

STANMORE PARK: FROM MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL RIBBON DEVELOPMENT TO COUNTRY HOUSE AND ESTATE

Tim Carew and Ken Sabel

With contributions by N Branch, A Vaughan-Williams and F Meddens

SUMMARY

An archaeological excavation at Stanmore Park (centred on National Grid Reference TQ 1670 9200), in north-west London, provided an opportunity to record the remains of the 18th-century country house, designed by the prestigious architects Vardy and Chambers, as well as its predecessors and its subsequent development. In 1938 it was demolished down to the height of the basements. Some residual Roman ceramic building material was found, suggesting nearby Roman activity, but the earliest archaeological features were medieval. While the medieval remains had been truncated by later building, enough was left to be able to infer ribbon development along the main east-west road out of the village of Stanmore, the properties being defined by ditches. The deposition dates of associated artefactual material were from the 12th to the 14th centuries, but after the mid-14th century there was a break in occupation of about 150 years.

Reoccupation occurred in the late medieval period, with a number of buildings dated from then until the mid-18th century. These appear to have been comfortable but modest. One had a traditional medieval ground plan, with solar, hall, and a service end. The road was now defined by a ditch, and subsequently by a wall, and development was again seen alongside it, with some of the medieval boundaries continuing in use.

A marked step upwards in the social status of the site occupants was seen in the late 17th century to very early 18th century, when a small classical country house was built. This structure was totally rebuilt into a very much larger country

house, in 1763–c.1770. This was a classical double pile, nine bays wide with a central front portico. It had two main storeys, a basement, and an attic. The house shows that its architect, Vardy, must have been more aware of contemporary fashionable trends than he is generally given credit for. Documentary sources indicate that the site was amalgamated into a single property between 1729 and 1763 through piecemeal purchase by the banker Andrew Drummond and his son John. This is confirmed by the archaeological evidence, as additions to the older properties ceased and some of them were demolished. The park landscaping was probably undertaken by Lancelot Brown (generally known as ‘Capability’ Brown).

The facilities, comfort, and prestige of the country house and its park were further enhanced up to the early 19th century, by some remodelling but principally by the construction of additions to the service complex. Around 1800 land was acquired to enable the road to be diverted to its present course along the north side of St John’s church. In 1938 it became an RAF base.

INTRODUCTION

In 1997 the RAF closed its base at Stanmore Park, and the process of converting the site to residential use was initiated. Stanmore is about 20km north-west of the centre of London, and Stanmore Park is 500m to the west of the modern centre of Stanmore, now within the London Borough of Harrow (Fig 1). The RAF’s association with Stanmore Park

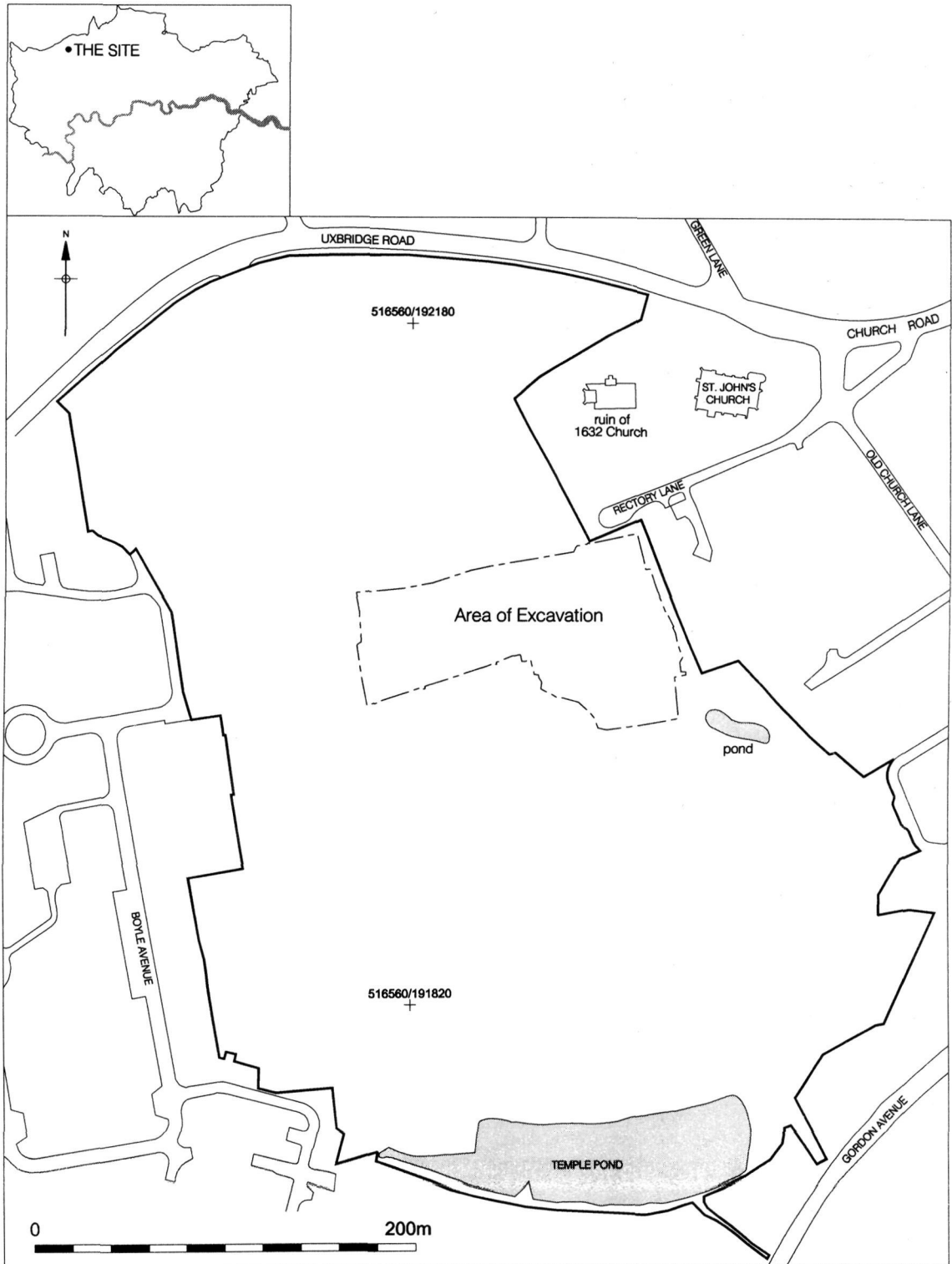


Fig 1. Site location and excavation area

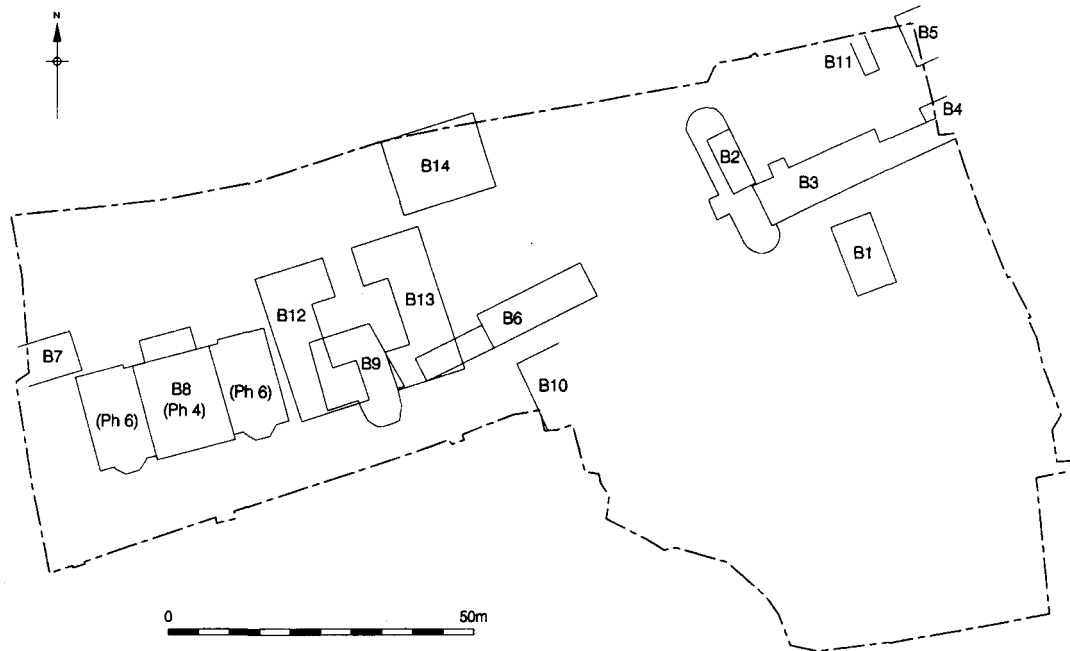


Fig 2. Building locations

began in 1938, when they bought it and demolished all the existing buildings in order to build a barrage balloon hangar and other buildings, as part of the preparations for war. The principal building demolished was the 18th-century country house.

Because of the known presence of this building in Stanmore Park, and the proximity of the site to the historic core of Stanmore, archaeological investigations were required before the land was redeveloped by Laing Homes, on whose behalf Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd undertook an evaluation in April 2000, followed up by an open area excavation in part of the site between August and November 2000. A watching brief continued until December of that year. Standing building recording of the noteworthy RAF structures had been done by CgMs Consulting at an earlier stage (Lowe 2000).

Stanmore Park lies on an extensive area of London Clay. There is a moderate slope across the site down to the south-west, and the level of the clay within the area of excavation was between 82m and 83.5m OD. The excavation covered about 1.1 hectares and measured 160m east-west, and between 50 and 100m north-south, and was adjacent to the church and churchyard of St John's, including the ruin of the 17th-century church. It included the footprint of the 18th-century country house, most

of its ancillary buildings, and the eastern side of the site, towards the core of Stanmore, which had not been available for evaluation earlier due to standing buildings (Fig 2). Standing building, building material, and dating expertise was incorporated into the project from the start.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Stanmore Park is within the parish of Great Stanmore within the Gore Hundred. The Domesday Book records that in the late Saxon period nine and a half hides of land in Stanmore were granted by Offa to St Albans and held by Algar, although no church is recorded (VCH 1976). Great and Little Stanmore are believed to be pre-Conquest names, although the first documentary reference to the villages by name occurred in 1354. It is suggested that within Great and Little Stanmore a low density dispersed settlement pattern prevailed at the time of the Domesday survey (*ibid*). The site formed part of the 'Hither Field' of the Manor of Great Stanmore, which was acquired by the monks of St Bartholomew's Priory in London during the medieval period. Between 1536 and 1550 the land passed between private ownership and the Crown. In 1550

one of the freeholders was murdered and the land reverted to the Crown, which held it until 1713, leasing it to a series of tenants until the freehold was bought by the Earl of Caernarfon, the First Duke of Chandos.

The principal focus of medieval Stanmore was around St Mary's church, 900m to the south of the centre of present Stanmore (VCH 1976). By 1754 this location was marked only by the moat of the manor house, and the settlement had moved to near its present position. At that date the new manor house, the rectory, and St John's church stood around the intersection of Old Church Lane and Green Lane, with many of the other houses along the road to the east of this, in the present centre of Stanmore (Rocque 1754). A number of post-medieval buildings have been recorded along Old Church Lane, just to the east of Stanmore Park, but the most significant standing building is the original church of St John's. This was built in 1632 and remained in use until 1849 when it was stripped and another church built within the same churchyard, leaving the older structure as a ruin.

In 1729 Andrew Drummond was admitted to a copyhold tenement called Hodgkins, which he had bought from John Shepherd, a London merchant (Thompson 1992). He was a Scot who came to London between 1707 and 1712 and founded Drummond's Bank at Charing Cross. The exact boundaries of Hodgkins are not clear, but evidence from the manorial court rolls and later Poor Rate book suggests that at this time approximately the western half of the area archaeologically excavated was part of Hodgkins, while the eastern half was within a property called Goodalls (*ibid*). The manorial records show that Drummond was very active in acquiring contiguous properties for a number of years before he built his country house, and at his death in 1769 he was seised of at least 56 acres of copyhold land, including three of the manor's head tenements. Goodalls was bought by a James Dalton in 1752, but a strip of it was sold to Drummond in 1763 in order for him to build stables and offices for his new house, finally bringing the whole of the excavated site into one property.

The Drummond family accounts inform us that the main building work to create the country house was done between 1763 and c.1770 (Royal Bank of Scotland, hereafter abbreviated to RBS: DR/427). The payments for the house itself were mostly handled by Andrew's son John (*ibid*), who may have been the main motivating force behind the work, especially as his father was by this time in his seventies. Drummond's bank account ledger also shows some building work in 1736, but this work appears

to have been relatively minor compared with that of 1763 to c.1770.

The timing of these two building operations is significant, and Drummond seems to have been in no hurry to build his new country house. There was a major economic slump from the late 1730s until 1748 which meant that very few houses were built during that period, and a second slow down in country house building between 1756 and 1763, for the duration of the Seven Years War, partly resulting from an increase in land tax that in turn led to an increase in interest rates (Worsley 1995, 223–6). When the war ended there was a 'sudden and dramatic' building boom (*ibid*). Seen in its context, the rise in interest rates would to some extent have protected the Drummonds' banking income so that they would not have been as badly affected as those dependent entirely on their income from land. They also did not need to borrow money to finance the work. Andrew and John Drummond were therefore in a position to embark on designing the country house from 1760, when they employed the architect John Vardy to do this (RBS: DR/427/40, f.123).

This employment continued until Vardy's death in 1765, when, as the house was not finished, the architect William Chambers was employed for its completion. Chambers' work at the house continued until at least 1770, with John Drummond paying him £600 in 1771 (RBS: DR/427/62, f.195). All contemporary architectural plans or other drawings are believed to have been lost. Both Vardy and Chambers were significant architects. Chambers held the then newly created post of Architect of the King's Works jointly with his rival Robert Adam from 1761; this was the most prestigious architectural appointment in the land, and Chambers was, and is, considered more accomplished than Vardy. Vardy was a Clerk of the King's Works, and had worked on Horse Guards and designed much of Spencer House in St James's (Pearce 2001).

Small parcels of land were added to the estate by Andrew's son, John. He only outlived his father by five years, dying in 1774, and the estate was left to his son George, who was then a minor. George was 33 or 34 when he died in 1789 (RBS: DR/321, 103), so he did not come of age until 1776 or 1777. The executors' accounts for 1777 register many payments to George, indicating that he relied on them for his income (RBS: DR/427/75, 636).

George also added land to the estate, and was alleged in the accounts to have been profligate in his expenditure (RBS: DR/321, 101). They state:

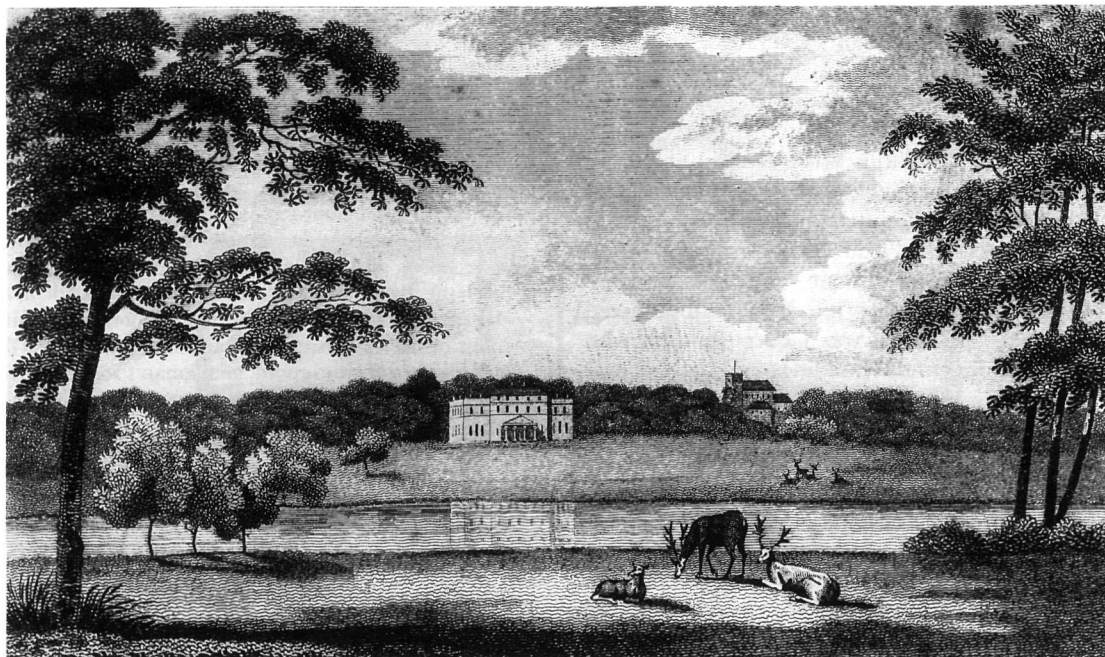


Fig 3. An 1806 print of the park and rear of the country house, reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group

‘[he] had particularly indulged in improvement buildings and alterations, to an extensive degree; and peculiarly partial to Stanmore he had expended a considerable fortune in the execution of his plans for the beautifying and improving of that estate’. They also state that ‘[he] formed the South Park at the back of the House out of mere’ (RBS: DR/321, 103 and 107). At his death in 1789 there was building work on the house that was unfinished (RBS: DR/321, 103–4).

