tall field, divided by a moulded chair-rail; the panels are raised and fielded. The two-panelled internal doors to the ground-floor rooms are panelled in the same fashion and are hung on contemporary 'I-L' hinges. The doors on the first floor are finished and hung similarly and consist of four panels: two upright panels above the lock rail, a narrow horizontal panel immediately below it, and a deeper horizontal panel beneath (Fig 14). It is likely that the widening of the first-floor landing occurred at the same time that the doors were introduced, since the doors (at 85cm) are slightly wider than the original width of the landing (80cm).

It is tempting to associate the upgrading of the interior with a change of use from house to alehouse. The scant documentary evidence points to a post-1742 date,

which bearing in mind the size and location of the building is towards the end of, but not inconsistent with, the suggested stylistic dates for the features concerned.

The home of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 1799-1808

William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and his sister Dorothy (1771-1855) took up residence at Dove Cottage on 20 December 1799.⁵⁶ Wordsworth later recalled that he paid a rent of £8 per annum to the owner, John Benson.⁵⁷ There seems to have been no special fitting out in anticipation of their arrival, but according to the 'Autobiographical Memorandum' which Wordsworth dictated in 1847 the 'small cottage ... was furnished for about a hundred pounds, which sum had come to my sister by a legacy from her uncle Crackanthorp'.⁵⁸ During their residence, and particularly in the early years, William and Dorothy were living in straitened circumstances and it is unsurprising that they undertook few alterations of any substance. They made some changes nevertheless. On 17 June 1800 Dorothy noted: 'We put the new window in'.⁵⁹ A 'new window' suggests an entirely new opening, though it might equally describe an enlarged opening or even a replacement window frame. The rooms have just a single window each. The only room



Fig 15: Detail of 'Amos Green' watercolour showing the pivoting window in the 'out-jutting' [WT]



Fig 16: Detail of Dora Wordsworth's watercolour showing 'out-jutting' window [WT]



Fig 17: 'Out-jutting' showing the drip stone in relation to roof heights [dp056067]

that may have had no window before the Wordsworths moved in is the small first-floor room in the 'out-jutting', which Dorothy described in September 1800 as 'a small low unceiled room, which I have papered with newspapers and in which we have put a small bed without curtains'.⁶⁰ A window lighting this room appears in the pen-and-wash view from the south, hitherto attributed to Amos Green (Fig 15). The front range of the house has windows depicted (inaccurately) as having distinctly horizontal proportions; although no mullions or transoms are distinguished the glazing appears to be of small square panes, small enough to suggest the leaded lights which later views show to have been a feature of the transomed windows. On the 'out-jutting', by contrast, the south-west-facing first-floor window, now blocked, is shown turning on a horizontal pivot and consists of perhaps nine much larger panes, suggesting a later insertion or alteration incorporating timber glazing bars. Rather surprisingly the view shows the head of the window and the drip-stone over it slanting parallel to the roof slope. The surviving dripstone (Fig 17), however, is clearly for a square-headed window and Dora Wordsworth, in her copy of the view, thought to date from 1826 (see Fig 16), shows the window head very nearly horizontal as though correcting an error. The window, the sill of which must have been close to floor level, would have enabled the Wordsworths to press the room into service as Dorothy's bedroom. Once the room was heightened (see below) it became possible to create a window below the eaves on the south-east side, and the earlier window was blocked.

Cosmetic improvements were also recorded in the first two years of the Wordsworths' residence. Dorothy recorded papering William's room (presumably his ground-floor bedroom) in August 1800 and in December 1801 they 'put up the Book cases which Charles Lloyd sent us'.⁶¹ Then one day in January 1802 'We went into the orchard as soon as breakfast was over [and] laid out the situation for our new room'.⁶² This appears to imply plans for some sort of addition, perhaps on the rear of the house (where the orchard was), but it may simply be the first reference to the Moss Hut eventually built on the garden terrace during the winter of 1804-5.⁶³ The Wordsworths subsequently treated the Moss Hut very much as an outdoor 'room'.

The next significant alteration undertaken by the Wordsworths occurred in the spring or early summer of 1804, when a new doorway was inserted opening off the stair landing directly into the garden (Fig 18). The doorway is likely to have been created by lowering the sill of a stair window in the same position, and the door was glazed in order that the stair should continue to be lit adequately. The idea had been suggested by Catherine Clarkson (1772-1856), wife of the anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846), and her sister,⁶⁴ and was the culmination of several years' tender care of the garden, which the Wordsworths cultivated for fruit and vegetables, embellished for enjoyment and used as an open-air living room in warmer weather.

In the summer of 1805 Dorothy wrote to Catherine Clarkson: 'We have got the roof of the peat room raised but the walls are new plastered and it will be the end of summer before it is fit to be slept in'.⁶⁵ This brief statement has given rise to much perplexity. Peat was the traditional fuel of the Lake District, gathered in mosses often high on the fells, and stored in peat houses – ill-lit, single-storeyed buildings which occur close to the peat workings in a few localities but more typically in the immediate vicinity of houses.⁶⁶



Fig 18: The garden doorway inserted by the Wordsworths in 1804 [dp056087]

The Wordsworths did not rely exclusively on peat. They also burnt coal in their grates – numerous deliveries by Thomas Ashburner are noted – though it was a comparative luxury in Grasmere, and they sometimes burnt wood; but peat seems to have been the staple fuel. By referring to a 'peat room', however, rather than a 'peat house', Dorothy would appear to imply a room within the body of the house (not an outbuilding) where a relatively small quantity of dry peat could be stored for immediate use.

There are a number of possible candidates:

A. The ground floor of the museum wing, though an outbuilding, seems an obvious location for the peat room, especially since the Wordsworths had no need for it as a stable. The floor drains, and the doorway is conveniently close to the entrance to Dove Cottage. The difficulties are three-fold. First, De Quincey does not mention a room above the stable. Second, the anonymous view of 1850 gives no indication – in the form of a chimney – of domestic use. Third, the only other suggestion that it may have been used to store peat dates from as late as 1925.⁶⁷

B. The former 'barn' which until 1891 stood immediately north-west of Dove Cottage. The first custodian of Dove Cottage, Mrs Mary Dixon, in words rendered in dialect by Canon Rawnsley, stated that 'i' them daays theer was a peat-hoose here just at the corner of the gardin, and beyond t' peat-hoose there was a waay on to t' fells', implying that the peat house was no longer standing in 1913 and that it formed part of, or was attached to, the 'barn' demolished in 1891.⁶⁸ However, the limited pictorial evidence for the 'barn' (see especially Fig 7) gives no indication that it was ever raised to provide a bedroom.

C. The ground floor of the 'out-jutting'. The principal objection is that this room, being cool and damp, is better suited to a pantry than a peat store. It is, however, the only location where evidence for raising can be found both in the building fabric (this is true also of the museum wing) and in the visual sources.

D. Another building somewhere in Town End. As the Wordsworth household grew, they were obliged to make use of one or more buildings at some remove from Dove Cottage. Such a location for the peat room cannot be ruled out, but no corroborating evidence is forthcoming, and it may be observed that the convenience of a domestic peat store diminishes in proportion to its distance from the house.

The conclusion reached here is that a 'peat room' in the 'out-jutting' is the likeliest explanation for Dorothy's reference, but that such a use precludes neither the room also being used as a pantry, nor the existence of a separate 'peat house' (such as that identified by Mary Dixon) where a more substantial stock of peat could be maintained, either at the same date or another. The only mention of a pantry in Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals strongly suggests that peat was indeed stored in it. In her entry describing the chill evening of 8 February 1802 she relates how for some time she and William wrote letters together, including one to Coleridge; she continues:

Wm left me with a *little* peat fire – it grew less – I wrote on & was starved. At 2 o'clock I went to put my letters under Fletcher's door. I never felt such a cold night. There was a strong wind & it froze very hard. I collected together all the clothes I could find (for I durst not go

into the pantry for fear of waking William). At first when I went to bed I seemed to be warm ... but I soon found that I was mistaken. I could not sleep from sheer cold.⁶⁹

The burden of Dorothy's account is clearly that as the evening drew on, and the fire died down, she became very cold, and would have gone to the pantry – which would have entailed crossing the stone-flagged floor just outside William's ground-floor bedroom – to collect more peat had she not risked waking her brother by so doing. She probably slept in the Sitting Room that night to be close to what heat remained, as she recorded doing four days earlier when unwell.⁷⁰ 'Starved', in North Country dialect, can have the additional sense of 'frozen'.⁷¹ That Dorothy goes on to note that 'I had baked pies & bread in the morning' might seem to offer a more conventional motivation for visiting the pantry, but the statement is divorced from the preceding narrative; it simply remedies an omission in her account of the day, just like her next (and concluding) remark: 'Coleridge's letter contained prescriptions'.

To this literary evidence may be added the clear evidence that the 'out-jutting' has been raised. This is apparent not only from comparison of the early views with the present appearance of the building (see Figs 15-17) – noting in particular the relative heights of the eaves, roofs and windows – but from the present form of the 'out-jutting' roof. This incorporates a short, tapering north-west slope, draining to a valley formed with the rear range roof, which makes little sense as a primary design feature, but is explicable as a response to the increased height of the 'out-jutting', which carries it clear of the rear slope of the main range (see Figs 10 and 25). Inside the roof-space above the present modern ceiling there is surviving wall plaster up to an earlier roof line, associated with the sawn-off end of a purlin retained in the north-east wall below the present roof level (see Fig 49).

Various details of domestic economy emerge from Dorothy's Journal and from the letters of William, Dorothy and their circle. Routines such as gardening, baking, cooking and laundering (undertaken away from the house) are recurring subjects of the Journal, and some less frequent activities are detailed. On 24 June 1802, for example, Dorothy recorded that 'I ground paint when I reached home' and on the following day 'Miss Simpson came to colour the Rooms. I began with white-washing the ceiling'.⁷²

Although the Wordsworths entered enthusiastically into the simple life which was all that Dove Cottage could accommodate they were acutely conscious of the minor privations that it entailed. Both at Cockermouth, where they spent their earliest years in the house (now Wordsworth House) built for the use of Lord Lowther's agent, and at the various properties they had rented during the 1790s (such as Racedown in Dorset, and Alfoxden in Somerset), they had enjoyed considerably more space and, as adults at least, more privacy, and it was frequently necessary to remind intending visitors how cramped they were at Dove Cottage. Dorothy, for example, would normally have expected a sitting room of her own (as she had a little later at Allan Bank)⁷³ and certainly a bedroom better than the low loft of the 'out-jutting'. Living life so close to one another was a creative stimulus no doubt, but Dorothy regretted that William was obliged to compose out of doors for want of quiet.⁷⁴

Wordsworth's marriage to Mary Hutchinson (1770-1859) in October 1802 and the birth of three children – John in 1803, Dora in 1804, Thomas in 1806 – placed even greater pressure on the small house, especially in the winter months. The simplicity with which the house was fitted out magnified the problem, 'for the kitchen not being ceiled, we can almost hear every word that is spoken when we are in the sitting-room, and every foot that stirs'.⁷⁵ The small number of rooms also meant that it was impractical to have a live-in servant, and when the growing household made two servants desirable it was out of the question.⁷⁶ But suitable larger houses were hard to find in the vicinity. In August 1806, still undecided whether to continue their overcrowded existence at Dove Cottage or to take a larger house, Wordsworth negotiated with Benson, the owner of Dove Cottage, about taking out a lease.⁷⁷ An arrangement must have been concluded eventually on behalf of Thomas De Quincey, for in March 1808, with their removal to Allan Bank already in sight, Dorothy wrote to him: 'I have just been writing to your Landlord to hasten him with his work at the Cottage. We have taken it for six years, for, if you should have no use for it, it would be very easy to lett it, being furnished'.⁷⁸ In the event, De Quincey procrastinated about taking up residence in Grasmere, and it was not until the spring of 1809 that preparations for his arrival began in earnest.

Thomas De Quincey, 1809-35

Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859), the son of a Manchester linen merchant, was an early admirer of Wordsworth's poetry who wrote to him to introduce himself as early as 1803. The story of how, on two occasions, he visited the Lake District expressly to meet Wordsworth but was too abashed to present himself at Dove Cottage, introduces one of the essays forming his *Recollections*.⁷⁹ His first stay at the house, early in November 1807, provides our most comprehensive description of the building during the Wordsworths' occupancy (see below) and for several years afterwards he was an intimate of the Wordsworth circle. When the Wordsworths decided to vacate the house he succeeded them in it. Though he cherished the memory of the house in Wordsworth's time he was less inclined than the poet and his family to put up with discomfort, and an interval ensued during which a number of improvements were made in preparation for his arrival.

The scope of the alterations undertaken on De Quincey's behalf is indicated in a letter written by Sara Hutchinson, Wordsworth's sister-in-law. The house, she wrote, 'is to be made very smart – the rooms new papered – kitchen under-drawn – and many other comforts – it will be almost filled with Books – and we have ordered his furniture all new (mahogany) at Kendal – so that when you come you will scarce know it again'.⁸⁰ Apart from papering and painting the rooms, and whitewashing the exterior,⁸¹ most of the work, which was superintended by Dorothy Wordsworth, centred on building new bookshelves for the prodigiously bibliophile De Quincey. A local carpenter, Edward 'Ned' Wilson, was engaged to make bookshelves, but De Quincey had second thoughts when he learnt how the Napoleonic blockade of the Baltic ports had caused the price of deal to rocket. For a time he contemplated having his shelves made from mahogany, but in the end Wilson used deal, though mahogany supplied De Quincey's remaining needs for furniture and other joinery.⁸²



Fig 19: The garden, showing the present recreation of the Moss Hut and the high perimeter wall built by De Quincey in 1811 [dp056070]

De Quincey's arrival was repeatedly deferred and although the necessary alterations were completed in time for the summer the house was taken in his absence by a variety of families, including that of the Liverpool attorney John Gregory Crump (whose new villa, Allan Bank, the Wordsworths had by now moved into).⁸³ De Quincey finally arrived in mid-October 1809.⁸⁴ Relations with the Wordsworths were initially cordial, but they began to sour when De Quincey set about altering the garden (Fig 19). On 3 December 1811 Sara Hutchinson wrote indignantly:

What do you say to de Q's having polled the Ash Tree & cut down the hedge all round the orchard – every Holly, Heckberry, Hazel, & every twig that skreened it – & all for the sake of the Apple trees that he may have a few more Apples – Mrs Jones now stands quite alone, that nice high hedge behind her and all above, & where the Moss hut stood, levelled to the ground. D[orothy]. is so hurt and angry that she can never speak to him more: & truly it was a most unfeeling thing when he knew how much store they set by that orchard – the Apple trees also are so pruned that instead of its being a little wood, as it used to be, there is neither shade or shelter.⁸⁵

De Quincey was a sporadic resident at Dove Cottage, spending much time in London, Edinburgh and elsewhere. A bachelor, with only a single female servant to share the house with, he brought with him huge quantities of books, and while in some respects

the house reverted to more conventional usage – the parlour was reinstated as such – he continued to use the room over the houseplace as a 'drawing room' or library. In 1815, his marriage to a local girl, Peggy Simpson of Nab Cottage, Rydal, approaching, he enquired about taking Tail End, a larger house on the opposite side of Grasmere, but no agreement was reached.⁸⁶ In the following year the Malay's visit, the subject of a vivid reminiscence in De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822), occurred.⁸⁷

In September 1820 De Quincey rented Fox Ghyll, Under Loughrigg, near Rydal, a small villa recently built by Robert Blakeney, a Whitehaven merchant. The Wordsworths attributed the move to the superabundance of books:

Mr de Quinceys Books have literally turned their master & his whole family out of doors – He is arranging them – so being strewed about & he meditating a journey to Edinh [Edinburgh] he thought the safest way, as "his wife did not understand books" (as he expressed himself to Mr Wm) & they the maids would be dusting, was to take another house – and now they are safely lodged at Fox Ghyll which he has taken for 6 months. I predict that there they will remain unless unsettled by an earth-quake or a second accumulation of Books.⁸⁸

De Quincey divided his time between Edinburgh and Fox Ghyll until early 1825, using Dove Cottage as little more than a book store. In that year he vacated Fox Ghyll, installed his wife and children at Dove Cottage and promptly betook himself to Edinburgh again.⁸⁹ On 26 November 1825 he wrote to Mrs Benson in response to her stated intention (as De Quincey put it) to 'resume the house at Town End into your own hands'. De Quincey parried by undertaking 'to put the house into order and full repair immediately', adding that 'when *that* was done, it would be for you to judge whether, in consideration of certain additions and improvements which I should be disposed to make, you would feel disposed to renew the lease of the house'. He continued: 'by Christmas Day, or New Year's Day at furthest, the house will be in order and occupied. I shall then have it in *my* power to lay my plans before you more completely: and You, on your part, after having heard them will be better able to judge whether to renounce or to adhere to your present determination of resuming the house'.⁹⁰ Whether or not De Quincey lived up to his promise, Wordsworth noted in 1828 that 'his Family [...] continues to occupy a Cottage in the Vale of Grasmere, in which I dwelt many years'.⁹¹ Despite being served notice to quit by Benson in 1833 he did not finally relinquish the house until early in 1835.⁹²

Letitia Luff (and others?), 1835-43

The next occupant of Dove Cottage, following De Quincey's relinquishing of the lease, may have been Letitia Luff. She was there by 1 December 1837, when William and Mary Wordsworth and Edward Quillinan called on her.⁹³ A list of occupiers written in a 19th-century hand, to which the date 1838 has been added subsequently, includes 'Dove Cottage M^{rs} Luff'.⁹⁴ There can be little doubt that when, on 9 May 1838, William and Mary Wordsworth wrote of Mrs Luff that 'she has migrated from the dear old Cottage', they were referring to her recent departure from their own former home.⁹⁵ Letitia Luff was a longstanding friend of the Wordsworths, who had lived in Patterdale with her

husband Charles when the Wordsworths had Dove Cottage. The Luffs are mentioned frequently in Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals. In 1812 the couple moved abroad to Mauritius, but following the death of her husband in 1815 Letitia returned to the Lake District,⁹⁶ succeeding De Quincey at Fox Ghyll in 1825. She was still there in May 1835, and was living at Dale Cottage (also known as Dale Lodge), Grasmere, by August 1843.⁹⁷

It is not known how soon after De Quincey's departure Letitia Luff occupied the house. It may have stood empty for a while, as it appears to have done on at least one occasion after she had vacated it, since there appears to be no occupant at the time of the 1841 census.⁹⁸ It is possible, however, that one or more short-term occupants (possibly seasonal visitors) had possession before or after Luff. Benson, the owner, is unlikely to have had much difficulty letting the house for at least part of the year, given the overheated summer rental market which the letters of the Wordsworth Circle bear witness to. If his aim was to entice holidaymakers and longer-term residents he may have made some improvements to the house, but such improvements were often undertaken by incoming tenants such as Luff.

