RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 44-2013

NAPPA HALL, ASKRIGG, NORTH YORKSHIRE
AN INVESTIGATION AND ASSESSMENT OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL HALL IN ITS IMMEDIATE SETTING

Adam Menuge and David Went

ASSESSMENT

ENGLISH HERITAGE

Research Report Series 44-2013

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NGR: SD 9656 9080

ISSN 2046-9799 (Print)
ISSN 2046-9802 (Online)

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SUMMARY

Nappa Hall is a manor house complex of fortified appearance traditionally dated to 1459 and attributed to James Metcalfe, a veteran of Agincourt. Dendrochronological analysis has confirmed the likelihood of some building activity at Nappa during Metcalfe's lifetime, centred in the present service range, in the period 1461-5. The bulk of the medieval house, however, including the hall and the high-end tower, are securely dated to a slightly later period centred on 1472-6 and are the work of James Metcalfe's son Thomas. The building, which remained the Metcalfe seat until 1756, stands on the north side of Wensleydale immediately beneath a limestone scar and enjoys extensive views across, up and down the valley, overlooking the remains of gardens, terraces, fishponds and other manorial features contemporary with its construction and early history. These include the prominent earthworks of a small quartered garden, laid out within the relict boundaries of medieval fields immediately to the east of the Hall, perhaps dating from the late 16th or early 17th century when the fortunes of the Metcalfe family reached their peak.

The medieval fabric of the Hall comprises a four-storey high-end tower, a single-storey hall range and a three-storey low-end tower (the towers both roofed as cross-wings), a service range extending southwards from the low-end tower, and a single-storey porch in the re-entrant of the hall range and service range. The service range has been heavily altered but it is likely that the main roof was gabled north-south originally. A 1756 map shows a further range or structure extending westwards from the southern end of the service range and forming the third side of a courtyard. The range, which is likely to have been of 15th-century date and of which some fragments appear to survive, was replaced by a terrace walk before 1805. The same map shows the western side of the courtyard closed by a wall.

Tree-ring dates assign alterations to the service range, including the insertion of a first floor over the brewhouse, to the late 16th century. Documentary evidence appears to confirm the existence of the east wing, projecting to the rear of the main service range, by 1657 when the Hall was split between two brothers, one occupying the Hall and high-end tower, the other having the remainder of the accommodation. The divided household was short-lived but resulted in the drawing up of documents attaching names to a number of rooms.

A number of bolection-moulded chimneypieces and some associated wainscot point to a significant upgrading of the low-end tower in the early 18th century, probably around 1722 for Thomas Metcalfe ('Justice' Metcalfe). A lead apron dated 1747 documents renewed work on the service range by Metcalfe and in 1756, the year in which Nappa Hall passed to Richard Weddell of Newby Hall, the decayed south wall of the east wing was rebuilt. Probably in the late 1770s or 1780s William Belwood was employed by William Weddell to adapt the Hall for use, in part, as a hunting lodge. Later commentators considered that the work was not executed, but there is evidence that a stable and coach house range was built – probably to Belwood's design – closing the western side of the courtyard. Eighteenth-century alterations are otherwise concentrated in the low-end tower and service ranges. The high-end tower, all but abandoned by this date, was described as ruinous in 1805.

Further changes can be dated to circa 1810-30, when a number of reeded doorcases and chimneypieces were introduced in the low-end tower and service range. In the third quarter of the 19th century a two-storey stable, coach-house and hay-loft range, also incorporating the main entrance to the yard, was built on the site of Belwood's west range and retaining his west wall. At about the same time a small single-storey building (now used as a wood store) was built in the space between the coach-house range and the high-end tower. There are slight indications that the hall and the lower portion of the high-end tower were upgraded for use by hunting parties. Subsequent changes have been few and during the later 20th century the condition of the complex deteriorated seriously, a process only partially arrested by the re-roofing of the high-end tower and associated lead works.

Pevsner's disappointment at Nappa's interior – 'A pity only that hardly anything original survives inside' – reflects the undoubted loss of some features and the overlaying of others, but the principal structural elements and many of the spaces are intact, and more fabric remains concealed, so that his observation should be treated with caution.

CONTRIBUTORS

The building investigation was undertaken by Adam Menuge and Lucy Jessop, while the survey of the grounds was carried out by David Went and Rebecca Pullen. Fellow members of the Assessment Team, Marcus Jecock and Simon Taylor, also contributed to the survey, assisted by Jon Bedford and Trevor Pearson of English Heritage's Imaging and Visualisation team. Research support was provided by Lucy Jessop, Rebecca Pullen and Beverly Kerr. The plans were drawn by Philip Sinton and the report was prepared for publication by Laura Holland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The team would like to express their thanks to Mr Mark Thompson, the Hall's owner, for his hospitality during the survey, and to Mr John Warren FSA for his assistance throughout the project.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

The report has been deposited at the English Heritage Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon.

DATE OF SURVEY

The investigation and survey took place principally between the 19th and 21st February 2013.

CONTACT DETAILS

English Heritage, 37 Tanner Row, York, YO1 6WP
David Went: 01904 601927 ; dave.went@english-heritage.org.uk

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1. INTRODUCTION

Nappa Hall is a Grade I listed building within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. The stable and coach-house range is separately listed Grade II* and the detached privy to the north is likely to be considered a curtilage building for the purposes of Listed Building Consent. The Hall has been on the Buildings at Risk Register for a considerable period, parts of the complex being in very poor condition. The architect John Warren FSA has carried out some research during the preparation of recent plans for the Hall, but the building appears not to have been the subject of detailed scrutiny since Louis Ambler

Figure 1. Nappa Hall from the south, photographed from the air in May 1985, showing the hall (top right) the early post-medieval gardens immediately to the east, fishponds running diagonally across the field to the south, the mill dam (centre frame) and the medieval field pattern descending to the river. NMR 969/13 – YDP 1320/05 reproduced by permission of the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

published a series of drawings and photographs (but no substantive discussion of the building) a century ago in 1913.[2]

This report presents a preliminary assessment of the fabric, setting and significance of Nappa Hall and is intended to inform developing proposals for the refurbishment of the buildings and their return to beneficial use. It is based on an investigation carried out principally over three days in February 2013, during which all parts of the complex were inspected with the exception of the farm building forming the southern end of the coach-house range, and a detailed earthwork survey was completed of the immediate grounds. No new measured survey of the buildings was undertaken, and we are grateful to John Warren for copies of his drawings of the site. A photographic record of the Hall, taken at the time of the survey and shortly afterwards, will be deposited in the English Heritage Archive, Swindon.

Research has been undertaken by the authors and other members of English Heritage's Assessment Team (North). This research has aimed in particular to gather surviving historic views and architectural plans of Nappa, and to collate these with the descent of the property and other incidents in the lives of the Metcalfes and their kinsmen. A great deal of documentary material was assembled by the antiquarians Walter C Metcalfe and Gilbert Metcalfe and published in 1891, and the Metcalfe Society has subsequently identified new information.[3] Metcalfe and Metcalfe, followed a few years later in 1897 by Harry Speight, offer much the longest accounts of the history of the Hall, supported by much primary documentation, but their interpretation of the architectural fabric is questionable.[4] A more reliable guide to the dating of various elements of the complex is the programme of tree-ring dating undertaken for this report by the Nottingham Tree-Ring Dating Laboratory, to whose findings extensive reference is made.[5]

The first large-scale map depicting Nappa Hall dates from 1756 and was produced following the death of Thomas Metcalfe in that year.[6] The earliest of the views identified so far is an unfinished wood engraving of *circa* 1771 by John Bailey, which survives in the collection of the antiquary and naturalist Thomas Pennant.[7] Important later pencil sketches by John Buckler (1816)[8] and Samuel James Allen (1846)[9] have also been identified, but sketches by the diarist Charles Fothergill, referred to in his 1805 travel journal, appear not to have survived.[10] The sole architectural plan to pre-date the drawings published by Ambler is not precisely dated but is likely to belong to the period 1774-90.[11]

N.B. Some aspects of the following analysis of the site and associated documents, including discussion of the ancillary buildings, are presented here only summarily or are deferred for later treatment. Some references are also provisional pending access to original books and documents.

2. HISTORY

The origins of Nappa Hall have traditionally been attributed to the fortunes of James Metcalf (1389-1472), a captain who in 1415 fought with Henry V at Agincourt under Sir Richard le Scrope of Bolton Castle in Wensleydale. In return for expenses incurred or services rendered he was rewarded by Scrope with the estate of Nappa, where he is said to have commenced the present hall in 1459, building on a site already occupied by a more modest dwelling.[12] Dendrochronological analysis (tree-ring dating) has not confirmed this commencement date and casts doubt on the identity of the builder. The earliest precisely dated timbers are found in the service range and low-end tower and are from trees felled between 1461 and 1465, but the timbers concerned show signs of re-use. They suggest, however, that there was building activity at Nappa in these years, possibly associated with the pre-existing house which tradition (not without archaeological support) locates within the service ranges. Those dated timbers which are certainly *in situ* (in the hall range and high-end tower) yielded precise felling dates between 1471 and 1476 or date ranges overlapping with this period. Whilst at least one timber is from a tree felled before James Metcalfe's death – which might imply that work commenced while he was alive – it occurs in the ground-floor ceiling of the high-end tower where another timber has a felling date of 1472. There is therefore no proof that construction in these areas was underway before 1472, the year in which James Metcalf was succeeded by his son Thomas (1424-1504). It seems unlikely in any case that James Metcalf would embark on such an ambitious building project in his ninth decade, and much more plausible therefore that Nappa is substantially the creation of his son Thomas, incorporating more modest – perhaps unfinished – work by his father.

Support for this analysis is found in Leland's Itinerary, written in the late 1530s. Leland clearly identifies Thomas Metcalfe, rather than his father, as the author of Nappa:

> Knappey in Yorkshire now the chifest house of the Metecalfes was boute by one Thomas Metcalfe, sunne to James Metecalfe, of one of the Lordes Scropes of Bolton [Castle], and then it was a peace of ground of a iiii. pounds by the yere: and on it was but a cotage or litle better house, ontille this Thomas began ther to build, in the which building 2 toures be very fair, beside other logginges. Thomas had Jamis, and James had [Christopher] that now is heyre. The 3. firste were men of great age, and Thomas was yn those quarters a great officer, as steward, surveier or receyver of Richemont landes, wherby he waxid riche and able to builde and purchace. At this tyme many other smaul peaces of landes be adnexid to Knappey. And the uplandisch toune thereby caullid … [Askrigg?] and other places there aboute be able to make a 300. men yn very knowen consanguinite of the Metcalfes.[13]

The Dales historians Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby note that Thomas founded the Chantry of St Anne at St Oswald's Church, Askrigg, in 1467, and went on to hold high office, serving as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1483-6. His son Sir James Metcalfe (1460-1539) was the first of the line to be knighted, and mustered men and horses to serve in the defence of the Scottish Border at the Battle of Flodden Field in 1513. He served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1525-6. Sir Christopher Metcalfe (1513-

74) performed the same service in 1555-6.[14] More locally, members of the family held numerous offices within the Lordship of Middleham, where they acquired lucrative leases of lands and mines.[15] The wealth of the Metcalfes is reflected in the creation of a park, recorded in a series of 'Park' field names on Atkinson's 1756 map and alluded to by Charles Fothergill in 1805,[16] and the provision of fish ponds towards the valley bottom. Manorial privileges – and also some measure of arable cultivation – are expressed in the possession of a water-powered corn mill close to the Ure.

The fortunes of the Metcalfes faltered early in the reign of Elizabeth I when Sir Christopher became embroiled in expensive lawsuits and began mortgaging his property.[17] This may help to explain why his son James (1551-80) and grandson Sir Thomas Metcalfe (1579-1655) did not achieve the distinction of serving as High Sheriff. Sir James Metcalfe died young, leaving an infant son, Thomas. His widow remarried and Nappa was let before Thomas took possession again in 1601.[18] It is documented that in 1587 Nappa was occupied by two recusants, a Mr Curwen and a Mr Teady, whose activities were under the scrutiny of an unnamed government spy. In a letter to Walsingham dated 26 April the latter noted that 'The house wheare they remayne is named Knappey Castle alias Knappey Halle. They have taken it of one Mr Medcalf of Yorkshire of purpose to live obscurely and to entertain priests whereof they are not unfurnished'.[19]

Tree-ring dates suggest that significant works were undertaken at Nappa during the last quarter of the 16th century. Two beams spanning the brewhouse have yielded likely felling dates in the range 1569-94, and a re-used principal rafter in the roof above the brewhouse has been dated to 1574-99. Given the nature of Curwen and Teady's occupation and its relatively short duration it is unlikely that they undertook major changes to the fabric of Nappa Hall. The timbers could be from work late in the life of Sir Christopher but it seems much more likely that they are attributable to Sir James Metcalfe, who may, characteristically enough, have set about alterations shortly after coming into his inheritance in 1574.

Sir Thomas Metcalfe, knighted by James I at Theobalds in 1603,[20] was soon experiencing the kind of difficulties endured by his grandfather. He was impoverished anew by a lawsuit in 1609, when as lay impropriator of the tithes of the Rectory of Aysgarth he attempted to enforce, against custom, the right to a hay tithe from the tenants of the upper dale. He won his case but the costs were ruinous. A further set-back was his attempt, in June 1617, to evict the occupants of Raydale House by laying siege to it with a 40-strong band of armed men, for which he was arraigned before the Court of Star Chamber.[21] The estate was mortgaged in the same year and at some stage Metcalfe was forced to abandon Nappa for a while, though he had returned by 1641.[22]

Aspects of the colourful history of Nappa found their way into largely or wholly fanciful local traditions or beliefs, which were relayed to the aspiring historian of Yorkshire, Charles Fothergill (1782-1840), in the course of a tour of the Dales in 1805. One stated that the property was granted to the Metcalfes by Allan, 1st Earl of Richmond, 'in the reign of William the Conqueror'.[23] Another was that a member of the Metcalfe family died commanding a force at the Battle of Agincourt (1415).[24] A third was that Mary

Queen of Scots spent two nights at Nappa while detained at Bolton Castle.[25] A bed in which she is said to have slept was removed from Nappa by Lady Anne Vyner in the late 19th century.[26] Yet another tradition relayed to Fothergill stated that King James I stayed at Nappa for the hunting in Raydale (a then wooded side valley to Wensleydale) while travelling between England and Scotland.[27] This last is repeated by the Revd F R Baines, writing in 1848;[28] similar traditions, including a supposed visit by Sir Walter Raleigh, appear in one of Walter White's travel books first published in 1858.[29]

Although there is evidence for expenditure on plasterwork at Nappa Hall in the early part of the 17th century, probably before 1617, the remainder of the century seems to have been characterised by neglect, such that in 1692 Joan Metcalfe, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas, writing her will, described her nephew and heir Thomas (d. 1756) as 'the hopeful heir to the old ruinous house at Nappa'.[30]

Thomas took over full ownership of the Nappa estate in 1735 following his mother's death, but before that date, probably in the early 1720s, he undertook significant alterations which are described in more detail below. These alterations were concentrated in the low-end tower and service range, and entirely neglected the high-end tower, which may already have been abandoned wholly or partially. That Thomas undertook further works towards the end of his life is implied by a 1747 lead apron bearing the letters 'T. M. [flanking a crest] | IVLY | 1747' at the western end of the valley between the two roofs of the service range.[31] Whether the works amounted to more than the renewal of leadwork is uncertain, though some internal mouldings are perhaps of this date. The precise date has another explanation, however. In the early 1720s, Thomas Metcalfe had borrowed monies from, in particular, his Weddell cousins and the Robinsons of Newby Hall in order to save his brother Henry from financial ruin. His cousin Thomas Weddell later accumulated all of these debts in order to become the sole creditor, in consideration of which a deal was struck some time between 1722 and 1734 in which the childless Thomas Metcalfe settled the reversion of the estate, in the event of his mother's death, on Weddell and himself jointly while they both lived, and then on the survivor for the remainder of his life, with a reversion to Weddell's successors thereafter. Metcalfe's mother died in 1735 and Thomas Weddell on 10 July 1747, on which date Thomas, who had been obliged to accept aid from his friends and relations following his brother's financial troubles, regained sole possession of Nappa for the remainder of his life.[32]

Thomas was the last Metcalfe to live at Nappa as its owner. In later life he retained the services of Alexander Fothergill (1709-88) of Carr End, Semerwater, as agent or steward. Fothergill, attorney, farmer and surveyor to the Richmond & Lancaster Turnpike Trust, has left a diary covering (intermittently) the years 1751 to 1775 and containing numerous passing references to Nappa Hall.[33] When Metcalfe died without issue in 1756, Nappa was inherited by Richard Weddell, who had purchased Newby Hall near Ripon from the Robinsons in 1748. On Weddell's death in 1762 Newby and Nappa passed to his son William (d. 1792). Nappa was let following Metcalfe's death,[34] remaining a farm tenancy in its own right until recent times. The first tenant was George Dinsdale (d. 1775) who was followed by his son John who held the lease until shortly before his death in 1797.[35] Charles Fothergill relates that George Dinsdale 'found a large chest in the western tower,

which on being opened was found to contain a number of curious trinkets, manuscripts, etc.', including, it was said, a letter from Mary Queen of Scots thanking 'the then Metcalfe of Nappa' for his hospitality.[36] Other contents are said by Harry Speight to have been removed by Alexander Fothergill, Metcalfe's steward, before Dinsdale took possession.[37]

According to Charles Fothergill, William Weddell 'had an intention of restoring … to its ancient grandeur' the high-end tower, 'having long been suffered to decay unrepaired'; Fothergill was told that 'a plan was actually drawn out'. Jill Low has established that Weddell engaged the York joiner-turned-architect William Belwood (1739-90), who had established his credentials working for Stiff Leadbetter on Robert Adam's alterations to Syon House, Middlesex (1763-5), then worked directly for Adam at Harewood House near Leeds (from 1765) before setting up on his own account in 1774, and shortly afterwards working for William Weddell, another Adam client, at Newby Hall (c 1777).[38]

Weddell contemplated adapting Nappa Hall to serve as a hunting lodge and although the scheme appears not to have been executed the surviving plan provides insights into the nature and extent of the accommodation towards the end of the 18th century. The plan (Figure 13)[39] is not drawn to a high level of accuracy; some angular relationships are distorted and some windows are omitted. It confirms, nevertheless, the existence of the fireplace on the north wall of the hall as well as the position of the stair serving the low-end tower. Both are now identifiable only from vestigial evidence. It shows a stable and coach house range closing the western side of the courtyard and incorporating a gateway. No such range is shown on Atkinson's 1756 map and the present range in this position dates from the 19th century, yet there is a reference in Alexander Fothergill's diary for 1774 to repairs to a stable and coach house.[40] Belwood's plan also shows, closing the southern side of the courtyard, a narrow raised structure with a stair ascending at the eastern end. This can be confidently identified as the terrace walk described by Charles Fothergill in 1805 as running 'along the top of a wall overlooking the garden in front of the house'.[41] The house is described in the plan's title as 'Nappa Castle', suggesting an antiquarian impulse behind the proposed renovation.