George Drummond’s son, George Harley Drummond, inherited the property in 1789, also as a minor, and the estate was in financial crisis between then and 1793 (RBS: DR/321, 103 and 106). At that date the death of George’s wife released a legacy to George Harley from the Duke of St Albans. This enabled the trustees, who handled George Harley’s affairs until he came of age in 1804, to settle George’s bills, amounting to ‘some thousands’ of pounds. The trustees ‘were certainly not inattentive to the improvements — particularly as to Stanmore’. They purchased ‘the land of Lord Temple and thus secured to the son the benefit of the father’s taste and improvements. This cost £7000. They also purchased different parcels of land at Stanmore and Harrow Weald now forming part of the farms for about £5000’ (RBS: DR/321,

107–8). They seem to have been vigorous in maintaining and expanding the estate, despite the fact that there was a national economic crisis in the 1790s, or possibly exploiting the opportunities this presented. George Harley continued with this activity after he came of age.

Who was employed to landscape the park, and when, is not explicit in the accounts, but a print of 1806 shows it had been done by then (Fig 3). Repton carried out some work and mentioned ‘Capability’ Brown’s earlier involvement (Turner 1999, 188). Brown died in 1783 and Repton’s career commenced soon after this. Chambers was a known critic of Brown’s (Fleming *et al* 1966, 73) and is unlikely to have collaborated with him during his period as the Drummonds’ architect at Stanmore. The reference in the accounts to George creating the ‘South Park’ makes it probable that much of the landscaping was done between 1774 and 1789.

Another member of the family, and one of the executors of John’s estate, Robert Drummond, paid Brown £11,200 between 1775 and 1780 (RBS: DR/427/84, f.488). A print of 1780 shows that Robert lived at Cadland Park in Hampshire at the time (RBS, DR/201/10) and it is highly likely, considering that the print was commissioned to show that house in its landscaped park, that Brown

had undertaken work there. This was a very large payment, considerably higher than those attributed to Brown's other clients, many of whom were peers and owned larger estates (although many payments into the account were unattributed cash payments). It may have been for landscaping work in Stanmore Park as well, which would mean Brown landscaped the estate while the family finances were controlled by John's executors, from 1774 probably up to George's majority in 1776 or 1777. This to some extent conflicts with the information in the accounts that state that it was George himself who spent large sums on the buildings and park, but as the spending appears to have continued after his majority this may be splitting hairs.

From the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries a number of gentlemen's residences were built or enlarged in the parish of Great Stanmore. The village, being on a slope and having fine parkland, was considered attractive and genteel. The original line of the main road ran south of the churchyard, and continued west-south-west, across the site, and was called Colliers Lane (VCH 1976). Land purchases enabled the Drummonds around 1800 to divert the road to the present Uxbridge Road, skirting the north side of the church. By 1807 the Drummonds' private property at Stanmore had grown to approximately 1,600 acres, excluding land rented from New College Oxford (RBS: DR/321, 80). An Act of Parliament in 1813 covered the enclosure of Great Stanmore (VCH 1976).

In 1815 the country house was rented out by the Drummond family to Lady Aylesford and subsequently to Lord Castlereagh. In 1838 the Drummonds held 408 acres in Great Stanmore, twice as much as the next largest landowner, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. On 2 August 1839 George Harley Drummond sold the country house by auction to the Marquis of Abercorn, who had his own seat at Bentley Priory. The specification of the lot comprised: Stanmore Park; Mansion; Pleasure Grounds; Kitchen Garden; Home or Park Farm; Residence called Hill House; Sundry cottages and nursery ground, containing in whole 617 acres.

The country house was described as a:

capital and substantial building of chaste elevation, and the main fronts composed in imitation of stone and approached from the road by a neat lodge, with a handsome carriage drive, skirted by luxuriant plantations, and the house is entered from under an Ionic portico containing:

On the upper floor — nine sleeping apartments, dressing rooms and closets.

On the principal or one pair floor — a spacious bed room, boudoir and dressing room, en suite, and two other large bed rooms communicating with a passage or corridor, in which is a water closet. Also two other bed rooms, morning room and a dressing room in front of the house, and at the rear are four other bed rooms and a dressing room, and another water closet.

On the ground floor — a spacious vestibule or hall paved with marble, inner hall and noble stone staircase; saloon and breakfast room 40ft by 16ft, opening onto the lawn, passing under an Ionic portico; an elegant drawing room 28ft by 21ft; and a capital dining room of like dimensions, a handsome library 25ft by 21ft, all en suite; anti room, gentleman's room, billiard room, bath room and water closet.

The basement floor — butlers pantries, housekeepers room, still room, larder, sitting room, water closet and several capital wine, beer and ale cellars and other apartments. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

Stanmore was sold again in 1848, to George Carr Glyn, and again in 1884. At this date the agents, Daniel Smith, Son and Oakley, prepared floor plans of the main buildings, which survive (Fig 4), and described the site as follows:

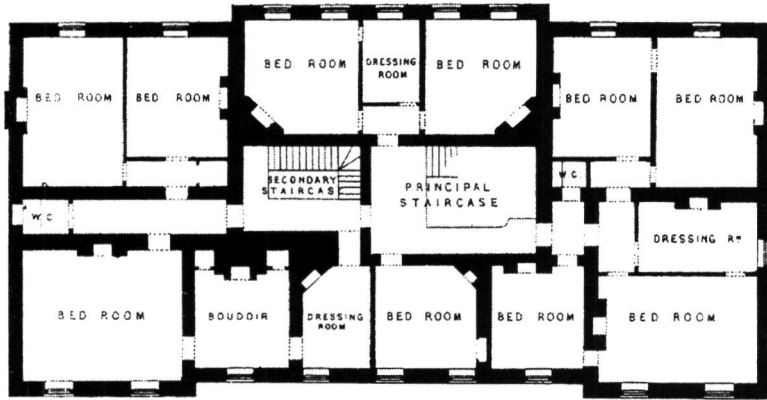
A large classic family mansion with well arranged pleasure grounds, walled and other gardens, containing various glass houses, stabling and carriage houses, occupying a sheltered and delightful position in its richly timbered park which contains several small lakes or ornamental fish ponds, embracing an area of about 57 acres, very handsomely timbered, interspersed with belts of ornamental woodland and plantation, affording delightful walks and commanding a most extensive and delightful prospect in all directions.

The site was bought by Mr Frederick Gordon who leased it out as a boys' school from this time until 1937. An abortive attempt to sell it was also made in 1909 and similar florid descriptions are found in these sale particulars, with a detailed schedule of the buildings.

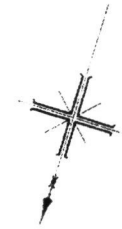
The site was occupied in turn by the Royal Auxiliary Air Force No 3 Balloon Centre, Bomber Command HQ, and groups of Transport and Fighter Commands. After the War, Stanmore Park continued to be used as a training camp. In 1971 it was given over to Strike Command No 11 (Fighter) Group.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

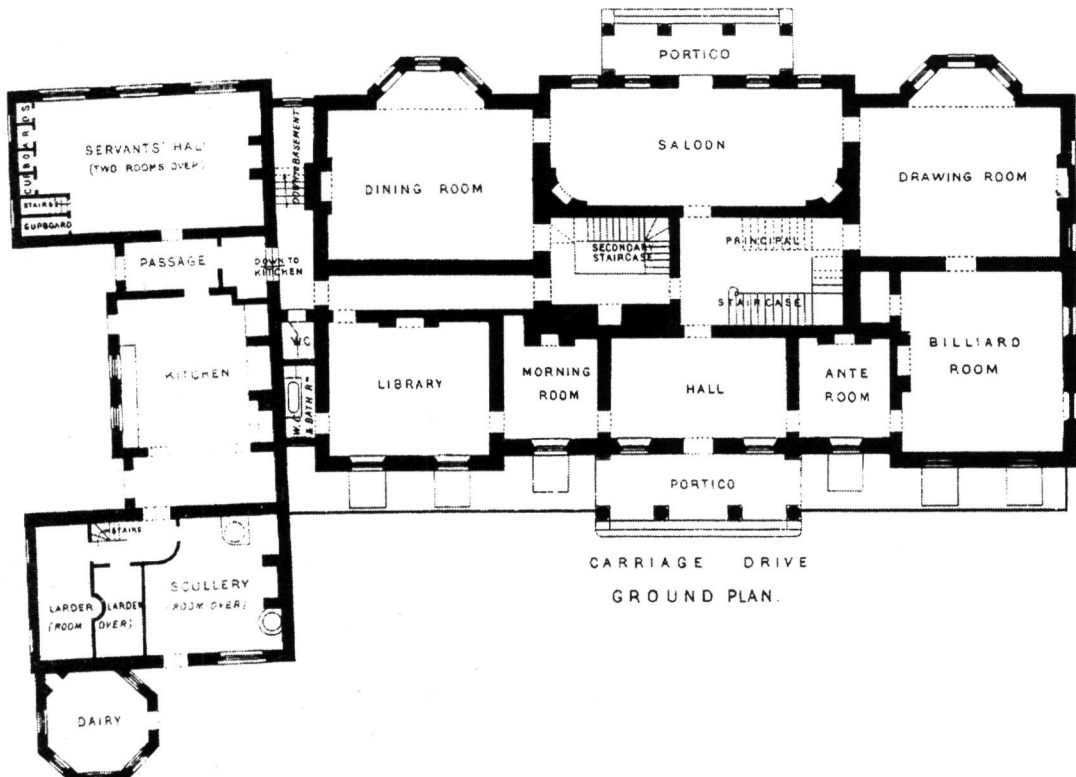
All parts of the excavated area were subject to severe horizontal truncation of archaeological deposits under the site's RAF ownership. In some



1ST FLOOR PLAN.



THE PARK FRONT.



CARRIAGE DRIVE
GROUND PLAN.

Fig 4. The plan of the ground and first floors of the country house and part of the service complex in 1884

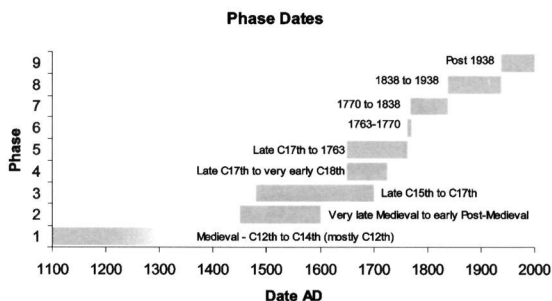


Fig 5. Phase date ranges

places this was almost total, *eg* in the centre of the excavated area. However, elsewhere survival was better, *eg* towards the north-east corner of the excavation, and in the areas around the country house.

Fig 5 shows the date ranges for the phases, based principally on artefact and building material dating. There is considerable overlap in the date ranges for Phase 2 to Phase 5.

Roman artefacts

No features were found on site dating before the medieval period, but there was some Roman ceramic building material, dated AD 55–200. This suggests that there was either occupation nearby, or that Roman materials were being reused. The fact that the Roman ceramic building material was especially frequent within the Phase 1 features, compared to later phases, suggests that it represents reuse rather than residuality. This material may have been brought directly from the brick and tile kiln at Brockley Hill or another local source.

Phase 1: 12th century to 14th century

A number of features had fills with pottery dating to the 12th to 13th centuries, with deposition dates leaning more towards the 12th century. The earliest features contained South Hertfordshire greyware (12th–13th centuries) and some shellyware. In two cases the date range extended into the 14th century. The main early features were a building, [B1], three north-west to south-east ditches, and two ponds. The Phase 1 features were in the north-east corner of the excavated area (with one small exception). Fig 6 shows an interpretation of the layout of the site during Phase 1.

The remains of [B1] were beam slots and post-holes indicating the positions of two walls set at right angles, and a posthole in a third wall. The north-west wall was represented by a beam slot and a posthole, separated by a possible door, while the south-west wall was represented by a beam slot and two postholes, one within another beam slot that ran off to the west. These formed a simple rectangular building measuring at least 12.5m by 6.5m. The three north-west to south-east ditches were probably boundary ditches or combined boundary and drainage ditches, about 18m and 11m apart (boundaries 'B', 'C', and 'D' in Fig 6). Their orientation was down the natural slope. Because of the clay subsoil the area would have needed draining if it was to be used for occupation.

Plant macrofossils indicate an environment that was both damp and marginal, with open woodland, shrubland, and hedgerows growing in close proximity to the ditches and ponds (Branch & Vaughan-Williams 2002). These conditions persisted through to at least Phase 3, with bramble occurring frequently in the samples, and water flea eggs, indicating open freshwater habitats, present in some of them. Evidence for cultivation was slight. Conditions may have been different during the gap between Phases 1 and 2 (see below). The wetness of the land on and around the site is highlighted by the reference to the 'mere' that pre-dated the landscaping of the 'South Park' during Phase 7.

It may well be that there were other medieval buildings in the north-east corner of the site, especially near the suggested road (see below), but that these were fully truncated by later activity. The division of the area into at least three properties also implies that there would have been more than one building: [B1] fits neatly along the side of one property, but no matching structure was found within the others. [B1] was not necessarily even the principal building on its plot, later buildings were situated more to the north-west.