The Cookson family, 1843-6

In 1843 the house was occupied by Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Cookson, a Kendal merchant and friend of the Wordsworths, and her three daughters, Elizabeth, Hannah and Sarah. Thomas Cookson, linsey manufacturer, had premises in Highgate, Kendal, in 1811; he appears to have been resident at nearby Staveley-in-Kendal by 1829 when Thomas Cookson & Son, woollen manufacturers, were listed there.⁹⁹ In 1830 the business failed, and two of his daughters, Elizabeth and Hannah, secured a cottage in Ambleside where they took over a small school. Cookson retreated, for the sake of economy, to the Isle of Man, where he died in July 1833.¹⁰⁰ His widow, also Elizabeth (1775-1868), eventually returned to live with her daughters in Ambleside, and in 1843 her son Henry took Dove Cottage for her.¹⁰¹ They must have been there for a little while when in July of that year Mary Wordsworth reported that Mrs Cookson had established a sewing and knitting school in 'a room in one of the opposite Cottages'.¹⁰² They were probably still there in September 1844, when Wordsworth noted in a letter that they had been negotiating with one Captain Philips with a view to renting a small villa in Grasmere known as The Wray.¹⁰³ It seems likely that they stayed at Dove Cottage until May 1846, when Wordsworth wrote revealingly to Isabella Fenwick that 'The Cooksons are about going in their new abode – I should be sorry to leave the old one'.¹⁰⁴ Their 'new abode' was Howe Foot, a villa built as recently as 1843 a few yards up the old road by James Green, a Grasmere farmer and builder.¹⁰⁵ The 'old one', given Wordsworth's sentiments concerning it, must be Dove Cottage.

Improvements, 1820s to 1840s

Christopher Wordsworth, nephew of the poet, wrote in 1851 that 'The cottage in which Wordsworth and his sister took up their abode ... still retains the form it wore then'.¹⁰⁶ A number of minor improvements to the house can nevertheless be ascribed to the second quarter of the 19th century on stylistic or other grounds. They include the three Carron grates on the first floor, which look c1830-40, though the Carron Foundry's



Fig 20: One of three Carron grates in the house, this one in the south-east bedroom [dp056092]

practice of retaining moulds means that many designs were long-lived (Fig 20).¹⁰⁷ It is likely, too, that the lattice porch, out of sight in the Carmichael view but shown in the anonymous 1850 sketch (see Fig 9), was added in this period together with the rustic garden gate shown in the later view. Lattice porches were a popular *cottage orné* and picturesque villa accessory in the period.

The quick succession of occupants in the second quarter of the 19th century makes it impossible to ascribe these features to any one individual. They may form part of the

work which De Quincey promised to undertake late in 1825, and indeed he would seem a prime candidate for bringing in up-to-date features of Scottish manufacture (though effective marketing meant that Carron grates, made in Falkirk, were widely available across England). It is possible that Benson effected some improvements following De Quincey's long-awaited departure, perhaps to entice new tenants, or that Letitia Luff, the Cooksons, or even tenants unknown may have been responsible.

It is possible that the windows of the front elevation were altered in this period as well. Carmichael's 1843 view (see Fig 7), unlike the two earlier depictions, clearly shows that the windows lighting the houseplace and the room above it are fitted with transoms, features not readily distinguishable in the earlier views. It is worth pointing out that Carmichael shows windows that have a single mullion, whereas the earliest photograph (see Fig 21), taken perhaps 20 years later, clearly shows two mullions per window. Again, an alteration might be inferred, but the windows shown in the photograph do not appear to be new; they have the slender scantling characteristic of hardwood frames and appear to be unpainted (softwood frames were invariably painted). The precise form of the windows depicted in the photograph can be paralleled locally in early to mid-18th-century contexts, and it seems therefore that the photograph simply records more accurately a feature that successive artists – in Carmichael's case perhaps because it was peripheral to his main focus – had simply disregarded.

The lodging house, c.1846-c.1880

With the departure of the Cooksons, Dove Cottage was adapted to serve as a lodging house for the growing numbers of tourists visiting Grasmere. It was certainly being used



Fig 21: The earliest known photograph shows Dove Cottage offering accommodation under the sign of Dixon's Lodgings [WT]

in this way by July 1848, when the author of a Lakes tour printed in various newspapers 'settled in lodgings at Grasmere Townhead [sic]; and, as chance would have it, in the very habitation that for eight years was the favoured dwelling of Mr. Wordsworth'.¹⁰⁸ The clientele, so far as can be established from the information given below, was moderately genteel rather than affluent – the kind of visitors who came to the Lakes in growing numbers following the opening of the Kendal & Windermere Railway in 1847.

The first proprietor of the lodging house was probably Christopher Newby, who leased or rented the property from T Benson. Newby's name appears in notes transcribed from a schedule, the parcel numbers of which tally with those of the Grasmere Township Map of 1848.¹⁰⁹ The name Dove Cottage also appears, though it is hard to be sure that this is transcribed from the schedule and not supplied by the individual making the notes. These details are, however, confirmed by the 1851 census, which names Dove Cottage and gives the occupants as Christopher Newby, a 34-year-old coal agent and lodging-house keeper who had been born in Applethwaite near Keswick, his wife Mary, five young children and a house servant who bore the same surname and was therefore probably a relation.¹¹⁰ Since only Newby's eldest child Alice, aged seven, had been born in Applethwaite, and the remainder, aged between one and six, had all been born in Grasmere, it is quite likely that the Newbys were the Cooksons' immediate successors at Dove Cottage, moving in within a year or so of arriving in Grasmere in or before November 1844.¹¹¹ They were probably the first occupants of Dove Cottage to welcome lodgers on a commercial basis since the Dove and Olive Bough closed its doors. Christopher Newby's occupation was given in the Register of Baptisms as 'servant', so it is likely that the lodgings were managed by his wife Mary. The appearance of Dove Cottage and its garden during their occupation is recorded in the anonymous sketches of 1850 (see Fig 9)

Shortly after 1853 Christopher Newby and his family moved away, possibly to Windermere,¹¹² to be replaced by John Dixon, 27 years old in 1861, described as a joiner and grocer, and his wife Jane, 29, together with Isaac Wilson, an apprentice joiner, and Ralph Todd, a lodger.¹¹³ The Dixons were living in Grasmere, and may already have been at Dove Cottage, by July 1856, when their son John was baptised.¹¹⁴ In 1864, when Susanna Trubshaw spent two days in lodgings at Dove Cottage, the business was run by Mrs Dixon. According to Trubshaw, Jane Dixon ran a grocer's shop on the ground floor. The shop probably occupied the houseplace, and may have been in existence there by 1858, the year in which a trade directory listed Mrs Jane Dixon of Grasmere as a grocer.¹¹⁵ John and Jane Dixon were both natives of Grasmere; John acted as a guide for the ascent of Helvellyn; his mother 'lived many years at Rydal Mount in the capacity of cook'.¹¹⁶ The appearance of the house was recorded during the Dixons' occupancy by a photographer, possibly Thomas Ogle. A signboard bearing the painted lettering 'DIXON'S LODGINGS | WORDSWORTH'S | COTTAGE' occupies the space between the first-floor windows of the front elevation (Fig 21). The photograph must date from before 1873 and may be as early as the late 1850s.¹¹⁷

The recollections of Mrs Fuller (the daughter of Levi Hodgson, builder, of How Top) suggest that Dixon subsequently became an upholsterer in Ambleside, and that a later occupant was John Harward Esq., shortly before he took up residence at the Hollens. A

directory confirms that he was at the Hollens by 1873,¹¹⁸ and his stay at Dove Cottage is likely to have been some time during the later 1860s. According to Mrs Fuller, 'Mr H. was "convuls'd" by the beauty of Grasmere and had devotional meetings in the upstairs room at D. C., attended by a large number of people'.¹¹⁹

The 1871 census records another lodging-house keeper, Mrs Agnes Yeoman, living at Dove Cottage.¹²⁰ Born in the township of Cartmel Fell, she was married to William Yeoman, a 27-year-old labourer who originated in Hounslow, Middlesex. With them lived their four-month-old daughter Ann, William's sister Sarah and her husband Robert Preston (another labourer), and two boarders: a mason called John Rooney and a labourer named William Storey. By this time John Benson had acquired (by Deed of Enfranchisement dated 14 December 1869) the freehold of Dove Cottage, which hitherto he had held only by copyhold.¹²¹

The principal alteration firmly attributable to the period in which Dove Cottage was used as a lodging house is the raising of the stable to provide an upper floor. This can be dated to between 1850 (when the anonymous view, Fig 9, clearly depicts a single-storey stable with no more than a loft above) and 1880, the date of a wood-engraving signed H Manesse which shows it two storeys high with a chimney on the rear gable (Fig 22).¹²² The added storey was originally lit by hornless small-pane sash windows, which probably



Fig 22: H Manesse engraving, dated 1880 [WT]

places it not long after 1850. Whether the additional accommodation was intended to serve as a lodging room or as private accommodation for the lodging-house keeper is uncertain. In the roof-space there are wires and pulleys for a system of bell-pulls. These may have been introduced when the house was used for lodgings, though it is possible that an earlier occupier such as De Quincey or the Cooksons had them installed. It is possible that the partition, which formerly divided the houseplace from an entrance passage at the north-east end, was introduced to separate domestic and lodging-house traffic from the houseplace, either because it was reserved for the lodging-house keeper's sitting room, or because it formed the grocer's shop for at least part of this period.

Wilson Cole and Charles Walmsley, c.1880-1890

The occupants of Dove Cottage had changed again by 1881, when the census records the presence of Wilson Cole, a 52-year-old farm bailiff, and his wife Mary.¹²³ With them boarded Mary E Sharp, a domestic servant, and Ernest, her illegitimate son of 6 months, who was the only one of the household born in Grasmere.¹²⁴ In 1885 John Armstrong, described as lodging-house keeper and ostler, was living at Dove Cottage with his wife Hannah.¹²⁵ The last tenant was an engineer named Charles Walmsley, who was there in 1890 when he shared the house with his wife Elizabeth and their infant daughter Dorothy Wordsworth Walmsley, born there in April of that year.¹²⁶ Walmsley was part of the



Fig 23: Herbert Bell photograph showing Dove Cottage prior to the replacement, in 1892, of late 19th-century sash windows [WT]

influx of engineers, miners, labourers and others employed by Manchester Corporation on the Thirlmere Reservoir scheme.¹²⁷

One final alteration of note probably belongs to the 1880s. One of Herbert Bell's earliest photographs shows the front of Dove Cottage with four recent sash windows (Fig 23).¹²⁸ The sashes, which proved to be short-lived, consisted of three vertical panes per sash.

The Dove Cottage Trust, later Wordsworth Trust, 1890 onwards

On 25 June 1888 John Benson's representatives sold Dove Cottage to Edmund Lee (d.1931) of Rydal Bank, Park Drive, Bradford. Lee's Wordsworthian sympathies are manifest in the name of his Bradford residence; he was described as 'a well-known student of Wordsworth' and two years previously had published a study of Dorothy Wordsworth.¹²⁹ He is probably the Edmund Lee who in 1906 occupied a house at Grasmere known as Lake View.¹³⁰ Lee may well have invited Stopford Augustus Brooke (1832-1916), Unitarian minister and man of letters, to visit the house in 1889, when the latter found the houseplace in a melancholy state:

The room is much the same as it was [in the Wordsworths' time]. No fatal change has been made in it; but it is now uncared for; no sentiment presides over it; it is hard to see the ghosts that as evening falls must inhabit it; and though the flowers still grow by the window, there is no hand as delicate and loving as Dorothy's to train and nourish them. It struck me as a great pity that England had no care for this little spot of earth to which she owed so much.¹³¹

Lee may have intended from the outset to secure the future of the building and in 1890 a fundraising committee was appointed to raise funds to purchase the house, garden and orchard and vest them in a trust, on the model previously followed for the acquisition of Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-on-Avon. In addition to Stopford Brooke and William Angus Knight (1836-1916), Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of St Andrews,¹³² the committee included such noted Wordsworthians as Canon Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley (1851-1920), already active in the Thirlmere Defence Association and later a co-founder of the National Trust. Lee conveyed Dove Cottage to the newly formed Dove Cottage Trust on 9 October 1890. A local committee was promptly assembled with power to appoint a caretaker for house and garden. The sitting tenant, Walmsley, was persuaded by an offer of £5 to forego his six months' notice to quit, and the purchase of the adjoining barn was urged so that it could be 'levelled'.¹³³

A programme of repairs commenced in the following year, with a view to opening the house to the public that summer. Edward Wilson was paid £50 10s for 'new roof, slating, new ceiling over staircase'; William Dixon, plasterer and cabinet-maker, was paid £25 and Garside & Sons, painters, of Grasmere were paid £1 11s 8d for what must have been relatively minor works.¹³⁴ The replacement of the five windows on the front elevation (four on the front range and one lighting the first-floor room above the stable) 'before the summer rush of visitors sets in' was a priority, though eventually not completed – at a further cost of £25 – until 1892 (Fig 24). As for the other windows, they were



Fig 24: A c. 1900 postcard (by the Keswick-based Abraham family of photographers) showing the new windows to the front elevation. Mary Dixon, the first custodian, stands at the gate [WT]

deemed to be 'of a much less modern character and in fair harmony with the place' (Fig 25).¹³⁵ Meanwhile the 'Old Barn' was 'taken down to within about 3 feet of the ground' – complete demolition awaiting resolution of the outstanding issue with Manchester Corporation 'touching a slight diversion of the joint occupation road'.¹³⁶

The first visitor, on 27 July 1891, was a Miss F Aspden of Chicago, and during the first twelve months more than a thousand visitors were recorded.¹³⁷ During the year ending 1 May 1894 the porch, 'which, some years ago, had been removed', was reinstated and 'rustic seats' were placed in the garden. An understanding had also been reached with Manchester Corporation 'which will allow the site of the old barn being now enclosed within the same fence as the rest of the property';¹³⁸ the work had been completed before the next year's report was compiled. During the same period much of the south-east wall of the cottage was given a covering of cement render in an attempt to alleviate water penetration and it was noted that 'a rustic arbour has also been placed in proximity to the supposed site of the "Moss Arbour;" frequently mentioned in the Wordsworthian records'.¹³⁹ It was re-thatched in 1903-4.¹⁴⁰

On 1 March 1898, at a Special Meeting of the Trustees, the gift of Professor Knight's Wordsworth Library, consisting of books, manuscripts, portraits and 'relics', was accepted, and it was noted that 'certain structural alterations' would be required to create 'a general Wordsworthian Museum'. Knight had stipulated that the collection 'be properly housed, and bookcases and cabinets provided'.¹⁴¹ It was decided to house the library in the added upper floor of the outbuilding, 'and, in view of the safe housing of Professor Knight's gift, to render, in Portland cement, the whole of the external walls of that part of the Cottage in which it is proposed to place it'.¹⁴² On 13 July a committee



Fig 25: 1890s photo showing old windows to rear [Armitt Library]

was appointed 'to obtain tenders for the adaptation of two of the rooms in the Cottage into one to form a Library and Museum – to secure the proper lighting, heating and ventilation of this room, [and] to arrange for the bookcases, desks, etc. in which to place the books and letters'.¹⁴³ Edward Wilson was the contractor, working under the direction of an architect called Mason – probably William Lovell Mason of Windermere and Ambleside.¹⁴⁴ A Mr Huddleston provided the heating apparatus (which required rebuilding the chimney on the north-east gable to incorporate a second flue) and a Mr Dowson supplied a fire-proof door, which presumably separated the Library and its contents from the stair. The total cost was £150 15s 9d, of which £118 11s 3d was raised by subscriptions, the balance being met from funds.¹⁴⁵

By May 1900 the Trustees were pleased to announce that they had acquired 'A spacious, well-warmed and lighted, dry and practically fire-proof Museum-Library, obtained by throwing the two non-Wordsworthian rooms over the Wash-house into one'.¹⁴⁶ But the boiler proved troublesome, and in the autumn of 1901 a new heating apparatus was installed on the ground floor of the outbuilding, to heat not only the museum (as the first boiler had done), but the cottage as well, 'by means of radiators placed in each room, but hidden from view'.¹⁴⁷ In the spring of 1902 it was 'decided to transform the old disused earth closet near the garden door into a W.C. for the use of visitors'.¹⁴⁸

With visitor figures now exceeding 5,000 per annum works continued in the garden. On 1 May 1911 it was reported that 'Steps have been hewn in the rock leading from the north end of the orchard plot to the lower garden. This will enable visitors to walk round the garden more easily, and will prevent crowding at the original steps'.¹⁴⁹ The following year the minutes recorded that 'a flagstone seat has been erected in "the

Orchard", near the new stone steps, under Miss Eleanor Simpson's direction, and a portion of the sloping lawn has been levelled to accommodate a seat'.¹⁵⁰ Many routine works of maintenance and repair to the house are also recorded in the Minute Book. In 1914 it was noted that 'The Cottage has been coloured white with Duresco, which though more expensive than limewash is expected to be more durable and waterproof' (Fig 26).¹⁵¹

Visitor numbers fell sharply during the First World War and in 1916-17 the Trustees reported their first annual loss. A change in the content of the minutes is also apparent, and from now on there are fewer details of work to the house and garden and more about gifts and bequests. After the war the number of visitors rose sharply, exceeding 20,000 in 1925-6. Rising numbers led to congestion in the small garden and in 1921-2 we are told that 'stone steps have been made leading from the Arbour to the Orchard path to enable visitors to go round the garden, and to save the grass bank from being trampled'.¹⁵² In 1926 reference is made to garden railings;¹⁵³ these were perhaps regretted as inappropriate and do not survive. In the following year the moss hut or arbour was rebuilt.¹⁵⁴

In 1928 a Mr Jennings, architect, was employed to undertake minor alterations. As the Minute Book records, 'To avoid any possible risk from fire, the flue of the heating furnace has been transferred from the faulty chimney in the Cottage to a new brick chimney which has been built outside at the back of the furnace house. The old wooden tool shed has been removed, and a brick and rough cast slate-roofed building put in its place'.¹⁵⁵ Jennings was retained for a further and much more substantial project commencing in 1930. This initially concerned the acquisition of the Sykeside property, comprising the remaining buildings in Town End dating from Wordsworth's time, with a view to creating a museum, and preventing the appearance of 'a garish teashop, or even the erection of unsightly petrol pumps'. It was subsequently expanded to include the purchase of the nearby smithy (now the Dove Cottage shop) and three adjoining cottages. In 1933 Jennings was given the go-ahead to convert the Sykeside barn into a museum: 'The Trustees recommended that the lower room of the converted Barn at Sykeside should be used as a Local Museum, illustrative of cottage life at the time of Wordsworth, and that the upper room should be used as a specifically Wordsworthian Museum'.¹⁵⁶ The Museum opened on 1 August 1935.