By the time of Charles Fothergill's visit in 1805 the estate had passed to Weddell's cousin Lord Grantham (Thomas Philip Robinson, later 2nd Earl de Grey, 1781-1859), who was reportedly also considering restoration.[42] The occupant was George Winn, a friend of Fothergill's uncle, who may have succeeded directly to John Dinsdale.[43] The high-end tower was described as uninhabited and in ruins, with only the parlour remaining in use for the storage of turf or peat. The hall was by now known as the Dining Room, and contained a 'long, narrow and very thick oak dining table with a stone seat against the south side of the room running paralell [sic] with it'. Within fifty or sixty years, Fothergill was told, 'a good deal of old armour' had been present in the house, but he could only find 'two massy breast plates which tho' heavy were so small and narrow that their wearers must have been thin men as I could not wear either on my chest on account of their narrowness'.[44]

Further changes of occupant, and a few other details, can be gleaned from successive directories. By 1823 the occupant was given as the Revd John Winn, BA,[45] George Winn's son, but in 1828-9 John was listed as resident at Aysgarth (where he was Rector),

and the occupant of Nappa was his brother George Winn the younger.[46] In 1855 the occupant was Mr Richard Metcalfe Winn.[47] In 1890 Nappa Hall was the property of Lady Mary Vyner, younger daughter of the late Earl de Grey, and was tenanted by Thomas Metcalfe, described as a farmer and butcher;[48] Thomas Metcalfe was still there in 1913.[49] There was no reversal of the decay of the upper floors of the high-end tower, and in 1897 Harry Speight reported that the floors of the two upper chambers had been removed.[50] Presumably the reference is to the floorboards being lifted, since the beams of the second floor remain *in situ*. During the 20th century the estate was acquired by another Metcalfe, but the Hall continued to be tenanted as a farmhouse until recently.

3. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE BUILDING

3.1 The fifteenth-century manor house

Structural and stylistic evidence confirms that the hall range and the two towers are the result of a single concerted scheme, though one which the tree-ring dates suggest was prolonged over a number of years. The bulk of the work is likely to have been done between 1472 and 1476. The hall and the high-end tower have in common windows with distinctive cusped lights beneath hood moulds terminated by stops in the form of carved heads. The porch is structurally separate, but stylistically, and for reasons which are given below, it is clearly part of the same scheme. The plan-form of the porch, which is trapezoidal, respects the principal alignment of the service range, which meets the hall range at an obtuse angle. Parts of the service range appear to have been present when the porch was built, and arguably it constrains the placing of the low-end tower, which is roofed as a cross-wing but has its front wall in line with that of the hall instead of projecting in the manner of the high-end tower. The different alignment of the range may even suggest that in origin it pre-dates the rest of the medieval complex. It is possible, therefore, that some fabric of the 'cotage or little better house' recalled by Leland survives in the present structure, but no dateable early features have been identified.

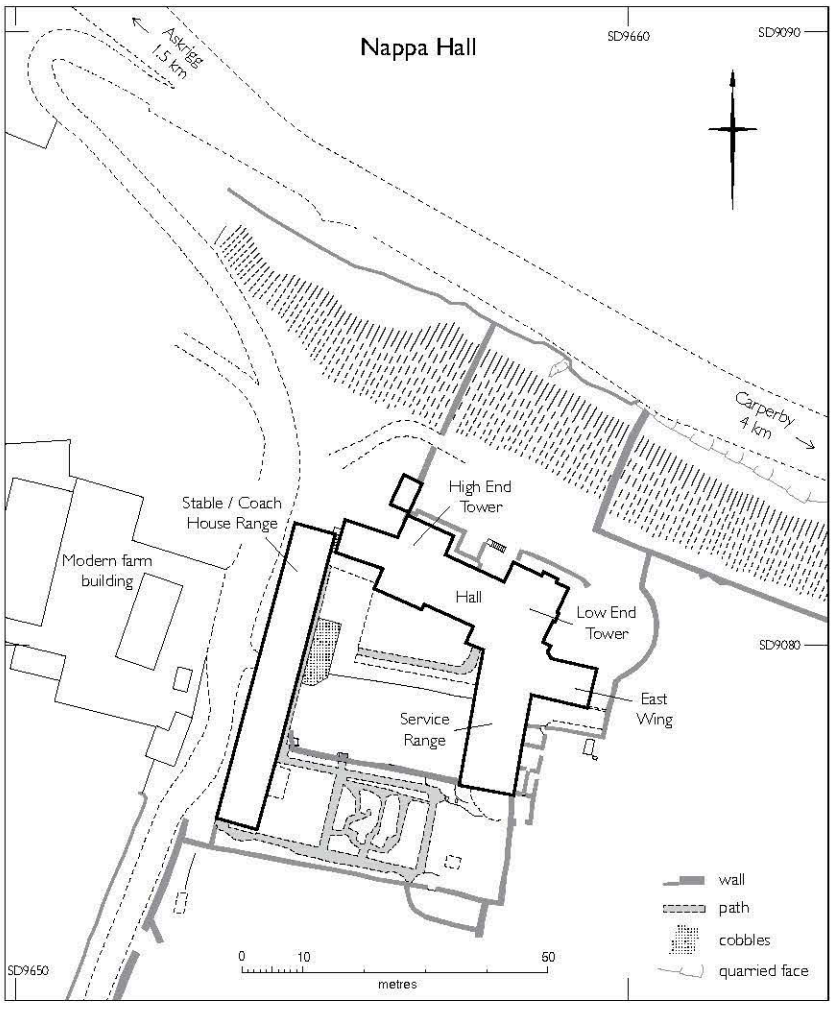

Figure 2. Nappa Hall: plan of the principal buildings. Philip Sinton, English Heritage.

Fothergill believed that a further tower at the east end of the house had been lost long before his 1805 visit. He claimed that 'We could easily trace the foundation and Mr. Win[n] told us that in digging thereabouts he had met with stone and mortar foundations in the direction we traced'. This is not clarified to any degree by the earthwork survey undertaken for this report (see Section 4), and while Winn's evidence requires explanation, Fothergill's enthusiasm to prove the existence of 'a similar tower to the western on the east end of the building' is apparently driven by a misplaced desire 'to render the building uniform'.[51]

Some further structures must nevertheless have existed at Nappa in the 15th century. A house of the size and status of Nappa Hall must have had accommodation for horses and probably lodgings for lesser members of the household. The courtyard is likely to have been walled around and it is reasonable to suppose that the south and west sides may have been lined partly or wholly with buildings. There are occasional references to such buildings, or their successors, in early documents. In 1657 there is reference to a 'thrashing place [i.e. a barn] with the roome adjoining and the chamber over it, the stable in the gates and the chamber over it'.[52] The sequence in which these references occur may suggest that the barn formed the continuation of the south range; the gates are likely to have been on the western side of the courtyard alongside the long-established track ascending from the Ure to the road along the scar (see Section 4). Mention of gates implies a walled enclosure, not necessarily a gatehouse.

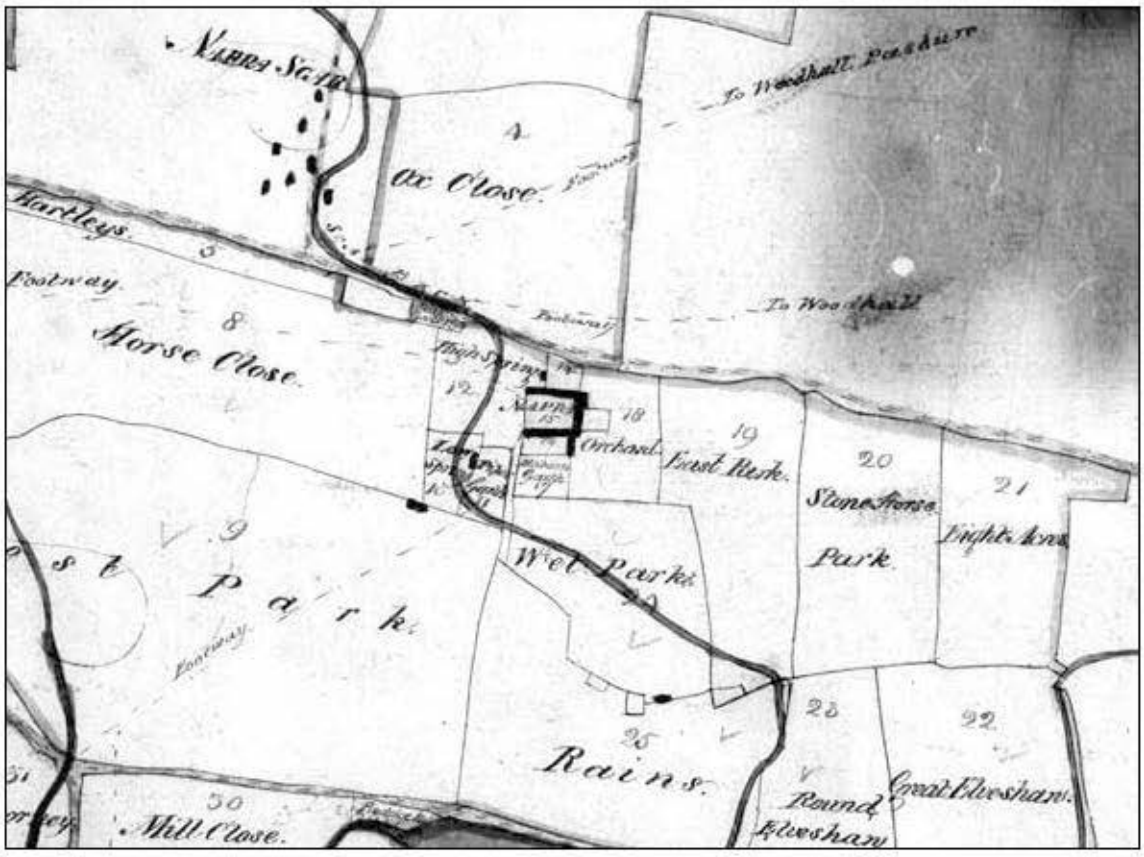

Figure 3. Extract from E. Atkinson's map of Askrigg 1756. Courtesy of North Yorkshire County Record Office ZMI7 MIC 1496-86.

Atkinson's 1756 map provides the earliest visualisation of Nappa Hall. Though it may of course reflect changes undertaken after the first construction phase, it is potentially our best guide to the early layout of the complex. In addition to the present ranges it shows a third extending along the south side of the courtyard. The west side of the courtyard is depicted as a single line – probably a wall, doubtless pierced by a gateway – coinciding with the east side of the track. The principal apartments closing the north side of the courtyard are shown extending westwards as far as this wall, suggesting either that a structure west of the high-end tower has been lost or that the depiction of buildings is comparatively sketchy (the absence of an indication of the northwards projections of the two towers favours the latter interpretation). A further range, outside the courtyard, is shown extending southwards from near the east end of the south range, not quite in line with the north-south service range. Even allowing that Atkinson's depiction of the buildings is not precise, the representation of a complex built up on three sides of a courtyard which was walled off, but not otherwise built up, on the west side appears convincing. The earliest representation of a west range is on Belwood's plan (Figure 13) and the present west range appears to be of mid 19th-century appearance; both circumstances are consistent with this interpretation of Atkinson's map. The range along the south side of the courtyard appears to be a substantial structure, not the slender terrace walk depicted by Belwood a few decades later, and is perhaps the likely location for the stable '[with]in the gates'. The attached range to the south, which faces west onto another yard or enclosure, is a possible location for the out-stable and ox house (see Section 4 below).

The physical evidence for perhaps one of these lost ranges takes the form of a number of *ex situ* features. In the garden immediately south of the service range there are two elongated stones bearing the same moulding as some of the ceiling beams in the high-end tower. They now serve as steps punctuating a garden path. They do not appear to have been removed from the surviving portions of the complex, and may perhaps be fragments of the southern range shown on the 1756 map, an origin which would at least be consistent with their present position.

3.1.1 Exterior features

The walls of Nappa Hall are of predominantly limestone rubble masonry and do not broaden at the base to form plinths except at the base of the stack projecting on the west wall of the high-end tower. External off-sets do occur, however, higher up on the north and south walls of the high-end tower as a means of thinning the upper masonry. The masonry of the several extant ranges exhibits some variation in form and quality, but these differences serve to reinforce the conventional hierarchy of the building elements rather than to suggest phased development. The best quality work is found on the porch, where gritstone is used for the ashlar parapet, the coved corbel course at its base and for massive quoins, and on the high-end tower, where gritstone is used for a similar coved course at the base of the stair turret parapet, for a series of chamfered off-sets, and for quoins on all levels on the south front and above the second-floor off-set on the north elevation. Some of the windows on the high- and low-end towers, but not all, have rough relieving arches either externally or internally. These arches are segmental on the ground floor of the high-end tower (where the storey height permits this treatment), but otherwise flat.

Figure 4. The hall range viewed from the south (photograph Lucy Jessop, English Heritage)

The distribution and relative quality of the windows announce the south as the principal elevation, in keeping with its more favourable aspect and commanding views. All the surviving hood-moulded windows occur on this elevation, on the hall range and on the high-end tower, and they are all characterised by distinctive cinquefoil-cusped heads to the lights in which the central foil is much broader than the others and assumes a four-centred arched form. One former hood-moulded window can be identified on the east elevation of the low-end tower, lighting and conferring status on the north ground-floor room, and it is therefore possible that the east elevation, or the views eastward, were also accorded some status, perhaps relative to formal gardens laid out on this side (see Section 4 below) . Further cinquefoiled lights occur on the west elevation of the high-end tower, lighting the southern room on each of the three upper floors, but none has a hood-mould.[33] A similar ground-floor window may have been lost when the present west entrance was inserted. Towards the northern end of the west elevation there is a diminution in the level of display, with just a single unchamfered single-light window on the third floor, now blocked, also without a hood-mould and probably square-headed. There is also on this elevation a single stone spout draining the wall-walk, and an original brattished stone chimney interrupting the crenellations.

On the north elevation of Nappa Hall, overshadowed by the limestone scar, original windows are now confined to the high-end tower, where they are uniformly small single lights or smaller loops. One chamfered single light illuminates the rear room on

each floor while the unchamfered loops (one blocked) serve former garderobes on the second and third floors, the chutes for which discharge a little above ground-floor level. Small chamfered loops are also employed to light the stair rising in the south-east corner of the high-end tower: two on the south elevation and two on the east, with a third unchamfered loop to the roof-top turret.

On the east elevation of the high-end tower, where it projects north of the hall range, there is more evidence for original windows; indeed it is likely that the hall range is offset towards the south side of the tower precisely to leave space for east-facing windows, particularly on the lower floors where the shadowing effect of the limestone cliff is greatest. The ground-floor window here is now an inserted sash, but the opening has three gritstone quoins which may have been re-dressed and plausibly survive from an earlier, probably single-light, opening. On the first floor a horizontal ('Yorkshire') sliding sash occupies an opening that appears to have originated as a chamfered single light, and was subsequently widened to two lights before being narrowed to its present dimensions.[54] To the right of the window there is a projecting spout for a drain to a stone basin. There are also chamfered single-light windows lighting the second and third floors, and another spout draining the wall-walk.

'Gentlemen's seats a few centuries ago were always built so as to be capable of defence. I was surprised at the situation of Nappa in this respect, it being incapable on one side on account of the height of the road close to it.' So wrote Charles Fothergill in 1805.[55] Nappa Hall employs elements of the vocabulary of castle architecture but it has no real defensive characteristics. The towers with their castellated parapets are essentially rhetorical devices alluding to the military connotations of lordship, and are overlooked from the rear owing to the proximity of the limestone cliff. There are no recognisable gun loops responding to contemporary developments in armaments (as there are at the roughly contemporary Kirby Muxloe Castle in Leicestershire). Whilst there are two loops in the north parapet of the high-end tower, ostensibly covering the brink of the cliff, there are no defensive loops calculated for flanking fire or the defence of the entrance. The size of the ground-floor windows lighting the hall and parlour, albeit overlooking what may have been a fully enclosed courtyard, makes the house vulnerable to attack, and the use throughout of timber floors denies the towers the protection against fire afforded by stone vaults. The essentially domestic nature of the building was recognised by John Leland, writing *circa* 1539. Although at one point he names 'The hedde howse of the Metcalfes' as 'Knapper Castle in Richemountshire', he makes clear elsewhere that 'communely it is caullid No Castel'. At his first mention he describes it simply as 'a very goodly howse', whereas the Scrope stronghold of Bolton Castle is called 'a very fair castel'.[56]

3.1.2 The porch

The masonry of the single-storey porch abuts that of the hall and that of the service range. It represents a later building episode than either of the ranges it abuts, but stylistic features, including the form and decoration of the entrance and the corbelling of the parapet, link it with the major components of the 15th-century house. An indication that the porch was planned from the outset is that the doorway opening from the porch into

the hall range has no hood-mould, unlike the porch doorway and all the windows on the south elevation of the hall and high-end tower. This strongly suggests that it was intended to be sheltered by the porch.

The porch is constructed with particularly large gritstone quoins. The entrance has an arch with a shallow cavetto moulding and a hood-mould with returned ends but no head-stops. The form of the arch is somewhat indeterminate but best understood as a rather crude pointed four-centred arch. The interior was lit by a chamfered single light in the west wall, above a narrow stone bench. The porch in turn provided borrowed light to a passage in the service range via a similar opening in the latter's west wall. The parapet along the west and south sides is a single skin of gritstone ashlar on a coved corbel course. A projecting spout on the west elevation drains the parapet gutter.

The porch retains its original roof, which respects the alignments of the hall and service ranges and has similarities with the roof of the stair turret on the high-end tower. It is in two bays, and is carried by cambered tie-beams against each end wall and at the mid-point. These support two ranks of side-purlins and a square-set ridge-purlin. There is a cornice beam along the east side, but the west cornice beam has been crudely replaced. The original roof timbers are chamfered with step run-out stops. The boarded roof pitch is very shallow and indicative of a lead covering.

3.1.3 The hall

The internal hierarchy of the hall is sufficiently indicated by the position of the porch and entrance, and is confirmed by details of the roof structure (see below). The porch originally gave access to a broad cross-passage in the low-end bay of the hall. The south entrance survives, enclosed by the porch, and is offset west of its customary position in order to accommodate another doorway communicating with the service range. This gives the cross-passage its unusually generous width. The doorway has the same four-centred form as the porch entrance, but is decorated with a simple chamfer. A corresponding north doorway appears on Belwood's plan (he shows it fractionally east of the porch axis) but was lost in the building of the present stair turret in the re-entrant of hall range and low-end tower. Physical evidence for the earlier doorway takes the form of chamfered gritstone quoins which appear to have been re-used in the present north entrance, which is squeezed in immediately west of the turret.

The west side of the cross-passage is marked by an oak beam supported at each end by stone corbels. The beam did not produce a tree-ring date but the use of corbels parallels the floor construction in the high-end tower, and the beam pre-dates an inserted two-storey stone partition, in the east face of which it is now partially embedded. The beam is covered with later plaster, but in places where this has been removed the beam can be seen to have a plain arris to its east (lower) face. A sufficient length is exposed to rule out a continuous run of pegged studs beneath it, but shorter screens cannot be ruled out. The only mortice currently apparent is probably for a joist extending eastwards but is set low, beneath the level of the present plaster ceiling. It has been suggested that the beam supported an original gallery overlooking the remainder of the hall. Certainly there was a first-floor chamber here before Thomas Metcalfe set to work improving the

accommodation *circa* 1722 (see below), but a gallery spanning the cross-passage would be extremely wide and no corroborating evidence has so far been found.

The hall was lit by two large three-light windows on the south elevation. The windows are of two-light mullion-and-transom form with paired chamfered lights rising to cinquefoil-cusped heads and set within a chamfered, square-headed, hood-moulded frame. The windows are displaced towards the high end, allowing for the porch to the east. They are protected by wrought-iron yetts and internally the mullion and transom were rebated to receive shutters, the hinge pins for which remain. The west window was substantially altered in the 19th century when a doorway was inserted beneath the transom (Figure 14). The lower half of the window was later reinstated and the new sill and lower mullion are clearly distinguishable from the 15th-century fabric, whilst ragged joints in the masonry below the sill indicate the blocked-up portion of the doorway. There appear to have been no original windows in the north wall; a recess towards the low end, suggestive of a blocked window, has internal reveals which are only very slightly splayed, and therefore uncharacteristic of the original window openings throughout the building.