The Phase 1 features were found in areas that had not suffered truncation by later buildings. Many of the Phase 1 features were shallow, especially those making up Building [B1], and similar features in the area to the north of [B1] would not have survived the post-medieval activity and RAF truncation. Two features within this area did survive, because of their greater depth, and are interpreted as ponds. This is more tentative for the smaller kidney shaped feature, 6m by 2m and 1m deep, which could have been a large pit with some other function, such as clay extraction. The larger pond, also kidney shaped, was 12m by 6m and 0.6m

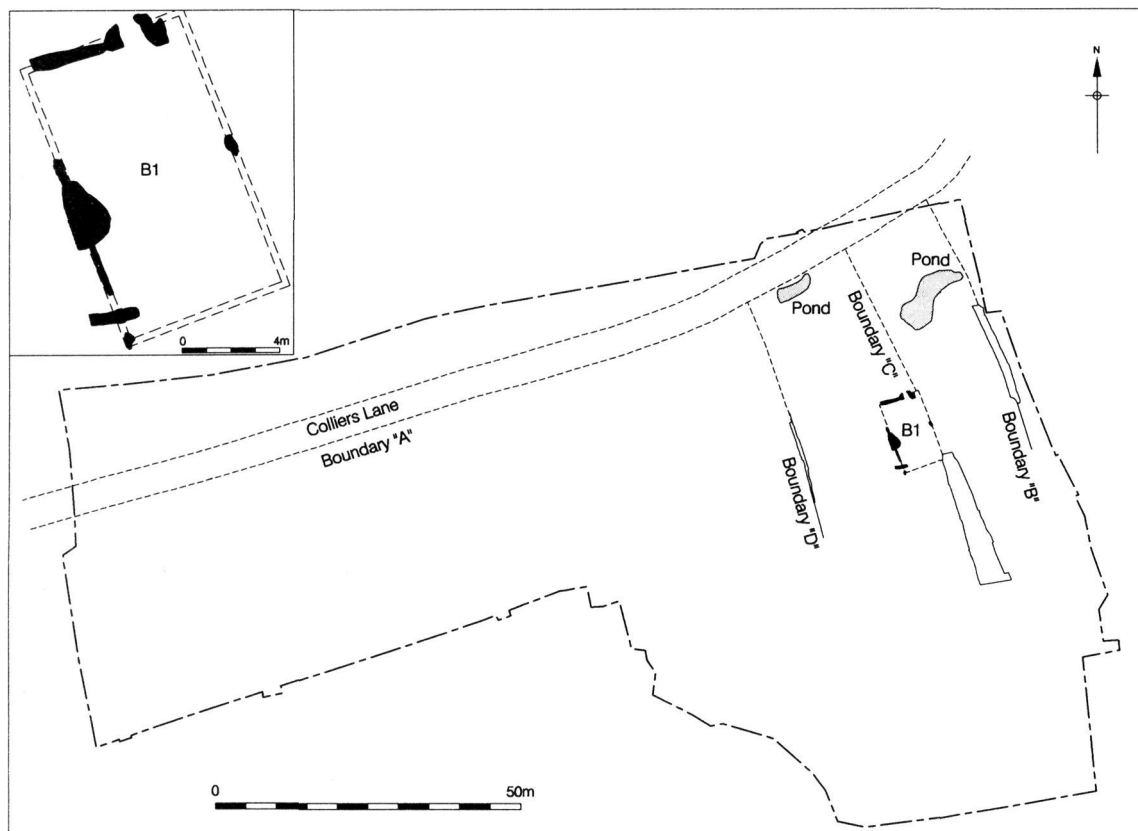


Fig 6. Phase 1: interpretation of site layout (inset: [B1])

deep. Its lower fill, only present on the north side of the excavated slot, was very gravelly and is interpreted as metalling around that side of the pond, which eroded into it while the metalled surface was in use. Insufficient pottery was recovered from it to be confident that it was deposited in Phase 1, but on balance this is the preferred conclusion. The upper fill was deposited by silting, and contained pottery dating to Phase 2, so the feature was open for a considerable period, consistent with it being a pond.

During the gap between Phases 1 and 2 a layer of soil up to 0.25m thick formed in the north-eastern part of the excavation as a result of a change of use to agricultural or horticultural activity.

Phase 2: very late medieval to early post-medieval

The main features of Phase 2 were a ditch and a building, [B2] (Fig 7). The ditch ran east–west and

was 2.5m wide, 0.35m deep, and over 45m long, but the finds density in its fills was very low, with no pot recovered, and their dating is imprecise — the ditch is included in Phase 2 partly because the eastern end of the ditch and [B2] respected each other's position. This ditch had two smaller recuts, suggesting a reasonably long life, but again with little cultural material.

It is interpreted as the ditch along the south side of Colliers Lane, marking boundary 'A' in Fig 7. No metalled surface or other direct evidence for Colliers Lane was found, but the documentary sources show that it was approximately on the north side of the excavation, and there is indirect evidence that it was on the north side of this ditch. No buildings or other features were found within this area predating Phase 7, when the road was moved, and all the later buildings and property boundaries, up to Phase 7, had positions and alignments that would be consistent with the road being there. This includes the slightly curved boundary wall that replaced or supplemented the roadside ditch in Phase 3 (see below).

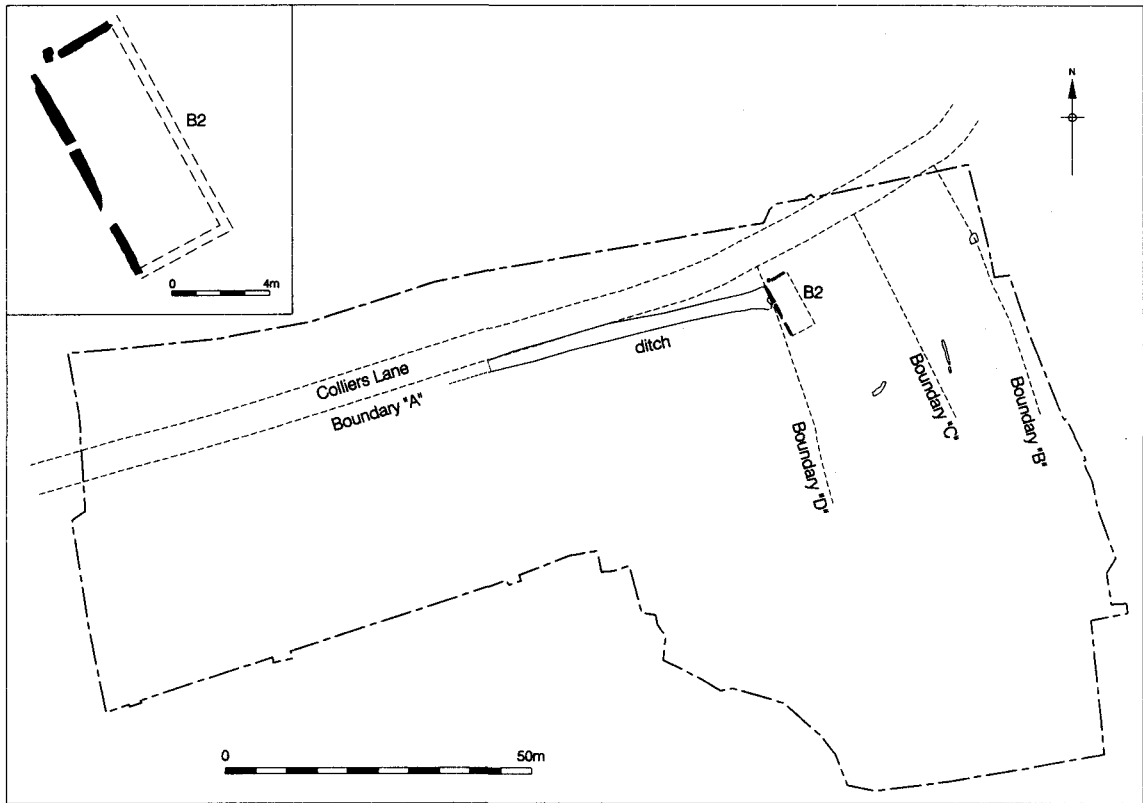


Fig 7. Phase 2: interpretation of site layout (inset: [B2])

The position of major roads tends to be long lasting and the presence of this road can probably be inferred back to Phase 1, as [B1] and the Phase 1 boundary ditches ('B', 'C', and 'D') were on an orientation that was consistent with it, and the smaller pond, or large pit, in Phase 1 seems to have respected it. In addition, it is suggested below that there was continuity of the boundaries between the properties in Phase 1 and Phases 2–5, and, if so, it is reasonable to suppose continuity of the road as well.

Building [B2] (Table 1) consisted of traces of a timber framed structure, aligned north-west to south-east. It fitted into the same property as [B1], although it would not have been a direct replacement. It was represented by the very bottoms of the plinths of two walls, mostly of tile, but with a single brick fragment that may be a later repair. Other repairs were seen in the south-west wall, suggesting some longevity. The tile gives a relatively wide date range for the building: very late medieval to early post-medieval. Building [B2] overlay the soil that formed between Phases 1 and 2, and is

likely therefore to represent the re-expansion of the village onto the site.

Four other small cut features belong to this phase, but it is unclear what activities they represent.

Phase 3: late 15th century to 17th century

Phase 3 provides evidence for buildings, walls, and other features that indicate the layout of much of the site, with a number of properties forming a ribbon development along Colliers Lane (Fig 8). The evidence for the boundary along the south side of Colliers Lane becomes more certain from Phase 3, as a number of masonry fragments show that it was now marked by a wall for at least 135m. This either replaced or complemented the Phase 2 ditch.

Building [B3] (Fig 9) was a very late medieval to early post-medieval brick building with an internal floor plan divided into three rooms, in accordance with the traditional medieval house plan. This was dated by its brick type, as were the other Phase 3

Table 1. Summary of very late medieval and post-medieval buildings predating the country house (excluding [B8] during Phase 4)

Build	Dimensions	Phase	Comments
[B2]	Timber-framed 10m × 4m (min)	2	Fragmentary remains, no internal layout.
[B3]	Brick 15m × 6m + 6.5m × 4m (to SE) + 26m × 5.5m (to SW) + 16m × 4m (to NE)	3 5 8 8	Internal layout of Phase 3 house survived (see text).
[B4]	Brick 2.5m × 2m (min) 4m × 3m (min)	3 5	Small ancillary of [B5].
[B5]	Brick 7m × 2m (min)	3	Main building within one property, with [B4] and [B11] as ancillaries. Fronted onto Colliers Lane. No internal layout.
[B6]	Brick & timber-framed 18m × 6m (min) + 12m × 4m (to SW) + 9m × ?4m (min to SW) 11m × 4m (to SE)	3 3 3 8	Part furthest to the SW probably separate structure from rest of [B6]. No internal layout.
[B7]	Brick 8m × 6m (min)	3, 5	Fronted onto Colliers Lane. Substantial chimney and one internal wall.
[B9]	Brick ?	5	Probably two buildings on either side of a wall. Position of external walls of building(s) not clear. Chimney and several external/internal walls.
[B10]	Brick 8m × 4m (min)	5	Ancillary of [B6].
[B11]	Brick 6m × 2.5m	5	Half-basemented, fronted onto Colliers Lane. Ancillary of [B5].

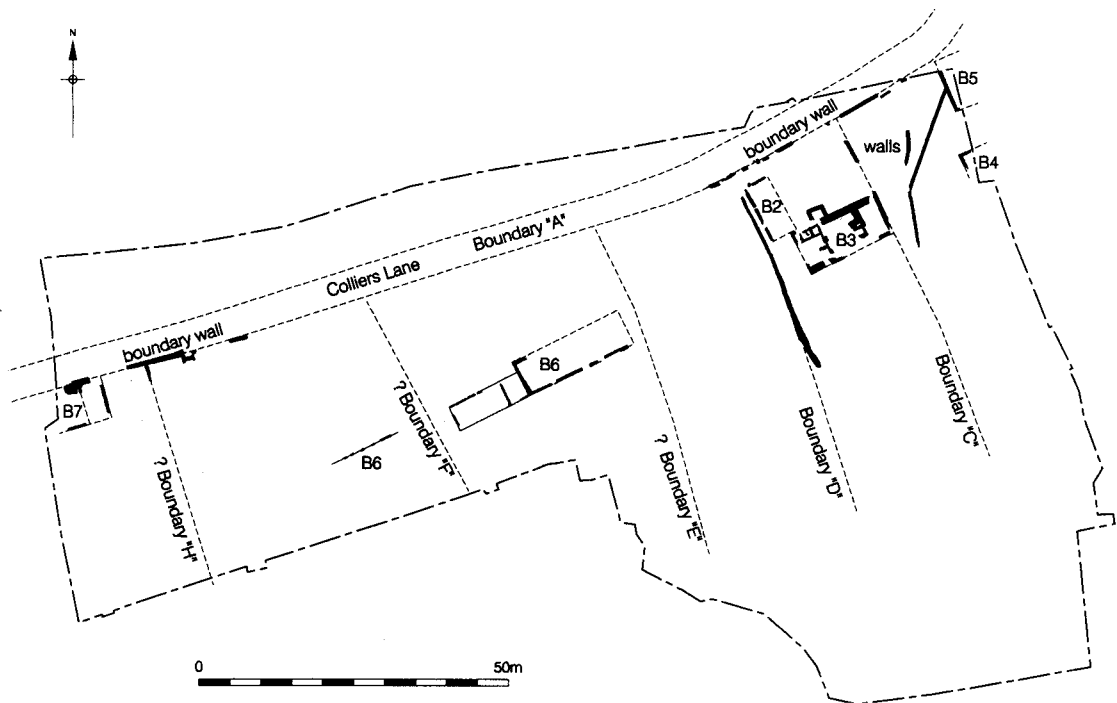


Fig 8. Phase 3: interpretation of site layout

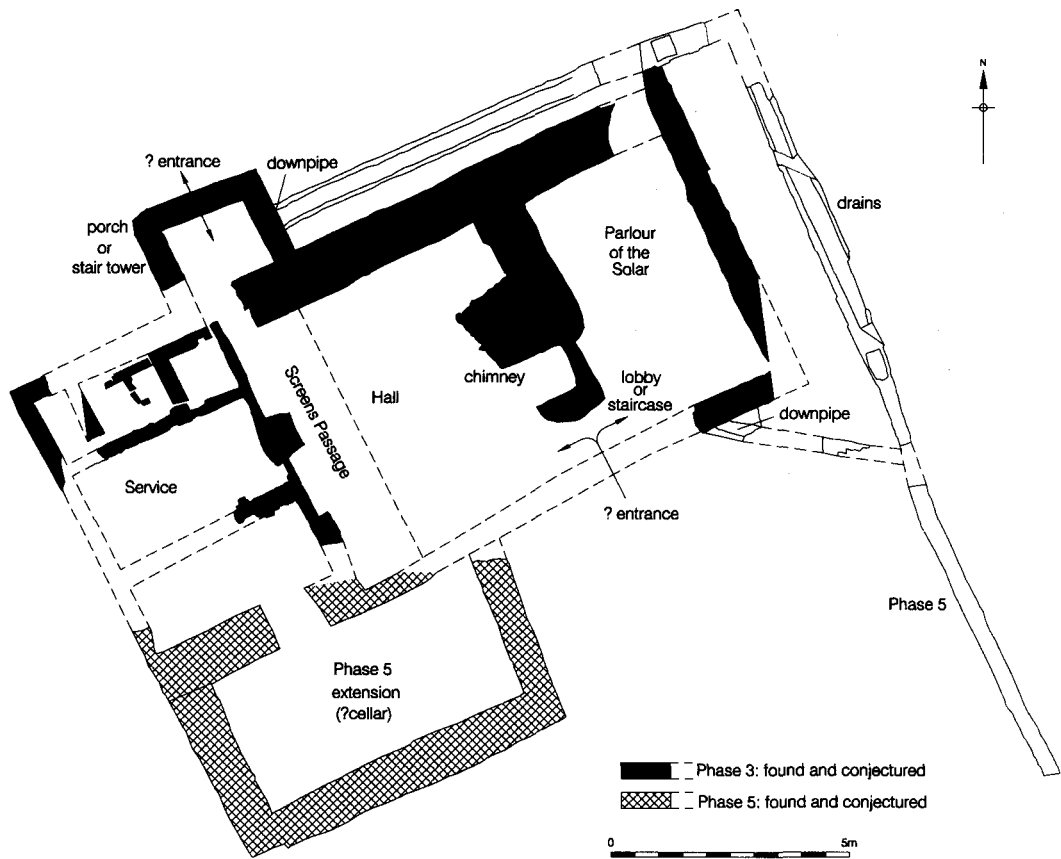


Fig 9. Phases 3 and 5: Building [B3] — floor plan interpretations

buildings. The service functions were housed in the building's south-westernmost 4m. Below the service room or rooms there was a cellar for storage. In the middle of the building, taking up 6m of its length, was the hall, and at its north-east end was probably the ground floor parlour of the solar, taking up the remaining 4.5m of the building's length. Between the hall and the solar a substantial spread of brickwork showed where there had been a chimney.