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Fig 26: Advert for Duresco (from The Country Gentlemen's Catalogue (London, 1894))



Fig 27: The lintel of the original entrance to Dove Cottage, exposed during the 1970s [dp056074]

Visitor figures were depressed for most of the 1930s, recovering in 1939 (the year in which the present porch was built)¹⁵⁷ only to plummet with the onset of the Second World War. Between 1940 and 1941 the property was closed for much of the time because under wartime conditions a caretaker could not be found. Business recovered quickly after the lean war years. The garden house was again rebuilt in 1945-6, the windows of Dove Cottage were re-leaded in 1951-2, and in 1952-3 the library was transferred from the Cottage to the former smithy (now the shop). Electricity was finally installed in 1961-2. In 1972-3 Thomas H Mawson & Son, architects & landscape architects of Lancaster, proposed strengthening the roof truss and alterations to the staff room which had succeeded to the Museum Room.¹⁵⁸

By the mid-1970s, with visitors topping 60,000 per year, a need was acknowledged for a more thoroughgoing overhaul of Dove Cottage. In January 1975 Peter Jubb of the School of Architecture at Newcastle University visited Dove Cottage with a party of students.¹⁵⁹ The visit was organised to provide fourth-year undergraduates with practical tasks and experience – measured plans and sections were prepared and a schedule of repairs was drawn up.¹⁶⁰ This exercise resulted in a substantial programme of works directed by Peter Jubb and occupying the years 1976-9, including a wholesale re-roofing in 1976-7 and ensuing internal alterations.¹⁶¹ The total cost was £45,000 and Dove Cottage re-opened to the public on 25 May 1979.¹⁶²

The re-roofing began with the roof above the stable and Museum Room. It involved dismantling Jennings's boiler-house chimney, eliminating some roof-lights and replacing some defective timbers. The contractor was Robert Bowness of Langdale.¹⁶³ The internal alterations included stripping ceiling beams and lintels of plaster, giving the house a more vernacular feel than it probably enjoyed during the Wordsworths' occupancy, yet stopping short of exposing the houseplace ceiling joists, which were certainly visible in Wordsworth's day (Fig 27). Early photographs of the interior show that all the ground-floor beams remained concealed by plaster after the acquisition of the house by the Dove Cottage Trust. The programme embraced research as the basis for new paint schemes and sought where possible to explain the building's form and materials through selectively exposing masonry and other features. As the Annual Report for 1977-8 declared, 'The colours introduced into the rooms were chosen after Crown Paints made scratchings from the walls of early buildings in the Lake District. The uncovering of some of the beams has revealed a joiner's mark of the medieval period which suggests that the timber has been re-used when Dove Cottage was built. The beam over the front door and a wall in the buttery have been left unplastered to show visitors how the house has been constructed [...]. The windows, the staircase, the floors, the shutters, the services, and the security have all been restored or improved'.¹⁶⁴

INVENTORY OF ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

This section presents information on the date, historical context and significance of the various architectural elements, both structural and decorative, of Dove Cottage. It is intended to make key information readily accessible, but its full value depends on its being read in the context of the foregoing historical discussion.

External features and roofs

All the load-bearing walls, whether external or internal, are of random rubble construction except for the front wall of the 20th-century boiler house, which is of brick. Irregular fieldstones appear to supply the bulk of the earlier masonry but quarried stone dominates the later 19th-century work. The elevations of the front and rear ranges and the out-jutting are now covered by white roughcast, as are those elevations of the museum wing and boiler house that are visible from the road. In the past the use of roughcast was more restricted, with the north-east elevations of the rear range and out-jutting also free from roughcast.

There are stone chimneys, each containing two flues, at each end of the front range and on the north-east gables of the rear range and museum wing. All except the chimney on the museum wing are roughcast. All are capped with an arrangement, intended to counteract down-draughts, consisting of four upright slate 'devils' per flue, on top of which a horizontal slate is weighted down by a stone.¹⁶⁵

The roof covering, which is of graduated Cumbrian slate, has been extensively renewed; repairs are recorded on a number of occasions during the 20th century and there was a comprehensive overhaul in 1975-6. All three main roofs – front range, rear range and museum wing – have ridge copings of sandstone laid in long lengths. None of the roof-spaces has a window and none has ever been boarded for regular use.

Front range

The front range is gabled north-west to south-east with a ridge-mounted two-flue stack on each gable (see Fig 1). Both gables are blind and have plain verges. The covering of roughcast makes it impossible to comment on the masonry beyond what can be deduced from two photographs taken when the roughcast was removed in the 1970s. One shows nearly the full extent of the front elevation, sufficient to suggest that there are large quoins at the junction with the north-west gable and that the quality of the original masonry is very coarse.¹⁶⁶ The doorways and window openings are formed using smaller stones than the main quoins, and are bridged by timber lintels which were protected from the elements by rough drip-courses of projecting slate. Removal of the roughcast covering the front elevation revealed masonry blockings suggesting that the upper windows were originally long and low – proportions which are likely to indicate mullioned lights originally – and it is probable that the ground-floor windows were similar and possibly in line with those above.¹⁶⁷ Because the local stone is not suitable for the production of window frames and mullions the vernacular tradition was to use oak instead, but with the exception of the re-set example in the porch (which originates elsewhere), no hardwood windows survive at Dove Cottage.

The four windows of the front elevation were remodelled before 1799, perhaps during the second quarter of the 18th century when it is likely that the panelled wainscot was introduced to the ground-floor rooms. The new openings were narrower than the original windows, and they were probably fitted from the outset with the transomed lights, each probably incorporating a single casement, depicted in early views and photographs. De Quincey recalled that they were fitted with small diamond panes in lead comes,¹⁶⁸ later describing them as 'cottage windows';¹⁶⁹ the visual sources suggest, however, that they had square panes, and that they survived until about 1880. The present windows were installed by the Dove Cottage Trust in late 1891 or 1892, replacing some short-lived sash windows documented in a number of photographs (see Fig 23). They are each of two mullioned and transomed lights with an external ovolo moulding and a shelving top to the transom and sill. The lights incorporate iron casements with turnbuckle catches of late 17th-century style, and twisted stays.

The walls of the front range are all concealed externally by roughcast. This finish seems to be of long standing. The north-west gable is annotated 'White rough cast' on the anonymous 1850 view, and the use of white roughcast on at least the front elevation of the front range before 1809 is attested from De Quincey's account,¹⁷⁰ though most if not all of it has been renewed in the course of the 20th century. The roughcast incorporates smooth margins to the windows, reproducing a pattern in existence at least as early as 1891 (see Fig 23).



Fig 28: The roof of the front range, looking north-west [AM]

The early-19th-century view of Town End (see Fig 5) depicts contrasting details on the two chimneys of the front range. In the view the chimney on the south-east gable has, above a drip-stone, a castellated appearance – that is, there is what appears to be a crenellated upper surface within which the outlets of the two flues are sheltered. The chimney on the north-west gable has two pairs of inclined slates leaning together above the drip-stone, forming an inverted-W and acting as cowls to the two flues. These details were copied more or less faithfully by Dora Wordsworth twenty years later (see Fig 6), so they are unlikely to be either fanciful or inaccurate (the Carmichael view, Fig 7, does not show either chimney). The anonymous 1850 sketch shows the two chimneys sharing a single form, but one which matches neither of the forms shown in the previous view. Both chimneys have slate off-sets just above roof level and rise to a drip-stone cap, above which ‘devils’ with pointed tops support slates laid flat and weighted down with large stones. This arrangement was unchanged by the time of the undated photograph (probably 1860s) of Dixon’s Lodgings and Manesse’s 1880 engraving (Figs 21 and 22), and seems to have been carefully preserved (or imitated) thereafter.

The roof of the front range is carried by a single truss, two sets of staggered trenched side-purlins and a diamond-set ridge-purlin of the same scantling (Fig 28). The timbers, which are of oak, are finished with a small chamfer but this does not appear to indicate that they were intended to be seen, since there is no trace of limewash on the gables as would be expected had the first-floor rooms once been open to the roof. A number of ruddle ‘snap-lines’ (used in setting out the carpentry) are evident on the principal rafters. The truss consists of a tie-beam (largely concealed), principal rafters and a collar, and bears at its north-eastern end on a pier of masonry between the kitchen and the lower flight of the stair. The eastern end of the tie-beam extends to a square end just short of the eastern face of this pier, suggesting that the rear range was present (or at least anticipated) when it was set there. The principal rafters have slightly out-turned feet and rise to a double-pegged notched apex. The slender collar is morticed and single-pegged at the principal rafters. On the north-east roof slope the upper purlin has peg-holes along its back as though for common rafters but there are no corresponding peg-holes on the back of the lower purlin. This may be because the upper purlin has been re-used, but alternatively it may result from a degree of standardised fabrication. Two timbers attached to the upper purlin (but not using the run of peg-holes just described) relate to the rear range roof and are described below. The common rafters are of machine-sawn softwood and probably date from the re-roofing of 1976-7.

Rear range

The rear range is gabled to the north-east and has a ridge at the same height as that of the front range. The masonry, judging by a Herbert Bell photograph before it was covered by roughcast, consists of smaller stones than on the front elevation of the front range, and the window of the Guest Bedroom, on the rear (north-east) elevation of the rear range, has a stone lintel rather than a timber one, and therefore lacks a drip course, though what may be the vestige of a drip course for an earlier window is visible to its right (Fig 29).

The gable wall appears largely clear of roughcast on late-19th and early-20th-century photographs, though small areas (for example beneath the window-sill) appear to have



Fig 29: The gable of the rear range, showing the window of the rear bedroom and what may be the remains of a drip course to the right [dp056066]

retained old roughcast at this period. It was re-covered with roughcast in response to a decision noted in October 1926,¹⁷¹ and appears thus in a photograph of 1975.¹⁷²

The roof of the rear range has no truss, being carried by the north-east gable and by the north-east slope of the front range roof. There are two sets of side-purlins (the lower

north purlin has been renewed) and a diamond-set ridge of similar scantling. The ridge is now cradled at the ridge of the front range by a support nailed across the tops of two slender timbers, laid flat against the roof slope, which rest on the ridge of the front range and are pegged at its upper purlin. This arrangement is clearly early if not original. At the opposite end the ridge is propped by a short king-post set on a collar resting on the upper purlins, but in this case the timbers are modern.

Out-jutting

The 'out-jutting' has walls composed of small stones (again, judging from the Herbert Bell photograph). The only ground-floor window, facing south-east, has a stone lintel. The existing first-floor window, also facing south-east, seems to date from the raising of the roof above 'the peat room' in 1805.¹⁷³ An earlier window, facing south-west, appears in both early 19th-century views, but is now blocked. A long horizontal stone projecting slightly from the wall is likely to be the lintel or drip course of the blocked window.

The roof is largely composed of a single slope, falling to the south-east, but there is a very short, tapering fall in the opposite direction to a valley formed by the rear wing (see Fig 25). This awkward arrangement is the result of raising the roof at some point after the earliest of the Dove Cottage views was painted, almost certainly in 1805, when 'the roof of the peat room' was raised'.¹⁷⁴ The resulting ridge has a later coping of blue-clay jointed ridge tiles; they appear in an early Herbert Bell photograph and probably date from the end of the 19th century.¹⁷⁵ A short slate drip course overhangs part of the rear wing roof on the north-east elevation. Before it was raised the 'out-jutting' had a roof rising to a height probably just short of the level of the front range eaves.¹⁷⁶ A sawn-off timber lodged in the north-east wall inside the present roof-space appears to be the remnant of a purlin for this roof, and respects an internal plaster line (see Fig 49).

Museum wing, necessary house and boiler house

The museum wing is the result of two principal phases (Fig 30). The ground-floor walls, including the north-west-facing entrance and probably the window opening alongside, survive from the original single-storey outbuilding, which De Quincey referred to as 'a stable and little barn, in immediate contact with the dwelling-house'.¹⁷⁷ Since the ground floor has always formed a single room, De Quincey's mention of a 'little barn' is likely to refer to a hay-loft, but any such loft was lost between 1850 and 1880 when an upper floor was added. The new upper floor provided two rooms either for lodging or for the use of the lodging-house keeper. It may have been during the same period that the ground floor was adapted to serve as a wash house – its stated use in 1900.¹⁷⁸

Most of the visible masonry – on the north-east and south-east elevations, where the ground-level roughly equates with first-floor level – is characteristic of the 19th century, and consists of smallish rubble with large, square-ish and more or less regular quoins to the corners. At the corner where the two elevations meet, however, the character of the quoins changes below the level of the adjacent first-floor window sill. Here the quoins, which are longer, shallower and rougher, belong to the original phase. The whole of the north-east gable is of masonry differing quite appreciably from the earlier masonry below, but there is no indication of the former gable height.



Fig 30: The Museum Wing from the north-west [dp056064]

The added upper floor incorporated a window in each of the south-west and south-east elevations. These were originally sashed, and both survived long enough to be photographed in the late 1880s or early 1890s (see Figs 23 & 25). The south-west window was replaced with the present mullion-and-transom design, as on the front range, in late 1891 or 1892; the present south-east window, although in the same style, was not part of the same scheme and must have been replaced slightly later.

On the museum wing roughcast is confined to the north-west elevation (where it extends to the later boiler house) and the south-west gable, being the elevations visible from the road. Elsewhere, and on the necessary house, the stone is exposed, as seems always to have been the case. On the north-east gable the verges and the ends of the purlins are protected by hanging slates. One of Herbert Bell's photographs shows that the protection of the verges is a relatively recent phenomenon, not present c. 1900. He shows the purlin ends protected not by the present rectangular slates but by more decorative slates with pointed lower ends.

The original single-storey outbuilding was unheated; when it was raised the upper floor was provided with a single fireplace served by a chimney on the north-east gable. The engraving by H. Manesse (see Fig 22) shows the chimney in what was probably its original form. A second flue was added, doubling the width of the chimney, when the Museum Room boiler was installed in 1899-1900. Photographs taken subsequently by Herbert Bell (see Fig 25) confirm that the two-flue chimney matched the other chimneys in its detailing.¹⁷⁹

Room-by-room summaries

Porch

The present masonry porch dates from 1939.¹⁸⁰ It replaced an earlier porch, put up in 1893-4 and incorporating larch posts (Fig 31), which in turn replaced (after an interval of years in which there was no porch) a rustic lattice timber structure shown in the anonymous 1850 view (Fig 9). There is no mention of a porch when either the Wordsworths or De Quincey lived at Dove Cottage, so the lattice porch may be presumed to date from after the latter's departure in 1835.

The porch shelters the houseplace door, which was formerly exposed to the elements. The rough oak lintel of this doorway, on the side facing into the porch, was revealed in 1977-8 (see Fig 27).¹⁸¹ The north-west wall of the porch incorporates a small re-used two-light window consisting of a chamfered oak mullion and a frame with chamfered jambs and a square-section lintel and sill. The Local Committee Minute Book records that this was 'an old Tudor window, from a Hawkshead Barn'¹⁸² – perhaps an early donation to the new Museum, opened in 1935. The floor is laid with round cobbles of smaller size than those used to pave the path outside. The cobbles in the porch probably survive from the previous porch.¹⁸³ The undersides of the roof (hip, rafters and torched slates) are exposed. A small seat is formed from two upright stones and one horizontal one.



Fig 31: Photograph (Abraham) of c. 1900 showing the timber porch of 1893-4 [WT]

Houseplace

The room known as the houseplace (Fig 32) is more likely to have been referred to locally as the firehouse. This is traditionally the main living and eating room of the house and, in houses lacking a separate kitchen, the place where food is cooked. Although Dove Cottage has a separate room for cooking Dorothy Wordsworth still called this room the kitchen, and certain aspects of cooking were certainly undertaken here.¹⁸⁴ It was also where the household customarily ate their midday meal. Somewhat confusingly, on at least one occasion Dorothy refers to the room as the 'parlour', perhaps in the sense of 'dining parlour'.¹⁸⁵ The room was not underdrawn during the Wordsworths' occupancy. Dorothy noted in January 1808 how 'the kitchen not being ceiled, we can almost hear every word that is spoken when we are in the sitting-room, and every foot that stirs'.¹⁸⁶ The under-drawing was one of the improvements discussed in March 1809 in preparation for De Quincey moving in, and is likely to have been carried out before his arrival that October.¹⁸⁷

The houseplace would have extended originally as far as the entrance and Dorothy Wordsworth seems to imply that this was still the case in the first decade of the 19th century. De Quincey, however, clearly states (in a description of Dove Cottage at the time of his first visit in October 1807) that 'A little semi-vestibule between two doors prefaced the entrance into what might be considered the principal room of the cottage'.¹⁸⁸ Either De Quincey's memory was at fault (his recollection was published between January and April 1839) or an arrangement similar to the present one existed before the Wordsworths vacated the house. De Quincey helpfully gives the dimensions of the room (16ft by 12ft), and these match tolerably well the present room dimensions



Fig 32: The houseplace (Dorothy Wordsworth's 'kitchen') from the south [dp056076]

(4.6m by 3.5m, or 15ft 1in by 11ft 6in). At some point during the 19th century, possibly in connection with lodging-house or shop use, the room was confined along its north-east side by a light partition. This partition created a passage extending from the external doorway to the kitchen door. Only the short length forming the south-west side of the present lobby survives, and since this section consists of 18th-century panelled wainscot it is probably a remnant of the lobby described by De Quincey. The partition may have been removed by the Dove Cottage Trust in 1891 but no mention of the fact has been found and it is possible that it was removed before they acquired the building.

Floor

The floor is laid with large slates, a number of which retain evidence for the former passage partition (see above). This evidence (Fig 33) takes the form of round holes drilled in the slates to receive dowels locating the sill of the wainscot, and the stump of an iron fixing (for a door frame?) embedded in one of the slates near the south-east end. A row of narrow slates marks the position of the wainscot partition dividing the houseplace from the parlour.