The present hall fireplace is in the west wall backing on to the high-end tower. It has no early features and does not appear on Belwood's plan. It is also apparent in the roof-space that the flue serving this fireplace has been inserted where it rises through the lower two storeys of the tower's east wall. The absence of original windows on the north wall of the hall suggests this as a more likely position for the original fireplace, probably as depicted on Belwood's plan (Figure 13) in a position corresponding to the second roof bay from the west. Internally there are variations in the surface and discolouration of the internal plaster suggestive of a quoined opening in the position indicated by Belwood, and perhaps the slight settlement of a lintel. There is no indication externally that the projecting chimney depicted by Belwood (but not confirmed in any of the early views)[57] has been dismantled but evidence of the internal fabric, taken with Belwood's clear representation of a fireplace here, is strong enough to conclude that the wall has been re-faced externally.

The hall range retains its original four-bay crown-post roof, now concealed above, and modified to accommodate, 18th- and 19th-century ceilings. The two western trusses are fully accessible in the roof-space above the present three-bay hall, while a third can be viewed above the fragile first-floor ceiling in the easternmost bay, above the former cross-passage. The construction of the roof is relatively unusual, the trusses combining a crown-post form with principal rafters (Figure 5). They consist of a cambered tie-beam, principal rafters rising to a butt apex, a plain crown-post without expansion, a cambered collar, slender single-pegged curved struts rising from low on the crown-post to the principal rafters, and double-pegged curved struts of more elongated cross-section rising from higher up the crown-post to the collar-purlin. Originally, as indicated by long pegged mortices in the tie-beam soffits, short braces descended from the ends of the tie-beams to wall-posts, the latter probably supported on corbels set high on the hall walls.[58] The corbels are no longer apparent but may survive, struck back, behind later wall plaster below the present ceiling. Wind-braces rose from the principal rafters to two sets of butt purlins. The roof is composed of sturdy and good quality timber but the decoration

Figure 5. The hall's roof structure with inserted flue behind. (photograph: Adam Menuge, English Heritage).

is sparing, confined to mouldings on the tie-beams and small chamfers on some of the other timbers. The timbers are free from soot and clearly point to the existence from the outset of a hearth enclosed within a fireplace.

The roof is divided into three long bays and a short one at the western end. This identifies the westernmost truss as a dais truss, and it differs in that there is no mortice for a brace up to the collar-purlin on the western face of the crown-post. This diminution in the decorative impact of the roof at this point might suggest that it was less conspicuous owing to the presence of a dais canopy, and it is therefore interesting that Whitaker noted in 1823 the survival of 'the skeleton and part of the wainscot of the canopy over the high table'.[39] This feature does not survive, however, and no evidence has been found on the western face or soffit of the tie-beam to indicate the attachment of such a feature.[40] In the easternmost bay (i.e. at the low end) the collar purlin has been removed and a brace rising to a later ridge-purlin has been substituted. A corbel projecting from the wall of the low-end tower at a height corresponding to the bases of the crown-posts suggests that a crown-post may have existed here formerly. Evidence for a corresponding arrangement at the high end is not apparent, perhaps because a dais canopy made it superfluous, but also perhaps because of the disturbance resulting from the inserted hall flue here.

Besides the external entrances to the cross-passage four other doorways open off the hall range. The doorway leading into the high-end tower is the least altered. It has a segmental stone head and large hinge pintles in one of the rebated jambs. The hall face has a broad chamfer without visible stops, around which a plaster moulding of probable 19th-century date has been applied. The radial tooling of the arched lintel is also reminiscent of 18th- or 19th-century work, but it is likely that the opening, which is low relative to the present floor level, is otherwise original. Two doorways open eastwards into the low-end tower, of which the more southerly retains its original segmental-headed form on the tower face. The fourth doorway opens southwards into the service range but its original form has been obscured.

3.1.4 The high-end (west) tower

The high-end tower provided high-status private accommodation on four floors and access to a wall-walk on the roof-top. It projects slightly forward of the hall range and considerably more to its rear. The masonry exhibits some variation across the four elevations but the level of decorative detail provides clear status indicators. The south elevation has finely dressed gritstone quoins and here all the windows, including the only multi-light windows, have hood moulds and cinquefoil-cusped heads in the same style as those lighting the hall. On the west elevation only the windows at the south end are cusped, and the hood moulds are absent. Elsewhere the windows are chamfered square-headed lights and the quoining is less regular.

The typical pattern of the accommodation consisted, on each floor, of a larger, heated, well-lit room to the south and a smaller, unheated, poorly lit inner room to the north, the latter served on the first and second floors by a garderobe in the thickness of the north wall. This pattern survives intact on the ground and first floors, where a stone partition divides the front and rear rooms. It is inferred on the second floor from the position of the only fireplace (which like the ground- and first-floor fireplaces is offset towards the southern end of the tower) and from a slight indication on the west wall of a partition, which was positioned slightly north of the stone partition on the lower floors and which therefore must have been of timber-framed construction. It is unlikely that the third floor followed a similar pattern: no evidence for a former partition was observed and the fireplace here is placed more centrally than those below, suggesting that there was a single large room; it is notable that this is what Charles Fothergill reports seeing in 1805.[61]

The clearest evidence for the garderobes is on the exterior of the north wall, where two chutes emerge at ground-floor level, each discharging through an angled opening set with a flagstone sill. The garderobes themselves are comparatively cramped. That on the second floor consists of a simple cupboard-like recess with a seat across the external wall, and it is likely that the first-floor example, now partially blocked, was similar.

The four original fireplaces are served by flues rising in the east and west walls. The ground- and first-floor fireplaces are on the west wall, where their presence is marked externally by a projecting stack. The flues rise to an original brattished gritstone chimney cap mounted on one of the merlons of the parapet. The chimney is rectangular in cross-section and appears to serve two flues: lower down in the wall thickness a mid-feather

can be seen separating two flues. The second- and third-floor fireplaces rise to separate chimneys of which the circular, broach-stopped, gritstone bases survive, mounted on an elongated merlon. These flues are carried up in the wall thickness, without projection. The original form of the ground-floor fireplace is not apparent, but the fireplaces on the upper floors all have a similar chamfered square-headed form.

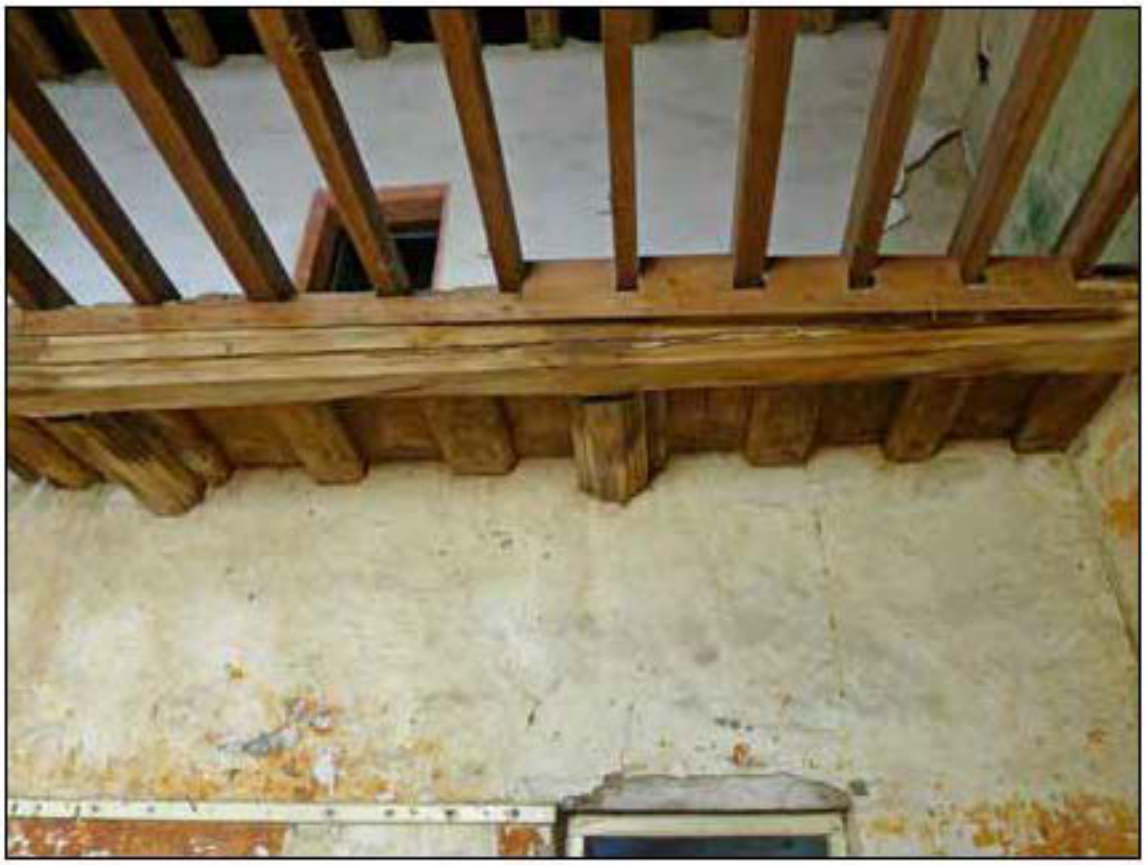

Figure 6. The medieval flooring technique employed in the high-end tower: boards resting in rebates along the joist and beams (photograph: Lucy Jessop, English Heritage).

The high-end tower is divided internally into four ceiling and roof bays extending north-south. These divisions were set out before the partitions, which do not correspond to the bay divisions, were created, though for reasons given below this is a matter of building sequence, not building phases. The front rooms occupy a little less than two-and-a-half bays, the inner rooms a little more than one-and-a-half. Substantial amounts of the first- and second-floor frames survive, including all the beams, which rest on stone corbels of quadrant form (double-quadrants on the ground floor). On both these floors a further beam, also supported on corbels of quadrant form, is placed against the south wall to receive the ends of the floor joists without them interfering with the masonry, and particularly the window lintels, of the south wall. At the opposite end of the tower the joists were lodged conventionally in the north wall, and on the third floor – which overlies only a single-light window on the south wall – this is the pattern at both ends. The third floor has been dismantled but a series of corbels remain in situ and two beams, and part of a third, lie ex situ on the second floor. All the upper floors employ a medieval

system of construction (remarked upon by Fothergill)[62] in which the boards, which are exceptionally wide, are laid parallel with the joists and rest in rebates on the sides of the joists and beams, so that the boards are flush with their tops (Figure 6). The roof is lost, and its arrangement is identifiable only from similar corbels ranged along the east and west walls.

Ground floor

The principal ground-floor room was the best appointed in the house, with a tall ceiling, a three-light south window and possibly (on the model of all three floors above) a single light in the west wall in the position now occupied by an inserted entrance. The window splays have been cut back, probably for later shutters, but the mullions and heads are chamfered, not rebated, and the jambs do not appear to have had pintles for original shutters in the manner of the hall windows. The room was heated by a fireplace on the west wall, where a shallow external projection marks the stack. The original form of the fireplace is obscured by the present 19th-century surround (the external doorway on its south side is also a 19th-century insertion). The superior quality of the room is expressed most emphatically through the form of the ceiling, which differs from those found elsewhere in the tower. The beams have the most elaborate moulding encountered among the original elements at Nappa, consisting of a cavetto, step and scroll or ogee. Roughly chamfered joists of substantial, flat cross-section bridge between the beams but were not originally visible from the room below. Within each bay two moulded sub-beams, set lower than the joists with their soffits in the same plane as the main beam soffits and bearing the same moulding, were morticed and single-pegged into the main beams. These sub-beams survive only in the part-bay adjoining the stone partition, but pegged mortices and the hacked back vestiges of stops respecting them on the main beam mouldings indicate their former presence in the remaining bays of this room. The presence of these stops demonstrates that the sub-beams are original features of the ceiling;[63] their absence from the inner room, even in the ceiling bay which is shared with the main room, further demonstrates that the tower was partitioned on this line from the outset. Sandwiched between the surviving sub-beams and the joists are a few fragments of what appear to be thin boards or wainscot, suggesting that the plainer joists were originally concealed by a timber ceiling. This is a relatively unusual, high-status decorative treatment for a 15th-century building and may have been accompanied by painted decoration, though none is now apparent.

The inner ground-floor room is shadowed by the cliff to the rear and remains, even with an inserted or, more probably, enlarged east window, ill-lit. It is unheated and is likely to have functioned as a cellar, offering cool, secure storage suitable for wine. There are two doorways communicating with the parlour to the front: one, to the west, is blocked and has a 19th-century architrave; the other, to the east, has no architrave but has a lens of disturbance above the timber lintel which may result from insertion. Neither opening retains characteristics diagnostic of a 15th-century date. The room was lit by a north-facing single light with widely splayed jambs and a steeply shelving sill. A recess, set at 45 degrees to the room in the north-west corner, has substantial hinge pintles for a door opening into the room. Its purpose was to circulate air via a small vent, now blocked, at the western end of the north wall, as depicted on Belwood's plan. The ceiling beams have the same moulding as in the parlour but the sub-beams are omitted.

Stair

The stone vice or spiral stair is partly within the thickness of the tower walls and partly enclosed by thinner walls intruding into the south-east corner of the tower. It is entered on the ground floor from the parlour via a square-headed doorway next to the doorway from the hall, and rises anti-clockwise, lit at intervals by small loops in the south and east walls. A chamfered square-headed doorway opens onto the principal first-floor room; the doorways higher up are also square-headed but that onto the second-floor room has only the left-hand jamb chamfered (the lintel, unlike that on the third floor, is plain) and that onto the roof-top wall-walk is altogether plain.[64]

First floor

The first floor lacks the wainscot ceiling and sub-beams, and the main beams have a slightly simpler moulding, consisting of two cavettos separated by a rebate, and rest on single-quadrant corbels. Most of the ceiling joists have been replaced above the south room. Some of the original wide floorboards, set in rebates and running parallel with the joists, survive in the half-bay south of the partition wall. The larger south room is lit by a two-light south window and a single-light west window, and is heated by a large square-headed fireplace on the west wall, with a long chamfered stone lintel. The opening has been narrowed from the left and fitted with an early 19th-century cast-iron hob grate set between flanking masonry hobs. The large hearth stone is contemporary with the narrowing.

The inner first-floor room is reached through an original quoined and square-headed doorway, chamfered on its southern face and retaining a chamfered stone threshold.[65] This room was lit from the north and east by two single lights (the latter subsequently enlarged) and appears to have been served by one of two garderobes. This at least is the inference drawn from the presence, in the north wall, of a plastered recess, the height and proportions of which are consistent with it forming the upper portion of a garderobe doorway. The position of this feature is consistent with its being served by the more easterly of the two garderobe chutes visible externally. The room was also provided with a small stone basin draining through the east wall.

Second floor

The second floor is currently undivided and the floor above it has been removed, so that the room is now open to the modern roof. Substantial lengths of three ceiling beams – presumed to be the remnants of the ceiling/third floor – survive *ex situ* resting on the second floor. They have chamfered soffits and are rebated for boards as on the lower floors. The joists were let into the walls. As indicated above, the position of the only fireplace, which is placed well south of centre on the east wall, suggests that the second floor was originally divided, and there is a possible indication of a removed partition in the form of a scar on the west wall. If so, the partition must have been timber-framed, as it would have rested directly on the floor timbers, just north of the stone wall dividing the two lower floors. The reason for this slight adjustment in internal layout relative to the lower floors is unclear; the fireplace position is not significantly further north than those on the lower floors.

The larger south room was lit from the south and west by two single-light windows. The fireplace on the east wall is blocked, probably because its flue was taken over for the inserted hall fireplace. It is chamfered with a square head and has a small, rough relieving arch over.

The smaller, unheated inner room appears to have been known as the wardrobe Chamber in 1671, suggesting that it originated as a wardrobe. It was lit by single lights in the north and east walls, both with timber lintels. The east window is set rather low and has plain splayed jambs and a flat stone sill. The north window has a stepped and shelving sill and a rough relieving arch above the lintel. It is offset west of centre on the north wall to accommodate a small central garderobe served by the more westerly of the two chutes. The garderobe is simply a recess in the north wall – an indication that the tower walls do not have the thickness more characteristic of castle walls, where it becomes possible to elongate the garderobe intramurally. The opening has a timber lintel but no relieving arch, and no moulding or rebate to the doorway, which has hinge pintles simply planted on the wall face for an outward-opening door. The garderobe was lit by a loop set obliquely in one corner. Part of the seat remains *in situ*. Overall the second floor is plain and ill-lit by comparison with the floors below.

Third floor

The third floor is equally plain and lacks even the convenience of a garderobe. Investigation here was limited by the absence of a floor. No evidence was noted for an internal division on this level but there are five windows and a former division cannot be ruled out. A peculiarity of this floor is that the doorway from the stair opens northwards, whereas on the first and second floors the doorways open westwards. The windows face all four directions with two windows (the more northerly now blocked) in the west wall. All are single lights, and the east, the north and the more northerly west window are smaller than the other two, which have (or probably had) cusped heads. The north and east windows have relieving arches above the internal lintels. The fireplace on the east wall is chamfered with a square head, as on the floor below, but somewhat smaller and set further to the north.

Roof and wall-walk

The roof of the high-end tower is modern, consisting of stone slates laid on utilitarian trusses formed from bolted softwood plank sections. The presence of corbels along the east and west walls indicates that the original roof covered the tower in four bays, and that the roof is likely to have incorporated wall-posts resting on the corbels, which are set well below eaves level. The roof may have been of much the same form as the hall roof, with braces rising from wall-posts to tie-beams, but the evidence is also consistent with an arch-braced collar truss form.

The stair rises above the tower in the form of a turret, giving access to the roof-top wall-walk. The stair continues for some steps past the level of the roof-top doorway, not to give access to the turret roof-top but to increase the stability of the structure. The original roof of the stair turret survives and one of the timbers has yielded a felling date of 1476, doubtless marking one of the final stages in the construction of the high-

end tower. It consists of two bays. The tie-beams, including one built into each end wall, are cambered and as on the porch roof they directly support the square-set ridge and single set of butt purlins. The common rafters are also original. There are no wall-plates, and on the south side the common rafters are supported towards their lower ends by vertical plank-section timbers which are let into (and interrupted by) the central tie-beam. The central tie-beam and the wall-plates are chamfered; the remaining timbers are plain. Like the porch roof, which it resembles, the turret roof is laid with wide boards for a covering of lead. A crenellated parapet conceals the roof externally, and drains via spouts on the north and south sides.

The underlying rationale for a wall-walk is that it provides a protected fighting platform with the advantage over an attacking force of superior height. As noted above, Nappa Hall is unconvincing as a defensible structure and the reason for the wall-walk, apart from sustaining the illusion of fortification, may have been more concerned with the enjoyment of the prospect of the immediate grounds and the wider landscape. The wall-walk is protected by a parapet of rubble construction, topped with an inverted-V gritstone coping. The parapet is tallest along the vulnerable north side, where it also incorporates two small splayed loops, which may therefore have some real defensive intent, but the two flanking embrasures are too wide to offer a credible defensive position.