Outside the main building, there was a 2.5m square brick structure next to the west corner of the hall. To the south-east of the chimney the dividing wall between the hall and the solar returned to the south-west, creating a small area between this return and the external wall, at the east corner of the hall. The preferred interpretation is that the external brick structure was a porch, so that the entrance was in the standard position for the traditional house plan of the period, at the service (or low) end of the hall, away from the chimney. This

would have led into a screens passage at this end of the hall. The area at its east corner may have housed a staircase. It is also possible that the entrance was next to the east corner of the hall, making the area there a lobby, which allowed access to the hall, on turning left, or to the solar, on turning right. The external structure would then represent a stair tower.¹ The upper floor would have housed the Great Chamber. The hall was probably not open to the roof as a continuous upper floor was an increasingly common feature of post-medieval houses.

Any interpretation of the layout and functioning of [B3] as a house depends to some extent on whether [B2] was still standing. If so, together they form a substantial complex, if not [B3] alone was of more modest size, although it was by no means the residence of an 'average' householder. There was no stratigraphic evidence to resolve this, but the positions of the two buildings suggest that they stood contemporaneously, as they would then have

formed two ranges of a complex set at right angles, meeting at their corners.

An L-shaped wall shows the position of the west corner of Building [B4] during this phase. Identification of what type of structure this was is uncertain; the wall was truncated to the south-east by later rebuilding, and extended beyond the limit of excavation to the east. Although the Phase 3 remains were truncated, it is clear that it was a small building of about 2.5–3m in width, as the remains did not extend to the south beyond the truncation.

As with [B4], only part of Building [B5] was found within the area of excavation. It is interpreted as a brick house fronting onto Colliers Lane. A series of drains ran south-west and then south from it, down slope. It may have been the main building within one property, with [B4] (and subsequently [B11]) as ancillaries, and with drains that ran within the property to the drainage associated with its south-west boundary. Two walls in this area did not appear to be part of buildings. One could well have been part of the south-west boundary for the property, as it was approximately on the line of the Phase 1 boundary ditch. The other was curved and may have been a sub-division of the property.

The main part of [B6] was a brick building, which had a timber framed addition, extending to the south-west, shown by the remains of its masonry plinths. Another wall extended discontinuously for a further 19m south-west on the same line, making [B6] either a substantial structure if this represents one side of another addition, or more likely two separate structures which were built contemporaneously. The fact that a boundary wall was built at right angles between the two parts suggests the latter may be correct, although the wall belongs to Phase 5 (see below), so this depends on boundary 'F' being older than the wall.

Further west again, Building [B7] dates from the 16th to 17th centuries, and fronted onto Colliers Lane. It was brick built and had a substantial chimney on its north side; the remains of one internal wall also survived. The existence of buildings along the north side of Colliers Lane is suggested by the presence of drains to the north of [B6], which would have served properties there.

The one cut feature in this phase was a recut of the ditch marking property boundary 'D', although towards its south end the recut diverged somewhat from the original Phase 1 ditch.

During the late 16th to late 17th century the traditional medieval house plan was being superseded by new, more symmetrical plan forms that increasingly displayed the influence of classical

ideas. If [B3] was built in the later years covered by Phase 3 its layout would imply a low to middle status vernacular building. If it was built earlier in the period it may have been more fashionable, although its size, even including [B2], would not indicate a status above that of the lower gentry.

Phase 4: late 17th century to very early 18th century

During Phase 4 there is the first evidence for a fashionable country house, Building [B8] (Fig 10). This house marks a sharp increase in the status of the site, even though it was a much smaller structure than it was to become later. Evidence of any earlier buildings at this location is likely to have been truncated by its substantial foundations.

This house, dated by its brick type and architectural features, was built with thin dull red bricks with sunken top margins and uneven bases, indicative of a pre-*c.*1700 date. The original external brickwork survived on the south wall, where there were red brick dressings on the quoins and openings, a characteristic of most late 17th- to early 18th-century houses around London. The internal brickwork is characterised by the absence of bonding timbers, which were more a facet of later, Georgian, building. A timber in the west wall of Room 14 very likely represents the internal sill of an original window opening.

The substantial foundations suggest a building of three or more storeys, including the basement. A chimney stack was located on the west wall of Room 17 (but the one in the corner of Room 14 was added later, as was the doorway into Room 9). The lowest steps of a staircase in Room 10 were built integrally to the walls, so belonged to this phase. The steps were of Portland stone (a broken fragment was found *in situ*) and were set onto Cumberland slate in the brickwork.

Later remodelling meant that much of the north side of this phase of [B8] and much of its east and west walls were missing, therefore the size and orientation of this building are uncertain. The remains consisted of: the southern external wall; the southern ends of what were almost certainly the eastern and western external walls; Rooms 10, 14, and 17; part of Room 9; and a north to south spine corridor, Room 16. At 4.95m, Rooms 14 and 17 were wider (north–south) than the rooms to their north, which Room 10 shows were 3.55m wide. All of the rooms would have been approximately 5m east–west.

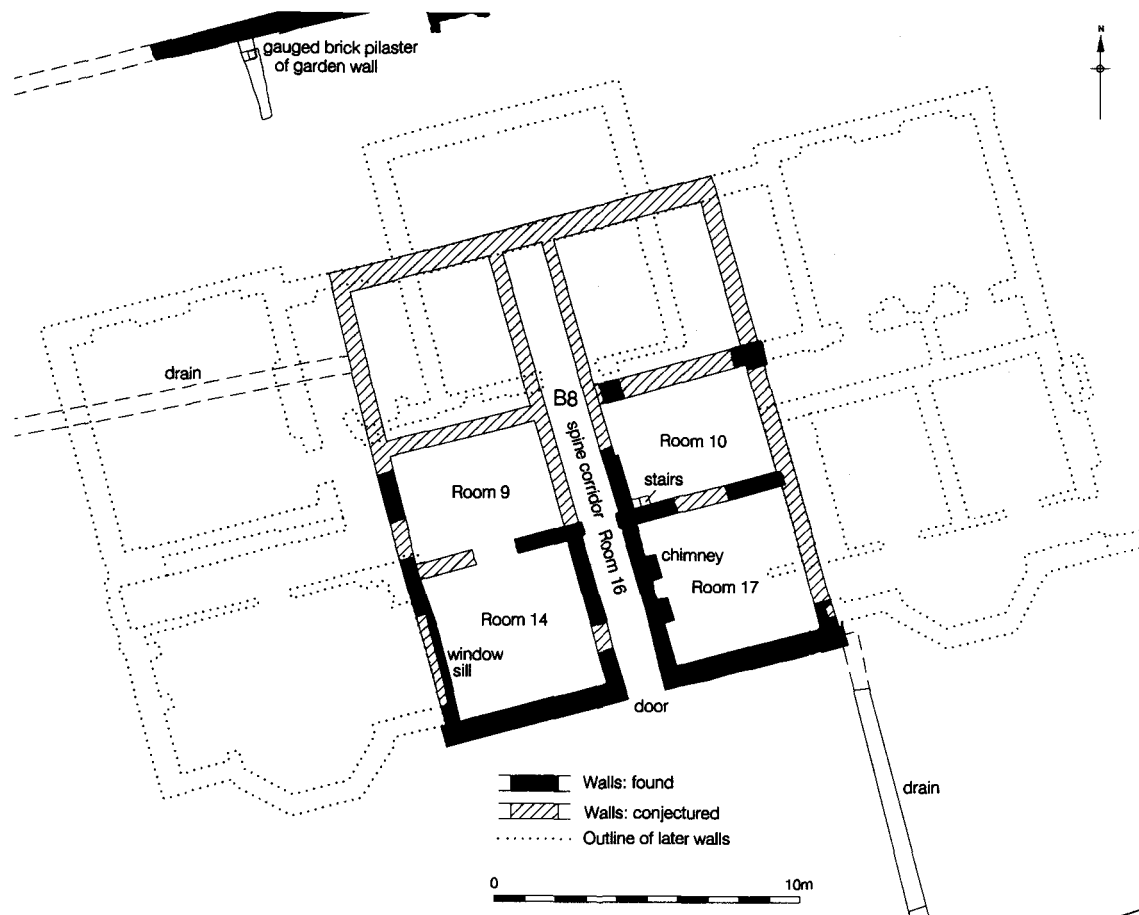


Fig 10. Phases 4 and 5: Building [B8] — floor plan interpretations (with outline of later building)

Although the floor plan that we have is partial, a reconstruction can be suggested given that the remains tell us the approximate date and that it was a building of quality, and given the known architectural repertoire of houses of a similar date and status. It is likely that the floor plan had three rooms each at the front and back and a spine corridor from side to side. This would be symmetrical on both axes. The rooms to the north of Rooms 9 and 10 would have mirrored Rooms 14 and 17, and been 4.95m north-south, so that there would have been four larger rooms on each floor at the ends of the building and two smaller central ones. The north exterior wall would then have been in the same location as the north wall of Rooms 3, 4, and 5 from Phase 6. The house would have been 16m wide (seven or more probably five bays) and 13.5m (five bays) from front to back. The room above Room 10 would have been the entrance hall holding the

staircase, so the house would have been east facing. The position of the house in relation to the church and village of Stanmore would have meant that it would usually have been approached from this direction, along Colliers Lane.²

There are several architectural reasons why this reconstruction is the most likely. It maximises symmetry, avoiding irregularity of the bays on the sides of the house, and places the staircase in the central position, *not in one corner of the house*. It also has the house wider than it is deep, and the spine corridor running from side to side not front to back. All of these were normal in a classical design, although not universal.

The remains of the north wall of Room 10 support the idea that it was internal rather than external. While this was remodelled in Phase 5 there is no reason to suppose that there was a major alteration to the building. Its north face did not

have quoin dressings, and header bond was used, so it was not intended to have been visible, and was either internal or below ground. It is unlikely to have been below ground both because it was built to a very even face and because its surviving top was above the level of other pieces of Phase 4 brickwork that clearly were intended to be visible; these were on the southern external wall, which had red dressings to its base, and the pilaster of a garden wall to the north of the house, which had gauged brickwork that shows it was a display feature.

The fashion for a corridor dividing the front from the rear rooms was inspired by the design of Coleshill, Berkshire, in *c.*1650 (Girouard 1978, 123), possibly designed by Roger Pratt (Cooper 1999, 184–5), and was frequently used in houses that were two rooms deep. Coleshill and other houses also conformed to the classical arrangement of having the entrance hall, often containing the staircase, and dining room or saloon in the centre of the house.

Late 17th-century culverts drained the rainwater from the downpipes off to the west and south (Fig 10). The lightwells would have been restricted to the areas immediately around the basement's openings, as the culverts were set high relative to the windows of the south wall. The gauged brickwork pilaster on the wall near to Colliers Lane represented a high status classical garden wall feature, reflecting the ostentation of this classical building.

The functions of the various basement rooms are not known, although they normally housed the service areas. The central doorway on the south elevation may be original and may have provided external access to the service rooms. The Housekeeper's room was usually located close to the basement entrance so as to control the movement of personnel, food, and goods and was often close to the kitchen. This arrangement appears in a 1660s house design by Wren (Cooper 1999, 288) and in many later houses (Sambrook & Brears 1997), and it is possible that these functions were housed in the two southern rooms. Although not a large country house, this building would have been sufficiently grand to serve as the country retreat of a city businessman or the main house of a country gentleman. Many small country houses were built in this period in the hinterland around London and some other cities.

Buildings of this size were much in demand in the early 18th century when the villa form became popular as a result of the work of Lord Burlington as patron and Colen Campbell as his architect; they were instrumental in the establishment of

the fashion for Palladianism and responsible for the construction of a number of villas in the 1720s. The villa was a relatively informal form of house that was generally built more for pleasure than as the hub of a large landed estate. When Andrew Drummond took over the estate in 1729 this house would have provided him with a small but fashionable house that would have conferred a prestige out of proportion to its size.

Phase 5: late 17th century to 1763

During Phase 5 there was some new building work, but mostly there was a series of piecemeal alterations to improve existing buildings on the site. It seems probable that these improvements were executed by the various occupants before Andrew Drummond's ownership of the properties.

One exception to this is some work within [B8] (Fig 10). There two small areas of brickwork showed that there had been a rebuild of part of the Phase 4 structure (see above).

Two walls are interpreted as boundaries because of their length, 'F' and 'G' in Fig 11. The one marking 'F' was at least 35m long and had a north-west to south-east alignment, which matches the structures on the east side of the excavation, including [B6]. This wall would have divided the two elements of [B6] into different properties, assuming that the western part of [B6] was not demolished first. Three masonry fragments 12m to the west of this wall, and in the same build as it, although not on the same orientation, show the position of the foundations of a timber framed or light, single storey building.

The wall marking boundary 'G' was 31m long and aligned north-north-west to south-south-east, matching the structures to the west. Building elements were located on both sides of it; on the east there was a chimney and on the west was an element represented by walls 10.5m apart, perpendicular to the long wall. The similarity of the bricks and mortar suggests that the elements on both sides of the wall were the work of the same builder. There were also several other wall fragments that were both in a rectilinear arrangement with this masonry and of the same build. Together, this makes up Structure [B9] (Fig 11), which is rather fragmentary and enigmatic. It is most easily explained as two separate buildings, but it is not inconceivable that it was one. To the east of 'G' it may have been built in a wedge shape against the wall of 'F'. An extension had been added to the south side of this part of the structure.

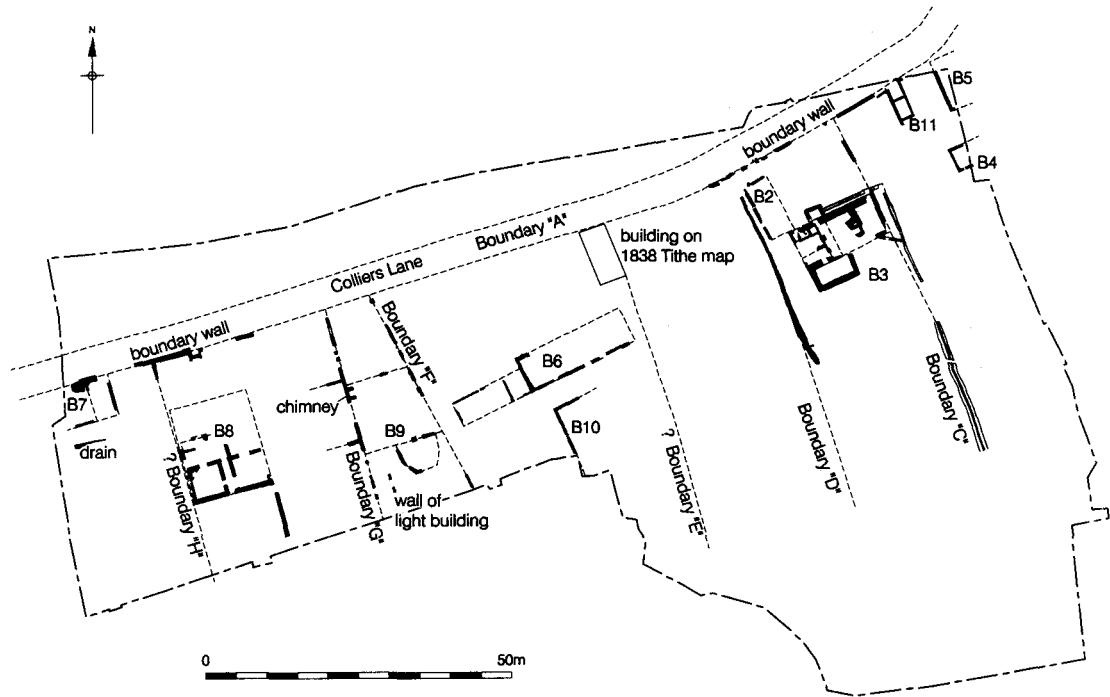


Fig 11. Phase 5: interpretation of site layout

The date ranges for the masonry in the two boundary walls overlap, but as they were only between 8.5m and 15m apart, they could not have marked property limits concurrently. It is more reasonable that 'F' marked the properties while 'G' was an internal boundary separating the garden of [B8] from other areas. Both parts of [B9] would then have been outbuildings of [B8], one inside and one outside the garden wall. This would mean the outbuildings were of a considerable size, especially with the extension, and an unusual arrangement, which slightly weakens the case for this interpretation.