Fig 33: Evidence, in the form of infilled round holes in the floor, for the former partition defining a passage at the north-east end of the houseplace [AM]



Fig 34: The joisted houseplace ceiling, exposed by lifting floor boards in the room above, showing limewashed timbers and traces of paper [AM]

Ceiling

The ceiling is spanned transversely by one beam, and another overlies the partition dividing the houseplace from the parlour. Both beams have modern timber casings,¹⁸⁹ but early photographs show that they were formerly plastered. It is likely that the beams are chamfered and stopped, but this could not be confirmed. Originally, and as late as the Wordsworths' occupancy, the chamfered oak joists which are now concealed within the ceiling void were exposed and limewashed (Fig 34). There are also traces of paper which may have been applied to stop draughts and improve sound insulation. The present plaster ceiling on cleft laths probably dates from 1808, when Sara Hutchinson noted 'kitchen under-drawn' among the improvements planned in preparation for De Quincey's arrival.¹⁹⁰ It is likely that the beams were encased in plaster at the same time. Three original joists remain exposed in the cupboard on the left side of the fireplace.

Walls, doorways and windows

De Quincey (again recalling his visit of October 1807) described the room as 'very prettily wainscotted from the floor to the ceiling with dark polished oak, slightly embellished with carving'.¹⁹¹ Eighteenth-century panelled wainscot is confined to the north-west and south-east sides of the room, plus a short length projecting from the north-east side of the chimney breast to form the lobby. It does not extend beyond the former passage partition. It is accompanied by a simple cyma-moulded timber skirting and a more elaborate moulded timber cornice. The wainscot, in a conventional early to mid-18th-century style, has raised-and-fielded panels above and below a moulded chair-rail. To the north-west it partly backs on to the chimney breast, but to the south-east it forms a thin, freestanding partition fixed to floor and ceiling (Fig 35).

On the north-west wall the chair-rail extends from the north-east only as far as the fireplace, forming the division between upper and lower cupboards. On the opposite

side of the fireplace the upper and lower cupboards are separated by a drawer and there is no chair-rail. Framing evidence indicates that this asymmetry is an original feature of the wainscot, but that the form of the cupboards above the dado-rail was originally different. Redundant mortices in the stiles flanking the chimney breast suggest that there was formerly a rail below the present top rail, cutting across the upper part of the present cupboard doors.

The parlour doorway and the south-west side of the kitchen doorway are defined in the wainscot by wider than normal stiles (16.5cm as opposed to 8.5cm elsewhere) and the chair-rail is stopped neatly just short of the openings, demonstrating that the door positions are original to the wainscot.

The south-west wall has always been plastered from floor to ceiling, with a timber skirting at the base and a moulded timber dado rail but no cornice (there is no mitre for a return on the adjacent walls).¹⁹² The dado rail is not respected by that on the south-east partition, which has a neat termination just short of the external wall. Early plaster is exposed in the cupboards on either side of the fireplace. In the right-hand cupboard particularly there are traces of a variety of coloured paints or washes.

That part of the former passage corresponding to the present small lobby was plastered except where panelled wainscot formed its south-west side. Traces of early paint or wash remain in some places (e.g. on the lintel and splays of the external doorway) but the north-east wall of the lobby has modern plaster. The remainder of the north-east wall, now within the houseplace, has replacement ovolo-moulded sunk-panelled wainscot



Fig 35: The houseplace from the west, showing the panelled partition dividing it from the parlour [dp056078]

(one tall panel in height) dating from 1928-9, with a contemporary plain skirting.¹⁹³ This replaced a plank-and-muntin wainscot shown in a pre-1924 photograph.¹⁹⁴ Conceivably the plank-and-muntin work resembled (or perhaps once formed part of) the original partition between the houseplace and the parlour.

Fixtures and fittings.

The external plank door is counter-boarded for strength and pintle-hung on tulip-head wrought-iron straps fixed with large, early nails. Like the frame in which it hangs, the door and its hinges are plausibly of c. 1700 or a little earlier. A number of boards on the inside face have been renewed. Door furniture includes a 19th-century timber-case rim-lock and a thumb-latch, probably of earlier date.

Three internal doorways – to the stair, the kitchen and the parlour – have early to mid-18th-century two-panel doors, with raised and fielded panels matching the wainscot, and contemporary moulded architraves on plinth blocks. The doors to the kitchen and parlour are *in situ* and hung on undisturbed 'I-L' hinges affixed with early nails. The door to the parlour has an early 20th-century finger-plate.¹⁹⁵ That to the stair is re-set, probably from the former passage partition, but retains similar 'I-L' hinges and has a re-set thumb-latch (the chair-rail has been re-set over it). That to the lobby is an early 20th-century copy with an altogether different patina, flat fields to the panels, and butt hinges.

At the time when the panelled wainscot was installed the fireplace (Fig 36) was larger than at present. Its dimensions are indicated by the outer of two moulded surrounds



Fig 36: The houseplace from the east, showing the large fireplace [dp056077]

and by the pulvinated frieze and moulded timber mantel surmounting it. The fireplace appears to have been reduced in size at some time during the 1820s or 1830s, judging by the distinctive echinus moulding of the inner surround. The grate has iron hobs with moulded caps and bases; the hobs are decorated with florets, four-pointed stars and fine reeds over a base panel of acanthus, all within a border of pellets. Some of the same motifs appear on the parlour grate. The quadrant back-plates are also reeded. The design is earlier than those of the Carron grates in the first-floor rooms, and probably of the early 19th century; it is thus plausibly of Wordsworth's, but perhaps more likely of De Quincey's, period of occupancy.

The cupboards on either side of the fireplace appear to be of 18th-century date and retain some contemporary fittings, but the redundant mortices in the wainscot stiles, mentioned above, suggest that the upper cupboard doors post-date other elements of the wainscot. The upper cupboards have doors of two raised and fielded panels each, whilst the lower cupboards have doors of a single flush-beaded panel (providing extra strength and resistance to wear). Left of the fireplace the upper cupboard has double doors with brass escutcheon plates and, on the right-hand door, a delicate drop-handle of 18th-century date. The four plain deal shelves are original. Between the cupboards there is a deep deal drawer with two turned wooden knobs. The lower cupboard, in which there is a single, apparently inserted, deal shelf (see the damage to the paper at its left end), is missing a lock and a handle. Both sets of cupboard doors are hung on original butt hinges with long fixing plates, secured with nails, and are closed using sliding catches (those on the upper doors engage with slots in the shelves). Right of the fireplace the upper cupboard has hinges resembling those on the other cupboard doors, and there is a similar (though larger) brass drop-handle. A lock has been added at a later date. Inside, the right-hand jamb is formed by the remaining length of wainscot partition and a single ceiling joist is exposed. The lower cupboard has a flush-beaded, single-panelled door which retains the spindle of another drop-handle. A single deal shelf is set into the wall plaster on the left side and carried on a timber bearer planted on the wainscot face on the right.

The left shutter of the window retains, on the reverse of the upper panel, pencil graffiti recording the craftsmen who worked on the Dove Cottage Trust's 1891 refurbishment of the building: 'Richard Wilson | Grasmere | alteration for the Wordsworth Society | July 1891 For W Dixon Ambleside | W Martin & W Thompson joiners | P [Alsoetzee?] & W Carradus Painters | W Hoggett Apprentice Age 14'.

Parlour

The inner or more private room of the house was generally known as the parlour (Fig 37). In the 17th century Lake District parlours were principally bedrooms but by the end of the 18th century they were more normally used as reception rooms. In 18th-century alehouses, by contrast, the parlour typically formed the more private of two drinking rooms. Dorothy Wordsworth noted in 1800: 'We have made a lodging-room of the parlour below stairs, which has a stone floor therefore we have covered it all over with matting. The bed, though only a camp bed, is large enough for two people to sleep in.'¹⁹⁶ It was used first by Dorothy and from 1802 by William, becoming the marital bedroom after he wedded Mary Hutchinson that October.



Fig 37: The parlour from the north [dp056082]



Fig 38: The wainscot partition forming the north-west side of the parlour [dp056083]

The room is lit from the south-west, heated by a fireplace on the south-east wall and has panelled wainscot. Doorways link it directly with the houseplace to the north-west and the kitchen to the north-east.

Floor

The floor is laid with large slate slabs similar to those in the houseplace.

Ceiling

The room is spanned by a chamfered transverse beam; no chamfer stops are visible. The chamfers indicate that the beam was originally exposed but at a later date it is apparent from numerous nail-holes on the soffit that it was encased in lath and plaster, a treatment which endured until at least the early years of the Trust's ownership.¹⁹⁷ The window architrave extends as far as the beam but bears a paint scarp respecting the later plaster casing, indicating that the casing occurred at a later date than the insertion of the joinery.

Wainscot, fireplace, doors and windows

The room has panelled wainscot (similar in character to that in the houseplace) on all walls except the north-east, which is plastered. On the north-west wall the wainscot has the same small moulded cornice as in the houseplace (Fig 38). The greater part of the wainscot on the south-east wall is topped by a dentilled cornice with cyma recta, ovolo and cyma reversa mouldings. This cornice extends from the south-west end across the right-hand cupboard and the full extent of the chimney breast, but no further. On the south-west wall there has never been a cornice and above the wainscot there is a narrow band of plastered wall. All the wainscot takes broadly the same form, with a low dado panel and a tall upper panel, but the forms of the chair-rail and skirting vary, suggesting re-used components or a series of phases.

The timber chimneypiece has a mid-18th-century surround consisting of an ovolo and bead moulding, a pulvinated frieze and a cornice incorporating a large cavetto moulding (Fig 39). The mantel shelf on curved brackets is a later (early 20th-century?) feature. High on the chimney breast there is a broad, shallow, bolection-moulded panel retaining (at its left end) traces of a lemon coloured paint of unknown date. The large gap between the chimneypiece and the bolection-moulded panel suggests that the head of the fireplace has been lowered, probably by the thickness of one of the planks now separating the two (Fig 37). The fireplace has cast-iron hobs with bands of florets and four-pointed stars between fine vertical reeding – elements which are comparable to those on the houseplace grate, though disposed differently, and probably of early 19th-century date. The two quadrant fire plates above each have a raised panel in the form of a square with quadrants at the corners, the panel framing a relief design in the form of an urn flanked by a serpentine plant. The fire opening fits the grate snugly and was probably lowered in height at the same time.

Between the chimney breast and the front wall of the house, above the chair-rail, there is a cupboard with two doors, each of two panels, closing at a central flush bead. Below the rail there is another cupboard with a single flush-beaded panel to each of two doors hung (the right-hand door re-hung) on original butterfly hinges.



Fig 39: The parlour chimneypiece and grate are very likely as Wordsworth would have known them [dp056081]

The north-west side of the room is formed by panelled wainscot as described in the houseplace but the skirting occurs in different forms on either side of the doorway (a simple beaded board to the left, an astragal and cyma recta to the right). The door has two heart-shaped fixing-plate scars for a thumb latch.

The south-west wall has panelled wainscot like that to the south-east except that the dado is flush-beaded. The details, with the exception of the chamfered skirting, resemble those of the north-west wall, but at its other end the wainscot above the dado does not fit neatly with that of the south-east wall. The window retains a panelled soffit, two-panelled shutters and a boarded seat with panelled back – all contemporary with the panelled scheme and apparently unaltered. There are, however, inconsistencies in the wainscot. The stiles at each end of the wall differ in width above and below the dado-rail, and at the north-west end a packing piece is required next to the upper part of the stile. These anomalies, coupled with the absence – at any time – of a cornice on this wall, suggest that the wainscot above the dado has been added later.

The north-east wall is of plastered studwork. Against the houseplace partition there is a doorway communicating with the kitchen. The door, of four ovolo-moulded sunk panels, is of a form popular from the 1840s onwards, and unlike the 18th-century doors in the house it is hung on butt hinges within a simple beaded frame. It is similar in form to the door at the foot of the short stair rising to the Museum Room, and may be of the same post-1850 date. It is unclear from contemporary accounts whether there was a doorway in this position during the Wordsworths' occupancy, and it may not be a feature of the original layout.

Kitchen

Dorothy Wordsworth seldom refers to this room, even when describing the rooms of the house, an indication, perhaps, that it was the scene of work more menial than she cared to describe. To modern eyes it is a kitchen, but the Wordsworths used it as a back-kitchen and scullery (the local term for such a room is the 'downhouse'). Here they must have laundered clothes before they began to have the laundry done elsewhere in Town End, and here they probably brewed beer and baked bread. Some of the cooking functions had been removed by June 1805 to the house of Fletcher, the carrier, on the opposite site of the road.¹⁹⁸

The kitchen (Fig 40) has plastered walls throughout, the north-east and south-east walls being of masonry while the north-west and south-west walls are of studwork. The north-east wall is built back-to-earth. The studwork of the north-west wall, which is exposed within the cupboards beyond, was renewed in the 1970s though the architraves, which resemble those used in the vicinity of the stair, may be re-set early 20th-century work. The studwork of the south-west wall is concealed by plaster and its date is uncertain. The kitchen was a place for the preparation and cooking of food, but the south-western portion of the room also served as circulation space, linking the buttery with the houseplace and parlour.



Fig 40: The kitchen from the west, showing the sink of 1908-9 and the range installed in 1936 [dp056084]

Floor

The floor is slated with noticeably smaller and more irregular slates than occur in the houseplace and parlour, a variation that befits the lower status of the kitchen. Some of the slates in that portion of the kitchen lying within the body of the front range are unusually elongated, but it does not appear that this difference implies that they are of different date.

Ceiling

The room is spanned towards the south-west wall by a beam aligned with the rear wall of the front range. This supports one end of the beam spanning the parlour. Both beams are chamfered (the beam wholly within the kitchen is somewhat waney) but neither has chamfer stops. Close to the south-west wall the parlour beam has a notch cut out of the soffit which may indicate the position of a plank partition preceding the present parlour partition. On the north-east side of the beam demarcating the front range a former lightweight partition, perhaps of plank construction, is possibly suggested by nail-holes in the beam face and a slot in the immediately adjacent ceiling plaster.

The ceiling joists are concealed by a lath-and-plaster ceiling of some age except in the ceiling compartment next to the buttery doorway, where the plaster is modern and attached to machined laths.¹⁹⁹ Where the joists could be observed (by lifting first-floor boards) they are of oak, unchamfered, and 103-108mm x 65mm, laid upright, and showed no trace of paint, paper or plaster, as is arguably consistent with a low-status room. However, the beam has at least one redundant joist seating and it is possible either that the beam is re-used or that the joists have been renewed.

Doors

In the south-east wall a doorway with an oak lintel opens into the buttery.²⁰⁰ The door is hung in a plain pegged oak frame and retains one nailed and pintle-hung tulip-head hinge strap. The ledged plank door consists of three vertical boards, a (later?) nailed cross-piece at the top and three ledges on the reverse, to which the boards are pegged. It is probably an original fixture. The thumb latch, similar to that on the houseplace/kitchen door, appears to post-date a missing lock. The doors to the two understairs cupboards were re-hung when the studwork was renewed. They are of beaded tongued-and-grooved boards (perhaps early 19th century?) and are hung on nailed spoon-head hinge straps.

Window

Light is provided by a south-east-facing window, the sill of which is at the external ground level. Within the wide embrasure there is a large deal shelf incorporating at one side a lead-lined sink. This is probably the sink installed in 1908-9,²⁰¹ though a later photograph suggests that the lead at least was renewed in 1977-9.²⁰²

Fireplace

The fireplace in the north-east wall has a plain stone lintel and jambs with a narrow chamfer and stops to the underside of the lintel and both sides of the jambs. A plain stone shelf overlies the lintel. The stone surround has been much damaged and has traces of a number of former fittings. The present late-19th-century range is presumably that recorded as having been stored since its removal in 1930 from the former Caretaker's Cottage at Town End and replacing the existing 'decrepid [sic] range' in 1936.²⁰³ The stone fireplace may well have been contemporary with this lost range. The range, which bears the plate of 'BOWERBANK | PENRITH',²⁰⁴ has a masonry hob incorporating a brass tap to the left and an oven raised over a panelled iron hob to the right of the fire basket. Inside the fireplace there is an iron crane for suspending pots.

Buttery

Dorothy Wordsworth appears to refer to this room as the 'pantry' when describing the house in 1805 (Fig 41).²⁰⁵ It is cooled by its semi-sunken position, rendering it suitable for the cool storage of foodstuffs or beer.²⁰⁶ In fact it is prone to damp – and occasional flooding – owing to the height of the water-table. Nevertheless, it appears also to have been used by the Wordsworths as an indoor peat store.²⁰⁷

The south-west part of the room is occupied by a full-length slate shelf on masonry supports. Above there is a deal shelf on timber brackets. The floor is laid with slates,



Fig 41: The buttery from the north-west [AM]

mostly small – i.e. of poorer quality than those used in the main body of the house. The ceiling has modern plaster. The south-east wall was stripped of plaster in 1977-8 and remains exposed today.²⁰⁸ The excavation of a trench alongside the south-east wall in February 2008 revealed fragments of thin window glass consistent with a leaded window of small cames. The present window is a fixed light, four panes wide and three high. One of the panes in the top row is hinged for ventilation. A larger window of similar design formerly lit the rear bedroom.

Stair

The stair opens off the houseplace through a doorway on the timber lintel of which, facing the stair, three sprung service bells are attached (serving the two front bedrooms and one ground-floor room, probably the parlour).²⁰⁹ The stair is of dog-leg form, rising via a half-landing, from which a short flight returns to a first-floor landing in an irregularly shaped compartment off which the principal first-floor rooms open (Fig 42). That the irregular shape results from widening the first-floor landing in the 18th, or possibly 19th,



Fig 42: The stair seen from the garden entrance onto the half-landing [dp056086]

century can be demonstrated in the roof-space where the axial beam carrying the ceiling joists has clearly been repositioned. It was originally some 30cm north-west of its present alignment, where it made use of a now redundant dovetail seating on the wall-plate of the front range. A length of the original alignment survives next to the gable wall. The partition is formed from light studs which are lapped and nailed to the beam or (where the original alignment is preserved) to later joists.

At the half-landing the stair was originally lit by a window overlooking the garden, but this was lost when Wordsworth inserted a doorway in the same position in March 1804 (see Fig 18). The doorway is first mentioned in a postscript to one of Dorothy's letters, dated by Wordsworth's editors to 25 March 1804:

We have got the door made at the staircase. It is quite delightful. We often thank you and your sister for the pleasure it gives John and all of us. Whenever John gets a hurt we carry him to it and he is still in a moment, he sees himself in the glass or looks out into the orchard.²¹⁰

Dorothy's remarks confirm that the door was at least partly glazed – without glass the stair would have been impossibly dark. The shutters, retained from the earlier window, have the same panel mouldings as those in the houseplace.