On the west side the parapet is interrupted by the single brattished gritstone cap of the flues serving the principal ground- and first-floor rooms. On the opposite side there is a longer interruption containing the flues of the second- and third-floor fireplaces, the former adapted to serve the inserted hall fireplace. The two flues are quite widely spaced, with a length of coping between them. Each flue is topped by what appears to be the circular broach-stopped gritstone base of a once taller shaft. The bases and coping overlie a sheet of lead covering the flat top of the stack as a whole. The lead is neatly inscribed 'ED: CLARKE 1694', suggesting that this is the signature of the plumber responsible for the work.[66]

3.1.5 The low-end (east) tower

The three-storey low-end tower is about the same length as the high-end tower from north to south, but its south wall lines with that of the hall range and its north wall projects correspondingly further to the rear of the hall. It is also appreciably narrower than the high-end tower, and the storey heights are less generous, but the accommodation is well-appointed with a series of fireplaces and garderobes. Another difference between the two towers is that in the low-end tower the stone partition creates two more-or-less equal-sized rooms (north and south) on each of the two lower floors. As in the high-end tower, this partition does not rise to the second floor, but the evidence of heating provision suggests a two-room division here too. What appears to be an original stack projects on the north wall, with a series of shouldered off-sets in gritstone. On the east elevation there is a corbelled, gritstone-quoined chimney serving the second floor. It rises from a cavetto-moulded course of the kind used at the base of the porch parapet, and this in turn rests directly on the quadrant-shaped corbels.[67] A garderobe turret forms a deep, narrow projection at the southern end of the same elevation. No chutes are apparent externally but the ground-floor level is apparently

Figure 7. The east elevation of the low-end tower (photograph: Lucy Jessop, English Heritage)

Owing to the extent of alterations from *circa* 1722 onwards, as the principal rooms of the house were increasingly centred in the low-end tower, original fabric is less visible here than in the other tower. Externally identifiable original windows are not numerous, but from this it follows that some of the existing sashes occupy the positions of earlier windows. This is especially the case where existing windows coincide with relieving arches either exactly or approximately. On the east elevation the two first-floor windows north of the projecting central chimney have relieving arches which are not centred precisely on the present openings, and which therefore probably relate to earlier windows (Figure 7). It is also likely that floor-frames and fireplaces survive extensively within. The interior consists of four structural bays, defined on the ground floor by a stone partition and two ceiling beams, and on the first floor by three ceiling beams, two visible and one inferred. The roof has been replaced.

Ground floor

The ground floor of the tower, positioned next to the cross-passage, might be expected to offer a conventional grouping of service rooms, but in fact the bulk of the service accommodation was within a dedicated range or ranges to the south. The southern ground-floor room does, however, present the appearance of a service room, and indeed served as a pantry or similar down to the late 20th century.[58] It is entered from the cross-passage by an original low segmental-headed doorway and spanned by a substantial east-west chamfered beam on the north side of which the original plain joists

survive, laid flat. On the south side of the beam, where the joists have been renewed, mortices attest to their former presence.[69] The westernmost mortice is obscured by plaster, but the evidence is sufficient to rule out a stair rising from this room. The joists are laid flush with the top of the beam, indicating that the boards overlaid them rather than resting in rebates as in the high-end tower.

The south room is currently lit from the east by two chamfered, square-headed single-light windows, which are chamfered externally but do not have hood moulds. One is placed just south of centre, the other towards the north wall. Neither window has an external relieving arch, in keeping with the less elaborate single lights on the high-end tower. Of the two, the more southerly appears to be the original window, based on both its position and the style of quoining, which better matches that of comparable windows on the other tower. It is also fitted with a wrought-iron yett for security, again in keeping with a number of original windows; inside there is a later lattice made of laths and a boarded shutter. The more northerly window, by contrast, lacks a yett and has a mixture of horizontally and vertically set quoins with unshaped outer ends, whilst the surrounding masonry shows signs of disturbance. The occasion for inserting a second window is likely to have been a subdivision of the room, perhaps on the line of the present remnant of hardwood stud partition immediately south of the doorway from the cross-passage (see below).

The north ground-floor room, currently a parlour or dining room with an early 19th-century chimneypiece,[70] appears to have been a much higher-status room than its neighbour to the south. This is most clearly indicated by external evidence on the east elevation, where an original relieving arch survives above the present northernmost sash. The length of the relieving arch indicates a multi-light window, probably of three lights, and it is further distinguished by the presence at its south end of the dressed-back remains of a hood-mould with a returned end. As has been noted above, hood-moulds are confined to the front elevation of the hall range and high-end tower. The aspect of the window is not in itself of great significance – nearly all the tower windows are in the east wall, the longest available wall not obstructed by another range – but raises the possibility that garden or other landscape focus may have been contrived in relation to it or to windows lighting the chambers above (see Section 4 below). No other early features are apparent in the north room but the east-west beam, currently plastered with arrisses, may be original; so too the doorway, which is slightly skewed and probably respects the intrusion of the original stair into the cross-passage. Whether the present relatively tall square head to the opening is original is more doubtful.

Stair

The present stair dates from the late 18th or early 19th century. The original stair was a compact vice or spiral stair on the rear of the building at the junction between the hall range and the low-end tower. It is depicted on Belwood's plan (Figure 13), taking the form of a turret expressed externally as a quadrant projection in the re-entrant, but also projecting slightly into the cross-passage from which it was entered. The stair appears to have risen clockwise. This stair position can be interpreted as reflecting a number of considerations. Owing to the adjacent service range – which severely limits the opportunities to light the tower from the south on the lower floors, the internal

hierarchy of the tower is likely to have declined towards the south on the ground floor and possibly on the first floor, but not necessarily on the second floor, which would not have been obstructed. The stair is placed on the north side of the building, away from the service rooms and at the junction of the two ranges, as now. The construction of the present stair has probably eliminated most of the physical evidence for the original stair but on the first floor a curving section of plastered masonry, visible behind a decayed later lath-and-plaster partition, is almost certainly part of the curving internal wall face. A stair in this position could, depending on where doorways were placed, facilitate the use of the space above the cross-passage as a gallery, but corroborative evidence is lacking.

First floor

The position of the stack on the north wall of the tower would favour a two-room division of the tower on the upper floors, as on the ground floor, but as in the high-end tower the stone partition rises through only two storeys. A likely arrangement on the first floor, as in the high-end tower, would be a principal room to the north and an inner room to the south, served by the garderobe turret. On the same floor there is a timber-framed partition with lath-and-daub infill, visible where the over-mantle panel has been removed. However, this partition, which is placed a passage-width south of the central stone partition, is unlikely to be original. Further evidence suggests a two-room plan on the second floor as well. Here there is a corbelled flue projecting on the east wall immediately north of the garderobe turret. The present bolection-moulded chimneypiece dates from *circa* 1720 but must conceal an earlier fireplace, the position of which is too far south to make a single-room plan likely on this floor.

The proposed north first-floor room was larger than at present, occupying roughly two-and-a-half ceiling bays and taking in the present north room as well as what is now an adjoining lobby and water closet. The entrance to this room is likely to have been directly from the lost stone stair, the position of which places the likely doorway in the centre of the west wall. The room was spanned by two chamfered east-west beams, both now plastered, the more southerly beam being on the line of the inserted partition. It was lit from the east by two windows, indicated by relieving arches above the present sashed openings. That the present windows perpetuate original openings is suggested by the asymmetric splays as currently formed, suggesting that both windows have been widened northwards. The room was heated by a fireplace, now blocked, on the north wall.[71] If the supposition concerning the timber-framed partition is correct the inner south room was entered via a doorway, as now, roughly in the centre of the partition, indicated by a gap in the stud positions. The smaller room must also have been lit from the east, probably by a window roughly corresponding to the present opening. It appears to have been unheated, hence the necessity of inserting a corner fireplace in the 1720s, but was served by a cramped garderobe in the turret on the east wall. The garderobe narrows at its east end where the seat would have been placed. It is lit by a single-light north-facing window which in its present form is probably an enlargement of the original opening.

Second floor

The original arrangement of the second floor may have been similar in some respects. If the corbelled chimney towards the south end of the east elevation is original, as stylistic

considerations suggest, it indicates a two-room division as below, but whereas on the lower floors the south room is restricted to east-facing windows, on the second floor this room rises above the service range to the south, with the potential for an extensive outlook in this direction. This may account for the provision of a fireplace in this room but not in the corresponding rooms below. The north room would again have been approached directly from the stair. There are two possible fireplace positions. A fireplace on the north wall would be in keeping with the floors below, and the stack projecting externally on this wall shoulders back twice, suggesting fireplaces on all three floors. The alternative is a fireplace on the east wall, served by the externally projecting chimney roughly in the middle of the elevation. This chimney has no shoulders and does not serve the lower floors. The present chimneypiece (in what is now the middle room) dates from the 1720s, but behind it a chamfered square-headed fireplace, comparable to the original fireplaces in the high-end tower, may also be original, though it could be as late as the 17th century.[72] The chimney itself has no clearly medieval features. Both this chimney and the stack on the north elevation have a flagstone-corbelled upper section in keeping with the tower parapet. No traces survive of the original windows to this room, which is likely, given the fireplace position, to have been comparable in size to the north first-floor room or possibly larger. The absence of evidence suggests that the room was lit by windows in the same position as the present openings, one facing east, the other facing north on the west side of the projecting stack.

The division between the north and south second-floor rooms, assumed on the basis of chimney provision, cannot be positioned with certainty. If the fireplace was on the north wall a division as on the first floor is likely, but if the fireplace was on the east it is likely that the division, as now, was further south, denying the smaller room the option of light from the east. This is where the division existed prior to *circa* 1722 (see below), and is for this reason perhaps the likeliest original arrangement. An early and probably original window lighting the south room survives on the west wall. It is now blocked, but it appears to have a chamfered surround and the width is sufficient for a single-light. It is likely, too, that there was also a south-facing window in the position occupied since the 18th century by a sashed opening.

As on the floor below, the second-floor south room enjoyed access to a small garderobe on the east. This was lit from the south by a single light, later blocked, but retaining fragments of leaded glass. It was open to the roof (consisting of a single large stone slate, laid at a shallow pitch) and provided ladder access to the roof-top via a doorway opening westwards at parapet level.

There is little evidence for the form of the original roof. It is likely to have formed four bays, and the relatively modest height of the second floor is unlikely to have favoured a roof employing wall-posts as in the high-end tower. The roof is concealed externally by a parapet incorporating large merlons and embrasures, and punctuated by the two chimneys on the east elevation and the stack on the north elevation. None of these retains evidence for an elaborate cap.

3.2 The service ranges, including the east wing

The two-storey service accommodation, comprising a broad north-south range and a narrower east wing, forms an L-plan. It is attached to the south side of the low-end tower but not at right-angles, with the result that there is a wedge-shaped block of masonry (possibly concealing a void) where they meet. It is the least easily deciphered part of the present complex following a series of remodellings, the earliest perhaps in the late-16th century, and successive re-roofings. The two east-west gabled roofs are too shallow-pitched for a 15th-century date (a covering of lead is unlikely on such a scale, or indeed on service ranges) and instead reflect later tie-beam and principal rafter roofs (six bays – in two phases – to the north, and three bays to the south) running back on either side of a central valley. The reasons for supposing that the alignments, and some of the fabric, of the service ranges are of medieval date have been rehearsed above; apart from the borrowed light giving onto the porch there are no self-evidently medieval features visible. A timber supporting the ground-floor ceiling on the north side of the east wing has produced a likely felling date in the range 1470-1505, making it potentially part of the original construction phase centred on the years 1472-6. It is not currently possible, however, to determine whether the timber is *in situ* or re-used in its present position.[73]

Figure 8. The service range viewed from the east (photograph: Lucy Jessop, English Heritage).

The original extent of the service accommodation is debatable. There are two main uncertainties. One is the southwards extent of the north-south range. The other is the

temporal relationship between this range and the east wing. The north-south range itself appears to be substantially of one build but at the southern end there is clear evidence for truncation and rebuilding. The west wall continues at substantially the same thickness (roughly 0.70m) from the hall range to just past the current limit of domestic occupation, beyond which the range continues as a thinner-walled (0.60m) single-storey cow-house. The east wall is thicker (0.83m) but similarly constant as far as a partially toothed end at the corresponding position. The cross-wall separating the domestic and agricultural ranges is an insertion and butts up to the east and west walls, which project beyond it as stubs terminating at the opposed cow-house doorways.[74] The spacing of two beams spanning the brewhouse forming the southern half of the domestic ground floor point to a similar conclusion – that the present cross-wall replaces a gable wall or cross-wall further south.

The east wall of the north-south range is poorly bonded with the remaining original fabric of the east wing. It is unlikely that the southern half of the north-south range is a later addition, given the absence of a substantial east-west wall running across the north-south range at this point, and more likely, therefore, that the east wing has been added. The curved wall enclosing the stone winder stair rising on the north side of the east wing is bonded with the north wall of the wing, but butts against the wall of the low-end tower. There is also a suspicion that the east wing covers the chutes descending within the garderobe turret. The implication is that the east wing post-dates the first construction phase. This would seem to be in line with the earliest surviving fenestration, on the east gable wall of the east wing. Here there are two chamfered single-light windows, one on each floor, the lower one secured with an iron yett. The windows are comparatively wide for single lights, and suggest a post-medieval date. Documentary evidence, described below, appears to confirm the existence of the present accommodation by 1657, when the east wing is likely to have comprised the 'pantry and larder and the rooms over them'.[75]

A possible indication of an early origin for the east wing is visible on the blind and considerably distorted north wall. At the base of this wall, roughly half-way between the east gable wall and the east wall of the north-south range, there is a large stone, roughly square on elevation, which may have formed the pad-stone or stylobate for a cruck. Any corresponding stone at the base of the opposite wall was lost when this wall was rebuilt in the 18th century (see below). Cruck construction, in which usually curved timbers, jointed at or near the apex, carry the roof loads down to ground level without the need for load-bearing walls, was once common in the Yorkshire Dales, but became increasingly restricted to agricultural and other low-status buildings during the 17th century. One reason for this growing disfavour was the difficulty, when using crucks, of providing ample accommodation above the ground floor, where commonly only rooms largely or wholly within the roof-space were practicable. Some corroboration for this interpretation of the stone in the north wall comes from the masonry of the north-east corner of the wing, the quoins of which change their character above first-floor level, becoming larger and more squarely dressed as though the upper part of the building may result from later raising. There is a similar but less pronounced change to the quoins of the south-east corner. An earlier gable line is not apparent.

Figure 9. The service range viewed from within the courtyard (photograph Adam Menuge, English Heritage).

A further relevant consideration is the orientation of the smoke-hood within the north-south range. This is placed just south of the east wing but serves the kitchen in the north half of the north-south range. The stone hood, supported by a timber bressumer, survives very substantially intact. Traces of smoke-blackening are visible on the reredos and the inside of the hood where later limewash has become detached, and a window to the east, though much altered, probably respects the position of the original fire window. The smoke-hood itself is likely to date from some point in the 16th or early 17th century, but it indicates the probable position of the 15th-century kitchen, which in the absence of evidence for a fireplace is likely to have been open to the roof originally. The orientation of the hood would appear to imply a roof running north-south over the north-south range, with the hood venting in the usual way at or alongside the ridge. Some confirmation for this analysis is found on the east elevation where a regular stone course appears to mark a former eaves level running south from the east wing nearly as far as the first-floor window – beyond which the masonry has been rebuilt. The height of this course would indicate a one-and-a-half-storey range. The apparent absence within the north-south range of in situ medieval timbers and the later introduction of two heavy beams spanning the brewhouse (see below) lends support to the supposition that the range has been raised or substantially rebuilt after the first construction phase.

3.3 Late sixteenth-century modifications to the service range

During the late 16th century there is evidence for a substantial rebuilding of the north-south service range. This work is tentatively attributed to the short-lived Sir James Metcalfe. Two very substantial beams were inserted spanning the brewhouse, providing a joisted floor. The beams both produced dendro-dates in the range 1569-94. They appear to have been threaded through the east wall, where there are two substantial masonry patches plugging the openings. Threading would only have been worthwhile providing the wall rose substantially higher than the level of the beams, as would be the case given the former eaves level suggested above. It might also imply that the existing roof was left undisturbed. The positions of the beams on plan, as already noted, presuppose a continuation southwards of the brewhouse, beyond its present limit. The beams are chamfered with straight stops at one end only – often an indication of re-use – but a series of redundant joist mortices fit the present east and west walls. The joists do not survive, but the mortices indicate joists which were slightly taller than they were broad, with soffit tenons and diminished haunches. The joists extended between the two beams and south of the southern beam, but not to the north of the northern beam, possibly implying a hearth in this area. The roof over the brewhouse incorporates a re-used principal rafter which has yielded a felling date of 1574-99, and is thus plausibly part of the same phase. It is possible that the kitchen smokehood is also contemporary, but the bressumer failed to date.

3.4 Early seventeenth-century plasterwork

There are fragmentary survivals of decorative plasterwork and of perhaps contemporary plain plasterwork in the best rooms of the high-end tower, pointing to some embellishment of the accommodation, most likely in the early 17th century. They can be attributed with some confidence to Sir Thomas Metcalfe (1579-1655), who entered into his inheritance in 1601, following a long minority, and perhaps belong to the succeeding decade, before his circumstances deteriorated. In the south ground-floor room there is a small fragment of decorative plaster high on the east splay of the south window, and there are slight traces of plaster applied over the moulding of the northern ceiling beam. In the corresponding first-floor room, above the fireplace on the west wall, there is a length of frieze between two horizontal mouldings. The frieze incorporates a cock, the crest of the Metcalfes (Figure 10).

The plasterwork survived more extensively when Charles Fothergill visited in 1805: 'round the freeze [sic] of the two lower [rooms] run rich cornices of plaister representing the arms of Metcalfe, the crest of cocks and owls large, disposed amidst foliage alternately'.[76] The style of the plasterwork is not characteristic of Yorkshire plasterers in the late 16th and early 17th century, suggesting influences from further afield.[77]

Figure 10. The decorative frieze on the first floor of the high-end tower (photograph: Adam Menuge, English Heritage).