It is also plausible that they were sequential property boundaries, with one of the walls not lasting very long, even if the boundary itself pre-dated it. The one marking 'F' would have been earlier as it retained the common orientation in the eastern part of the site, whereas the direction of 'G' represents the imposition of an orientation dictated by that of the more prestigious building, [B8]. This scenario is less likely, as it implies the area of land belonging to [B8] was reduced, not enlarged.

An L-shaped wall showed the position of [B10], which was brick built. It was an ancillary of [B6], or they were at least part of the same complex of

structures. While the main part of [B6] survived until Phase 7 (see below), the part to the west of 'F' occupied the same area as [B9] so was demolished before or during Phase 5. A drain was added to the south side of Building [B7], running south down the slope, demonstrating its continued use.

Drains were also added to Building [B3] during this phase, around two sides of it and then running south-east down the slope for at least a further 37m (Figs 9 and 11). The positions of the downpipes can be inferred, and were just to the north-east of the probable external porch, and near the east corner. This drain ran down the centre of the Phase 1 boundary and drainage ditch that marked boundary 'C'. It therefore indicates that this boundary persisted until at least Phase 5. In a different build [B3] was extended to the south-east from its service end, and this new part included a basement.

Building [B4] was rebuilt, just outside the original build. Although there was still little within the limit of excavation, two returns survived, which were less than 4m apart. This was still a small structure, probably the slightly larger rebuild of an outbuilding belonging to [B5]. Building [B11] was very small and next to Colliers Lane, with two rooms at split levels (the front room higher than the back);

it had been built onto and against the Phase 3 walls. The small size of [B11] suggests that it was an outbuilding of [B5].

Phase 6: 1763 to c.1770

Phase 6 represents a second major change to the site, when the Drummonds converted [B8] from a small into a large classical country house. The expanded Vardy/Chambers house was nine bays wide and two rooms deep, approximately trebling its footprint (Figs 4 and 12).

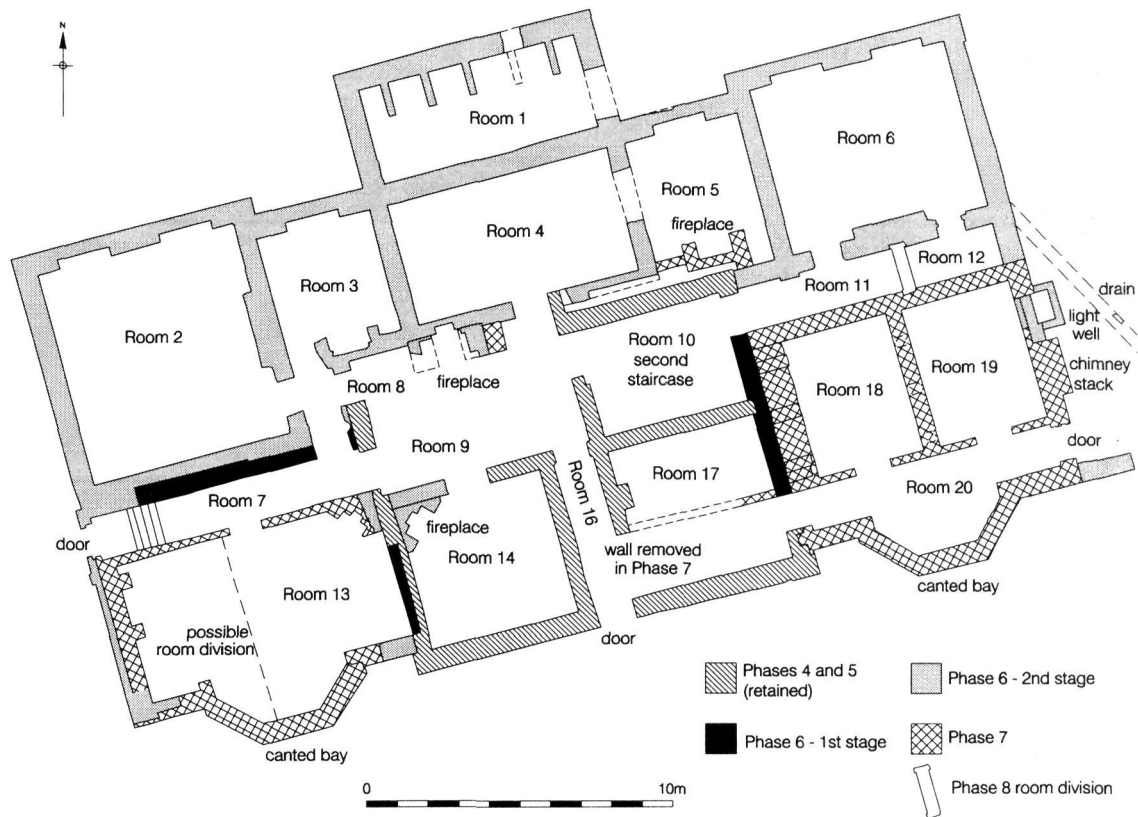
The relationships of the masonry builds show that this work was done in two stages. In the first stage three stretches of masonry were added to Building [B8], two of which were rebuilds of parts of pre-existing Phase 4 walls. The rebuilds were adjacent to two of the intended chimney stacks in the corners of the saloon on the ground floor above, and would have improved the load bearing capacity of the walls by the removal of earlier window and door openings. The third stretch was a new wall outside of the footprint of [B8] in Phases 4 and 5, which shows that this build was the first part of the conversion of the villa into a country house. In the second stage of the conversion more brickwork was added to this wall, and so it ended up unusually thick compared to the others in the basement, and almost certainly thicker than it needed to be for the load on it. This suggests that the conversion was not straightforward, and that there may have been at least one change of plan. The earliest part of this wall was aligned with the south side of the east–west spine corridor on the east side of the expanded building. It may have been the initial intention to create a more symmetrical basement plan, with a spine corridor crossing the whole building on the north side of the Phase 4 staircase in Room 10. Had this been done the corridor would have run to the north of this wall, rather than to the south as actually happened.

The Phase 6 basement floor plan is not complete because of the alteration of the two rear corners of the country house in Phase 7. It seems likely that the spine corridor running across the width of the building dated to this phase, and it was offset slightly both to re-use the earlier staircase in Room 10 and to have a large room on the front of the building on this floor, Room 2. The corridor can definitely be traced only in the eastern half of the building in Phase 6 (Rooms 11 and 12), and it is possible that it did not stretch to the west side (Room 7) until Phase 7. The western side door does, however,

appear to date to this phase, although the external access routes to it were truncated by later work. There was no external doorway at the end of the eastern spine corridor, but there could have been one at the southern end of this side elevation, where from Phase 7 there was access to a servants' staircase. During Phase 6 a door there would have provided access to any outbuildings to the east of the house. However, the 1884 house plan (Fig 4) suggests that this access route may have been through the ground floor rather than the basement. The ground floor door in the eastern wall would have given access to the basement via the secondary staircase, without the servants disturbing the family, who would have been able to access the eastern corner rooms from adjacent rooms. The influence of the earlier villa is also seen in the preservation of the corridor running from the centre of the basement to the middle of the rear elevation, Room 16. It was only present in the basement; on the ground floor this position was in the middle of the saloon. The main, family, staircase is shown in Figs 4 and 13 as starting at the ground floor level, above Rooms 9 and 8.³

There was no physical evidence for the location of the kitchen, with its attendant scullery and storage rooms, in Phase 6. The remodelling of the rear corners of the building during Phase 7 may have removed evidence of the original uses of these rooms, making the identification of these and other rooms tentative. The kitchen and scullery were most likely to have been located in either of the rear corner rooms or, conceivably, in the front eastern corner room. There was a distinct line in the paving of Room 13 showing the location of a partition that may have divided the kitchen from a scullery. Alternatively Rooms 18, 19, and 20 may have contained the kitchen and Room 17 the scullery. The lightwell in the east wall of Room 19 dates to this phase and the presence of a window on the east wall as well as those on the south wall would have maximised the light and ventilation in to the kitchen if it was located there. There was also an external stack in this room.

The Housekeeper's room and Butler's pantry usually controlled the routes into the building in the service areas or controlled the route to the dining room or saloon, both often also controlling the division between predominantly male and female spheres of activity (Sambrook & Brears 1997, 41–9). Room 2, in the north-west corner of the basement, is a possible location for the Housekeeper's room, or it may have been an office used for the management of the estate or the owner's business. Likely locations for a Butler's pantry are Rooms 14 and 6,



	Phase 6	Phase 7
Room 1	Storage	Storage
Room 2	Housekeeper's room or Estate/owner's office	Housekeeper's room or Sitting room
Room 3	Still room	Still room
Room 4	Storage	Storage
Room 5	Still room	Still room or Water closet
Room 6	Kitchen and scullery or Butler's pantry	Butler's pantry
Room 13	Kitchen or scullery	Housekeeper's room
Room 14	Butler's pantry or Family room	Butler's pantry or Sitting room
Room 17	Scullery	Scullery
Rooms 18 and 19	Kitchen or Storeroom	Wine, beer and ale cellars

Fig 12. Phases 6 and 7: the country house

both controlling access to the stairs to the ground floor. Room 6 gave exclusive access to a silver vault, or plate safe, added in the 19th century. It would make sense for this strong room to have been accessed from the Butler's pantry, a use that may have extended back to Phase 6. Room 14 had a corner fireplace that was added during this phase. It still contained the remains of a Bath stove grate, embossed with a neo-classical urn motif, typical of the decoration on grates produced by the Carron company in Falkirk, from 1759 onwards (see below). This is a quality fitting, and it is therefore possible that this room was used by the Drummond family.

Rooms 1 and 4 had fittings for storage, and these may have been wine and/or beer cellars. There is reference to a still room in the basement in the 1839 sales particulars (RBS: DR/101). This is likely to have been an original feature and may have been in Room 5 or 3. By the late 18th century still rooms were used by the Housekeeper. They were used for making 'preserves, cakes, biscuits and perhaps pastry work ... tea and coffee' (Sambrook & Brears 1997, 27). If Room 2 were the Housekeeper's room,

Room 3 would be the prime candidate for a still room. Room 5 contained extensive 19th-century drainage and ventilation features as well as a fireplace. The later insertions removed any evidence of its original use. Other rooms usually found in the basement of a house of this size at this date would be the Servants' Hall, and possibly the Steward's Room (Sambrook & Brears 1997), but there is insufficient information to determine their location.

The flooring in the basement consisted of Portland stone blocks and laminated sandstone blocks. The former are likely to be original, as Portland stone was imported in large quantities for the construction of the house. The demolition debris found within the rooms of the basement produced fragments of chimney (Fig 14), many of which had lead covered wrought iron cramps that tied the stones together. The stacks above roof level were made of Portland stone, all of which showed signs of internal sooting. The photograph of the staircase (NMR: BB75/3679; Fig 13), shows the wrought iron 'S' shaped balusters and Portland stone stairs, both of which were found in the excavation. In the debris



Fig 13. An historic photograph of the main staircase of the country house (NMR: BB75/3979)

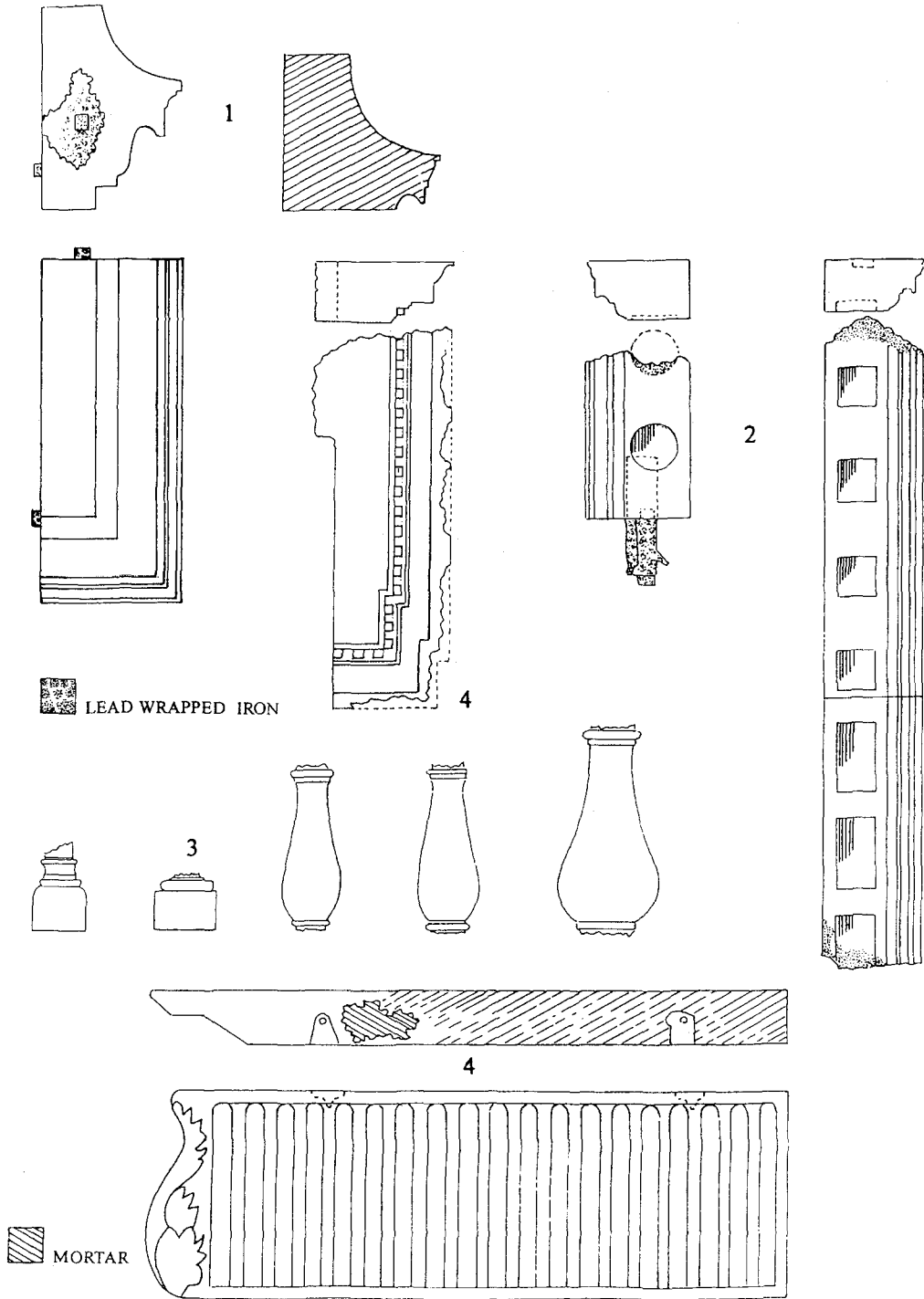


Fig 14. Some of the stone found in the excavation: (1) Two fragments of Portland stone chimneys (one in profile and one in end view) showing the two types of moulding found; (2) Two patterns of balustrade entablature; (3) The range of balusters found; (4) Fragments of marble fireplace



Fig 15. An historic photograph of the rear elevation of the country house (NMR: BB75/3675)

filling Room 2 there were fragments of ribbed marble fireplace architrave and plain marble hearth slabs, a style that became popular in the 1770s (Callow 1996, 155). Among these fragments of fireplace was a fragment of a marble mantelpiece (Fig 14). These fragments probably came from the fireplaces in the rooms above, either on the ground or first floor. Fragments of Portland stone balustrade were also found, including two sizes of baluster (Fig 14). The smaller balusters were relatively slim and were probably from the roof of the house; they appear particularly narrow on a photograph of the rear elevation (Fig 15). Fragments of plaster recovered from the demolition debris (Fig 16) show the high quality of the interior decoration.⁴

The lightwell on the east wall showed that ground level was above the existing remains, even towards the back of the building where the natural ground slopes away, although the slope may have been reduced by terracing. A drain ran from a probable rainwater pipe on the northern side of the lightwell to the south-east, which truncated the foundations of Building [B9]. [B9] would not necessarily have been demolished by this time, but it is likely. Building [B7] would definitely have been demolished to build the Vardy/Chambers house.