The stair is substantially of *circa* 1700 but was extensively repaired in 1923-4 and 1977-8; at the latter date all the underlying structural timbers were renewed. The original timbers are of oak and the principal elements – newels, hand-rails and strings – are framed together with pegged mortice-and-tenon joints. The hand-rails are of broadly early-18th-century form, though the upper surfaces of both are chamfered in a manner more reminiscent of the 17th century. The lower hand-rail has a more elaborate series of mouldings than the upper one. Between the lower hand-rail and the upper string the under-stairs cupboard (accessible from the kitchen) is screened by what appear to be original tongued-and-grooved boards, obviating the need for a balustrade. There are, however, mortices in the underside of the hand-rail and corresponding mortices may be covered by a board overlying the close string. The mortices were conceivably for splat balusters. The upper flight has a balustrade of slender square-section balusters (two are missing and two have been renewed). The newels and strings are plain. The newel at the half-landing has two long mortices, now filled with timber, in its south-east face.

Original oak treads and risers survive on the upper flight. The boards of the first-floor landing and a small portion of the half-landing are also original and of oak. On the first-floor landing a large round burn mark is doubtless that left by De Quincey's scuttle of hot coals on 28 January 1819 (Fig 43).²¹¹ The lower flight was re-made in 1923-4,²¹² possibly including the half-landing; the treads are of oak but supported by pine bearers (exposed in the under-stairs cupboard).

The balustrade on the first-floor landing is overlain by a plain shelf of uncertain date. The lower parts of the walls are covered with plank-and-muntin wainscot topped with a plain ledge. The ceiling dates from 1891 and the wainscot may be roughly contemporary.²¹³

The inserted doorway of 1804 provided direct access from the house to the garden – Wordsworth's 'little domestic slip of mountain'²¹⁴ – in which much of the creative life of



Fig 43: The burn mark left by De Quincey's scuttle of hot coals in 1819 [AM]

the household was centred. The original door survives and its form indicates that it was always glazed above the lock-rail.²¹⁵ Below the lock-rail it has two moulded sunk panels on each face. On the inner face it retains a moulded architrave similar in form to those associated with the panelled wainscot. Externally the beaded box surround and lintel appear to date from 1908-9.²¹⁶

From the first-floor landing three doors open into the rooms above the houseplace, parlour and kitchen. All three doorways have narrow architraves consisting of a large ovolo and a bead, and doors consisting of two upright panels above the lock-rail and one roughly square panel below. The doors exhibit a conventional hierarchy of elaboration, offering moulded sunk panels to the landing but plain sunk panels to the room.

North-west bedroom or Sitting Room

This is a large room extending the full depth of the front range, and is lit from the south-west, with a fireplace on the north-west wall (Fig 44). On arrival late in 1799 Dorothy wrote that this room had been selected as 'our *living room*', though more commonly it was referred to as the 'Sitting-room' (as in 1805).²¹⁷ Because it was a comfortable room with a good fireplace it was sometimes used as a bedroom when someone was unwell, or occasionally when the house was full.²¹⁸ Here Wordsworth kept his small library in 'a little, homely, painted book-case, fixed into one of two shallow recesses, formed on each side of the fireplace'.²¹⁹ Wordsworth described it as containing 'my half-kitchen and half-parlour fire', an allusion to the fact that though they termed it their sitting room they also prepared light snacks on the fire,²²⁰ but it was also the room in which Wordsworth was obliged to read and compose whenever the weather, or lack of daylight, made working outside impossible. De Quincey regarded it as the Wordsworths' dining room,²²¹ but during his own occupancy it was 'somewhat ambitiously styled, in my family, the drawing-room: but [...] also, and more justly, termed the library'.²²² Wordsworth's bookcase, displayed in the room, was presented by Willingham Franklin Rawnsley (brother of Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley) in 1911.

Floor

The floor is made of boards from Winchester Cathedral, which were laid in 1926-7 when it was found that the existing boards had perished.²²³ The boards were acquired from Mr P Wilson, whose family had bought them at the sale of John Harward of the Hollens, Grasmere.²²⁴ They are of varying width and have been laid with steel brads which have worn bright.



Fig 44: The north-west bedroom (Wordsworth's Sitting Room) from the north-east [dp056090]

Ceiling

The room is spanned from north-west to south-east by a somewhat waney oak beam,²²⁵ which bears at one end on a transverse beam overlying the partition forming the south-east side of the room. Both beams are currently exposed but bear marks of keying and nailed laths indicating that they were formerly plastered (Fig 45). The 18th-century oak ceiling joists are concealed by modern plaster, probably of the 1970s.

Walls

The walls have a covering of modern plaster. There is a plain timber skirting but no indication of a former dado-rail. Slight deformities in the plaster on the south-west wall probably correspond to the dimensions of the original mullioned window, which was narrowed at some point during the 18th century. On the north-east wall there is a hollow-sounding patch the reason for which is unclear. It seems unlikely that it relates to a former opening, though the patch corresponds to window height (from about 1m above floor level to about 10cm short of the ceiling); it may perhaps result from lining out the wall to give a regular finish. The south-east wall is a light timber partition. Its make-up is revealed in the roof-space where large vertical laths and occasional planks project slightly above the ceiling.



Fig 45: The north-west bedroom before the plaster was stripped from the beam and the wallpaper from the walls [WT]

Door

The plain sunk-panelled door to the landing has two upright panels above a narrow horizontal one and a deeper horizontal one and is framed by an architrave matching that on the landing side. The sprung latch incorporating an integral bolt is not original to the door, since it overlies a paint mark indicating an earlier door knob in roughly the same position.

Window

The present south-west window has an 18th-century architrave and a boarded seat with a plain lining to the back and splays. The shutters are lost.

Fireplace

The fireplace is fitted with a cast-iron hob-grate identified by the cast lettering as 'CARRON' and '132' in small panels at the base of the hobs, which have moulded caps shaped to the curved back of the fireplace. The quadrants lining the fireplace are decorated with raised panel mouldings enclosing rosettes and floral swirls. The basket is also embellished with a decorative panel flanked by horizontal reeds. The whole is probably of the 1830s. The hearth is of slate trimmed in oak.

South-east bedroom

This bedroom (Fig 46), successively William's, then Dorothy's, was the best in the house as long as the other front bedroom was used as a sitting room, and was also sometimes given to guests. Dorothy described it as 'a Lodging-room, where our visitors lodge' in August 1805.²²⁶ Here De Quincey slept on his first visit, sharing it with one of the Wordsworth children.²²⁷ It was a heated room, but almost immediately on arrival in 1799 Wordsworth complained that the fireplace 'smoked like a furnace, we have since learned that it is uninhabitable as a sitting room on this account'.²²⁸ The room has a south-west facing window and a fireplace on the south-east wall. The north-west and north-east walls are very thin partitions. The former, judging by what is exposed in the roof-space, is made of nothing more than upright staves and an occasional plank, and the latter, which is no thicker, may be the same. The north-east wall incorporates a set-back south-east of the doorway, in the re-entrant of which a modern stud, lath and plaster service duct has been created.

Floor

The floor is of modern oak boards – this must be the new floor described as laid simply 'in the bedroom' during the year 1954-5 by Alick Lynn, joiner.²²⁹

Ceiling

The ceiling plaster dates from the 1976-8 works and conceals the original oak joists.²³⁰ The joists are morticed, with pegged mid-tenons, at an axial beam which is raised slightly above the ceiling level of the adjoining Sitting Room because it is dovetailed at its



Fig 46: The south-east bedroom from the west [dp056091]

north-western end into a short timber of similar scantling, its ends cut away diagonally, which rests on the tie-beam. The axial beam has been re-used, and has a series of pairs of bare-faced dovetail joist seatings on its upper surface, numbered I-VIII in chiselled numerals starting from the north-west.

Walls

The plaster on the north-east wall and on the south-east wall left of the chimney breast is modern, as is the simple beaded skirting. There is a length of 18th-century dado-rail at the left end of the south-west wall. Another length has been re-set on the north-east wall to the right of the doorway, and a scar in the plaster to the right of the chimneypiece is probably an indication of a former dado-rail.

Door

The plain sunk-panelled door to the landing consists of two upright panels over a narrow horizontal panel and a deeper horizontal panel, and has been re-hung on 18th-century hinges.

Window

The original mullioned south-west window is probably indicated by a hollow-sounding patch on the north-west side of the present window. The latter has an 18th-century architrave, and a boarded seat with a plain lining to the back and splays. The shutters are lost but the window splays retain early plaster with an exposed square of grey-blue paint.

Fireplace

Disturbance to the masonry or plaster above the fireplace lintel suggests that the opening has been altered at some point. Like the fireplace in Wordsworth's Study this contains a grate cast with the lettering 'CARRON' and '126'.

Rear bedroom (Guest Bedroom or Lumber Room, over kitchen)

This is the humblest and least well-lit of the three main first-floor rooms (Fig 47), and is defective as a bedroom owing to the need to pass through it to reach the small room in the 'out-jutting'. The room was slightly reduced in size at an unknown date in the mid-18th century, when the greater part of the partition dividing it from the stair was repositioned. It has a fireplace on the north-east wall, hard against a window overlooking the garden, but the fact that Dorothy Wordsworth refers to it as a 'lumber room', implying that it was unfit for use as a bedroom or lodging room, may suggest that it was unheated while they lived at Dove Cottage, and presumably therefore when the house was first built. The museum display cabinet fitted along the south-east wall is described as being of the 1920s.

Floor

Early boards survive south-west of the ground-floor ceiling beam; others remain on the extreme northern edge of the room, where they extend only about 25cm south-east of the partition separating the room from the stair. Elsewhere the boards, though not modern, are narrower on average and probably date from a refurbishment of the room.



Fig 47: The rear bedroom, formerly the Lumber Room, from the west, looking into the Newspaper Room [dp056094]

Ceiling

The ceiling plaster and the joists which it conceals are modern.

Walls

There is evidence that the north-west wall has been altered by repositioning the south-west portion about 30cm south-east of its original alignment, slightly reducing the size of the room (see Stair for detailed evidence). A plaster scar running up the north-east side of the doorway leading to the Newspaper Room probably results from the alteration of the doorway here.

Doors

The plain sunk-panelled door to the stair consists of two upright panels over one horizontal and one deeper horizontal panel (see Fig 14). The architrave is a modern replacement.

Window

The window dates from the 1970s. The seat below it has a renewed board and a plain lining to the back and splays. The previous window appears in one of Herbert Bell's photographs of c. 1900-10. It was a small-pane fixed light, four panes wide and five panes high, with a single opening pane in the second row from the top. A smaller window of comparable form lights the buttery.

The shutters, when folded back into the shutter boxes, have ovolo-moulded sunk panels facing the room and plain sunk panels to the reverse. They are hung on screwed butt hinges of relatively recent date. The knobs or handles are missing. The left window shutter retains, on the reverse, pencil graffiti recording the craftsmen who worked on

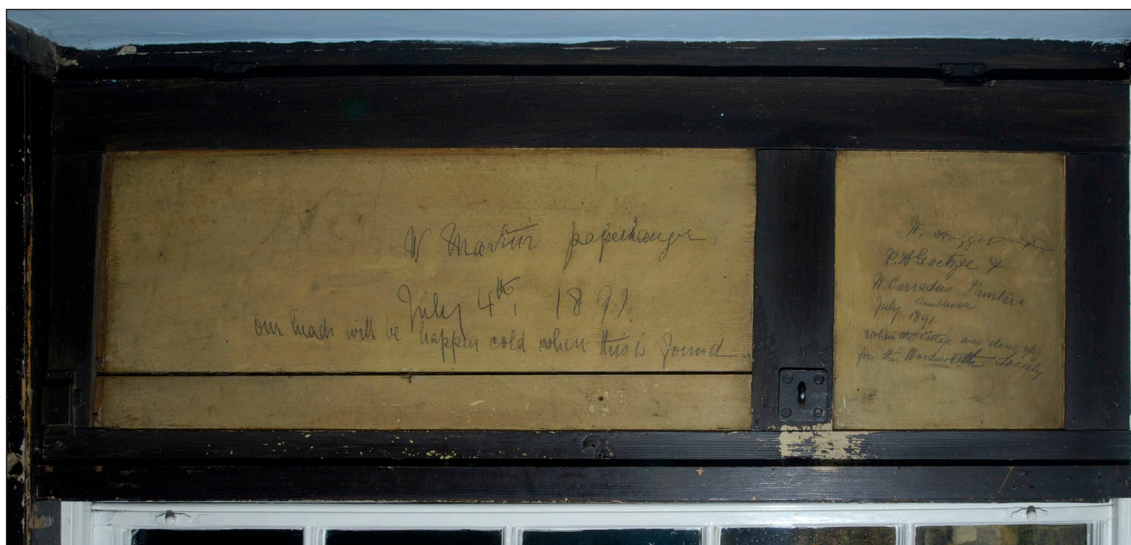


Fig 48: Pencil graffiti documenting the Dove Cottage Trust restoration of the house in 1891 (turned through 90° for legibility) [dp056095]

the Dove Cottage Trust's 1891 refurbishment of the building. On the upper panel: 'W Hoggett & | P. A Goetzee [?] & W. Carradus Painters | Ambleside | July 1891 | when this cottage was done up | for the Wordsworth Society'; and on the lower panel: 'W Martin paperhanger | July 4th, 1891 | our heads will be happen cold when this is found' (Fig 48). More recent craftsmen recorded their work on the reverse of the right shutter: 'Sam Garside | Ambleside | Painted | Dove Cott^{ext} | 1970' appears beneath 'Alan Houghton | painted Dove Cottage | 1997-2004'.²³¹

Fireplace

As argued above, it is likely that the fireplace is an insertion dating from after the period of the Wordsworths' occupancy. The fireplace contains a third grate probably dating to the 1830s, but this example does not have the Carron name encountered on the other two. The quadrant panels lining the fireplace above the hobs have whorled decoration with a boss at the centre of the whorl. The basket is adorned with a triple-reed motif. The hearth is of slate.

Newspaper Room

The Newspaper Room, directly above the Buttery, was described by Dorothy Wordsworth in September 1800 as the 'small low unceiled room, which I have papered with newspapers and in which we have put a small bed without curtains'.²³² The newspapers were probably an attempt to make this unheated and exposed room less cold without incurring additional expense. It may also be this room to which Dorothy referred earlier that year, in June, when she noted simply that 'We put the new window in',²³³ though it is not clear whether this means inserting a new opening or renewing an existing window.²³⁴ As little more than a loft, it is quite plausible that it should not have had a window previously. The window in question is likely to have been the former south-west window, shown in the early-19th-century view of Town End (see Fig 5). In the summer of 1805 Dorothy wrote to Catherine Clarkson: 'We have got the roof of the peat room raised but the walls are new plastered and it will be the end of summer before it is fit to be slept in'.²³⁵ This statement seems to be consistent with the fact that on 26 August Dorothy described it as her bedroom.²³⁶ In the same letter Dorothy noted that each room in the house 'has only one window', so it would appear that the existing south-west window was blocked up and the present south-east window created under the raised eaves.

Floor

The floor is of modern oak boards (replacing softwood boards dating from 1961)²³⁷ and incorporates a step up into the window recess. The step up to the Rear Bedroom is guarded by an oak handrail installed following a recommendation approved in 1961.²³⁸

Ceiling

The present ceiling is modern. Dorothy Wordsworth described an unceiled room in 1800. Within the roof void, old plaster can be seen extending up to about 20cm above the joists on the north-west and adjoining walls, but well below the present wall-tops



Fig 49: The surviving end of a purlin is associated with a plaster wall surface the upper edge of which rises from the right and runs level to the left of the purlin [AM]

resulting from the raising. Both the plaster and the sawn-off end of a purlin define a shallow roof slope towards the south-east which probably represents the original lower roof (Fig 49). The plaster rises in line with the inclined back of the purlin, which was therefore exposed (unceiled). A narrow strip of level ceiling extended along the north-west edge of the room.

Walls

The present newspapers – various numbers of *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* dating from 1800 to 1802 – were put up relatively recently. They cover all four walls as well as the splays and riser of the window. There is no skirting board.

Door

The six-panelled door dates from the early 20th century and the sprung latch and knob are replacements, but the opening retains an early 19th-century architrave.

Window

The insertion of the south-east facing window is not dated, but it is likely that it coincided with the raising of the 'out-jutting' in 1805. Raising the eaves made a window in this wall a more attractive proposition as well as favouring the room's intended use as Dorothy's

bedroom (the bed is likely to have occupied the darker south-west side of the room); previously only the gables offered ample height for a window. However, no features datable to 1805 survive with the possible exception of the shutters. The window architrave (which matches that to the doorway) has been largely renewed during the 20th century, along with the sill, but the pivoting window and the fascia along the top of the opening look earlier (despite the fact that the window currently pivots on screws). The window has moulded vertical glazing bars and lighter, flat, horizontal ones. The shutters, of early 19th-century form, each consist of two sunk panels, which are ovolo-moulded to the room (when folded into the splays) and plain to the reverse.

Stable (later peat house, wash house and boiler house)

The room now serving as a boiler house and general store is nowhere referred to by the Wordsworths as a stable, and on one occasion Dorothy appears positively to deny that Dove Cottage possesses one,²³⁹ but this is perhaps only because the Wordsworths (who

did not keep their own horse) did not use it as a stable.²⁴⁰ De Quincey made reference to a 'stable and little barn, in immediate contact with the dwelling-house'; this appears to imply that the stable and barn formed a single building, in which case 'barn' must be either a generic label or an imprecise reference to a hay-loft.²⁴¹ In either case it would appear to rule out the presence of a domestic upper floor in De Quincey's day, making it impossible that this is the location of the bedroom raised over the 'peat room' in 1805 (see Newspaper Room). The height of the building as recorded in the 1850 sketch is consistent with a loft of some kind but if so no evidence for one has survived the later raising, which had been accomplished by the time of Manesse's 1880



Fig 50: The door to the former stable on the ground floor of the Museum Wing [AM]

engraving. In 1900 the outbuilding was referred to as the wash house,²⁴² but in 1925 it was described as the peat house.²⁴³

The earliest view depicting the outbuilding is the anonymous sketch of 1850 (see Fig 9) which shows it consisting of a tall single storey, with a north-west-facing doorway, no chimney and apparently no window. This contradicts the 1849 date previously given by Helen Darbishire, trustee and noted literary scholar, for the added storey.²⁴⁴

The physical evidence supports the interpretation of the ground floor as a stable. There is an external entrance in the middle of the north-west front and a small window just to the north-east. Both openings are bridged by timber lintels, which are protected externally by slate-hanging. The door (Fig 50) consists of six vertical planks, roughly finished with a side-axe and nailed to four roughly chamfered horizontal sawn ledges, then pintle-hung on long hinge straps with expanded ends. The whole is plausibly of the early 18th century or earlier. The window is a small-pane fixed timber light set above a hit-and-miss ventilator.