3.5 The division into two households, 1657

By articles of agreement dated 28 May 1657 Nappa Hall was divided between two brothers: James Metcalfe (1604-1671) and Thomas Metcalfe (c1614-1684). After their deaths it was inherited by their youngest brother Henry (c1620-1705). The document describes how the house was to be divided. Thomas was to have:

> ... one moiety of the said manor house or capitall messuage, that is to say, the East Tower, the kitching with the pantry and larder and the rooms over them, the brewhouse and roome over it, the (barn) or thrashing place with the roome adjoining and the chamber over it, the stable in the gates and the chamber over it, with the outstable and the oxehouse, and the said water corne mill with all the land thereunto belonging lying and being under the Scarre at Nappa ... during the terme of ninety-nine years ....[78]

This gives a particularly good insight into the arrangement of the service ranges south of the low-end tower, including perhaps the truncated southern end of it, and other ancillary buildings. The order in which the rooms are mentioned seems to imply that the pantry and larder, with the chambers over them, lay beyond the kitchen in the east wing. The brewhouse is firmly identified with the room south of the kitchen, and there may be an implication that beyond the brewhouse lay the barn, the 'roome adjoining' and the chamber over it. The 'stable in the gates' is distinguished from the 'outstable', the former located within a gated courtyard and devoted to riding and carriage horses, the latter probably for farm horses and positioned outside the courtyard, probably near the 'oxehouse', also for draught animals. Unfortunately, the account does not provide names

or functions for individual rooms in the low-end tower. Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676) of Skipton, Appleby, Brough, Brougham and Pendragon Castles recorded a night spent at Nappa with her cousin Thomas Metcalfe in October 1663, but her account is cursory and gives no details of the domestic arrangements.[79]

On the death of James in 1671, the inventory given by his widow mentioned the following rooms: Hall house; Parlour, Kitchen, Buttery and Milk House, Parlour Chamber, Kitchen Chamber, Green Chamber, Wardrobe Chamber, Stables, and Mill. James's possessions included a quantity of silver, a library of 64 books, 'One little house clock and two seeing glasses'.[80] The parlour of the inventory can be confidently identified with the front ground-floor room of the high-end tower. The corresponding rear room lacks a fireplace, and is therefore not an obvious choice for James Metcalfe's kitchen. However, James's moiety of the hall was assessed for the Hearth Tax on six hearths in 1663,[81] and if one of these must have been in the hall, only four others can be confirmed from physical evidence in the high-end tower. It seems likely, therefore, that a hearth and chimney were contrived in the rear ground-floor room. This may have been the occasion, too, for inserting the doorway shown on Belwood's plan (Figure 13) linking the rear room directly with the hall. It is possible that the room was also subdivided to give a separate 'Buttery and Milk House'. The existence of two doorways linking the parlour and the rear room may lend support to the idea that a partition in the latter has been removed, though in its present form the western doorway has a mid 19th-century or later splay-cut architrave. Belwood shows the rear room undivided and without any doorway communicating with the front room. Progressing up through the high-end tower, the Parlour Chamber and Kitchen Chamber are, on the basis just set out, the two first-floor rooms. The Green Chamber – presumably indicating a decorative scheme – forms the main second-floor room whilst the Wardrobe Chamber appears to perpetuate in its name the original use of the inner room on this floor. This leaves no mention of the third floor, suggesting that it had already passed out of regular use.[82]

3.6 Thomas Metcalfe's remodelling, *circa* 1722

A substantial programme of repair and remodelling is detailed in a surviving memorandum of work undertaken.[83] It begins with the service range, proceeding to the low-end tower (moving from the second floor downwards), then the hall range, and finishing with various ancillary and farm buildings. The document is undated and unsigned, but is attributed with some confidence to Thomas Metcalfe (1687-1756), and refers to the refitting of the service rooms, the upgrading of the accommodation in the low-end tower, the subdivision of a chamber (created at an unknown date) above the low end of the hall, the repair of the hall range roof, repairs to existing ancillary and farm buildings and the new-building of others. In the low-end tower the work included the insertion of a series of sash windows characterised by plain sandstone surrounds and moulded sills, one new chimney and a number of chimneypieces, mostly bolection-moulded, the wainscoting of some rooms, the re-laying of some floors and the plastering of numerous ceilings. The centrepiece of the alterations was the fitting out of 'my own Room' at the south end of the first floor (Figure 11). The works must belong to Thomas Metcalfe's early maturity;[84] they have the flavour of a young man taking charge of his inheritance – and finding it in much need of attention.

Figure 11. The interior of what appears to have been Thomas Metcalfe's 'own room' at the south end of the first floor of the low-end tower c 1722-35 (photograph: Adam Menuge, English Heritage).

Evidence serving to refine the date of these alterations comes from references within the memorandum, and other material collected in the published volume of Metcalfe papers.[85] The latter indicate that Thomas Metcalfe's mother Mary inherited the estate following her husband Henry's death in 1705. Thomas managed the estate on her behalf before her death in 1735 whereupon he inherited. He may have taken on responsibility around 1709 shortly after reaching his majority, as at this point his mother sold her property in Doncaster (presumably to release funds to aid the advancement of her sons); he would certainly have been managing the estate by about 1723 around which time Mary went blind. The memorandum must have been written before 1742 because it includes reference to a room for Thomas's brother Henry, who died at Nappa in that year. His description by Thomas as his 'poor brother' must post-date Henry's financial ruin and disgrace in London leading to illness, described as lunacy. This led to him being brought back to Nappa in 1722, where he lived until his death, and it is therefore unlikely that the memorandum dates from before 1722. The document also refers to 'My Mother's Room'. The obvious inference is that his mother was still alive when the memorandum was written, though the reference might conceivably be to the room *formerly* occupied by her. However stylistic indications in the work which the memorandum describes make it most unlikely that it was undertaken as late as 1735; indeed the use of bolection panel and chimneypiece mouldings can hardly be much later than 1722 or 1723. The conclusion, therefore, is that the memorandum describes work undertaken between 1722 and 1735, but almost certainly at or near the beginning of this period, and it may signal the commencement of Thomas Metcalfe's effective control of affairs at Nappa.

The service rooms

Alterations to the service rooms were – on the evidence of the memorandum –confined to the addition or upgrading of fixtures and fittings. Four rooms are mentioned in this sequence: Brewhouse, Cellar, Dairy, Kitchen. All must have been on the ground floor (there is no below-ground cellar), and the location of the brewhouse and kitchen is not in doubt. The fact that the cellar and dairy are mentioned between the brewhouse and kitchen suggests that both may have been in the east wing, but if the order is more random the dairy could be the ground-floor south room of the low-end tower (described as a dairy in the late 19th century), leaving just the cellar in the east wing. The same room is referred to later in the 18th century as the pantry.

The Brewhouse, Cellar and Dairy were newly paved. The Brewhouse, which evidently doubled as a bakehouse, was equipped with a 100-gallon brewing copper, a lead cooler, hand-pump, set-pot, two ovens and brewing vessels. New 'Chests or Bings' were made in the Cellar (the only surviving chest is one in the south ground-floor room of the low-end tower). The Dairy is described as newly plastered and ceiled; it was provided with a new stone table, lead cooler, churn trough and shelves (probably for butter and cheeses), and fitted with 'lattice windows' (the only surviving lattice window is in the same room of the low-end tower). The Kitchen acquired 'A new Range or Grate for the fire, a new Grate for Ashes under the Kitchin-Grate, new stoves [and] an Iron Pot set in a furniss. A new Jack and Cass [?], a set of new shelves. A new Stove for heating the [...] of a Smoothing Irons. – A new dish or Plate-Case'. This may indicate the abandonment of the smoke-hooded hearth. The hearth was adapted to serve as a walk-in cupboard, the opening beneath the bressumer was infilled with stone and the batter on the front (north) face of the hood was made plumb by attaching miscellaneous lengths of plank and plastering over them.

The low-end tower

The alterations to the low-end tower amount to a comprehensive remodelling of the existing accommodation beneath a roof described simply as 'repaired'. The memorandum is not without apparent inconsistencies, but appears to describe the second-floor rooms first, then the first-floor rooms, including those in the adjacent bay of the hall range, and finally one of the ground-floor rooms – the other, a service room, not unreasonably being treated with the other rooms of the service range. For consistency with the account of the original form of the tower, the following account reverses the order of the memorandum.

The north ground-floor room can probably be identified with the Parlour of the memorandum, a use which is consistent with the relatively high status of this room as first built and indeed throughout. Here two new sashes were inserted, a new floor and wainscot (panelling) were fitted, and a new plaster ceiling was made, perhaps the first time that the room was underdrawn. A new Buffet was also acquired, indicating that this was a dining parlour. The two sashes must have occupied the present east-facing openings, which were probably newly inserted at this time. The wainscot has gone and the boards have been renewed since the early 18th century. The plaster ceiling appears also to have been renewed though elements of the earlier timber ceiling structure may survive, as they do in the room to the south.

On the first floor the north room, occupying two bays, was occupied by Metcalfe's mother. Here again two new sashes were installed, and the room was re-floored, ceiled and plastered. South of his mother's room, and separated from it by a lobby and a small closet, Metcalfe fitted out for his own use a single-bay room used previously as a Nursery. This can be identified with certainty from the description of its being 'new wainscoted with a Book case, Drawers for papers, Cubbords, and several Conveniences'. The room retains bolection-moulded wainscot and the built-in shelving and drawers described in the memorandum. It was also supplied with a new chimneypiece and chimney. The bolection-moulded chimneypiece survives, and its position, canted across the north-west corner of the room, is characteristic of inserted fireplaces. The original floor joists have been strengthened (the work is visible from the floor below) in order to support the new hearth, which confirms the insertion of an altogether new chimney. The deep moulded timber cornice (part of the wainscot scheme) respects both the bookcase and the chimney. Metcalfe's room also received a new sash in the east wall, a new floor and a new plaster ceiling.

Access to Metcalfe's room was via a short passage extending along the west side of the low-end tower within the cross-passage bay (where a first-floor chamber was already in existence), and then through a doorway breaching the tower wall. This doorway opened onto a lobby between the original stone partition and a timber-framed partition with infill of lath and daub. The inserted corner fireplace in Metcalfe's room backs onto this partition, which must be either contemporary with, or earlier than, Metcalfe's alterations. The studs of the partition are morticed and single-pegged at the rail and there is an interval corresponding to the present door position roughly in the middle of the partition.

On the second floor the principal room, referred to in the memorandum (presumably in reference to the floor covering) as the Matted Room, occupied the middle two bays of the tower, though the implication is that until this time it had occupied three bays. As part of Metcalfe's alterations a servant's room and a closet 'were taken off it'. This is likely to refer to the partitioning off of the northernmost bay of the tower, which now forms a single room, but which has two entrances consistent with its having been two small rooms originally. The servant's room occupied the western (and probably greater) part, and received a sash window (the present north-facing window); the eastern part formed the closet, and appears to have been unlit. The Matted Chamber was given two east-facing sash windows, a new floor and plaster ceiling, and a new stone chimneypiece – doubtless the present bolection-moulded one. The room adjoining to the south appears to be that referred to as the Yellow Chamber. Here there is a similar chimneypiece, not mentioned in the memorandum, which notes only that the room acquired a new sash, was ceiled in plaster and wainscoted. The south-facing sash appears, schematically, in Bailey's view of *circa* 1771 (Figure 12). The wainscot does not survive. The floorboards here are wide (typically 27-31cm) and perhaps of the 1720s; the joists include at least one turned chamfered medieval joist.

Chambers in the hall range

Above the cross-passage in the low end of the hall range an existing first-floor room was divided in two. It is not clear whether this coincides with the building of the present

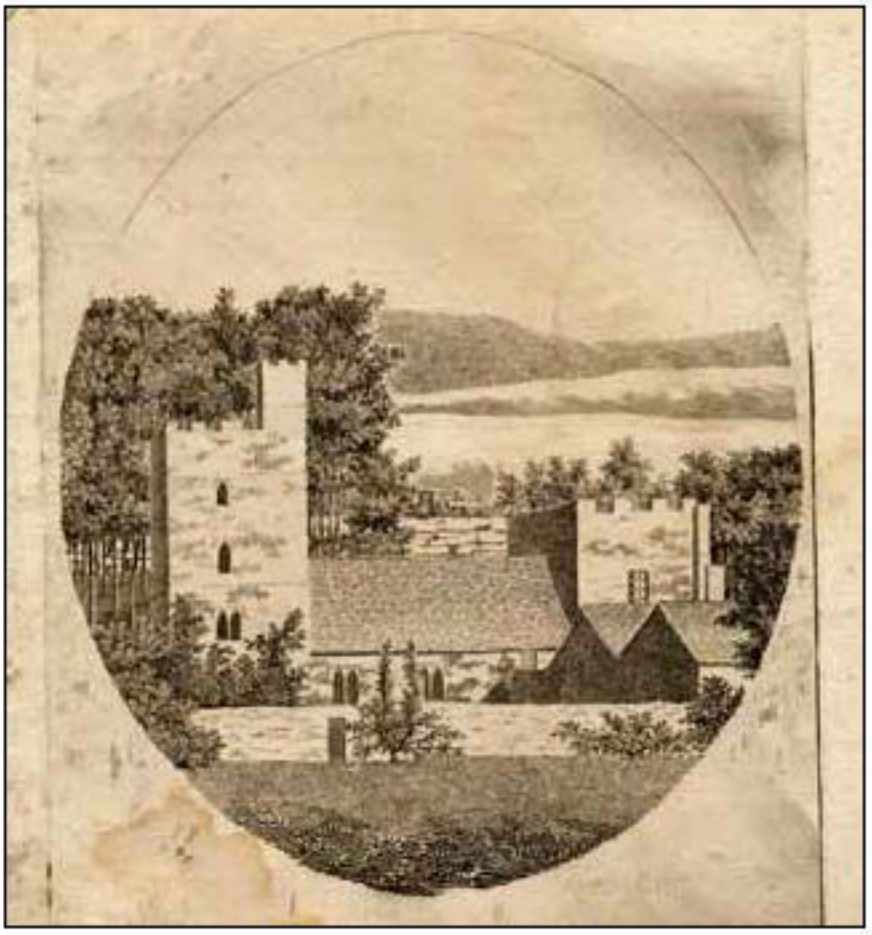

Figure 12. Unfinished plate of Nappa Hall circa 1771. On the reverse of the page a handwritten note reads 'An unfinished plate of Mr Baileys His Nappa-house in Wensleydale Yorkshire belonging the Metcalfes – the numerous family mentioned by Camden Intended for the frontispiece [sic] to a poem in the press by Mr Maud of Bolton-hall, so often ment'd by Mr Grose'. Courtesy of Warwickshire County Record Office CR2017/TP732.

stone wall dividing this bay from the remainder of the hall, or whether the wall was built in connection with the earlier first-floor room. The south room resulting from the division was fitted out as a bedroom for Metcalfe's brother. It was provided with a new chimney and chimneypiece, a new floor, wainscot for the walls and a new plaster ceiling. A new window was also inserted, and is described as a 'Sliding Window' – almost certainly what is now usually called a horizontal sliding sash or 'Yorkshire sliding sash'. This would have been regarded as clearly inferior to the vertical sashes installed in the tower (Bailey's view simply shows a small-pane joined window). The wainscot survives, as does the stone chimneypiece, which is a plain affair relieved only by a beaded surround and rounded haunches to the lintel; the hob grate dates from later in the 18th century. The room to the north, in which part of the easternmost tie-beam of the hall roof is exposed, plastered, remained unheated; it too was provided with a sliding sash beneath a lintel formed internally by a re-used length of moulded beam, and was newly ceiled and plastered. The moulding identifies the re-used beam as belonging to the first phase of construction in the 1470s.

Alterations to the hall were confined to roof repairs: 'The old Roof taken off repaired and put up again. Slaited a new, and painted in the inside.' It was probably at this stage that the majority of the purlins and wind-braces were removed.

Ancillary and farm buildings

The memorandum notes that two existing stables were refitted. They are not distinguished by name or location. One was 'new paved, new stalled: with new Rack and Mangers. A Closet for Saddles and Bridles, a Place for lying Hay, new Cieled and plaistered. A Chamber over it for lying in straw or Brecons [bracken]'. The other was 'new paved with one Stall new made, new Racks and mangers. A Granary over it with two large Chests for Mash and one for Meal. An Inner Granary, both new floored'. Both stables were re-roofed. In addition Metcalfe built a new coal house with a hen house over it, an ash house and lime house, a 'hoggery' or pig-sty with yards, and a cowhouse in the field known as West Park. This last was perhaps a rebuilding, since the memorandum concludes by listing 'A large Barn in the Rains [another field] built from the very foundation'. This is the large barn still standing south-east of Nappa Hall, known as 'The Big Laithe' and listed Grade II.[86]

The privy block

NB. There is nothing associating the privy block with Thomas Metcalfe's works as described in the Memorandum. It is discussed here for convenience because its origins are pre-1756 and it is not improbable that it is roughly contemporary with the works just described.

Immediately north-west of the high-end tower there is a small single-storey privy block gabled north-south. It is built of limestone with a mono-pitch stone slate roof falling to the west. It is attached to the tower by a short screen wall of squared, roughly coursed stone. To the north a lower rubble field wall, now breached and partly tumbled down, extends as far as the limestone cliff. The building consists of two earth or ash closets, a two-seater to the south and a three-seater to the north. Both have plastered internal walls.

The south privy is the surviving portion of a building shown on Atkinson's 1756 map and perhaps dates from the early 18th century. It is built of uncoursed rubble and has large limestone quoins at the south end only. The north end, where it abuts the larger privy, has no gable wall and the flank walls have an irregular termination indicative of truncation. On the west side, where the irregularity is pronounced, the masonry has been made up to a straight edge against the slightly recessed wall of the north privy. The south gable has been rebuilt.

The south privy is entered through a doorway in the south wall. The seat, pierced by two round holes, is along the west wall where it is served by a single raking-out hole. The interior, which is open to the rafters, is lit by a small window in the south wall, beneath which there is a keep-hole or recess internally.

The larger north privy is constructed of squared, roughly coursed limestone, similar in style to the screen wall, and is probably of 19th-century date. It is quoined at both ends.

Entrance is from the east, where there is also a window (unusually large for a privy); both openings have projecting lintels doubling as drip-stones. The seat was ranged along the west wall. The riser remains *in situ* but the boarded top is lying on the floor. It contained three round holes, each served by its own raking-out hole. There is a keep-hole in the south wall. There is a sloping lath-and-plaster ceiling concealing the rafters.

The presence of two privies, with doorways facing in different directions and entered from different compartments of the Hall complex, suggests that each served different groups of people. The older south privy opens off the public track through the site, from which a number of farm buildings are also accessible, and it is likely that it was intended primarily for farm labourers. The larger north privy, which probably replaces an earlier one on the same site, is entered from within the private grounds of the Hall and was probably used by the family, with the most convenient access being via the repositioned entrance on the north side of the cross-passage. The different treatment of the ceilings reinforces the social distinction.

3.7 Mid to late eighteenth-century alterations

Repairs to the east wing, 1756

In the mid-18th century the south wall of the east wing was rebuilt in thinner masonry with its new external face set back slightly behind the original line. The windows of the rebuilt wall correspond to those shown on Belwood's plan.[87] The original wall thickness survives at the eastern end, next to the gable wall, and at the western end, where a short stub projects from the east wall of the service range. It is likely that this is the work referred to in Alexander Fothergill's diary when on 25 October 1756 he 'ordered George Scarr & Stockdale & William Thompson to meet me early in the morning at Nappa to repair the buildings behind the kitchen' in preparation, it would seem, for the letting of the estate following Thomas Metcalfe's death. The following day the roof of the pantry was propped and work began to dismantle the wall 'now falling with age on the backside'.[88] On 30 October Fothergill bought '7 yards 7½ feet of flagg [stone slate] for the pantry roof'. The work was quickly accomplished and on 4 November Fothergill was assisting with re-covering the roof. Repairs to the barn and stable roofs proceeded concurrently, apparently following storm damage.[89]

The new wall was built in thin, roughly coursed stone and fenestrated as three bays. The western bay was altered subsequently and the original form of the windows can only be conjectured, but the other two bays were given small single-light windows on each floor. These were well adapted for the needs of a pantry, and they suggest that the first floor was also in some form of low-status use. Two of the single lights incorporate re-used chamfered sills perhaps taken from the demolished wall. The present doorway is a later insertion.

The ground floor of the east wing is divided by a chamfered beam into two bays. Most of the western bay is now given over to a small parlour or housekeeper's room, created later in the 18th century. The stone-flagged eastern bay retains something of the character of the 18th-century pantry. It has been divided axially in two, probably after

1756. The corner fireplace in the resulting south room is clearly an insertion made after the south wall was rebuilt, since its flue blocks one of the first-floor windows.