Prints published in 1806 and 1815 (RBS: DR/201/10; Figs 3 and 17) show the house much as it appeared in later photographs (NMR: BB75/3672–3677, 3681 and 3682; Fig 15). The front of the house had two principal floors, ground and first, as well as the basement and an attic. The central five bays at the front of the building were slightly recessed from the outer bays. There was a dentilled cornice above the first floor, above which there was a ballustrated parapet in the central five bays, behind which were five dormer windows. On the outer projections there were triangular pediments, each with a central oculus, above the cornice, that were also decorated with dentilation. There was a central ground floor Ionic portico occupying three bays at the front of the building; this had a plain entablature and no pediment. There was a string course between the ground and first floors.

On the rear elevation the central five bays of the earlier building broke forward from the flanking bays and were occupied by the saloon on the ground floor. The primacy of this part of the building was emphasised by the fact that the central five bays were topped by an attic storey. A dentilled cornice, separating the first floor from the attic storey, continued over the first floor of the recessed

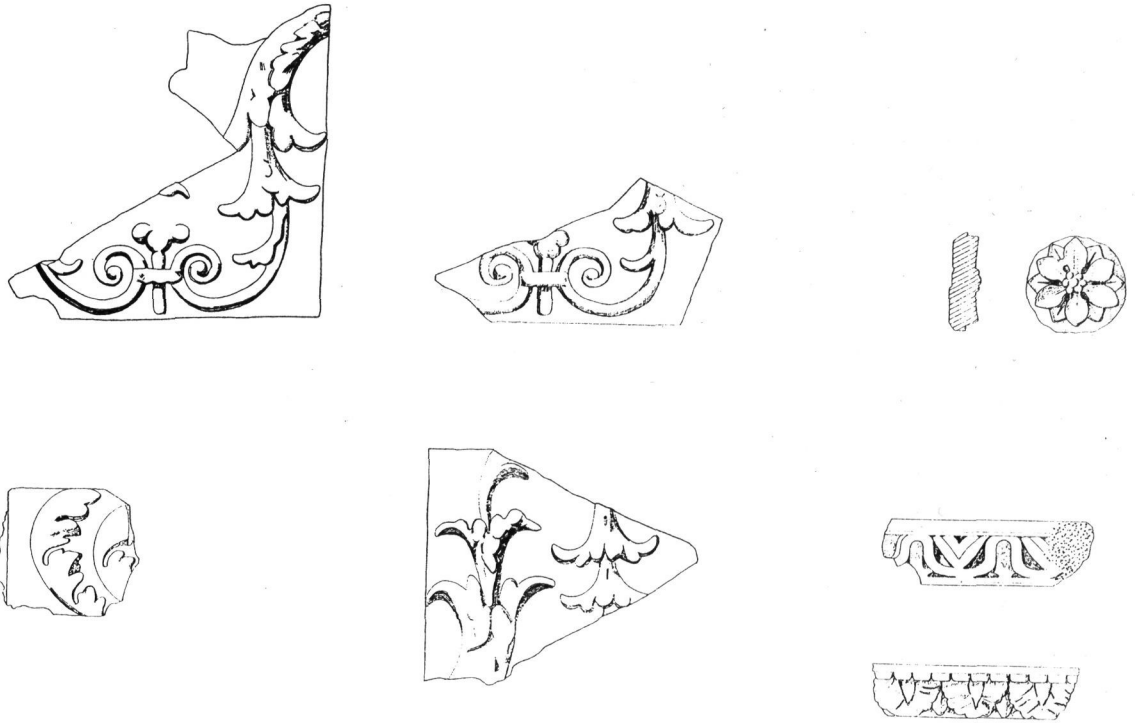


Fig 16. Some of the plasterwork found in the excavation



Fig 17. An 1815 print of the front of the country house, reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group

flanking bays, and the attic storey was topped by a plain entablature. The recessed flanking bays either side of the attic storey were topped by balustrades.⁵

The fact that the outer first floor windows on the rear elevation are widely set, compared with those of the central closely set fenestration originating in Phase 4, reflects the desire to have the same number of bays on the rear as on the front elevation (Fig 15). The width and style of the outer windows are very different from those on the front elevation and were probably altered at a later date to provide more light to the bedrooms.

The outer walls of this phase of the building were probably not originally rendered as the external faces of the walls were built using good quality purple facing-brick with yellow surfaces, and laid in Flemish bond, which was used for decorative effect rather than strength.⁶ As was often the case with houses built by bricklayers who were used to speculative building, the facing brickwork was a half brick thick skin of regularly laid bricks with narrow mortar joints. This skin was applied onto a wall of inferior brick laid with thick mortar joints, with the two walls only tied together in places. This practice was a cheap alternative to sound construction techniques, rife in London, and was criticised by Batty Langley in 1748 (Langley 1748, 10). The inner wall had bonding timbers in its inner face, a common practice in Georgian building. The stuccoed finish shown in the early 19th-century prints was therefore not original. Its use was popularised by the Adam brothers who used it from the mid-1770s (Kelsall 1989, 20–1).

It seems reasonable to consider the two different builds in Phase 6 as two stages within what is essentially one process of rebuilding the original fabric and extending it. The possibility that the first may represent the building work recorded in the accounts for 1736 is slight, as the surviving elements show no signs of truncation and would represent much more significant work than the records indicate.

The strip of the property called Goodalls purchased to provide stables and offices for the new house is believed to be in the area of [B2] and [B3], but there was no physical evidence of new building in this area during this phase. Possibly there were new buildings there that left no traces, but it is more likely that [B2] and [B3] were just converted from a house into offices and stables from above ground level.

Vardy was ‘a Palladian of the Burlington school’ (Pearce 2001), a movement characterised by the restraint shown in the design of buildings and the

strict adherence to a style that harked back to Inigo Jones’ 17th-century interpretations of Palladio’s 16th-century classicism. Chambers was also fairly traditional compared with his contemporary Robert Adam, and would probably not have altered Vardy’s design of the exterior much, the building of which would have been quite advanced by the time he took over the work.

The original height of the surrounding ground level relative to the house is not known. In the Palladian ‘system’ the main floor, or *piano nobile*, was usually raised up over a semi-sunken basement, or ‘rustic’. Robert Adam and the landscape architects, such as ‘Capability’ Brown, to some extent freed English architecture from Palladian constraints. Houses became increasingly integrated with their parks in the 1760s and 1770s, with fully sunken basements, if there was a basement at all. The earliest pictorial representation of the building, of 1806 (RBS: DR/201/10; Fig 3), shows the garden at the level of the ground floor. However, the likelihood that the garden was landscaped after Phase 6 means that this may not have been the original conception. Vardy’s Palladian credentials suggest that the original design is likely to have had a semi-sunken basement, which was then altered to fully sunken, either during Phase 6 while Chambers was the architect, or subsequently. It is also unclear whether a garden was laid out to the south of the house before this alteration or not.

60m to the east of [B8] there was an irregular pit, 14m across and 1.60m deep. The pottery from the secondary fill is dated to c.1740–1780, but the primary fill had only a few fragments of one fabric dated to 1580–1700, which may well be residual. The date range for the secondary fill suggests that this was a claypit dug to make the bricks that were used in the enlargement of the country house, and backfilled soon after the construction was finished. Brick manufacture was often done on or near to the building site, where clay was available. Brick was also commercially available locally, Stanmore being a known brick manufacturing centre (Hammond 1984).

Phase 7: c.1770 to 1838

The Phase 7 activity consisted of: remodelling of the rooms in the rear (south-east and south-west) corners of the country house (Fig 12); construction of a large service complex, Buildings [B12] and [B13], as well as Building [B14] (Fig 18) and a large extension to Building [B3] (Fig 19); moving the

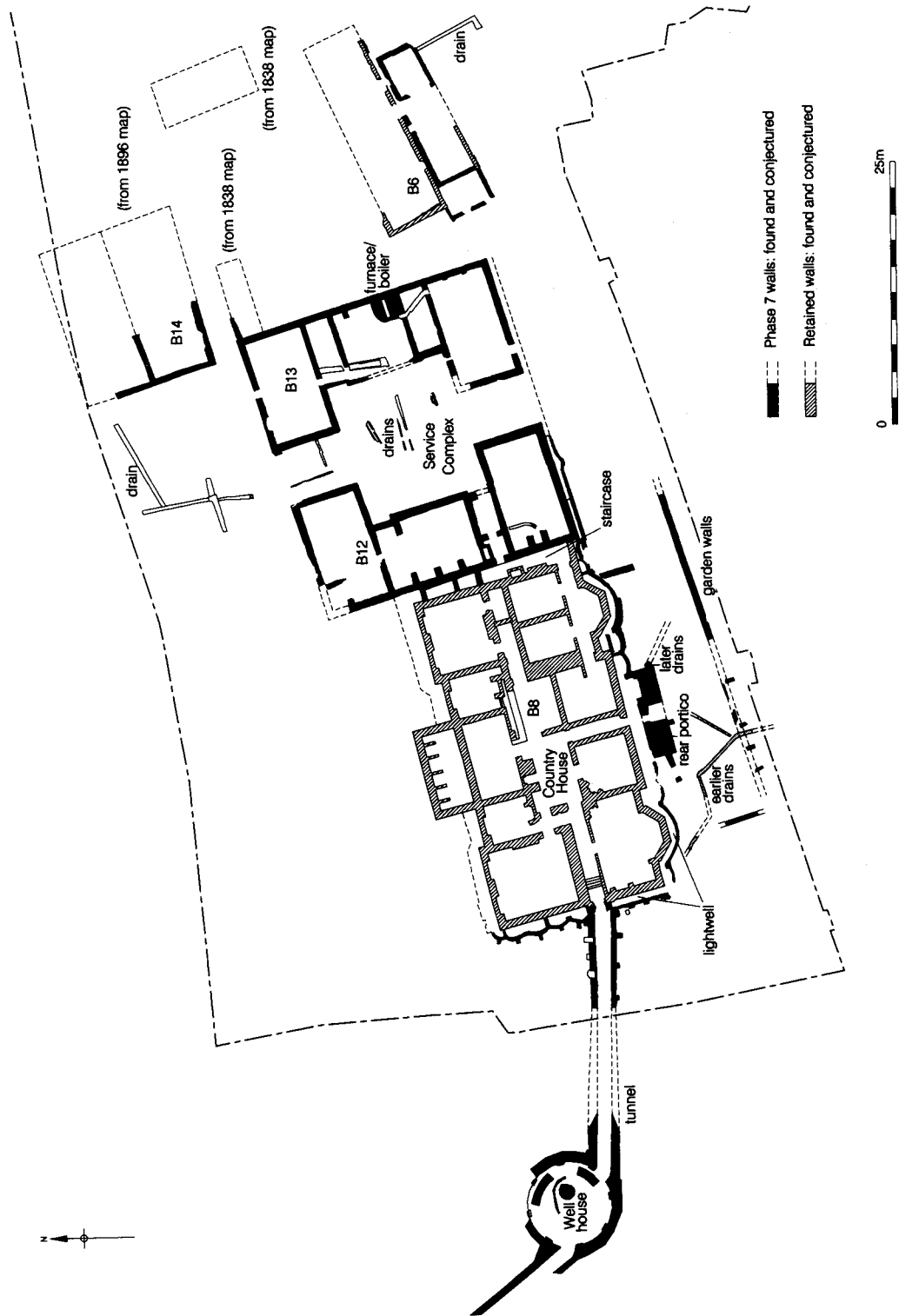


Fig 18. Phase 7: development of the country house and its outbuildings

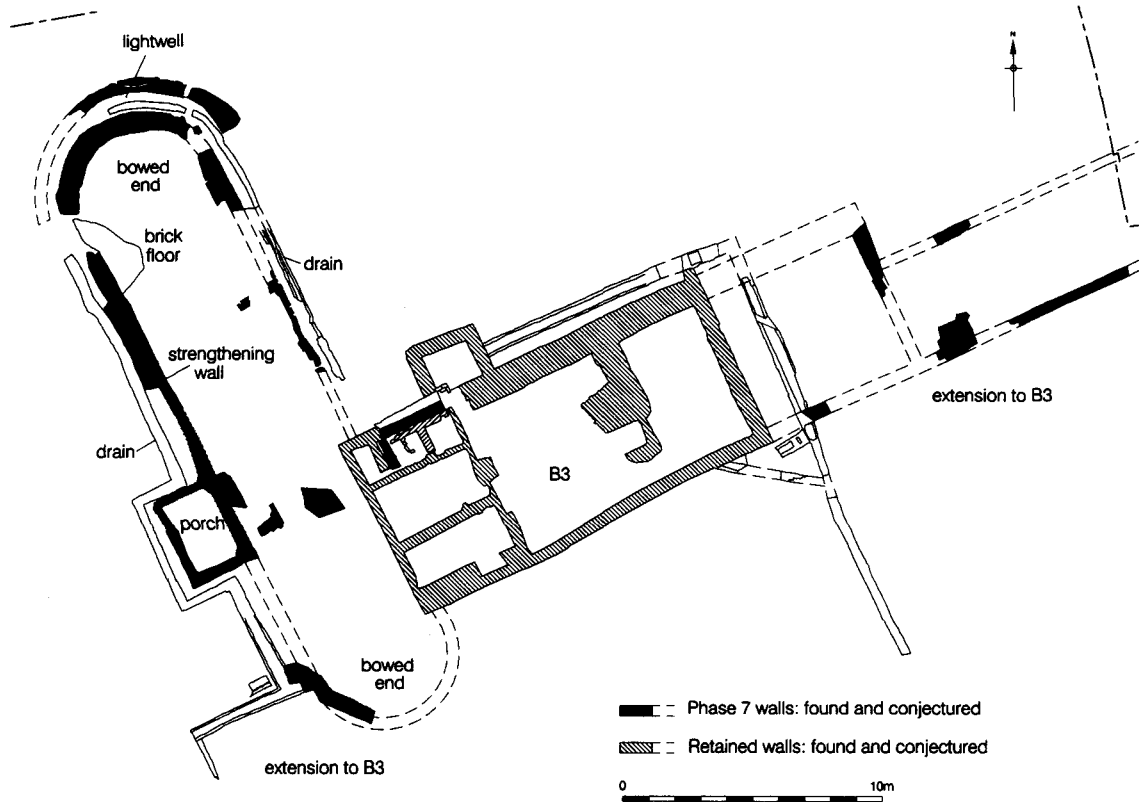


Fig 19. Phase 7: development of [B3]

main east-west road from Colliers Lane to the north of Stanmore Park; and landscaping of the park. Little trace of the latter survived; almost all of the information about it is documentary (above). The bulk of this activity pre-dates a print of 1806 (RBS: DR/201/10). This all represents a major upgrading of the services to the house, and a change in its setting, being no longer next to a public road but now enclosed well within its own designed parkland.

Some of the rebuilding work on the structure of [B8] in Phase 7 is indicated by the presence within the demolition rubble filling the central rooms at the front of the house of numerous hollow earthenware 'bottle bricks', with sub-cylindrical coiled construction and squared-off bases (Fig 20). These were developed in 1785 by the French architect St Fart, as a lightweight vaulting material (Ayres 1998). They may have been made locally at Stanmore and must have been considered a novelty by the manufacturers, as there was little standardisation in their manufacture. Two main types were found. They either had central holes at the

circular end and sometimes at the squared end as well, or were completely closed but with a small hole, or holes, stabbed through their sides to prevent them exploding in the kiln. It seems likely that a timber floor in the entrance hall, or one of the ground floor rooms either side of it, was replaced by something heavier, which would have required the more solid support of a vault. The use of bottle bricks would have reduced the amount of additional weight on the basement walls. The 1839 sale particulars record that the entrance hall was paved in marble, and a photograph shows a black and white marble tiled floor (NMR: BB75/3678), fragments of which were recovered from the demolition deposits.