Within the stable the position of the 1901 boiler (see below) can be identified where the north-east gable wall meets the front wall. The floor is partly pitched and partly slated with a fall to a central drain. The ceiling is underdrawn in modern material.

Museum Room (now staff rooms)

The upper floor was created at some time after August 1850 and was present by 1880. It is likely that it was added not long after 1850, given the original form of the windows (see below). By the 1890s, and perhaps originally, it comprised two rooms,²⁴⁵ but although there are two windows there is evidence for only one fireplace (on the north-east gable wall), so if a separate south-west room was provided it must have been unheated. The two rooms were thrown together when the Dove Cottage Trust decided to use this part of the building to house Professor Knight's Library, heated by a new boiler. In recent years it has served as a custodian's office and kitchen for staff and volunteers.

Windows

The south-east window, overlooking the garden, appears in one of Herbert Bell's photographs fitted with a hornless sash (each sash four panes wide and two high) set between cemented jambs (see Fig 25).²⁴⁶ The same pattern was followed for the south-west window, as shown in another photograph taken no later than 1892 (see Fig 23). Both are now fitted with frames resembling those to the front range, but while the south-west window formed one of the five windows renewed in 1892, the south-east window must have been fitted later, perhaps when the upper floor was remodelled for Museum use between 1898 and 1900.

Roof

The roof above the Museum Room is carried by a single oak tie-beam truss placed north-east of centre, a single set of side-purlins and a heavy diamond-set ridge-purlin.

The principal rafters are double-pegged at the notched apex and bear notches on their upper surface for earlier purlins. The present vertically set purlins are later replacements, as is a slender softwood collar which has been fixed (probably nailed) across the south-west face of the principal rafters. The form of the truss, which resembles in some of its details that spanning the front range, suggests that it may be the truss which originally spanned the stable, and that it was re-used when the first floor was added. Repairs to the roof, including the renewal of some timbers, were approved in 1920.²⁴⁷ In 1972-3 Thomas H Mawson & Son, architects and landscape architects of Lancaster, proposed strengthening the roof truss and alterations to the staff room which had succeeded to the Museum Room.²⁴⁸ Photographs show that this work was carried out shortly afterwards.²⁴⁹

Interior

The upper floor of the museum wing is reached via a flight of six steps up from the half-landing at the rear of the house. The steps pass through a doorway, with a door of four moulded sunk panels. The opening belongs, as perhaps does the door, to the raising of the museum wing after 1850.

The interior was overhauled between 1898 and 1900 to house Professor Knight's library. Elements remain, chiefly in dark-stained pine (Fig 51). There are areas of match-boarded wall and a full-width basket-arch (later infilled) spanning the room north-west to south-east. The arch retains a dark pine moulded architrave. The Museum was heated from the outset by a boiler, and although a second flue was inserted the fireplace on the



Fig 51: The rear room of the former Museum, from the north [dp056089]

north-east wall was blocked. In recent years the former Museum has been used as an office and staff kitchen.

Necessary house

The small Necessary House enclosed an earth closet and was positioned against the gable wall of the stable, its entrance facing south-eastwards into the garden (Fig 52). Access was improved by the insertion of the garden entrance to the house in July 1804. Not surprisingly the Necessary House is seldom mentioned in writings of the Wordsworth Circle, but it appears once in Dorothy's Journal entry for 22 December 1801, when she describes how, following a heavy snowfall, Wordsworth 'cleared a path to the necessary – called me out to see it but before we got there a whole housetop full of snow had fallen from the roof upon the path & it echoed in the ground beneath like a dull beating upon it'.²⁵⁰ The Necessary House must have continued in use for as long as Dove Cottage was lived in (similar privies were used elsewhere in Town End into the 1930s),²⁵¹ but once the house opened to the public it was abandoned. In 1896, however, the possibility of making available 'a urinal at or near the premises' was referred to the Local Committee.²⁵² Finally, in 1902, 'It was resolved that the present disused & obsolete earth closet be converted into a W.C. for the use of visitors to the Cottage' at a cost of £11 17s 0d.²⁵³ This may have continued to be used until 1961, when a new toilet block was built.²⁵⁴



Fig 52: The Necessary House (with the small window) from the east; the entrance is to the left. The upper portion of the Museum Wing is further left and the lower roughcast structure to the right is the Boiler Room of 1928 [AM]

The structure is built of exposed slate rubble beneath a slate roof gabled to the north-east. The entrance is placed on the south-east elevation against the gable of the museum wing and there is a small single-light window in the north-east gable wall. Other features date probably from the 1902 conversion. These include the jointed blue clay ridge tiles, the ledged door of four beaded, tongued and grooved boards, the boarded dado inside and the lead-lined wooden cistern. The floor is of concrete and the ceiling has been underdrawn in lath and plaster. The pivoting window is perhaps a later feature.

Boiler house

The requirement for a heating boiler at Dove Cottage first arose with the acceptance of William Knight's gift of his library in 1898 and the decision to incorporate it into a Museum on the first floor of what became the museum wing. The resulting works of alteration included the provision by a plumber named Huddleston of a 'heating apparatus' to heat the Museum only, either because the arrangement of the contents prevented the use of the fireplace or because their nature and value rendered an open fire unacceptably risky. It is unclear where the apparatus was installed, but it must have been enclosed, since a fire-proof (i.e. iron) door was required. As early as 1901 the boiler was giving cause for concern. The caretaker's wages had to be increased owing



Fig 53: The Boiler House of 1928. Pointing to the chimney and gable of the Museum Wing beyond date from the insertion of the boiler flue [AM]

to 'the extra labour entailed in looking after the heating apparatus', and there were problems with the operation of the equipment.²⁵⁵

In the autumn of 1901, acting on Huddleston's advice, a new apparatus was installed, this time in the 'wash house', and this time to heat the whole of the building via discreetly placed radiators (where necessary furniture was used to conceal them). The cost was £28 6s 7d.²⁵⁶ In 1905 'It was decided that the Fire Proof doors which now fail to close properly should be made tight by Messrs John Wilson & Sons'.²⁵⁷ A new furnace was needed about ten years later,²⁵⁸ and expense and inconvenience persisted throughout the lifetime of the arrangement.

In 1928 the architect J Jennings was engaged to build a new 'brick and rough cast slate-roofed' boiler house and shed for garden tools on the site of the 'old wooden tool shed', at a cost of £57 4s 10d (Fig 53). Plans to incorporate a new water closet in the extension were abandoned. The decision followed discussions with the Trust's insurer, the Phoenix Assurance Company,²⁵⁹ the minutes noting: 'To avoid any possible risk from fire, the flue of the heating furnace has been transferred from the faulty chimney in the Cottage to a new brick chimney which has been built outside at the back of the furnace house'.²⁶⁰ The new chimney, which was dismantled in 1976, was described as having been 'pebble-dashed', presumably to disguise its use of brick.²⁶¹ As before, a fire-proof door was fitted, but in 1936 this was replaced by 'a deal door painted in harmony with its surrounding'.²⁶² There are further references to expenditure in the Minute Book, and in the bitter winter of 1939-40 it was reported that the furnace had been 'cracked by frost'.²⁶³ A new "Ideal" stove was acquired in 1952 and was in turn replaced in 1967-8, at the expense of Mrs MacAlpine.²⁶⁴

The existing boiler house and tool shed is constructed largely of brick concealed externally by roughcast, though the rear wall is of stone at least up to the level of the roughcast. It has an asymmetrical pitched slate roof with a coping of jointed blue clay ridge tiles.²⁶⁵

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NOTES

- ¹ Stephen Hebron, *Dove Cottage* (Grasmere: Wordsworth Trust, 2009).
- ² Alison Arnold & Robert Howard, *Dove Cottage, Town End, Grasmere, Cumbria: Tree-Ring Analysis of Timbers, Scientific Dating Report*, English Heritage Research Dept Report Series 80-2010.
- ³ The statutory list description, which dates from 1974, departs from the normally sober style of such entries, opening with the words: 'Wordsworth's home – a tremendous tourist attraction'. The ensuing description is defective. The Conservation Area was designated on 11 Sept 1984.
- ⁴ 'Alehouses licensed at Kendal on Saturday the 10th day of September 1791', Le Fleming of Rydal Hall MSS, CRO(K), WD/Ry. The document names the alehouse simply as 'Dove' and places it no more precisely than in Grasmere, but taken with Wordsworth's testimony there seems little reason to doubt that it relates to the present Dove Cottage. I am grateful to Jeff Cowton for making me aware of a copy of this document held by the Wordsworth Trust.
- ⁵ E.g. De Quincey to John Wordsworth (WW's young son), [28 March 1809], John E Jordan, *De Quincey to Wordsworth: A Biography of a Relationship; with the letters of Thomas De Quincey to the Wordsworth Family* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 130: 'Town-end'.
- ⁶ DW to Jane Marshall, [1 Jan 1810]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 382.
- ⁷ See for example Susanna Trubshaw, 'A Visit to Wordsworth's Cottage, Grasmere, in August, 1864', in *idem*, *Wayside Inns* (Stafford: R & W Wright, 1874), 21-43.
- ⁸ The writer of 'Tour among the English Lakes', published in 1876 in the *Belfast News-Letter*, noted that 'We also saw Townend Cottage, where that prince of English writers, Thomas de Quincey, resided' (5 Aug 1876).
- ⁹ WW to DW, 8 Nov 1799: Wordsworth Letters, I, 272.
- ¹⁰ Thomas De Quincey, *Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets*, ed. David Wright (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), esp. 128-9, 294 and 298-9. The recollections first appeared as a series of essays in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* at various dates between Sept 1834 and Oct 1840.
- ¹¹ William Green, *The Tourist's New Guide, containing a description of the Lakes, Mountains, and Scenery of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, with some account of their bordering towns and villages* (2 vols, Kendal, 1819), I, 399.
- ¹² Edward Baines, *A Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; in a descriptive account of a Family Tour and excursions on horseback and on foot. With a new, copious, and correct Itinerary*, 2nd edn (London, 1830), 103.
- ¹³ Revd William Ford, *A Description of the Scenery in the Lake District, intended as a Guide to Strangers* (Carlisle: Charles Thurnham, 1839), 38.
- ¹⁴ Christopher Wordsworth, *Memorials of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, DCL*, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1851).
- ¹⁵ Harriet Martineau, *Guide to Windermere, with tours to the neighbouring lakes and other interesting places* (Windermere, 1854; reprinted Giggleswick: Castleberg, 1995), 46.
- ¹⁶ Susanna Trubshaw, 'A Visit to Wordsworth's Cottage, Grasmere, in August, 1864', in *idem*, *Wayside Inns* (Stafford, 1874), 21-43. Susanna Trubshaw was the daughter of the engineer, bridge-builder and architect James Trubshaw (1777-1853) of Little Haywood, near Colwich, Staffordshire.
- ¹⁷ Thomas Jefferys, *The County of Westmoreland, surveyed Anno MDCCLXVIII and engraved by Thomas Jefferys Geographer to His Majesty MDCCLXX*, reprinted with an introduction by Paul Hindle, CWAAS Record Series XIV, 2001.
- ¹⁸ James Clarke, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: together with an account, Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive, of the Adjacent Country. To which is added, A Sketch of the Border Laws and Customs, by James Clarke, Land-Surveyor* (London: the author, 1787), plate 9.
- ¹⁹ 'A Plan of an intended Deviation, in the Townships of Grasmere and Rydal from the Dunmail Raise, Ambleside and Kendal Turnpike Road in the County of Westmorland, 1823', CRO, reproduced in Brian Paul Hindle, *Roads and Trackways of the Lake District* (Ashbourne: Moorland Publishing, 1984), Fig 6.10.
- ²⁰ 'Plan of the Lands in the Township of Grasmere, Westmorland, To be charged with the payment of the Corn Rent in lieu of Tithe', 1843 (CRO(K), WDRC 8/293).
- ²¹ 'Plan of the Township of Grasmere in the County of Westmorland, 1848' (CRO(K), WPR 91/Z6). The accompanying schedule appears to be lost, though some notes and tracings apparently taken from it are preserved at the Wordsworth Trust (Town End documents). They are believed to have been made by Eleanor Rawnsley (widow of Canon Rawnsley) of Allan Bank, Grasmere (information kindly provided by Jeff

Cowton).

²² Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Westmorland Sheet 26.1, surveyed 1859.

²³ DW to Lady Beaumont, Grasmere, 26 Aug [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 622, which also reproduces Dorothy's sketch. The sketch shows the front elevation with a regular pattern of four windows (two on each floor) and the front roof slope with end stacks. A variant sketch appears in Hebron 2009, 14.

²⁴ I am grateful to Stephen Hebron and Jeff Cowton for alerting me to the questionable nature of this attribution. The attribution occurs in numerous recent publications, including Woof 1996, 71-2, and Woof 2002, 174. The same sources hazard a date of c.1806, the year in which Green, a painter principally of fruit and landscapes, purchased a property in Ambleside and staged an exhibition in the town (ODNB). Without the attribution to Green, however, there is no basis for specifying the date so precisely. The watercolour was presented to the Dove Cottage Trust by Professor Knight, and is described in the 1902 *Catalogue* as 'Dove Cottage (1803), water colour' (*The Official Catalogue of the contents of Dove Cottage Grasmere Wordsworth's Home from 1799 to 1808 and afterwards De Quincey's Residence (Ambleside: George Middleton, 1902)*, 16). An engraving based upon the same view appeared (without an indication of the artist) in Christopher Wordsworth, *Memorials of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, DCL*, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1851), I, 158.

²⁵ DW to Jane Marshall, 10 [& 12] Sept [1800]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 295.

²⁶ SH to Mary Monkhouse, 3 Dec [1811]: Kathleen Coburn, *The Letters of Sara Hutchinson from 1800 to 1835* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), 36.

²⁷ An opening was broken through the wall in or shortly before 1926, giving access to the adjoining parcel of ground via a footbridge spanning the small 'syke' or stream which runs along the south-east side of the wall (Report ... to 1 May 1926).

²⁸ Dora Wordsworth's watercolour is simultaneously described as 'undated' and dated '1826' in Woof 1985, 71-2. The view attributed to Dora differs in depicting a small cart or trap, absent on the other view, between the two outbuildings north-west of Dove Cottage. Like the other view, it was presented by Professor Knight, and is described in the 1902 *Catalogue* as 'Drawing of Dove Cottage by Dora Wordsworth' (Knight (ed.) 1902, 16). Both views were displayed in the south-east bedroom ('Room E') in 1902.

²⁹ The date occurs in Woof 1985, 71, but no corroborating evidence is offered.

³⁰ Information kindly provided by Jeff Cowton. James Burrell Smith's watercolour 'Approach to Grasmere' (Wordsworth Trust), dated 1846, does not show Dove Cottage but suggests that Carmichael may also have been in Grasmere at this time. Further information on Thomas Miles Richardson and his contemporaries is contained in Paul Usherwood with Kenneth Bowden, *Art for Newcastle: Thomas Miles Richardson and the Newcastle Exhibitions 1822-1843*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1984, Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne & Wear County Council Museums, 1984.

³¹ One drawing is titled 'Wordsworth's (afterwards De Quincey's) house Town End Grasmere | 15 Aug^t 1850'; the other 'Back of Wordsworth Cottage at Grasmere 16 Aug 1850': Wordsworth Library, GMRDC – B722.

³² For a recent study of the Thirlmere Reservoir scheme, see Harriet Ritvo, *The Dawn of Green: Manchester, Thirlmere and Modern Environmentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

³³ For a broader discussion of the precedents for the Dove Cottage Trust, see Hebron 2009, 89-92.

³⁴ Minute dated 10 Nov 1903, Minute Book, 56-7.

³⁵ Views which occur in both collections are:

<u>Wordsworth Trust</u>	<u>Armitt Collection</u>
KE16	AMATL:ALPS, 153
KE17	AMATL:ALPS, 152
KE19	ALMC 1958.770

There may be further duplicates since four items in the Armitt Collection are currently unaccounted for: One view shows the front of the house with the windows fitted in October 1891. Another, of the houseplace, shows plank-and-muntin wainscot which had been removed by May 1929. A number show Stopford Brooke (d.1916) in the garden.

³⁶ Armitt Library, Herbert Bell Collection, ALM Box 26, AMATL:ALPS 617; Minute Book: Report to 25 May 1892.

³⁷ The manuscript record is signed 'G. E. Chambers. 2.11.33' (National Monuments Record, Swindon, BF 30303). The brief published account is in RCHM[E], *Westmorland* (London: HMSO, 1936), 98.

³⁸ Peter Jubb, 'An Architectural Appreciation of the Wordsworth Trust Properties in Town End, Grasmere', typescript, April 1996 (copy at Wordsworth Trust).

³⁹ Agreement among Rydal Hall MSS, transcribed 18 May [19]51, copy in Wordsworth Trust, Town End documents.

⁴⁰ L A Williams, *Road Transport in Cumbria in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), 118-9; Brian Paul Hindle, *Roads and Trackways of the Lake District* (Ashbourne: Moorland 1984), 154.

⁴¹ Fenwick note (1843) on *The Excursion*, Curtis 1993, 85. See also Adam Menuge, 'Patriotic Pleasures: Boathouses and Boating in the English Lakes', in Geoffrey K Brandwood (ed.), *Living, Leisure and Law: Eight Building Types in England 1800-1914* (Reading: Spire Books, 2010), 53-72, especially 53-5.

⁴² The various plan-forms characteristic of the Lake District are set out in a broadly typological sequence in Susan Denyer, *Traditional Buildings and Life in the Lake District* (London: Gollancz/National Trust, 1991), 54-67. Phased evolution was hypothesised in RCHM[E] 1936, 98.

⁴³ The absence of a break could be seen as supporting the three-cell (longhouse or hearth passage) diagnosis conjectured above. The relevant stretch of masonry can be examined inside the ground floor of the museum wing, but the interior here, which is used partly for storage, is cluttered. Should this wall be cleared of obstructions it is recommended that a careful examination is conducted to establish whether any evidence for a structural break can be identified.