Repairs in 1773-4

In September 1774 Alexander Fothergill's diary notes that the low-end tower was scaffolded for repointing and repair. The work included 'iron work to the east tower', settled the following month. No more details are forthcoming, but the date and the mention of ironwork are consistent with the style of two rainwater hoppers, which would have required scaffolding to fix.[90] It is possible that this work was the conclusion of a larger programme of works, since on 26 October we find Fothergill at home at Carr End 'examining the accounts of work done at Nappa last year'.[91] The extent of these works is unclear owing to the loss of Fothergill's diary for the period between February 1757 and December 1773. Matthew Thompson, a local craftsman, was paid £4 4s on 8 January 1774 for work at Nappa.[92] A consignment of 'nails & hair for Nappa', noted on 12 May 1774, suggests plastering in progress.[93] On 24 November Fothergill paid Robert Capstick and George Metcalfe £2 8s 'for one rood & one load of slate delivered at Nappa for repairing the coach house and part of the stable roofs there', and John Lawson 12s 10d 'for 11 yards of freestone ridging for do. at 14d'.[94] On 15 December Lawson was paid for 'Nappa kitchin door, 3s 4d'.[95]

Belwood's west range

At some point during the late 18th century William Belwood was employed to adapt Nappa Hall to serve as a hunting lodge.[96] The precise date of the scheme implied by his preparation of a plan of 'Nappa Castle' (Figure 13) is not known but it can be assigned to a relatively short span of years. The drawing identifies Nappa as belonging to William Weddell, and therefore post-dates his inheritance of the property in 1762. It is unlikely to date from before 1774, when Belwood set up in independent architectural practice, and much more likely to date from after *circa* 1777, by which date he was employed by Weddell at Newby Hall; the terminal date for the plan is Belwood's death in 1790. Jill Low dates the plan to *circa* 1790 but without substantiation, perhaps on the grounds that the scheme appeared to be unexecuted.[97] There is evidence, however, that some or all of Belwood's scheme was executed, though his principal contribution to the site – a new range closing off the west side of the courtyard – has subsequently been swept away. As noted above, Atkinson's map suggests that this side of the courtyard was screened by nothing more substantial than a wall in 1756. Belwood's plan shows a long stable and coach house range incorporating a gateway; it is similar in overall size to the present 19th-century range but its spaces and openings are disposed quite differently. The plan footprint depicted by Belwood has a distinctive projection eastwards, not found on the present range, at the point where it meets the south side of the courtyard. This projection is recorded on the first edition Ordnance Survey 6-inch map published in 1856, but not on the edition of the 1:2500 map published in 1893.[98] Evidence that Belwood's west range was actually built can also be found in Whitaker's 1823 account of the house, where he laments that 'the Metcalfs shut out all the foreground of their landscape by a high garden wall directly in front, and to the west completely excluded all the wild and diversified views of upper Wensleydale by a long range of barns and stables'.[99]

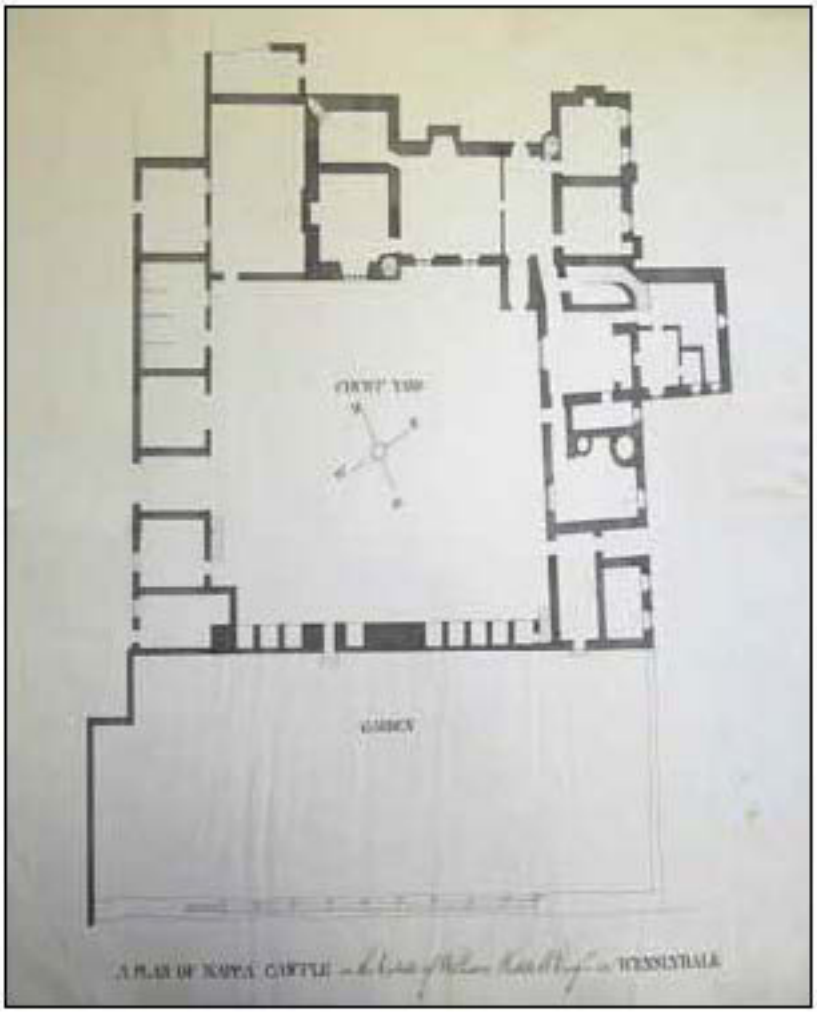

Figure 13. William Belwood's plan of Nappa Castle for William Weddell Esq. Courtesy of West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds. WYLS013/DD/1/716.

Belwood's plan shows a range partly opening onto the courtyard and partly opening to the track along its west side, reflecting a probable division between domestic ancillary and agricultural functions. The agricultural portions are at each end and sandwich, from north to south, a four-stall stable, a large single-bay coach house, the gateway, and another single-bay room, perhaps a loose box, against the courtyard side of which an external stair rises to the first floor, where storage for hay and living quarters for a groom or stable-hands might be expected. Belwood shows the north and west walls of the range thicker than the east wall facing the courtyard, suggesting that he may have retained some earlier masonry.

Why was Belwood's west range so short-lived? There are a number of possible explanations, but the likeliest is perhaps that its style did not meet with the approbation of later generations. Belwood was at home in both Classical and Gothick styles, and at 'Nappa Castle' may be expected to have favoured the latter, which fell out of fashion with the ascendancy of the Gothic Revival.

The low-end stair

It is likely that the present stair turret was added to the west side of the low-end tower and the north side of the hall range in the later 18th century, sweeping away the original stair and displacing the north entrance to the cross-passage in the process. Some details of the new stair might suggest an early 19th-century date, but the heaviness of the stair mouldings and the substantial nature of the curtail step suggest a somewhat earlier date. Other joinery features in the vicinity of the former cross-passage can probably be attributed to the same phase of work.

The stair turret is distinguished on the north elevation by a part-bonded straight masonry joint where it abuts the low-end tower. It partially overlaps and intrudes slightly into the area of the former cross-passage. A narrow and crudely formed substitute for the entrance to the cross-passage was created in the narrow space remaining between the turret and the presumed former screens at the low end of the hall, apparently re-using masonry from the former opening but incorporating a plain stone lintel. Nearly all traces of the original stair were destroyed.

The new stair is of stone, cantilevered in a series of dog-leg flights linked by half-landings and serving all three floors of the low-end tower. The individual treads are deeply moulded on both the face and the cheek. The slender softwood hand-rail is wreathed at the substantial curtail step and ramped up to the half-landings. The balusters are of slender square section, mostly of timber, but of iron at the curtail and other points to stiffen the structure. The stair was lit by a tall round-headed window on the north elevation. Externally the surround has a raised keystone and imposts. The upper part of the window was cut by the first/second-floor landing. Subsequently this part of the window was blocked and the present fixed light was inserted beneath a new lintel well below the level of the original imposts.

No architrave mouldings survive in association with the stair, and consequently it cannot be linked directly to other elements of the house through the use of common mouldings, but on broad stylistic grounds it can be suggested that the stair was accompanied by a re-fit of the cross-passage, extending into the parlour or dining room in the low-end tower. The south entrance from the porch was fitted with double-leaf doors combining to present six panels, the upper four raised and fielded on the exterior, the lower two flush-beaded for strength. A similar style was adopted for the single-leaf door leading into the hall, where there is also a substantial mid-to-late 18th-century architrave. In the parlour smaller six-panel doors were fitted to the cross-passage doorway and the balancing cupboard (both were subsequently lengthened). The former has reveals similar to those of the hall doorway and a simpler architrave of the same family.

The architrave on the cross-passage face of the parlour doorway recurs, in combination with another more elaborate moulding of the same family, in connection with the suggested housekeeper's room in the east wing, which appears to have been fitted out, and possibly created, at about this time. The window, which is large enough for a sash, is inserted in the 1756 south wall and there is a corresponding inserted window on the floor above, lighting a room conveniently reached via the stone winder stair on the rear of the east wing. The position of the parlour, sandwiched between the kitchen

and another service room to the east, suggests a housekeeper's room, but the fittings are surprisingly fine for such a use. Possibly this was a parlour fitted out for the exclusive enjoyment of one member of the household. If it was a housekeeper's room it suggests a housekeeper held in some considerable esteem. It perhaps operated as a suite with the room directly above serving as a bedroom. The chimneypiece is lost, but there is a fine apsidal wall cupboard with a half-domed head and elegantly shaped shelves, and a moulded architrave incorporating a fluted key block and pilasters, and moulded imposts. There are also good moulded architraves and raised-and-fielded panelling to the window, another cupboard and the door to the north, and shutters to the window.

The subdivided dairy

The dairy forming the south ground-floor room of the low-end tower was subdivided at some point during the 18th century. The work does not appear to have formed part of Justice Metcalfe's alterations in the 1720s, but the use of hardwood for studwork suggests that it is unlikely to be as late as 1800. The remaining length of hardwood, lath and plaster partition extends eastwards from the south jamb of the doorway between the pantry and the cross-passage and currently terminates at a former doorway, evidenced by a mortice for the door head. On this alignment the partition, if projected to the external wall, would conflict with the more southerly of the two pantry windows, identified above as the original window for this room. It is likely, therefore, that the partition dog-legged north and then east, with the area to the south being served by the original window, while a new window was inserted to light the northern room.

3.8 Nineteenth-century alterations

At the start of the 19th century Nappa Hall was in a neglected condition. Charles Fothergill, who visited in 1805, found the high-end tower abandoned except for some service use of the ground floor, where peat for the fire was stored in the former parlour.[100] Another writer, in 1820, confirmed that the high-end tower was uninhabited.[101] The Revd F R Baines, confirmed in 1848 that 'The lower tower of Nappa has been converted into a farm house'.[102]

If this suggests slow decline another trend can also be discerned. In concluding his 1823 account, Whitaker mused on

> what might be done for this fine old place at a moderate expense. The shell of the building is perfect, and should so remain without any modern tamperings. The hall might be restored to its primitive state at a small expense; the great-parlour would easily be converted into a dining-room, and the chamber above into a drawing-room. Bed-chambers alone would be wanted; but without these, of what is not this place capable?

Whitaker also praised a terrace walk at the foot of the limestone cliff behind Nappa Hall (see Section 4), recommended judicious alterations to the nearby tree-planting, and implied that the removal of the high wall and 'barn' closing the southern and western sides of the courtyard would reveal attractive views across and up Wensleydale.[103] His publication, patronised by the local gentry and others, may have been influential in

persuading the owner to undertake new work at Nappa – though in the event the high wall was retained and the west range was rebuilt on substantially the same footprint. Nineteenth-century alterations were directed to two contrasting ends. One was the upgrading of the farmhouse accommodation, particularly in the service ranges. The other was the fulfilment of the long-deferred plans to adapt the hall to serve as a hunting lodge.

The farmhouse

A number of changes can be dated to about 1810-30 and probably formed part of a substantial overhaul of the accommodation, upgrading the first-floor of the service range and modernising at least one of the rooms in the low-end tower.

In the low-end tower the parlour forming the north ground-floor room was remodelled. It is perhaps at this period that the doorway from the cross-passage was heightened and the doors both here and to the balancing cupboard at the opposite end of this wall were lengthened. On the floor above the corresponding room was fitted with a new softwood chimneypiece with reeded decoration and paterae (this chimneypiece is now in the parlour, where it contains a mid 19th-century cast-iron grate). The door to this room is contemporary. It is of six echinus-moulded sunk panels with clustered reeds echoing the panel borders. The narrow floorboards are perhaps of the same date. In the second-floor south room of the low-end tower the 18th-century chimneypiece contains a large Tudor-arched cast-iron grate of perhaps 1840-50.

In the service range alterations were extensive. It is likely that the present kitchen, including the fireplace and flanking cupboards, and the exposed softwood ceiling, dates substantially from this period. A new stair was inserted rising from the passage between the kitchen and the back kitchen. This was lit by a tall mezzanine-level stair window, now blocked, on the west elevation. Doorways at the head and foot of the stair have reeded architraves and top-lights. The stair rose to a newly refurbished bedroom with further reeded decoration; the room enjoyed an extensive outlook to the south as well as a west-facing window. In a drawing dated 1816 by the noted antiquarian draughtsman John Buckler the southern portion of the service range is shown roofless, with a large tree growing out of it.[104] This helps to explain the existence of a large blocked first-floor window in the south gable wall of the service range. The window appears internally as a splayed recess on the east side of the fireplace heating the room above the brew house; externally it is marked by two vertical cracks in the rendered gable wall, now internal between the service range and the rebuilt agricultural range. It had an open outlook when first created, but was blocked up when the agricultural range was rebuilt and re-roofed later in the 19th century. The south window took advantage of the decay of the southern portion of the range, as confirmed by Buckler's 1816 sketch. The wall in which it is set was for some decades at least an external wall and was rendered accordingly (traces remain beneath the present cowhouse roof).

Other alterations are less easily dated. The low-end tower roof – five bays of sawn softwood tie-beam and principal rafter trusses with three ranks of tusk-tenoned purlins and a vertically set ridge – probably dates from the mid-19th century. The principal rafters are notched and strapped with iron at the apex. The nailed struts appear to be later additions. There is a mid 19th-century round-arched cast-iron fire grate in the

parlour and one is in the second-floor south room. The agricultural range extending south of the brewhouse was rebuilt as a single-storey cowhouse, retaining and raising earlier masonry in the east wall. The three-bay roof is carried by bolted king-post softwood trusses without struts.[105] The paving of the cowhouse has an unusual lozenge pattern.

The hunting lodge

Samuel Allen's sketch of the house, dated 1846 (Figure 14), shows a doorway inserted beneath the transom of the western hall window, presumably to provide independent access to the remainder of the building.[106] The inserted doorway, which post-dates Buckler's 1816 view, was blocked by 1889 and the missing elements of the window were reinstated, but the disruption to the medieval fabric remains visible and the lower parts of the window are clearly late replacements.[107] The provision of a second doorway may imply separate use of the hall and high-end tower, though it is a surprisingly clumsy alteration. Service access was provided, perhaps during the second quarter of the 19th century, by creating a doorway in the west wall of the great parlour on the south side of the original fireplace, which may have been upgraded at the same time. This has a raised cement surround externally, simulating rusticated quoins and voussoirs. The style is comparable to that of the segmental-headed hall fireplace. This contains a range with a Gothic arcaded back with a central ogee arch – a motif commonly used in the Gothick style but rarely used after about 1845; the oven and water boiler are more conventional mid 19th-century work. Eyes survive for hanging a crane. The timber mantle has a contemporary Gothic moulding.

Further evidence for the extent of the hunting lodge comes from the patchy survival of simplified Gothic architraves incorporating chamfers or splay-cut ogees. The latter is commonly a post-1850 feature but is occasionally encountered earlier, especially in Gothic contexts. The styles show some variation, found on the ground-floor doorway to the stair in the high-end tower, the blocked doorway linking the great parlour with the rear room to the north, and the hall side of the doorway to the cross-passage. In the former great parlour there are fragmentary traces of an elaborate mid 19th-century wallpaper.[108] Together these features perhaps indicate that the hall and the ground floor of the high-end tower formed a unit in the middle years of the 19th century, given over to hunt-related entertainment of a simple and hearty nature. It does not appear that renovations extended to the upper floors of the tower, and if overnight accommodation was required on site it must have been provided within the low-end tower or the service ranges.

The stable and coach house range

Probably in the third quarter of the 19th century the west range was extensively rebuilt and a small new single-storey range, now used as a wood store, was added between it and the high-end tower, abutting the latter.[109] The new work is characterised by coursed rubble on the principal elevations, and chamfered hood-moulded surrounds to the doorways and windows (Figure 15). Both buildings incorporate re-used oak roof timbers (in otherwise softwood roofs) with felling dates consistent with the original construction phase. Eleven timbers in the stable and coach house range yielded a likely felling date of

Figure 14. Nappa Hall (1846) by Samuel Allen. York City Archives, Allen Collection 100/SO1/096. © City of York Libraries, Archives and Local History (http://www.york.gov.uk/archives).

1461–86, while five timbers in the roof of the single-storey range were probably felled in the period 1456–81. The timbers could have been recycled from one of the tower roofs, but it is perhaps more likely that they were re-used previously in Belwood's west range – hence their availability when it was rebuilt.

Neither building was the subject of detailed investigation but there is evidence that the larger stable and coach house range retains the west wall of Belwood's precursor. There are three main grounds for supposing this:

1. The west wall appears to have been substantially rebuilt at the southern end in conjunction with the building of the south gable and east front.

2. The present single-storey agricultural range extending southwards from the two-storey range has similar details but clearly abuts the lower part of the latter's west wall. This circumstance could arise if the two-storey range retained fabric from the earlier building at low-level, even though the masonry higher up at this end is later. On the east elevation, which is wholly of the 19th century, the masonry of the two ranges is continuous at the junction, and the taller range is quoined only above the eaves of the lower range.

3. There is a considerable difference between the two entrances to the gateway, despite their similar hood-moulds. The west portal has large chamfered gritstone quoins and a segmental, nearly semicircular, arch. The east portal has smaller sandstone quoins and a chamfered four-centred arch.

3.9 Recent changes

The present ceiling in the hall must post-date Edmund Bogg's description of the 'great hall open to the roof like the nave of a church' published in 'Beautiful Wensleydale' in 1920, although more detailed investigation is needed to determine if the roof had been underdrawn at any time since Whitaker's similar description of the hall nearly one hundred years before.[10]

No other significant 20th-century works to Nappa Hall have been identified prior to the re-roofing in recent years of the high-end tower and the re-leading of the parapets. At some point after 1990 the low-end tower and the service ranges were vacated and the farm tenancy, which retains the agricultural buildings in the complex, is now operated from elsewhere.

Figure 15. The eastern elevation of the coach house and stable block range (photograph: Lucy Jessop, English Heritage)

4. THE SETTING OF THE HALL

The immediate grounds of Nappa Hall were the subject of a detailed earthwork survey over three days in February 2013, intended to shed light on the hall's historical setting as a matter for consideration when contemplating the refurbishment of the building. The results of the survey, which include an accurate outline of the principal buildings, are shown as Figures 1 and 16. The wider landscape associated with the hall, extending as far as the river, has previously been investigated in some detail by Stephen Moorhouse and the results used to illustrate general points about the likely division of the manorial curia into domestic areas, gardens, farmyards and fields.[11] Moorhouse's survey, however, has yet to appear in a fully published form.