From the list of rooms within the basement of [B8] in the 1839 sale specification (above) the 'still room' was still probably in Room 3, or perhaps Room 5 (Fig 12). The 'several capital wine, beer, and ale cellars' can almost definitely be located in Rooms 19 and 18, and possibly in Rooms 1 and 4, which had low arched recesses supporting shelves around their walls. The 'Butler's pantries' may have

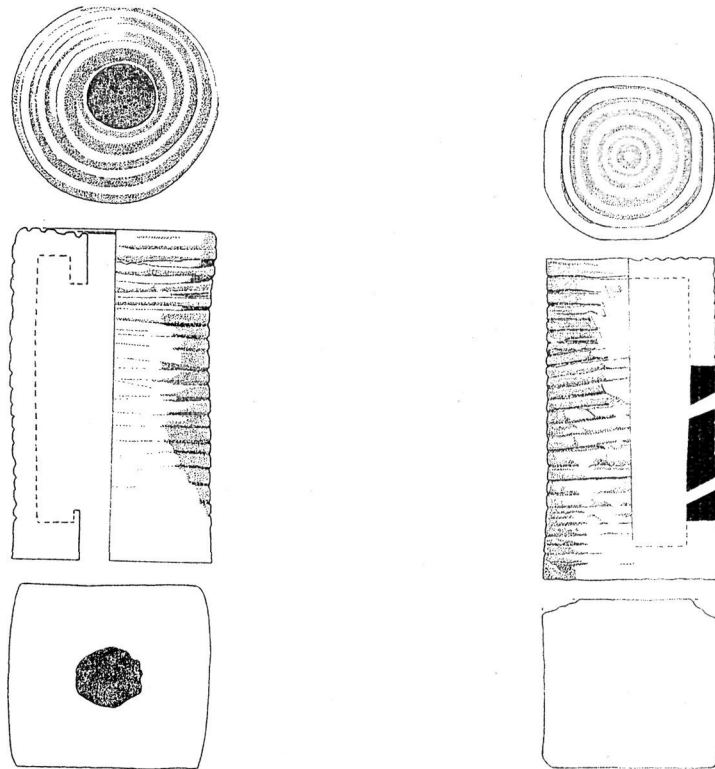


Fig 20. Bottle bricks found in the excavation; scale 1:4

been in Rooms 6 or 14, and the 'Housekeeper's room' may have been Room 13 or 2. The 'sitting room' was probably either Room 14 or 2. The extensive drainage and waterproofing in Room 5 was probably inserted during the 19th century, the damp proof mortar being Roman Cement or a similar render (Parker's Roman Cement was patented in 1796 and was used as a stucco or to bond masonry in areas prone to damp). This room may have been used as the 'water closet'. The locations of the 'larder' and 'other apartments' are more uncertain.

The basement and ground floor canted bays at the rear of the building, shown on the 1806 print, may have been original features belonging in Phase 6, but on balance the likelihood is that they were introduced in Phase 7 and replaced a flatter, more traditional, elevation. The fact that all of their brickwork belonged to Phases 7 and 8 suggests that they may not have been original. Canted bays, although banished from English classical architecture by the early Palladians, such as Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell, had been absorbed into the Palladian repertoire by the 1750s (Worsley

1995, 240). The extent of the later brickwork around each of these bays means that there could have originally been two windows which were flush with the rear elevation, set beneath the two windows on the first floor. This is supported by evidence that Room 13 was partitioned into two rooms, each of which would have been lit by a single rear window. Their Phase 7 brickwork would have contrasted with that of the rest of the country house and it can be assumed that the exterior walls were stuccoed by this time. The stucco found was painted and scored to imitate ashlar stonework.

The rebuild of the eastern rear corner room or rooms involved the insertion of a pair of barrel-vaulted cellars, Rooms 18 and 19, with a southern passage, Room 20, that gave access to a door in the east wall. In Room 19 the vaulting was constructed in a way that showed that the possible fireplace had been blocked, but that allowed light in from the window and its lightwell. The western abutment of the vault in Room 18 was separated slightly from the earlier load bearing wall that ran alongside it, so as not to overload it, with three short bracing walls between them to provide stability. The door at the

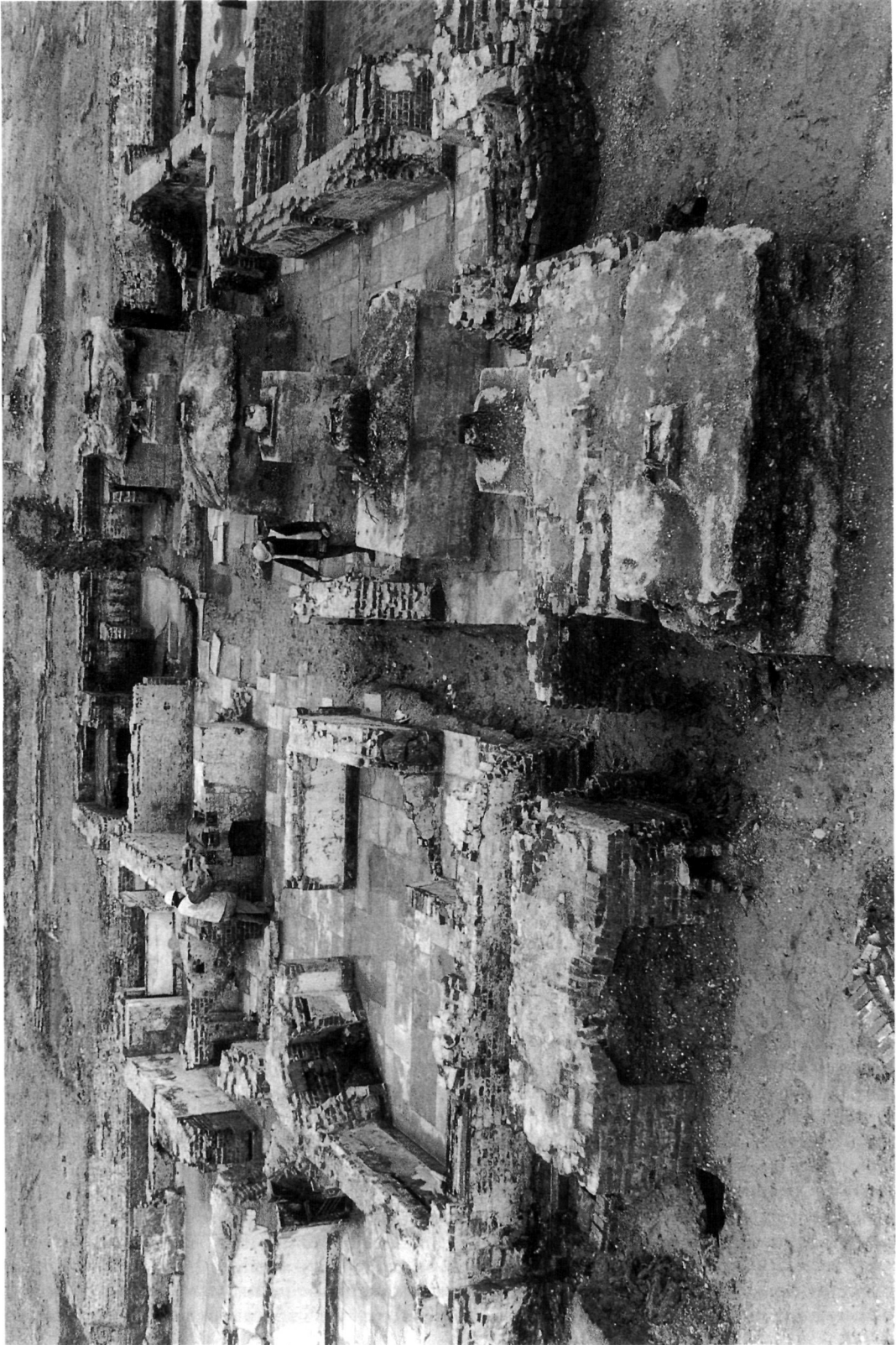


Fig 21. Excavation of the country house (Building [B8]), the central five bays from the rear (south)

end of Room 20 must initially have led outside, as the service complex was only built there slightly later. The rebuild of the western corner included the internal walling of much of Room 13, and the dividing wall that separated it from the corridor, Room 7, so that by the end of this phase the spine corridor definitely extended to the western side door.

The rear portico was built with four Greek Ionic orders topped by a plain entablature, beneath a triangular pediment; it occupied the three central bays. The brickwork shows that it was not part of the Phase 6 house, but it is clearly shown in the 1806 print. Although the front portico foundations date to Phase 6, the columns may have been remodelled, as the Ionic capitals on the front portico are also shown photographically to have been Greek in style. Although Greek motifs had been introduced into English architecture by the 1760s the 'Greek Revival' was a later development, post-dating the Phase 6 work. The remodelling may well have been done when the rear portico was built, to achieve stylistic harmony.

As an integral part of the same build as the rear portico, a lightwell was inserted continuously along the south side of Buildings [B8] and [B12], and presumably [B13], although the evidence for this had been lost. As well as the structural relationship, the rear portico and lightwell were built with identical bricks and mortar. The rear portico, lightwell, and Buildings [B12] and [B13] were therefore contemporary.

This new lightwell was also extended around the west side of the country house, removing whatever had been there before. From the arrangement of the masonry at the front west corner, it can be deduced that it extended around the front as well, although the physical evidence for this was removed by a yet later rebuild. The lightwell along the west and south sides of the country house was built using curved sections of a mostly one brick thick retaining wall, with occasional fingers of brickwork extending outwards. The curves worked like horizontal arches, which were sprung from more substantial piers of brickwork. These were themselves braced against the main house wall by vertical arches. This form of construction economised on bricks.

The area to the immediate east of the country house was excavated for the construction of bracing walls joining [B8] and [B12], and then backfilled. A staircase was found in the southern end of the gap between the old and new buildings, connecting the two service areas (Fig 18). Material was also

dumped in the southern half, at least, of the footprint of [B12] and [B13] before their construction. This dumping was probably done in order to build [B12] and [B13] at a level respecting, if slightly lower than, the ground floor of [B8], for both architectural and practical considerations.

The service complex had a central courtyard, 11.5m by 13m, with 5m wide entrances to the north and south, and [B12] and [B13] on either side of it (Fig 18). Truncation around the walls of [B12] and [B13] extended lower than the level of their floors and the courtyard surface, so these were not found, but the walls beneath floor level and documentary sources allow full reconstruction of the floor plan. Following their description of the country house (above), the 1839 sale particulars list the service buildings:

The domestic offices — though attached to the Mansion are virtually quite independent thereof, and comprise large servants hall with sleeping rooms over, a spacious and excellent kitchen, good scullery and dairy and two larders with sleeping room over. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The use of 'attached' means these must be in [B12], and the description emphasises the importance of separation between the family and service areas. [B12] and its mirror image [B13] had hipped roofs and were low; Fig 4 shows that [B12]'s ground floor was three steps below that of the house. The later maps and plans confirm that they were two separate blocks, and not joined at the first floor. Fig 17 shows [B12] as three bays wide at its north end with Diocletian windows set high on its ground floor and long narrow windows on its first floor. Although they were low, their north and south ends accommodated two storeys with low ceilings, while the central kitchen was open to the level of the first floor ceilings. The 1839 description and the 1884 plan (Fig 4) are consistent as to the uses of the rooms in [B12], although the dairy may have been moved to the extension built for it (see below).

The 1839 sale particulars continue:

The detached offices are situated at a suitable distance from the house, comprising an extensive range of brick-built and slated stabling of remarkably neat elevation towards the yard, containing a capital six stall stable, a three stall stable, two spacious boxes formerly a six stall stable, harness room, saddle room with three bed rooms for stable servants, and loft. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The reference to the 'yard' means that these are almost certainly in [B13]. Even allowing for sales hyperbole, the implication is that some attention



Fig 22. Service building [B12] and the east side of the country house, from the south

had been given to the appearance of this complex, which is confirmed by the fact that the elevations facing the courtyard had central projections.

Within [B13] there was a large curved area of masonry with a linear slot in it, which, given the stabling functions, may be the enclosed furnace of a forge, although it could also have been the base of the boiler in a brewhouse. Remains of a small extension to [B13], shown on an 1838 Tithing Map (Fig 23), were also found.

The service complex [B12] and [B13] cannot be seen on the 1806 print, which depicts the house from the south. Nevertheless, it must have been built by then, as the rear portico is shown and this service complex, the lightwell, and the rear portico are contemporary. It was either screened out by trees and bushes in reality, or was simply left out by the artist. Both of these were common practices in the late 18th to early 19th century. The Picturesque and Romantic movements, which then held sway, idealised the naturalistic environment of the house in its landscaped park, usually created at

vast expense. Only one small building is shown in front of the church in the 1806 print, with just foliage visible between the house and the church. Similarly a late 18th- to early 19th-century print showing the view from the north obscures any buildings to either side of the house behind foliage (RBS: DR/201, undated). The later photographs mostly show mature trees that obscure the service complex.

Within the limits of the years 1770 and 1806, it is not totally clear from the physical or documentary evidence when the rear portico, lightwell, [B12] and [B13] were constructed. However, some indications are given by the family personal and financial history. John Drummond was involved in the Phase 6 build and so was unlikely to have wanted to make alterations between its completion in 1770 and his death in 1774. Trustees managed the finances until his son George came of age in 1776 or 1777, and at first sight it would seem unlikely that they would instigate major programmes of expenditure, even if this may have been what happened with the

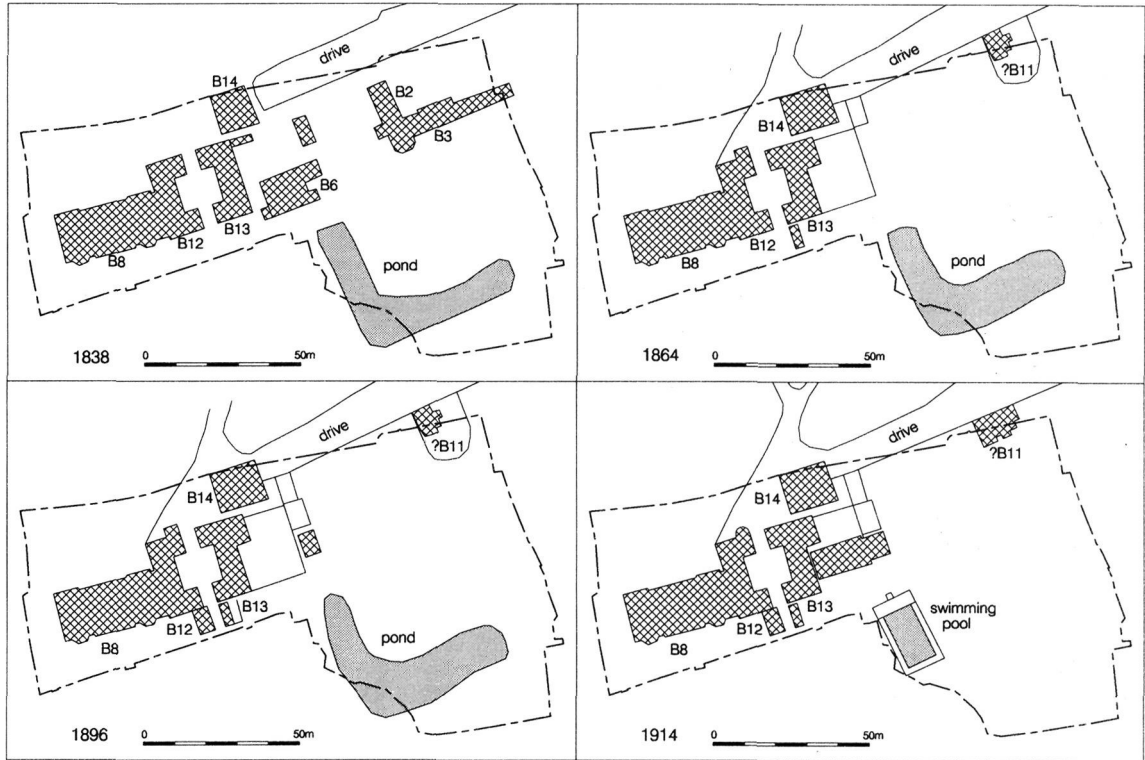


Fig 23. Site layout from the 1838 Tithe Map and subsequent Ordnance Survey maps

landscaping. The fact that George is alleged to have been profligate and left unfinished building work at his death in 1789 makes the period from 1777 to 1789 the best candidate for the construction work. The family financial crisis between his death and that of his wife in 1793 means little would have been done then, other than possibly finishing off the uncompleted projects. Between then and 1804 George Harley was still a minor, so again the trustees should not have spent large sums during these years, and their accounts show they largely just acquired land and settled debts. That leaves 1804 to 1806, which is the second best candidate for the work.