⁴⁴ In fact the upper of the two side-purlins has a series of peg-holes suitable for attaching common rafters, but the lower purlin does not. The peg-holes do not pass right through the thickness of the purlin, so no conclusions can be drawn from the fact that no peg-holes are visible on the underside of the other purlins. The presence of peg-holes might result from the purlin being re-used, but it is not clearly different in character from the other purlins. Although the original common rafters are lost, it is likely that they were pegged at the apex and at one or more other points. Short rafters – from upper purlin to ridge, for example – are often used where only part of the roof slope in a given bay is exposed to the elements and the remainder is within another roof structure.

⁴⁵ Heights vary between 83mm and 102mm; widths are more consistent – 70mm to 74mm (based on joists in the houseplace ceiling, visible where first-floor boards can be lifted).

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Peter Brears for a discussion of the likely 18th-century domestic economy of the house. DW mentions an oven in 1800 (DW to Jane Marshall, 10 [& 12] Sept [1800]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 296).

⁴⁷ Fenwick note on 'Michael', Curtis 1993, 10, 103. See also Wordsworth Letters, I, 314-5.

⁴⁸ The identification with the Bensons is made in Curtis 1993, 103.

⁴⁹ Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals*, ed. Pamela Woof (Oxford, 2002), 164. The source for the date is not given.

⁵⁰ 'Alehouses licensed at Kendal on Saturday the 10th day of September 1791', Le Fleming of Rydal Hall MSS, CRO(K), WD/Ry.

⁵¹ 'Return of Innkeepers Kendale Ward and Lonsdale Wd. 1742', CRO(K), WQ/SR/152/32. It is reported that some years ago a document listing Westmorland alehouses at a certain date in the 17th century was displayed at the Skelwith Bridge Hotel, Skelwith, but this document cannot now be traced and its authenticity therefore cannot be assessed (information kindly provided by Mark Ward and Jeff Cowton).

⁵² Thomas Jefferys, *The County of Westmoreland, surveyed Anno MDCCLXVIII and Engraved by Thomas Jefferys Geographer to His Majesty MDCCLXX*. As for the other alehouses named in 1742, Church Stile is a building close to St Oswald's Church in the village of Grasmere, while Underhow can be identified with a property on the edge of the village.

⁵³ Potentially the most fruitful element of the Parish Register (CRO(K), WPR 91) is the Register of Marriages, which from 1758 onwards generally gives the husband's trade, although addresses are no more specific than 'Grasmere'. The Marriage Register was examined for the years 1754-99, without result. The Register of Baptisms and Burials gives more specific addresses, naming Town End for example; but apart from paupers, servants and innkeepers (whose standing exceeded that of alehouse-keepers) few trades or status indicators appear. The Register of Baptisms and Burials was examined for the years 1783-99, also without result. Neither register identifies the trades of any women in the periods examined, with the exception of servants. Women who are not servants are invariably described as 'spinster' or 'widow'. A further weakness of Parish Register evidence in this regard is, of course, that the normal cycles of family life sometimes result in long periods in which no baptisms, marriages or burials occur in any given household.

⁵⁴ Most of the surviving Land Tax Assessments (for 1773, 1809, 1823, 1830 and 1831) are at CRO(K), WQ/R/LT. The 1773, 1809 and 1823 assessments do not provide address information, and Land Tax

assessments generally are well known for their unreliability in respect of small properties. In 1809 John Benson appears as the owner of three properties, one of which can be identified on other grounds as Tail End, while the other two were occupied by John Fletcher, the Townend carrier, who rented a peat house and a coach house from Benson (Woof 2002, 205-6); De Quincey, who had not moved into Dove Cottage when the assessment was concluded, does not appear as an occupier. In 1823 Mrs Benson is given as the owner of two properties, possibly (from their similar value) those previously occupied by Fletcher. The occupier in both cases is John Robinson, and again De Quincey's name is absent. In 1830 the house name or a description of the property is provided. There is an entry for Townend (owner Mary Fisher; occupier James Fleming jnr), and three succeeding entries, for which no address is given – perhaps because they were also at Town End, for small properties of William Wordsworth's. 'Mr Benson' is stated as the owner of a small 'parcel' occupied by John Robinson (probably the lesser of the two properties held by him previously), which was assessed at the trifling sum of 5½d. (The 1809 assessment is listed at CRO(K), and indeed titled, as 1808, but is endorsed '1809' on the reverse several times, and for other Westmorland townships it is the 1809, rather than the 1808, assessment that – seemingly through a policy of deliberate culling – has been retained.) The 1798 Land Tax Assessment for the whole of England and Wales, held by TNA, has not been consulted.

⁵⁵ Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison & Michael Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell: The History and Heritage of the Public House* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 24-5.

⁵⁶ WW & DW to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Christmas Eve [27 Dec 1799]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 273.

⁵⁷ Fenwick note (1843) on *The Excursion*: Curtis 1993, 85. However, James Losh noted in his diary in September 1800 that the Wordsworths 'pay only £5 a year rent and 6s for taxes' (Losh Diary, quoted in Woof 2002, 164). Possibly the rent was raised during the Wordsworths' occupancy.

⁵⁸ Wordsworth 1851, I, 16-17.

⁵⁹ Grasmere Journal, 17 June 1800: Woof 2002, 11.

⁶⁰ DW to Jane Marshall, 10 [12] Sept [1800]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 295-6.

⁶¹ Grasmere Journal, 20 Oct 1800 and 8 Dec 1801: Woof 2002, 15 and 46. Charles Lloyd lived at Brathay Hall, near Ambleside.

⁶² Grasmere Journal, 24 Jan 1802: Woof 2002, 58.

⁶³ WW to Sir George Beaumont, Grasmere, 25 Dec 1804: Wordsworth Letters, I, 518.

⁶⁴ DW to Catherine Clarkson, 18 July 1804: Wordsworth Letters, I, 489.

⁶⁵ DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson, 8 June [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 597.

⁶⁶ For peat houses serving the workings, see Angus J L Winchester, 'Peat Storage Huts in Eskdale', *CW*, 2nd ser., LXXXIV (1984), 103-15.

⁶⁷ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1925.

⁶⁸ H D Rawnsley, 'A Crack with Mrs. Dixon of Dove Cottage', in *idem, Past and Present at the English Lakes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1916), 282. Rawnsley dates the remarks to a conversation in 1913. Mary Dixon had lived in Grasmere (initially at the Hollens) since the late 1840s, and had been the custodian of Dove Cottage since it opened to the public in 1891.

⁶⁹ Grasmere Journal, 8 Feb 1802: Woof 2002, 64-5. Fletcher, of Townhead, Grasmere, was a local carrier, by whom the Wordsworths regularly sent letters. He rented a peat house and a coach house in Town End from Benson, the Wordsworths' landlord (Woof 2002, 205-6).

⁷⁰ Grasmere Journal, 4 Feb 1802: Woof 2002, 62.

⁷¹ *OED*, s.v. 'starve', II, sense 9a.

⁷² Grasmere Journal, 24 & 25 June 1802: Woof 2002, 114.

⁷³ WW to Basil Montagu, 25 July [1806]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 62.

⁷⁴ DW to Lady Beaumont, [c.20 Feb 1808]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 196.

⁷⁵ DW to Lady Beaumont, 3 Jan 1808: Wordsworth Letters, II, 188.

⁷⁶ DW to Lady Beaumont, 25 & 26 Dec 1805: Wordsworth Letters, I, 664.

⁷⁷ WW to Sir George Beaumont, 5 Aug [1806]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 71.

⁷⁸ DW to Thomas De Quincey, [7 March 1808]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 293.

⁷⁹ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 122-4.

⁸⁰ SH to Mary Monkhouse, 27 March [1809]: Coburn 1954, 17-18.

⁸¹ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 294.

⁸² Jordan 1962, 108 and 150; Wordsworth Letters, II, 330. Mary Armitt noted that the account book of Edward Wilson, carpenter, of Grasmere, existed in private hands in the early 20th century and that it

detailed the work of building De Quincey's bookshelves at a cost of £7 17s 8d (M L Armit, *Rydal*, ed. W F Rawnsley (Kendal, 1916), 676). The account book has not been identified in the Armit Collection or the Cumbria Record Office, and may still be in private ownership.

⁸³ DW to Catherine Clarkson, 26 or 27 Aug [1809]: Wordsworth Letters, II, 369.

⁸⁴ Although De Quincey later dated his arrival to November (De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 300) he had been in Grasmere 'above a month' when DW wrote to Jane Marshall on 19 Nov 1809: Wordsworth Letters, II, 376.

⁸⁵ SH to Mary Monkhouse, 3 Dec [1811]: Coburn 1954, 36-7.

⁸⁶ SH to Joanna Hutchinson and sister, 24 Nov 1815: Coburn 1954, 89.

⁸⁷ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings*, ed. Barry Milligan (London: Penguin, 2003), 62-4.

⁸⁸ SH to Mrs Swaine & MW, 19 Sept [1820]: Coburn 1954, 209.

⁸⁹ Mrs De Quincey and the children were still at Dove Cottage on 15 Nov 1826, when Dorothy Wordsworth visited them (DW to Thomas De Quincey, 16 Nov [1826]: Wordsworth Letters, IV, 492-4.

⁹⁰ Thomas De Quincey to Mrs Benson, Rydal, 26 Nov 1825: Benson Papers, Wordsworth Trust, 2004.156.

⁹¹ WW to Robert Cotton Money, 10 Oct 1828: Wordsworth Letters, VIII, 195.

⁹² Jordan 1962, 302.

⁹³ Edward Quillinan diary, 1 Dec 1837 (Wordsworth Trust, WLL EQ 13/3). I am indebted to Prof. John Worthen of the University of Nottingham for this reference. Quillinan notes that the house was 'formerly the public-house called the Dove & Olivebough', but he goes on immediately to say that it was thus 'alluded to by Wordsworth in his Waggoner', and offers no independent evidence for its former use.

⁹⁴ Wordsworth Trust, Phoebe Johnson album. The list is written in ink; later annotations are in pencil.

⁹⁵ MW & WW to Catherine Clarkson, 9 May [1838]: Wordsworth Letters, VI, 587.

⁹⁶ Woof 2002, 198.

⁹⁷ SH to Mrs Hutchinson, [30-31 May 1835]: Coburn 1954, 446; WW & MW to Isabella Fenwick, [29] Aug [1843]: Wordsworth Letters, VII, 466-7.

⁹⁸ An uninhabited house ('1u') is recorded next to the house occupied by the shoemaker Gawin Mackereth, which comparison with the 1851 census suggests is likely to be next door to Dove Cottage. The 1841 census was taken on the night of 6-7 June.

⁹⁹ *Holden's Annual London and Country Directory* (3 vols, London, 1811; rpt Castle Rising, 1996), II, unpaginated (sub Kendal); Parson & White 1829, 673.

¹⁰⁰ DW to Maria Jane Jewsbury, 22 March [1830]: Wordsworth Letters, V, 219-20.

¹⁰¹ Robert Woof (ed.), *Thomas De Quincey: An English Opium-Eater 1785-1859* (Grasmere 1985), 71.

¹⁰² MW to Isabella Fenwick, 10 July 1843, Burton 1958, 268-9.

¹⁰³ WW & MW to Isabella Fenwick, [19 Sept 1844]: Wordsworth Letters, VII, 598. Another potential tenant had first refusal on The Wray, and the Cooksons' bid came to nothing.

¹⁰⁴ WW to Isabella Fenwick, [13 May 1846]: Wordsworth Letters, VII, 775.

¹⁰⁵ Woof 1985, 71.

¹⁰⁶ Wordsworth 1851, I, 156.

¹⁰⁷ The Carron Foundry near Falkirk commenced operations in 1759 and quickly built up a reputation as one of the nation's foremost producers of fire-grates, stoves and military ordnance. See Brian Watters, *Where Iron Runs Like Water! A New History of Carron Iron Works 1759-1982* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998).

¹⁰⁸ 'R.A.', 'A Day's Excursion in Westmoreland and Cumberland', *Preston Guardian*, 20 Jan 1849. The piece, which is dated Stoke Newington, 1848, is credited as having been reprinted from the *Carlisle Journal*. The author also mentions 'The small but romantic garden, into which we looked from the sitting-room'.

¹⁰⁹ Wordsworth Trust, Town End documents. The list of occupiers is accompanied by a sketch or tracing of the relevant portion of the map, on which field names and owners' names have been transcribed.

¹¹⁰ Most of the details are derived from the 1851 Census, which describes Newby as a coal agent; Mannix & Co 1851, 266, describes him as a lodging-house keeper.

¹¹¹ Mary Jane was the first of the Newby children to be baptised in Grasmere, on 3 Nov 1844; the last was Catherine on 22 May 1853 (CRO(K), WPR 91/4). The Register of Baptisms gives the place of abode only as Grasmere.

¹¹² Their daughter Catherine was baptised on 22 May 1853, after which they do not appear in the Grasmere Parish Registers. The bankruptcy of Christopher Newby, lodging-house keeper of Windermere, was announced on 29 Jan 1867 (*Newcastle Courant*, 1 Feb 1867).

¹¹³ 1861 Census.

¹¹⁴ CRO(K), WPR 91/4.

¹¹⁵ *Post Office Directory of Westmoreland and Cumberland* (London: Kelly & Co., 1858), 23 & 90. No further address details are given.

¹¹⁶ Trubshaw 1874, 35. There was a 52-year-old gardener named James Dixon at Rydal Mount in 1851 (Census); he is presumably the same James Dixon, 'Mr. Wordsworth's old servant', who Trubshaw describes as having railed off Wordsworth's grave in Grasmere churchyard to save it from the trampling of feet (Trubshaw 1874, 42). In so doing Dixon was working for the local builder Levi Hodgson (d.1885), who undertook the setting of Wordsworth's head and foot stones in Grasmere churchyard in 1850, and their re-setting, together with fixing guards around the grave, in 1859 (Wordsworth Trust, WLMS G/2/7/21 and G/2/29/11).

¹¹⁷ Wordsworth Trust, DL 2969. It is possible that the photograph was taken by Thomas Ogle, who published a volume entitled *Our English Lakes, Mountains, and Waterfalls, as seen by William Wordsworth, photographically illustrated* (London, 1864); another edition appeared in 1868. The attribution is made tentatively in correspondence from Bruce Graver, kindly communicated by Jeff Cowton.

¹¹⁸ *The Post Office Directory of the principal towns and adjacent places in Cumberland and Westmoreland*, ed. E R Kelly (London: Kelly & Co., 1873), 913. The Hollens is given in the form 'Holling'. A notebook of John Harward's records expenses incurred at Grasmere during the period 1 June 1870 to 9 Oct 1871, and identifies him as a solicitor of Stourbridge, Worcestershire, who died at Grasmere on 23 June 1879 (www.richardfordmanuscripts.co.uk, consulted on 8 Dec 2010). A series of deeds relating to Harward's property in Grasmere survive among the papers of Harwood & Evers, solicitors, of Stourbridge, deposited at the Staffordshire Record Office, D695/1/16/21-31. Harward was evidently connected with Grasmere by 1867, and there appear to have been friendly relations between the Harwards and the Crumps c1900 (Shropshire Archives, 1396).

¹¹⁹ Wordsworth Trust, album assembled by Phoebe Johnson. The recollections, thought to have been recorded by Mrs Rawnsley, are dated 21 Sept 1921, when Mrs Fuller was living at Rothay Villa. The full text of the reference to the Dixons is as follows: 'She remembered various people living in Dove Cottage (some of them took in lodgers), the Dixons (upholsterer in Ambleside); Harwoods, before they went to the Hollins. Mr H. was "convuls'd" by the beauty of Grasmere and had devotional meetings in the upstairs room at D. C., attended by a large number of people.'

¹²⁰ Once again the name 'Dove Cottage', not used in 1861, occurs in the census. Mrs Agnes Yeoman, lodging-house keeper, is also listed in [Kelly's] *Post Office Directory of the principal towns and adjacent places in Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London, 1873), 914.

¹²¹ Minute Book, 3-5. Certain manorial rights (minerals & sporting) were reserved.

¹²² Wordsworth Trust, GRMDC - C329, xii. Despite these unmistakable indications that a change has occurred since 1850 Manesse's depiction is not to be relied upon in other respects: he shows a single-flue chimney (instead of two flues) on the south-east gable of the front range, and he omits the south-west-facing window in the added storey above the stable. In fact he appears to indicate a small north-west facing window which, while not impossible, is not otherwise identifiable. In the light of these observations no conclusions can safely be drawn from the fact that he shows neither the porch nor the entrance inside it (a tree partially obscures their position).

¹²³ Cole seems to have worked for John Harward of the Hollens (see Staffordshire Record Office, D695/1/16/30).

¹²⁴ The infant's name is given as 'Earnest' in the census return. In the Register of Baptisms he appears as Ernest Edward Davidson, and the father's name is given as John Davidson, gardener, of Grasmere. He was baptised 4 Dec 1880 (CRO(K), WPR 91/4).

¹²⁵ T F Bulmer (ed.), *History, Topography, and Directory of Westmoreland* (Manchester, 1885), 413. Usually an ostler was employed at an inn or hotel, but Armstrong may have been offering a service to travellers in his own right. John and Hannah Armstrong had been resident in Grasmere since at least 1873; between that year and 1882 they baptised seven children at the parish church, but the Register of Baptism gives no clue to their address (CRO(K), WPR 91/4).

¹²⁶ Dorothy Wordsworth Walmsley was baptised in Grasmere on 7 April 1890 (CRO(K), WPR 91/4).

¹²⁷ Stephen Hebron cites a reminiscence by Thomas Armstrong published during the Second World War in the *Carlisle Journal*, in which Walmsley is described as 'the Manchester Inspector' (Hebron 2009, 104).

¹²⁸ Armitt Library, Herbert Bell Collection, ALM Box 26, AMATL:ALPS 617.