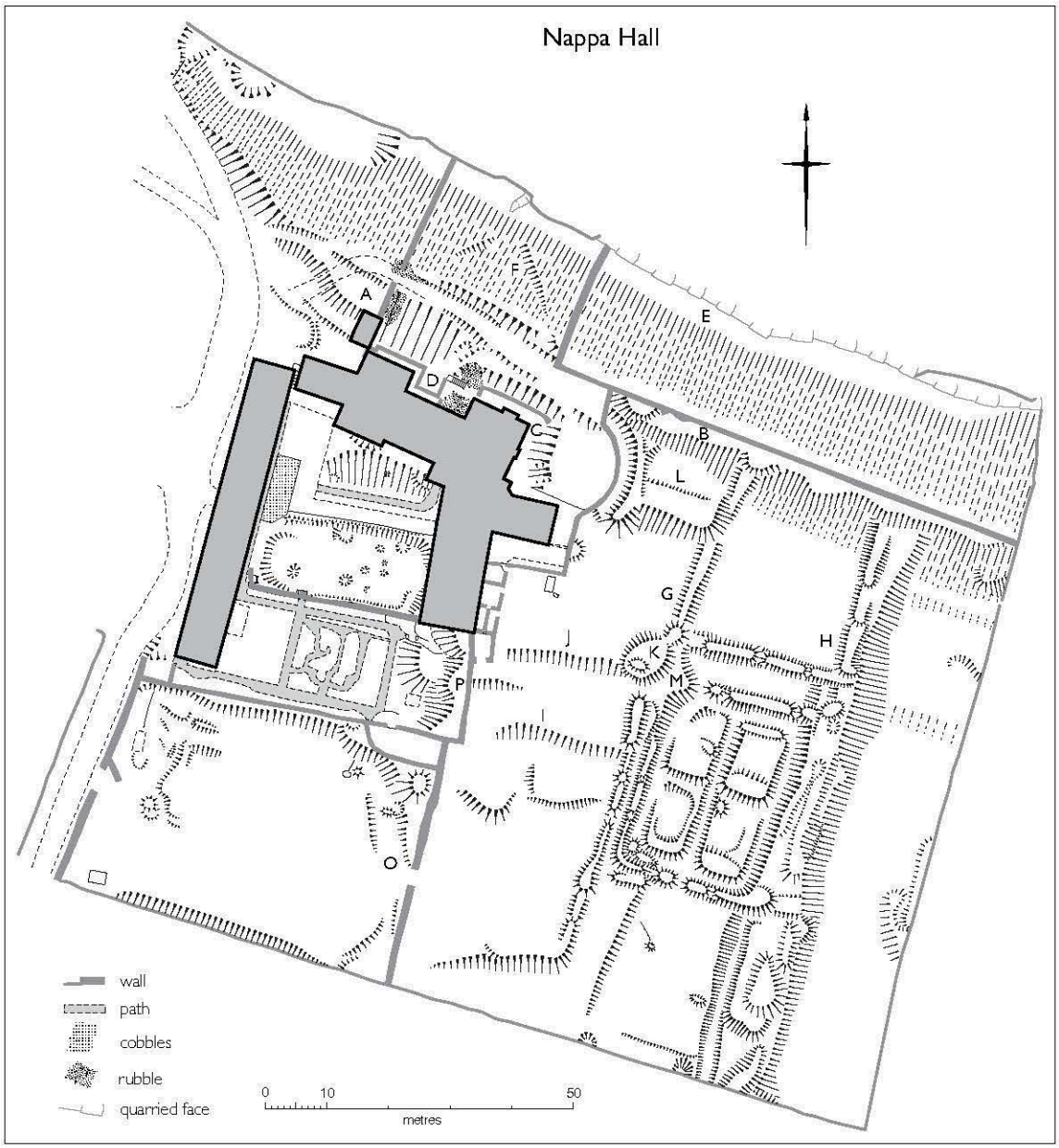

Figure 16. Nappa Hall earthwork survey, English Heritage (drawn by Philip Sinton).

The principal range of the manor house is oriented along the base of the steep slope which falls some 9m from the exposed foot of the limestone scar. It is quite likely that the slope was cut back somewhat to create an open terrace for the hall's construction, but a combination of soil movement and the deliberate build-up of material along the north side of the hall has masked the evidence for this process, leaving only a fragment of the original slope profile visible to the west (A), which is broadly aligned with the upper field edge to the east (B). The easement (C) around the north and east sides of the lower end tower, which is shown as a more rounded hollow on the 1913 25-inch Ordnance Survey map (Figure 17), may be related to conversion work and the addition of the low end stair in the later 18th century. However, the narrower easement (D) which continues along the north side of the hall and upper tower, together with its angular retaining wall and steps, is a much more modern creation, not visible on aerial photographs taken as recently as 1985.

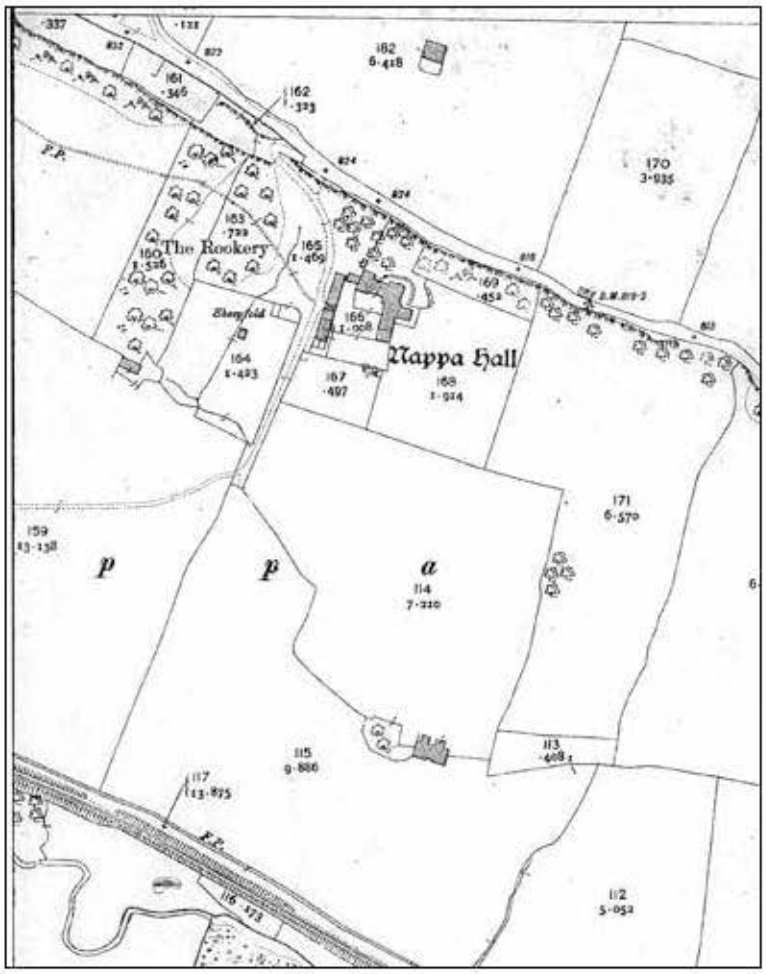

Figure 17. Extract from the 1913 25-inch Ordnance Survey map

Stone for the construction of the hall appears to have been quarried from the scar immediately above, where a worked face and narrow platform (E) extends between the modern access track and the boundary of the eastern field. Access to this quarry may have been from the direction of the present track, slightly hindered by the stream which breaks through the scar. There are two faint terraced paths (F) which converge on the

platform immediately to the north of the hall, but these were laid with a precision which suggests a more ornamental purpose. The point where the two paths meet is directly aligned above the centre of the hall roof.

The eastern field

The field to the east of the hall contains earthworks representing a number of phases and functions. The earliest of these are a pair of low banks, set some 27m apart, running down the field from north to south (G, H). These fit within a much wider pattern of parallel banks and lynchets (for example see Figure 1) which extends along the valley side and has been mapped by Moorhouse and others.[112] These features may depend for their overall orientation on a mid-Iron Age or Romano-British co-axial field system, but their development, as elsewhere in Wensleydale, is primarily the result of medieval cultivation and pasture management. Low cairns, now largely turfed-over, mark the points where these boundaries meet the foot of the scar slope, and probably mark the clearance of stones from formerly cultivated fields.

Immediately to the east of the hall the long gentle slope from north to south is broken by a couple of slight terraces. These two scarps (I, J) are closely aligned to the upper and lower limits of the walled terrace below the courtyard and, together with the return at the southern end of bank G, may indicate a former, wider, arrangement of stepped gardens or yards set out in sympathy with the angle of the eastern range. Although broad symmetrical arrangements of garden terraces laid out below the principal elevations of high status buildings are a recognised feature of late 16th-century gardens, these (for example Holdenby in Northamptonshire or Oxnead in Norfolk) tend to be built on a far greater scale than that which is exhibited here.[113] The Nappa terraces would have created a formal division of space between the hall and the flight of fishponds (recognised as such by Fothergill in 1805, and surveyed by Moorhouse)[114] which cross the pasture to the south and, like the fishponds, they may well be contemporary with the development of the hall in the late 15th century.

The relationship between the terraces I and J and the north-south bank G are poorly defined, not least as the junction of the upper terrace is overlain by a low mound (K) which appears to be either a dump or a midden established in the corner of the small field shown on the 1756 map (see Figure 3) and perhaps derived from the pens and stalls south of the service range. However, bank G, or more probably a reworking of the original field boundary bank G, does appear to overlie terrace I, suggesting that the more complicated garden earthworks on its eastern side belong to a subsequent phase. At the north-eastern corner of the field this same bank is overlain by a substantial rectangular mound (L) which appears to be a building platform related to this later garden (see below). The platform has been heavily disturbed to the west by a rudimentary ha-ha cut by the mid-19th century (visible on the 1st edition OS 6 inch map of 1853). Fothergill's 1805 report of the discovery of stone and mortar foundations to the east of the low end tower (see Section 3.1 above) could conceivably relate to this intrusion, although there is nothing on the surface to indicate the presence of substantial structural remains.

The most striking feature of the east field is the elaborate garden compartment laid out between banks G and H. This consists of four equal-sized terraces or parterres, each

about 9.5m long and 7m wide, framed by low banks and divided by shallow scarps and hollows. Three of the parterres retain low mounds which might indicate planting beds or the positions of small garden structures. The compartment is flanked by paths along the two long sides: that to the east incorporating a small bulge (M) which could have served as a viewpoint, or as the location of a short flight of steps.

The geometric garden form arrived in England in the last decades of the 15th century, but became more fully established in the later 16th and 17th centuries.[115] The example at Nappa Hall is rather small for a principal garden of this period, covering less than half the area of broadly comparable examples at Wakerley in Northamptonshire[116] and Bigby in north-west Lincolnshire.[117] It is, however, similar in scale and appearance to the individual compartments which combined in larger formal gardens such as those at Levens Hall in Cumbria,[118] and it may be considered that the adjacent elements at Nappa Hall – the seemingly less-developed compartments immediately to the north and south – also formed part of the contemporary design, perhaps elaborated with trees or shrubs and therefore requiring less in the manner of paths and other earthworks. Certainly the bounding banks to north and south of the quartered compartment have central breaks which point to movement between these areas.

The position of the garden in relation to the hall is interesting. Although there are exceptions (for example Hardwick, Northamptonshire),[119] most gardens of this period were positioned with a symmetrical, axial relationship to the house, designed either to frame the building or to be best viewed from its principal rooms (for example Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire).[120] The orientation of the formal Nappa Hall garden appears to have been dictated by earlier field boundaries, so that it lay offset from, but also broadly perpendicular to the principal hall range. The quartered garden compartment and (as one suspects) the equally elaborate northern compartment, would have been in a clear line of sight from the east window looking out from the northern, higher-status ground-floor room in the lower-end tower (Section 3.1.5 above), as well as from the roofs of the two towers. The quartered garden, indeed, is located such that there is a completely unobstructed view from the roof of the high-end tower (See Figure 18). Other possible vantage points for viewing the gardens include the rectangular mound (L) in the north west corner of the field, which might have supported a small garden house, and the widened bank (H) along the west side of the garden, which shows traces of a central path and would have provided a view across the gardens to the hall. A further possibility is that the two paths ascending the scar slope north of the hall (F) belong to this period and provided access to a prospect walk above both the hall and garden formed from the quarry terrace (E): a function retained to some degree when Whitaker visited in 1823 (see Section 3.8 above).

The date of the formal garden is difficult to establish with precision. The form falls most comfortably between the late 16th century and the early 17th century (which would make it potentially contemporary with the plasterwork in the high-end tower – see Section 3.4), but this can only be substantiated at Nappa by closer study of the Metcalf family papers, or though more invasive archaeological investigation. If the gardens do not belong to the period of embellishment associated with Sir Thomas Metcalfe's inheritance (1601), one might tentatively suggest that they were laid out by Sir Christopher Metcalfe,

Figure 18. The quartered garden viewed from the high-end tower roof (photograph: Lucy Jessop, English Heritage).

or by his son Sir James, and coincided with the more mundane alterations to the service range indicated by tree ring dates in the brewhouse of 1569-94 and in the roof above of 1574-99 (see Section 2). At the other end of the spectrum it is difficult to imagine that the gardens would have been created during or after the period of the divided household in the mid to late 17th century. But this is mere speculation. By the time of the 1756 map the field containing the garden remains was marked as an orchard (see Figure 3), a use which accounts for some of the tree boles and other disruption noted along the crests of the banks.

The approach to the hall

The direction from which the hall was approached during the late- and post-medieval period was a matter of some debate during the survey. Alterations to the fall of ground on the north side of the hall make it difficult to assess the potential for an early approach here, although the poor quality of architectural detailing (noted in Section 3.1.1) implies that this was never the favoured side, whereas the southern elevation was clearly designed to impress. A broad hollow aligned to the hall across the paddock to the south (D) was briefly considered as a candidate for an early approach, but on closer inspection it was found to comprise drainage features and recent soil dumps and to have no evident continuation below the southern paddock wall. A far more plausible candidate for the formal approach is the existing track between the hall and the modern farmyard

(which may overlie the medieval farm),[121] the status of which is borne out by the dry-stone wall on its eastern side, which measures up to 1.1m in width and 1.95m high and incorporates substantial boulders in the lower course. To the south the track continues straight toward the river, sharing the orientation of the medieval fields, and developing into a deeply worn (now disused) hollow way which passes alongside the site of a small medieval mill before heading down toward the river's edge (see Figure 1). Here the hollow way met the old road from Askrigg to Woodhall (shown on the 1756 map) which was subsequently overlain by the Leyburn-Askrigg section of the Wensleydale Railway in 1877.

The Askrigg-Woodhall road may have originated as the principal dale road, although it was later superceded by the Carperby to Askrigg road running along the limestone scar to the north, which was formalised as part of the Richmond to Lancaster turnpike, authorised in 1751.[122] The final approach to the hall, whether arriving from south or north, appears to have been from the west. The 1756 map depicts the courtyard enclosed by nothing more than a single wall on this side (see Figure 3), and although a gate is not depicted (none are on this plan) it is more than likely that the gate passage through the later De Grey stable range, also indicated on Belwood's plan,[123] (Figure 13) echoes the earlier arrangement.

Courtyard and lower garden

Atkinson's 1756 map also shows a building along the southern side of the courtyard, a line shown on all subsequent maps as a simple boundary. This range may have been the 'terrace walk [which] ran along the top of a wall overlooking the garden in the front of the house' mentioned by Fothergill in 1805, and depicted by Belwood.[124] The present wall, which serves as a revetment between the courtyard and the lower garden terrace, is presumably a consolidated remnant of the former terrace structure. It retains at least one feature, the stepped passageway, which is visible on Belwood's plan, and incorporates re-used chamfered gritstone quoins.

A further building, presumably something late and functional, is shown on the 1756 map forming a narrow southward extension to the eastern range. There may be some remnant of this building in the raised ground (P) on this side of the present garden, although all details have been obscured by earthmoving and the laying of paths. Two steps within these paths are architectural fragments: two long stones which are moulded and stopped in much the same manner as the ceiling beams of the high-end tower. These may have been taken from a lost southern range (see Section 3.1 above) or perhaps from the original northern cross-passage door, although all the surviving original doorways have block quoins rather than elongated jambs. A third moulded fragment forms the north-east corner of the stone-edging around the planting bed south-west of the steps.

A final 'missing' building is that shown on the 1st edition 6 inch OS map (1856): a narrow structure running the length of the western boundary of the paddock to the south of the hall's present garden (see Figure 19). There is nothing shown in this location on the 1756 map, and it may have been little more than a lean-to, set against an unusually substantial section of dry-stone wall.

Figure 19. Extract from the 1856 6-inch Ordnance Survey map sheet LXVI-8.

5. SIGNIFICANCE

Nappa Hall's primary significance is as a substantially intact large late 15th-century manor house, built in stone on a generous scale and with the semblance (little more) of defensibility expressed in the articulation of its high and low ends as towers with crenellated parapets. It would appear to reflect the growing wealth of the gentry stratum of medieval rural society, based on the possession of land, the holding of office and the exploitation of commercial opportunities. The fabric of the medieval domestic quarters is essentially intact, though the services are much altered and other parts of the complex appear to have been lost. Of particular note are:

- the timbers of the crown-post hall roof, which is of unusual form and which has been subject to relatively minor alterations in succeeding centuries;

- the timber floors/ceilings of the high-end tower, which have suffered some loss but which retain important evidence, particularly for the form of the ground-floor ceiling;

- the porch, with its essentially unaltered medieval roof; also the unaltered medieval roof of the high-end tower stair turret;

- the surviving fenestration of the hall and high-end tower (the medieval windows of the low-end tower survive only vestigially);

- a series of medieval external and internal doorways which have been altered only cosmetically in succeeding centuries;

- the unaltered vice stair rising in the high-end tower;

- the plan-form, which is essentially unaltered in the high-end tower and hall, and on the ground floor of the low-end tower (the original form of the upper floors of which is less certain);

- medieval timbers re-used in the low-end tower, service range and ancillary buildings, *ex situ* timbers stored on the second floor of the high-end tower, and stone lintels re-used as steps in the garden;

- and potential survivals, currently not visible, behind existing internal wall finishes or beneath existing floor coverings.

Two early features also deserve special mention:

- the smoke-hood in the service range (this is more likely to be of 16th-century date);

- and the revetment forming the south side of the courtyard. This is post-medieval in form but preserves the alignment of the probable lost southern range, the date of which is unknown but probably original.

The subsequent evolution of Nappa Hall charts the fluctuating fortunes of the Metcalfe family and their kinsmen; latterly the divergent interests of absentee gentry landowners and more lowly tenant farmers can be distinguished. The Metcalfes upgraded the accommodation, probably in the early 17th century. Of this period fragments of moulded and figurative plaster are the principal survivals, and on present evidence they are confined to the high-end tower. The subdivision of the hall, commencing in 1657 and ending perhaps with the death of James Metcalfe in 1671, perhaps with the inheritance of Henry Metcalfe in 1684, has not left any certain legacy, but probably demonstrates (through documents) the existence by 1671 of the east wing.

The substantial modernisation of the low-end tower, probably in the early 1720s, has left a significant legacy of chimneypieces, wainscot and other joinery features as well as a series of stone-framed window openings, reflecting the taste and ambition (it is argued above) of 'Justice' Metcalfe, the last of that name to possess the hall before the modern era. The alterations are not indicative of great wealth or having distinguished craftsmen at command, but interestingly they appear to be shaped by the bookish tastes of an 18th-century JP.

Following the death of 'Justice' Metcalfe, Nappa Hall lost its status as a capital house. In the second half of the 18th century and beyond it was occupied by tenant farmers, albeit farmers on a scale which, by the standards of the dale, probably made them substantial figures. Whether they or the Weddells are the authors of various changes is unclear, but the changes themselves were quite modest, albeit showing a degree of gentility in the provision of, for example, a new stair at the low end, and in the fitting up of a number of rooms. Nappa's fall in status is also tangible in the neglect of the high-end tower, which seems to have been abandoned above the ground floor well before the end of the 18th century. The insertion of the hall ceiling, which now conceals the 15th-century roof from below, appears to date from the early 19th century. Where alterations in the low-end tower exhibit a modest refinement, the hall ceiling is severely plain and suggests that the room served as the main living and eating room of the farmhouse for a period.