- ¹²⁹ 'Wordsworth's Home at Grasmere', *The Times*, 28 May 1890; Edmund Lee, *Dorothy Wordsworth: The Story of a Sister's Love* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1886; revised edn, 1894) (I am grateful to Stephen Hebron for alerting me to Lee's biography). The 1894 preface is dated from Rydal Bank, Heaton, Bradford (Lee 1894, viii).
- ¹³⁰ *Kelly's Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London: Kelly's Directories Ltd, 1906), Westmorland, 53.
- ¹³¹ Stopford A Brooke, *Dove Cottage, Wordsworth's Home from 1800–1808, December 21, 1799 to May – , 1808* (London & New York: Macmillan & Co., 1890), 9.
- ¹³² Knight had known Dove Cottage since at least 1878, when he published a short account of the garden in the *Newcastle Courant* (29 Nov). The article notes among other things that a seat had taken the place of Wordsworth's arbour.
- ¹³³ Minute Book: minute dated 10 Oct 1890. The spelling, 'Walmsley' differs from that encountered in the Parish register ('Walmsley').
- ¹³⁴ Minute Book: Trustees' Report, 25 Sept 1891.
- ¹³⁵ Minute Book: Trustees' Report, 14 Oct 1891. In fact the window lighting the room above the stable was no more modern than its counterpart lighting the same room from the south-east, but it was renewed to make the elevation consistent – though in the process it made the evolution of the building less legible.
- ¹³⁶ Minute Book: Trustees' Report, 14 Oct 1891.
- ¹³⁷ Dove Cottage Visitors Book, Wordsworth Trust.
- ¹³⁸ Minute Book: Report for the year ending 1 May 1894.
- ¹³⁹ Minute Book: Report for the years ending 1 May, 1895, and 1 May, 1896
- ¹⁴⁰ Minute Book: Reports to 1 May 1904.
- ¹⁴¹ Minute Book: Report of Special Meeting of Trustees, 1 March 1898.
- ¹⁴² Minute Book: Report for the years ending 1 May, 1897, and 1 May, 1898.
- ¹⁴³ Minute Book: Trustees' Report, 13 July 1898.
- ¹⁴⁴ William Lovell Mason, FRIBA, of Windermere and Kelsick Road, Ambleside, is listed in *Kelly's Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1906), 155.
- ¹⁴⁵ 'Statement of special expenditure at Dove Cottage in connection with the proper housing of Professor Knight's gift': Minute Book, tipped in between pp 45 & 46.
- ¹⁴⁶ Minute Book: Report for 2 years ending 1 May 1900.
- ¹⁴⁷ One of these was positioned on the east wall of the lobby between the porch and the houseplace, where it appears in one of the 1933 photographs taken by the RCHME.
- ¹⁴⁸ Minute Book: Report for the year ending 1 May 1902.
- ¹⁴⁹ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1911.
- ¹⁵⁰ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1912.
- ¹⁵¹ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1914. For Duresco, see *The Country Gentlemen's Catalogue* (London, 1894; rpt, London: Garnstone Press, n.d.), 139.
- ¹⁵² Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1922.
- ¹⁵³ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1925.
- ¹⁵⁴ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1926.
- ¹⁵⁵ Trustees' Report, 17 Sept 1928, and Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1929.
- ¹⁵⁶ Minute Book: Report to 29 June 1933.
- ¹⁵⁷ Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1939.
- ¹⁵⁸ CRO(K), WDB 86/3/577.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Friends of Dove Cottage Newsletter*, 1 (Christmas 1975), [4].
- ¹⁶⁰ 'Dove Cottage, Grasmere (Wordsworth's Home 1799–1808)', University of Newcastle upon Tyne School of Architecture, Session 1974–5, Fourth Year Conservation Option, Jan 1975 (copy held by the Wordsworth Trust).
- ¹⁶¹ 'Outline Specification for Remedial Work' (copy held by the Wordsworth Trust). No author or date is given, but the specification is accompanied by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne School of Architecture plans and sections.
- ¹⁶² Minute Book: Minutes of Annual General Meetings, 1976–9.
- ¹⁶³ Robert Woof, 'The Conservation Programme', *Friends of Dove Cottage Newsletter*, 2 (Christmas 1976), [4].
- ¹⁶⁴ Minute Book: Annual Report 1977–8. The 'joiner's mark of the medieval period' is more reminiscent of a 'cargo mark' or 'shipping mark' characteristic of Baltic softwood imports of the 17th to the 19th century.
- ¹⁶⁵ Down-draughts troubled the Wordsworths on their first arrival in December 1799, and one room,

probably the south-east bedroom, was pronounced 'uninhabitable' as a result. 'In particular winds most likely we shall have *puffs of inconvenience*,' they noted, 'but this I believe will be found a curable evil, by means of devils as they are called and other beneficent agents which we shall station at the top of the chimney if their services should be required' (WW & DW to Coleridge, 24 & 27 Dec 1799: Wordsworth Letters, I, 274).

¹⁶⁶ The wider view was printed in *Newsletter*, 4 (1978); the whereabouts of the original photograph is not known. The narrower view is Wordsworth Trust, KE51. The existence of large quoins high up where the front wall meets the north-west gable tends to dispel the suggestion, prompted by its irregular exterior face, that the gable wall may have originated as an internal wall. However, the photograph does not allow the existence of quoins lower down to be confirmed.

¹⁶⁷ The photograph in the 1978 *Newsletter* appears to show the left-hand jamb of the houseplace window in line with the corresponding jamb of the window above. No other window jambs are apparent on the ground floor, parts of which were still covered by roughcast when the photograph was taken.

¹⁶⁸ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 128.

¹⁶⁹ The phrase occurs in De Quincey's account of how a fire at Dove Cottage was narrowly averted in January 1819 (*Westmorland Gazette*, 30 Jan 1819, reprinted in Grevel Lindop (gen. ed.), *The Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 21 vols, London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000-3, Vol 1: *Writings, 1799-1820*, ed. Barry Symonds, 180-81).

¹⁷⁰ De Quincey noted that the flowers and creepers clothing the wall 'performed the acceptable service of breaking the unpleasant glare that would else have wounded the eye from the whitewash; a glare which, having been renewed amongst the general preparations against my coming to inhabit the house, could not be sufficiently subdued in tone for the artist's eye until the storm of several winters had weather-stained and tamed down its brilliancy' (De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 294).

¹⁷¹ Local Committee Minute Book, 25 Oct 1926.

¹⁷² Wordsworth Trust, KE49.

¹⁷³ DW to Catherine Clarkson, 8 June [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 596.

¹⁷⁴ DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson, 8 June [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 597.

¹⁷⁵ Armitt Library, Herbert Bell Collection, ALM Box 25, AMATL: ALPS 572.

¹⁷⁶ The early 19th-century view shows it more or less coinciding with the level of the front range eaves, but also (somewhat indistinctly) appears to show it stopping just short of the rear range eaves level. It is apparent from the roof-space over both ranges that their eaves levels must have been nearly if not exactly coincident.

¹⁷⁷ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 299.

¹⁷⁸ Minute Book: Report for 2 years ending 1 May 1900.

¹⁷⁹ Armitt Library, Herbert Bell Collection, ALM Box 23, AMATL: ALPS 151, and ALM Box 25, AMATL: ALPS 572.

¹⁸⁰ Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1939. The decision to rebuild the porch had been agreed at a meeting of the Local Committee on 13 Nov 1938.

¹⁸¹ Minute Book: Annual Report 1977-8. This kind of selective exposing of building fabric, to illustrate its history, has educative value but departs from the general aim of presenting Dove Cottage as nearly as possible as it would have appeared during Wordsworth's residence.

¹⁸² Local Committee Minute Book, 13 Nov 1938.

¹⁸³ See the portrait photograph of the custodian, Mrs Mary Dixon, standing next to the porch (Wordsworth Trust).

¹⁸⁴ DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 622.

¹⁸⁵ 'Mary is in the parlour below attending to the baking of cakes & Jenny Fletcher's pies' (*Grasmere Journal*, 24 Dec 1802: Woof 2002, 135). The previous Journal entry contains the observation that 'Mary has been baking to-day, she is now sitting in the parlour', which may have a similar import; and a later entry records: 'Before tea I sate 2 hours in the parlour – read part of *The Knights Tale* with exquisite delight' (8 Dec 1802 & 11 Jan 1803: Woof 2002, 134 & 137).

¹⁸⁶ DW to Lady Beaumont, 3 Jan 1808: Wordsworth Letters, II, 188.

¹⁸⁷ SH to Mary Monkhouse, 27 March [1809]: Coburn 1954, 17-18.

¹⁸⁸ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 128.

¹⁸⁹ The casing of the beam spanning the room overlies the re-set cornice on the north-east wall.

¹⁹⁰ SH to Mary Monkhouse, 27 March [1809]: Coburn 1954, 17-18.

¹⁹¹ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 128.

¹⁹² The plaster may date from 1921-2, when it was reported that 'one of the walls of the entrance room has been re-plastered and distempered' (Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1922).

¹⁹³ 'Some worm-riddled panelling in the entrance room has been replaced by new panelling' (Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1929). It had been hoped to find old panelling (Local Committee Minute Book, 7 Sept 1928).

¹⁹⁴ Wordsworth Trust, KE16. This photograph can be dated to before 1924 because the lower flight of the stair, also shown, has clearly not been renewed.

¹⁹⁵ The catch was removed pending repair at the time of examination.

¹⁹⁶ DW to Mrs John [Jane] Marshall, [Grasmere], 10 [& 12] Sept [1800]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 294. In 1805 Dorothy again identifies the room as 'a Parlour which we have converted into a bedroom' (DW to Lady Beaumont, Grasmere, 26 Aug [1805]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 622).

¹⁹⁷ See for example Wordsworth Trust, KE17, undated but c1900, which shows the plastered beam through the houseplace doorway.

¹⁹⁸ 'Our kitchen where we cook is at this other house [previously identified as Fletcher's]': (DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson, [Grasmere], 8 June [1805]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 597).

¹⁹⁹ These are visible in the room over the kitchen, where two boards can be lifted.

²⁰⁰ The lintel is visible in the floor void (see note XX above).

²⁰¹ Minute Book: Report of the Committee of Management for the year ending May 1st, 1909.

²⁰² Wordsworth Trust, KE37. The photograph is undated but forms part of a group valuably documenting the works undertaken between 1976 and 1979.

²⁰³ Local Committee Minute Book, 16 Oct 1930 and 28 Sept 1936. In 1962 it was noted that 'An appropriate cottage fireplace was to be sought, to replace the existing range in Dove Cottage kitchen', and an approach was made to Cuthbert ('Cubby') Acland of the National Trust to see whether 'a suitable fireplace could be obtained from any of the houses which were National Trust property' (ibid., 24 Oct 1962). There is no evidence, however, that this initiative bore fruit.

²⁰⁴ Joseph Bowerbank & Son, iron and brass founders and ironmongers, of Penrith. Records covering the period 1887-1968 are held at CRO(C), DB 49. The firm is not listed in 1861 and earlier directories.

²⁰⁵ DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 622.

²⁰⁶ It had long been thought that the room was cooled by water diverted from the nearby stream and ducted beneath the room. When the floor was lifted in 2008, however, no trace of such an arrangement was found (information kindly provided by Jeff Cowton).

²⁰⁷ DW to Catherine Clarkson, 8 June [1805]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 597.

²⁰⁸ Minute Book: Annual Report 1977-8.

²⁰⁹ The bell-pull wires and pulleys can be tracked in the roofspace, where one wire descends on the right-hand side of the north-west bedroom fireplace, and the other on the left-hand side of the south-east bedroom fireplace. The third wire passes through the lintel to which the bell is affixed, into the houseplace ceiling void.

²¹⁰ DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson [i.e. Catherine Clarkson], [25] Mar 1804; Wordsworth Letters, I, 462. Since the previous surviving letter to Catherine Clarkson is dated 26-7 Feb 1804 it seems reasonable to conclude that the door was made during March. Dorothy wrote again of the new door in July, crediting Catherine Clarkson and her sister with having suggested it (DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson, 18 July 1804; Wordsworth Letters, I, 489).

²¹¹ *Westmorland Gazette*, 30 Jan 1819, reprinted in Grevel Lindop (gen. ed.), *The Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 21 vols, London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000-3, Vol 1: *Writings, 1799-1820*, ed. Barry Symonds, 180-81.

²¹² 'Within the Cottage it has been necessary to renew the lower flight of oak stairs, the fabric of which had completely perished through being worm-eaten' (Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1924).

²¹³ Minute Book, 14.

²¹⁴ WW & DW to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 24 & 27 Dec 1799; Wordsworth Letters, I, 274.

²¹⁵ A glazed door would be a necessity if, as seems likely, the door replaced the only window lighting the stair. However, it is possible that there was a window in the north-west wall, either originally or at any point prior to the raising of the museum wing to two-storey height, and Jeff Cowton reports a hollow-sounding patch above the wainscot on this wall.

²¹⁶ Minute Book: Report of the Committee of Management for the year ending May 1st, 1909.

²¹⁷ DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]; Wordsworth Letters, I, 622.

²¹⁸ On 10 June 1802, during one of Coleridge's visits, DW 'slept in sitting room' (Woof 2002, 108).

- ²¹⁹ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 236.
- ²²⁰ The line is from 'Miscellaneous Sonnets, Sonnet 37: Personal Talk', composed between May 1802 and March 1804 (Curtis 1993, 21).
- ²²¹ 134.
- ²²² De Quincey, Thomas. *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings*, ed. Barry Milligan (London: Penguin, 2003), 67.
- ²²³ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1927.
- ²²⁴ Local Committee Minute Book, 25 Oct 1926, where the provenance is given as 'Mr Harwood'. The name John Harward (owner of the Hollens in the 1870s) is given in Sir John James Harwood, *History and Description of the Thirlmere Water Scheme* (Manchester: Henry Blacklock & Co., 1895), 79. Harward was a principal member of the Thirlmere Defence Association; he died on 23 June 1879 (*Manchester Times*, 5 July 1879).
- ²²⁵ Waney timbers have rounded edges to part or all of their length rather than squared or moulded edges. The rounding may be the natural contour of the tree but it also commonly results from the defrassing of the sapwood layer.
- ²²⁶ DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 622.
- ²²⁷ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 210. De Quincey, with habitual attention to detail, gives its dimensions as 14ft by 12ft.
- ²²⁸ WW & DW to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Grasmere, Christmas Eve [& 27 Dec 1799]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 274.
- ²²⁹ Local Committee Minute Book, 27 Sept 1954 and 14 May 1955; Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1955.
- ²³⁰ See Wordsworth Trust, KE55: undated but part of a set recording the work undertaken between 1976 and 1979. A few joists have been renewed, probably in the 1970s.
- ²³¹ Sam Garside carried out graining of timber features (information kindly provided by Ann Lambert).
- ²³² DW to Jane Marshall, 10 [& 12] Sept [1800]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 295-6.
- ²³³ Grasmere Journal, 17 June 1800: Woof 2002, 11.
- ²³⁴ In 1805 DW noted that 'each room has only one window' (DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 622).
- ²³⁵ DW to Mrs Thomas Clarkson, 8 June [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 597.
- ²³⁶ DW to Lady Beaumont, 26 Aug [1805]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 622. Helen Darbishire dated the creation of the room to 1805 (Darbishire, n.d.).
- ²³⁷ Local Committee Minute Book, 18 Jan 1962.
- ²³⁸ Local Committee Minute Book, 7 Sept 1961.
- ²³⁹ 'Our house is literally and truly a cottage, not an advertisement cottage with Coachhouse, or even Stable, but a little low-roofed Building, with its entrance through the kitchen' (DW to Lady Beaumont, Grasmere, [13] April [1804]: Wordsworth Letters, I, 467).
- ²⁴⁰ Various entries in Dorothy's test to the absence of a horse and the resulting need to borrow one occasionally. On 14 Feb 1802 Wordsworth 'said he would go to Penrith, so Molly was dispatched for the horse' (*Journal*, 68); on 4 Mar 1802 'Calvert's man brought the horses for Wm', who was going to visit Coleridge at Greta Hall, Keswick (74); on 21 Mar 1802 'We sent up to G Mackareth's for the horse to go to Keswick but we could not have it' (81); on 7 June 1802 Dorothy noted that 'In the evening I walked ... to George Mackareth's for the horse' (106), which she returned late on the following day after a ride to Belle Isle; and on 8 July 1802 Wordsworth 'went to George Mackareth's to engage the horse' (118).
- ²⁴¹ De Quincey (ed. Wright) 1970, 299.
- ²⁴² Minute Book: Report for 2 years ending 1 May 1900.
- ²⁴³ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1925.
- ²⁴⁴ Helen Darbishire, *Dove Cottage* (Grasmere, n.d.), unpaginated. No grounds are given for the 1849 date, which is followed in Robert Woof, 'The Conservation Programme', *Friends of Dove Cottage Newsletter*, 2 (Christmas 1976), [4].
- ²⁴⁵ In 1898 a sub-committee was tasked with obtaining 'tenders for the adaptation of two of the rooms in the Cottage into one to form a Library and Museum' (Minute Book: Report to 13 July 1898).
- ²⁴⁶ Armitt Library, Herbert Bell Collection, ALM Box 25, AMATL: ALPS 572.
- ²⁴⁷ Local Committee Minute Book, 26 Aug 1920. The ceiling was re-plastered the previous year.
- ²⁴⁸ CRO(K), WDB 86/3/577.
- ²⁴⁹ See Wordsworth Trust, KE33.

- ²⁵⁰ Grasmere Journal, 22 Dec 1801: Woof 2002, 51.
- ²⁵¹ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1931.
- ²⁵² Minute Book: Report to 21 May 1896.
- ²⁵³ Local Committee Minute Book, 2 April 1902. A later reference confirms that this is 'the old disused earth closet near the garden door' (Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1902).
- ²⁵⁴ Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1961.
- ²⁵⁵ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1901.
- ²⁵⁶ Local Committee Minute Book, 21 Aug, 6 Sept and 13 Sept 1901.
- ²⁵⁷ Local Committee Minute Book, 31 Aug 1905.
- ²⁵⁸ Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1910.
- ²⁵⁹ Local Committee Minute Book, 2 June 1928.
- ²⁶⁰ Minute Book: Reports to 1 May & 17 Sept 1928 and 1 May 1929. The quotations are from the Minute Book: Report to 1 May 1929.
- ²⁶¹ Robert Woof, 'The Conservation Programme', *Friends of Dove Cottage Newsletter*, 2 (Christmas 1976), [4].
- ²⁶² Local Committee Minute Book, 28 Sept 1936. In 1940 permission was given to sell the iron doors in aid of the Red Cross Fund (*ibid.*, 3 May 1940).
- ²⁶³ Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1940.
- ²⁶⁴ Minute Book: Report to 30 April 1968.
- ²⁶⁵ The ridge copings are stamped 'BCM | BENTLEY – 6'. They are probably a product of Bentley Tileries, Tunstall, Staffordshire, which may have been absorbed (as were a number of other Staffordshire tileries) by BCM Metal (www.dreadnought-tiles.co.uk/discontinued-clay-roof-tiles, consulted on 7 Jan 2010). These ridge tiles are larger than those used on the Necessary House, which are not stamped.



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