If the occupants of Nappa Hall from the mid-18th century were farmers, the owners of the property remained gentlemen of substance. Early schemes to adapt part or all of the building to serve as a hunting lodge apparently resulted in the building of a substantial west range, which was extensively remodelled in the mid-19th century, when there is also evidence for a modest refurbishment of at least the ground floor of the high-end tower.

The grounds to the south and east of Nappa Hall have seen no radical changes in recent centuries and a largely pastoral tradition has ensured the survival of archaeological evidence for the setting of the hall from its beginning through to the eventual loss of its elevated social status. The broad terraces south of the hall seem to be an integral part of the late 15th-century design, enhancing the appearance of the hall when viewed across its open, southerly aspect, and emphasising its connection with the fishponds, mill and other manorial appurtenances, perhaps comprising part of a park, occupying the slopes below. The more obviously formal garden arrangements to the east of the hall are of particular importance as a rare example of garden works related to a hall of middle-ranking status.

The rarity of this class means that the Nappa gardens are difficult to date with any real degree of certainty based on appearance alone. These earthworks, however, clearly have the potential to retain buried datable material, as well as evidence for the appearance of garden structures, and even for the composition of former planting schemes. The integration of other landscape features into the post-medieval garden design is also a matter of considerable interest – not only the retention of earlier medieval boundaries, but also the likely adoption of the quarry terrace above as a prospect from which to view the hall and its grounds.

Considerable disturbance has taken place in the immediate vicinity of the hall, some of it recent and concerned (it would appear) with reducing damp along the north walls of the hall and towers. Although this was the less regarded side of the hall, set hard against the scar and overlooked by nothing more than a minor track for much of its history, there is archaeological potential here too, largely for the manner in which the ground was prepared for the hall's construction.

Statutory protection is currently confined to the hall (Listed Grade I) and the later coach house (Grade II*). The setting of the manor house – the gardens, fishponds, mill and related closes – is, however, equally significant as evidence for the manner in which Nappa Hall functioned and developed, and for the tastes and aspirations of its owners and tenants.

6. NOTES

[1] Pevsner 1966, 262; Warren 2009

[2] Ambler 1913, 46 and plate 38. The attractive set of drawings of Nappa Hall (plate 38) is described as 'measured by S Clough', but while the elevation drawing looks well observed the plans and at least one of the detail drawings incorporate a series of inaccuracies suggesting that the amount of measurement involved is quite small.

[3] Metcalfe 2002; Metcalfe Society 2002

[4] Metcalfe 2002, 9-13; Speight 1897, 460-70

[5] The sampling was undertaken by Robert Howard and Alison Arnold of Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory (NTRDL). All tree-ring dates in this report are taken from their preliminary report, 'Nappa Hall, Askrigg, Wensleydale, North Yorkshire: Interim Summary of the Dendrochronological Analysis', May 2013. The full report delivered later (Arnold and Howard 2013) presents the same information.

[6] Alexander Fothergill, steward successively to Thomas Metcalfe and William Weddell at Nappa, notes in his diary for 30 September 1756 that 'Edmond Atkinson & Thomas Thistlethwait being come to make a survey of Nappa, I shewed them the premises & set them to work'. Payment for the plan was recorded on 29 October (Hartley *et al* 1985, 79 & 82). The plan (ZM17 (MIC 1496_86)) resides in the North Yorkshire County Record Office.

[7] This view (CR2017/TP732), which lacks fine detail and omits such features as chimneys and – in any recognisable form – the porch, is endorsed on the reverse: 'An unfinished plate of Mr Baileys[.] It is Nappa-house in Wensleydale Yorkshire belonging the Metcalfes – The numerous Family mentioned by Camden[.] Intended for the Frontispeice [sic] to a poem in the press by Mr Maud of Bolton-hall, so often ment[ione]d by Mr Grose'. John Bailey (1750-1819) was an agriculturist and engraver, land agent to the 4th Earl of Tankerville at Chillingham Castle, Northumberland, co-author (with George Culley) of the Board of Agriculture reports on Northumberland (1794) and Cumberland (1794), and sole author of the report on Durham (1810). Biographical details from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Bailey_(agriculturist), consulted 16 May 2013. Thomas Maude (1718-98), minor poet, essayist and contributor to Grose's *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (8 vols, 1783-7), served as a surgeon in the Royal Navy and was appointed steward of the 6th and last Duke of Bolton's Yorkshire estates in 1765, residing at Bolton Hall in Wharfedale and holding the post until the Duke's death in 1794. The poem referred to is almost certainly Maude's (1771) 'Wensleydale, or Rural Contemplations; a Poem'. For Maude's career: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Dictionary_of_National_Biography_volume_37.djvu/94, consulted 16 May 2013. Bailey's view was published in Speight 1897, 462.

[8] 'South West View of Nappa Hall | near Askrigg | Yorkshire | May 29th 1816', unsigned pencil sketch among other drawings bearing the monogram 'JB' for John Buckler, BL Add. MS 36395, f.3

[9] York City Archives 100/SO1/096

[10] Charles Fothergill's papers, including the manuscript of his diary, are in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto. The author is grateful to Jason Brown of the Library's staff for confirming that Fothergill's 'drawing from the west side of the courtyard' and his 'more distant view of the hall from near the old fish ponds' cannot be found among Fothergill's papers. His 'Itinerary to the North-Western Dales of Yorkshire' is published in full (Romney 1984). The drawings are mentioned on page 147 and page 148 respectively.

[11] Belwood's original *A Plan of Nappa Castle on the Estate of William Weddell Esqr in Wenslydale* is held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (WYL5013/D/1/17/6). It is also published in Low 1984, 142.

[12] Hartley and Ingilby 1953, 51 and Metcalfe and Metcalfe 2002, 134. The Metcalfe Society dates the grant of Nappa to the period 1415-19. The pedigree of the Metcalfes appears in Whitaker's Richmondshire (1823), facing 407, and more fully in Metcalfe 2002, facing 1.

[13] The fact that John Leland (Toulmin-Smith 1964, 86) is aware of James Metcalfe's demise places the writing of the text of his *Itinerary* no earlier than 1539.

[14] Hartley & Ingilby 1953, 54-5 and 57; Ryder 1982, 70; list of High Sheriffs of Yorkshire at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Sheriff_of_Yorkshire, consulted 16 May 2013

[15] Hartley & Ingilby 1953, 54-5

[16] Fothergill states that the park was converted to meadows 'long ago' (Romney 1984, 148)

[17] Hartley & Ingilby 1953, 56-7

[18] Metcalfe 2002, 9, 50-51

[19] State Papers (Domestic), quoted in Metcalfe 2002, 52

[20] Metcalfe 2002, 55

[21] Baines 1848, 9-13 and 122; Metcalfe 2002, 58-71 and 75-6; Speight 1897, 23-8

[22] Metcalfe 2002, 72-4; Hartley & Ingilby 1953, 65-6

[23] Romney 1984, 110

[24] Ibid 136

[25] Ibid 147-8

[26] Bulmer & Co. 1890, 338

[27] Romney 1984, 102. James VI of Scotland was crowned James I of England in 1603 and thereafter ruled both England and Scotland until his death in 1625.

[28] Baines 1848,11n-12n, citing the authority of G Winn of Askrigg (probably the George Winn who resided at Nappa when Fothergill visited in 1805), who refers to Thomas Metcalfe colourfully as the 'Black Knight of Nappa'.

[29] White 1858, 171-2

[30] Metcalfe 2002, 87

[31] The apron has cast letters reading 'T M | IVLY [July] | 1747'. A more recent graffito alongside reads 'R F 1950'.

[32] Metcalfe 2002, 89

[33] Hartley *et al* 1985. The survival of the Fothergill's diary, intact in 1890, is now restricted to the periods 19-29 June 1751, 4 May 1754 to 24 February 1757, and 28 December 1773 to 11 January 1775 (see p. 6).

[34] Metcalfe 2002, 91

[35] Ibid 10

[36] Romney 1984, 107, 148 and 259. Fothergill documents the passing of this letter to various people in turn, including the poet Maude, and finally to a Dr Townson, but Paul Romney (Fothergill's editor) was unable to trace the original.

[37] Speight 1897, 470

[38] Low 1984, 131-54; Colvin 2008, 118-19

[39] Belwood's drawing (WYAS WYL5013/D/1/17/6) in pen and ink with grey wash does not distinguish between work of different phases. Low, who reproduces this plan (1984, 142), suggests a date of *circa* 1790 for the scheme, while WYAS suggests *circa* 1770.

[40] Hartley *et al* 1985, 152

[41] Romney 1984, 148

[42] Ibid 146-7

[43] Ibid 146

[44] Ibid 147

[45] Baines 1823, 493

[46] Pigot & Co1828-9, 896; Metcalfe 2002, 12

[47] Slater 1855, 7

[48] Bulmer & Co. 1890, 338 & 348

[49] Kelly's 1913, 801

[50] Speight 1897, 469

[51] Romney 1984, 148

[52] Metcalfe 2002, 76-7

[53] The third-floor window is blocked; the existence of the cusped head is probable but not certain.

[54] A simpler explanation might seem to be that the window was of two lights from the first, but the lintel is of two non-matching parts. The right-hand (north) part has chamfer stops for jambs at both ends, the left-hand part only has a chamfer stop to the left.

[55] Romney 1984, 118

[56] Toulmin-Smith 1964, 33, 28 and 27

[57] The views by Buckler (ZMI7 MIC 1496-86, 1816) and Allen (100/SO1/096, 1846) adopt a viewpoint from the south-west in which arguably the chimney would be concealed by the high-end tower. That by Bailey (CR2017/TP732, c 1771) takes a more southerly viewpoint and should certainly show the chimney, but it is relatively crude and it is therefore unclear whether any inference should be drawn from the omission.

[58] The arrangement seems to be recalled in Fothergill's otherwise inexplicable reference to 'a canopied or dom'd ceiling' (Romney 1984, 147). Fothergill seems either to have seen vestigial evidence, or to have been informed of the former existence of the braces (which at the time of his visit had probably been removed within living memory), and interpreted them as implying a coved ceiling.

[59] Whitaker 1823, 406

[60] The soffit of the tie-beam can only be examined manually owing to the present ceiling.

[61] Romney 1984, 147

[62] Ibid 148

[63] In the assembly sequence the main beams were set first, and the sub-beams inserted using a slip-tenon at one end.

[64] The door to the wall-walk is roughly inscribed: 'W. DEBBIDGE. | LONDON | SEP. 21st | 1866'. Debbidge is an uncommon surname, at least in this form, and occurs only once in London in the 1861 census. It is therefore likely that the inscription can be linked with Colchester-born Walter Debbidge, recorded in the census as an 18-year-old annuitant lodging in Kensington, Middlesex. Debbidge arrived in New York in 1870, perhaps as an immigrant since he does not appear in the 1871 census (www.ancestry.co.uk).

[65] The jambs and soffit of the doorway retain traces of what may be an early mineral-based (red ochre) colour.

[66] There are two later graffiti on the lead: 'H. S. 1849' and (less neatly) 'C. E. B. | 1857'. They perhaps suggest the growing popularity of Nappa Hall on tourist itineraries during the 19th century.

[67] Against these suggestions that it is an original feature, the chimney does not reproduce the flagstone corbelling characteristic of the low-end tower at parapet level.

[68] In 1891 it was described as a dairy (Metcalfe 2002, 12)

[69] North of the beam the joists towards the west side of the room have been reinforced to support an inserted first-floor hearth.

[70] Mark Thompson reports that the chimneypiece has been re-set in its present position and was formerly in the room directly above, where a large plaster patch indicates the removal of a chimneypiece in the relatively recent past.

[71] TThe fireplace has been blocked and plastered over, leaving the outline of the most recent chimneypiece visible.

[72] In 1663 James Metcalfe, then occupying the low-end tower and service ranges, was assessed for the Hearth Tax on five hearths. If two are accounted for by the kitchen and brewhouse, both specifically mentioned in the 1657 deed by which James held the property, only three hearths remain to be accounted for in the low-end tower, giving just one per floor. James's widow Anne was also assessed on five hearths in 1674 (Metcalfe 2002, 78).

[73] The timber, which is covered with plaster, extends along the north wall from end to end of the north-east room just below ceiling level, apparently supporting the joists of the first floor, and is supported on two rough corbels. The method of construction is one often associated with inserted floors.

[74] The east cowhouse entrance has been shifted slightly northwards from an earlier position, indicated by a kick-stone and two quoins. The east wall of the cowhouse shows evidence of raising; the west wall has been comprehensively rebuilt.

[75] Metcalfe 2002, 76-7

[76] Romney 1984, 147. Fothergill adds: 'See the arms in Nappa amongst my manuscripts, but there is there a mistake – 3 owls on a bend should be substituted for the three swans'

[77] Dr David Bostwick detects slight similarities with friezes at Westholme Hall (1606) and Gainford Hall (1603), Co. Durham, but notes a lack of Yorkshire parallels (personal communication).

[78] Metcalfe 2002, 76-7

[79] Clifford 1990, 168

[80] Metcalfe 2002, 79-80

[81] Ibid 78

[82] The identification of the rooms here is in agreement with that presented in Metcalfe & Metcalfe 1891 (Metcalfe 2002, 12). In 1674 Thomas Metcalfe was assessed on just five hearths, suggesting that one – perhaps that on the third floor of the tower – was acknowledged as no longer in use.

[83] 'Necessary Reparations and Alterations to my House and the Offices belonging to it', undated and unsigned, but attributed to Thomas Metcalfe: NYCRO, ZOA (MIC 1516/761-764). Thomas Metcalfe's bookishness makes him a likely candidate for the reference in Baines' Yorkshire Directory to a Metcalfe who preserved an inscribed statue of Aurelius Commodus, recovered from the Roman fort at nearby Bainbridge (Baines 1823, 410-11).

[84] In this connection it is worth noting that the document implies that Metcalfe's mother was still alive and resident at Nappa, and that his younger brother Henry (d. 1742) was also living with them.

[85] Metcalfe 2002

[86] National Heritage List for England 1301591

[87] The disposition of the three south-facing windows, as shown by Belwood (WYL5013/D/1/17/6) is not measured precisely, but differentiates between the wide western window and the two narrower windows further east.

[88] Hartley *et al* 1985, 82

[89] Ibid., 82-3. The storm damage to the 'great barn' was noted on 8 October (p 80)

[90] Entries dated 30 August, 1 September and 5-9 September and 29 Oct 1774: Hartley *et al* 1985, 136-7 & 146

[91] Ibid 145

[92] Ibid 98

[93] Ibid 119

[94] Ibid 152

[95] Ibid 157

[96] Low 1984, 143, citing the recollection of the 3rd Baron Grantham (Newby Hall 2960/28, March 1802).

[97] Low 1984, 143 and plate 8

[98] Dates are of publication, not survey.

[99] Whitaker 1823, 406-7

[100] Romney 1984, 146-8

[101] Excursion from Hawes to Middleham', signed 'Edgar', dated 13 April, in Briggs 1820, 193-5

[102] Baines 1848, 10

[103] Whitaker 1823, 406-7

[104] Buckler 1816

[105] Cargo marks are evident on some of the timbers.

[106] Allen 1846. The drawing appears to show a small tree growing out of the parapet gutter on the west side of the porch.

[107] A photograph in the Francis Frith Collection (Frith 21665), dated 1889, shows the window reinstated. Accessed via http://www.francisfrith.com/askrigg/photos/nappa-hall-1889_21665 (25th October 2013)

[108] See for example above the blocked doorway linking the front and rear rooms.

[109] The two buildings were put up after 1856 on map evidence, and before 1889 on the evidence of Frith 21665 (see above), which shows the single-storey range.

[110] Bogg 1920, 193; Whitaker 1823, 406-7. Fothergill's 1805 account suggests that the roof was then open, as he either saw, or was aware of, the braces up to the tie-beams (Hartley *et al* 1985).

[111] Moorhouse 2011, 229, 234

[112] Ibid, footnote to Fig 13.9; Horne & MacLeod 1995

[113] RCHME 1981, 106-8; Taigel & Williamson1993, 36-7

[114] Romney 1984, 148; Moorhouse 2011, 234

[115] Taigel & Williamson 1993, 35-42

[116] RCHME 1975, 105, fig 112

[117] Everson *et al* 1991, 70

[118] RCHME 1936, 154

[119] RCHME 1979, 72-3

[120] Pearson *et al* 2003

[121] Moorhouse 2011, 234

[122] Wright 1985, 181. An untitled map of Askrigg Common, undated, but possibly drawn in the late 17th century, shows the Askrigg-Carperby road as the more complete route, with a short link running south to the Hall, and no indication of the lane continuing further south to the Askrigg-Woodhall road (ZOAA4C).

[123] Low 1984, 142

[124] Romney 1984, 148; Low 1984, 142

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APPENDIX: ROOM NAMES

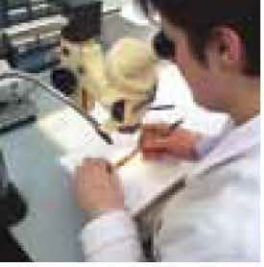
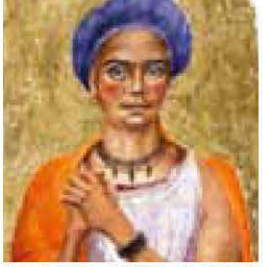
The following table presents the principal references to room names in the domestic portion of Nappa Hall.

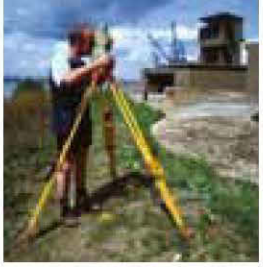
M = middle; N = north; S = south

Location	Floor	1657-71 [1] = 1657 [2] = 1671	c1722 (no. of windows in memorandum)	1805	1891-1913* [1] = 1891 [2] = 1913	Preferred name
Service range	GF S	Brewhouse[1]	Brewhouse		Kitchen	Brewhouse
	GF N	Kitching[1]	Kitchin			Kitchen
	GF E	Pantry[1]				Pantry
	GF E	Larder[1]				
	1F S	Room over brewhouse[1]				
	1F N	Room over Kitching[1]				
	1F N	Rooms over larder & pantry[1]				
Low-end tower	GF S	East Tower[1]	Cellar[1]		Dairy[1] Former Buttery[2]	
	GF N		[Dining] Parlour[2]		Dining Room[2] Former Kitchen[1]	Parlour
	1F S		'My own room'[1], formerly Nursery		Chambers[1]	Blue Room
	1F M					
	1F N		'My mother's room'[2]			Yellow Chamber
	2F S		Yellow chamber[1]			
	2F M		Matted chamber[2]			Matted Chamber
	2F N		Closet			Closet
	2F N		Servant's room[1]			Servant's room
Hall range	GF	Hall house[2]	Hall	Dining Room	Hall	Hall

	1F S		'My poor Brother' room over the entry[1]		Gallery[1] Minstrels' Gallery[2]	Bedroom over cross-passage
	1F N		Servant's room over the entry[1]			Servant's room over cross-passage
High-end tower	GF S	Parlour[2]		Turf or peat house	Great Parlour or Solar	Great parlour
	GF N	? Kitchen; Buttery & Milk House[2]				Inner room
	1F S	Parlour chamber[2]				Great chamber
	1F N	Kitchen chamber[2]				Inner room
	2F S	Green Chamber[2]				
	2F N	Wardrobe Chamber[2]				Inner room
	3F					

* The 1891 and 1913 room names are more often interpretative than contemporary.



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ENGLISH HERITAGE

ISSN 2046-9799 (Print)
ISSN 2046-9802 (Online)