Two sets of drains were seen behind the country house belonging to this phase, to carry waste water off down slope to the south (Fig 18). The earlier set was at a higher level than the windowsills of the rear elevation. This means that when they were built the lightwells at the back of building [B8] must have been limited to the area of the windows themselves, and did not stretch along the full length of the back wall. These drains led from at least two downpipes on the back of the country house. A Phase 6 date

for this set is improbable, as these drains were in a different build from that used for the house, although this possibility is not precluded by the dates of the bricks or the stratigraphy. The later set was at a lower level, below the Phase 7 lightwell and rear portico, and built as an integral part of their construction. The height needed to be reduced to reflect the lower level of the bottom of the downpipes. Four downpipes were located on either side of the two canted bays, and from there the water flowed to drains beneath the rear portico on its east side and thence off towards the south-east.

These two sets of drains very likely relate to the two major programmes of work in this part of the site during Phase 7; firstly the alterations inside [B8], and then the rear portico, lightwell, [B12] and [B13]. These events were separate, as not only were the bricks and mortar of the two builds different, but also the lightwell in Room 19 was still in use after the internal alteration of [B8], proving that [B12] had not yet been built. The 36 years between *c.*1770 and 1806 is a relatively short time following the house's initial completion for two major construction programmes. Either George's

profligacy was the cause, or the quick turnover of ownership, due to premature deaths, from John to George to George Harley, may have prompted more activity than would otherwise be expected, as each sought to make their mark on the estate.

Building [B14] (Fig 18) was badly affected by the severe truncation in the centre of the site, and only survived in its south-west corner, together with one internal wall and a drain. However its size can be seen on the 1838 Tithe Map and subsequent Ordnance Survey maps (Fig 23). It is interpreted as having had a service function, and would have been close to the main drive. A photograph (NMR: BB75/3674) shows that it was topped by a cupola,

suggesting it was meant to be seen from the main drive. The 1839 sale particulars specify another part of the service complex, which is the best candidate for [B14]:

Another brick-built and slated detached building containing four coach houses, laundry behind, and servants apartments over. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The Tithe Map shows a building in the position occupied by [B11], but rather bigger, so [B11] may have been part of a larger structure that extended north beyond the edge of excavation.

Building [B3] now underwent a major alteration (Fig 19) with the construction of extensions on

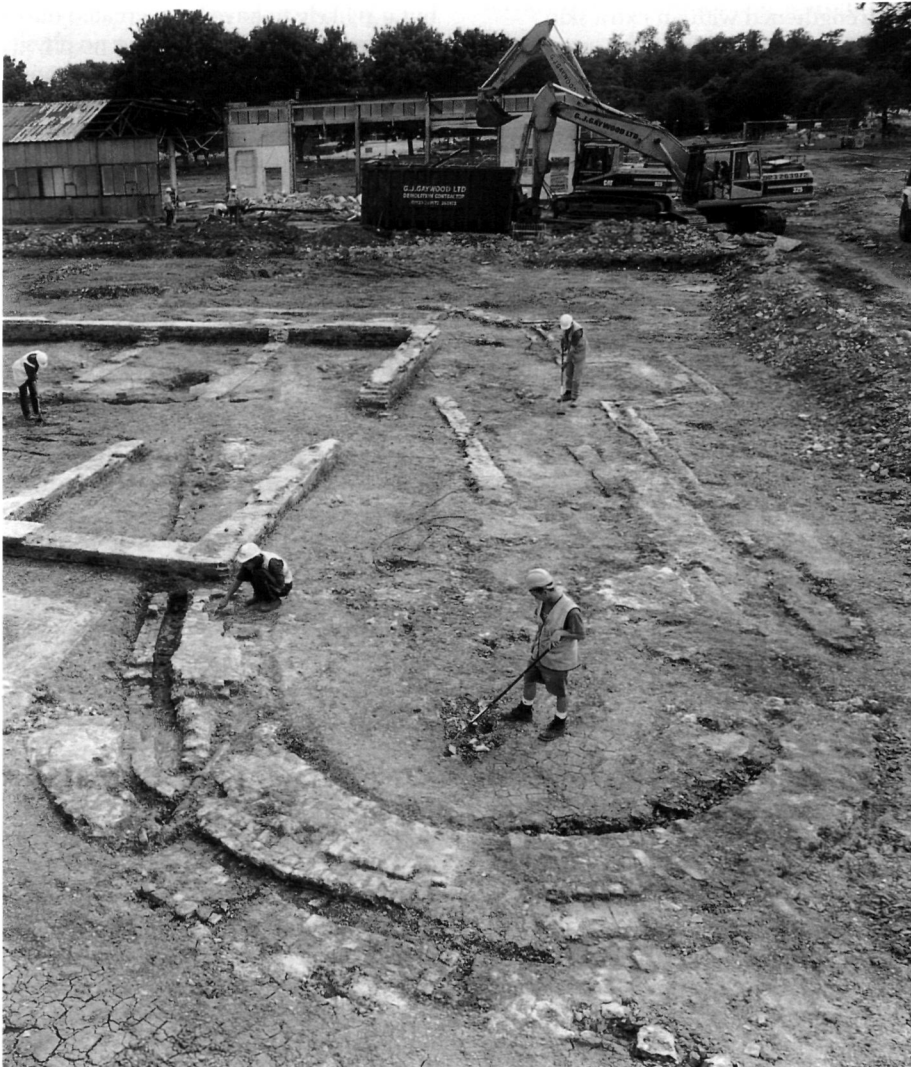


Fig 24. Bow-ended extension of Building [B3], from the north

both its south-west and north-east sides, more than doubling its footprint. The south-west one was 26m long, and occupied the same position as [B2]. Unless this was coincidental it may have been an enlarged replacement for it, with [B2] surviving up to Phase 7. This extension had bowed ends and the north-west façade had a lightwell, although the slope meant that one was not required to the south-east. Part of a brick floor survived within it, and slight traces of walls show the locations of its internal partitions, although insufficient to reconstruct the floor plan. An asymmetrically placed projection may have been a porch, and as this was a different build from the rest of the extension it may have been a later addition. The drain along the outside of this wall respects this projection, and this elevation was strengthened with an extra skin.

Two heavily truncated walls of the north-east extension to [B3] were found. The 1838 Tithe Map shows [B3] with both extensions, although curiously the one to the south-west is shown with a bowed wall only at its south-east end, and a rectangular north-west end (Fig 23). The Phase 5 extension to the south-east had been removed, at least above ground, before the construction of the south-west extension, as their footprints overlap. A section of drain was added to the north-west of the original part of Building [B3]. This truncated one side of the porch or external stairwell, which therefore probably went out of use.

The newly enlarged [B3] is another contender for the building listed as containing coach houses, laundry, and servants apartments in the 1839 sale specification. However the long, bowed side was only 5.5m wide, which does not seem sufficient depth for the storage of coaches. The large bowed-ended extension must have been a building of architectural merit, and it would have been visible from the main drive. If it is not that building it would have been a service or office building, probably used by the family. The substantial bowed ends and relatively light side wall foundations are also suggestive of an orangery, with an at least partly open south-west wall that would have provided good exposure to the sun.

The rerouting of the main east-west road must have preceded the Phase 7 activity on Buildings [B3] and [B14], as these infringe on the area occupied by Colliers Lane. The north elevations of Buildings [B12] and [B13] appear to have respected Colliers Lane, but this could either have been because the road was still functioning or for aesthetic considerations; had the service buildings been further forward they would have dominated

the front of the house. The new drive with its avenue of trees, for the use of the family and guests, now ran from the front of the country house, north around the churchyard, then north-east to the road (Fig 23). The stone gateway had survived the RAF's ownership in this corner of the site. The old road, now a dead end called Rectory Lane, was kept to provide access to the service areas to the east of the country house.

Behind the country house were garden walls, the largest of which would probably have retained a terrace against the fall in the natural ground to the south, and some of the landscaping soil had also survived later truncation. The creation of the very large L-shaped pond towards the south-east of the excavation is poorly dated by artefactual evidence, but it is likely to have been created during the landscaping of the park. There was no physical evidence to explain its slightly curious shape, and if it was not purely for effect then it may have been to exploit some pre-existing cut feature. No other evidence for the landscaping of the gardens was found within the excavation.

A barrel vaulted tunnel was attached to the western lightwell, both being part of the same build. This started opposite the door at the end of the spine corridor and ran west for 25m. The tunnel was almost but not completely buried, as the roof of the vaulting was punctuated by openings for light and ventilation. It led to a sunken circular well house, containing a well with a horse driven pump (outside the excavation but observed in the watching brief). A further tunnel ran north-west from the well house, for at least another 12m. This would have provided access for the horses and an alternative service route into the house without impinging on the family's private enjoyment of the gardens.

The gap between Buildings [B6] and [B10] was now bridged by another structure, forming an extension of [B6] to its south-east. The Tithe Map of 1838 shows [B6] and this extension, but not [B10]. One wall of [B10] was incorporated into it, so it seems likely that the rest of [B10] was demolished when the extension was built. A drain ran south-east from the extended [B6], near its east corner, feeding into the L-shaped pond.

The development of the house and its outbuildings in Phase 7 shows the increased preoccupation with comfort and a movement towards the removal of the service functions from the main house that was a result of the increased desire for privacy amongst the landed élite. This is shown particularly in the construction of the sunken well house and outbuildings concealed behind trees.

Phase 8: 1838 to 1938

In comparison to Phases 6 and 7, the construction activities during Phase 8 were relatively minor. These created garden walls and small outbuildings, with the exception of one substantial range that dates to when Stanmore was used as a school. They were also confined to the heavily truncated centre of the excavation, so little evidence of them survived. Fig 23 confirms that the successors to the Drummonds were firstly not as active as builders, and secondly that the demolition in this phase was more extensive. The 1864 Ordnance Survey map shows that [B3] with its extensions and [B6] with its extension had both been removed by this date. When it was within its own grounds [B3] had been relatively prestigious, but, even with the Phase 7 alterations, by Phase 8 it presumably either became increasingly unsuitable for its function as an outbuilding of the country house, or became too old fashioned in appearance, or most likely both.

The lightwell's retaining wall at the front of the country house was rebuilt with a sloping face, to maximise the light in the front basement rooms. This masonry was bonded with Roman Cement, to waterproof it and prolong its life.

A wall was built across the east end of the country house's eastern spine corridor that created a room accessible only from Room 6. The remains of a wrought iron door surround and the late 19th-century use of concrete in the door sill and jambs indicates that the room was a silver vault, built for the storage of plate. In the 19th to early 20th century many of the internal walls in the house's basement were rendered using Roman Cement. Contemporary with this was extensive racking in many of the basement rooms. The western canted bay was also rebuilt in the basement and sinks added, and in the late 19th to early 20th century a lavatory was added in Room 15.

Therefore the late 19th to early 20th century saw the house well maintained, which can be seen from the use of Portland cement based mortar in rebonding much of the roof top masonry, such as the balustrades. When the photographs were taken of the interior of the house it was very comfortable. A hot air central heating system installed in c.1890 probably related to the use of the house as a school, when there was also provision of an extra water closet, new doorways, and the widening of other doorways. The skirting boards in the basement were all removed and replaced with plain render skirtings. Some of the floors were also concreted over.

An octagonal dairy, 5m across, was built on the north side of Building [B12] before 1864, when it appears on the Ordnance Survey map. It does not appear on the 1838 Tithe Map, but this cannot be relied on to prove it was not there. The dairy listed in the 1839 sale specification was within [B12], but it could have been in one of its original rooms. The fashion for the picturesque led to the popularity of 'rustic' buildings in the style of the *cottage ornée* in the late 18th to early 19th century. Dairies could act as a licence to design in this style, and were fashionable as semi-ornamental features. If it post-dated 1839 it would have been late for this fashion, but not out of the possible range. A wall 1m to the north-west of the new dairy was probably contemporary terracing for it, separating it from the main drive area.

A 2m by 8m extension was added to the rear (south) elevation of [B13]; this had an arched culvert projecting from its west side. At the end of the building's life, at least, it was used as a lavatory block, as there were substantial drainage facilities and a quantity of sanitary ceramic ware in the demolition material. This block was then extended on its east side with the building of what was shown as a garden wall in the Ordnance Survey map of 1896. The north-western corner of [B12] was rebuilt during this phase, using Roman Cement to bond the brickwork of its foundations. Between 1896 and 1914 a swimming pool was inserted into the north-west end of the L-shaped pond and the rest of the pond backfilled. A small basemented structure was built adjacent to [B6], but seemingly not actually attached to it, which is almost certainly the square structure attached to the swimming pool area shown on the 1914 map, and connected to the pool's use.

The 1864 map shows a large rectangular area on the east side of [B13] enclosed by a new garden wall. This left physical evidence in the form of wall fragments, and the truncation of [B6]. The map also shows that what had been a very small extension of [B13] inside this area was enlarged, but it left no trace on the site.

Another outbuilding had been added to the east side of this garden wall by 1896, when it is shown on the Ordnance Survey map, but no trace of it survived the 1938 truncation. This map also shows the addition of a substantial new building outside the area of excavation, about 75m to the north of the country house, near the boundary with the churchyard. Several landscape features disappear between the 1864 and 1896 maps, although this

could reflect the cartography. The large areas of formal gardens to the south-west of the country house were changed to blank areas, presumably as a school had less use for them and they required maintenance, and several paths or tracks were no longer marked.

The 1914 Ordnance Survey map shows that the arrangements to the east of [B13] had been changed again. The garden wall had gone, and within the area that it had enclosed there was a new range, c.25m long, incorporating the outbuilding dating from 1864–96 and almost butting up against [B13], but none of this structure was found. The 1935 Ordnance Survey map is essentially unchanged from this, except that the grounds are now marked as ‘Playing Fields’.

Phase 9: post-1938

In 1938 the RAF demolished all the buildings on the site, levelled the ground off, and built new structures on it; this is believed to have been done rapidly. The demolition material, especially in and around the country house, supports this view, as it included items that might have been salvaged in other circumstances, such as marble and architectural fragments, and even included lead and iron that would normally have been reclaimed for scrap.

The levelling destroyed the country house, [B8], to about 1.20m above the basement floor. Because of the natural slope of the site from north to south, the levelling truncated the north side of the site more severely, generally to the London Clay, while the south side was cut down to earlier landscaping layers. Following the removal of the made ground, there was a slight depression in the 30–40m wide area in the centre of the site (between Buildings [B3] and [B6]), which also had less archaeology surviving in it than the areas to either side. It can be assumed that there were post-medieval, and possibly even medieval, remains there that were completely removed.

During the RAF occupation of the property, the east side of the excavated area saw a variety of buildings constructed, including an air raid shelter, and the western half of the site was covered by a massive hangar, originally used for barrage balloons. This was supported by four north–south rows of large stanchions, one of which was along the west edge of excavation. One row ran through the country house, and one through [B13], causing localised damage.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Medieval occupation and abandonment

Although the focus of medieval Stanmore was some distance from the site, around St Mary’s Church, ribbon development along the major roads could have resulted in the occupation area extending that far, or alternatively outlying farmsteads associated with the settlement could have been situated in the vicinity of the site. The Phase 1 activity is interpreted as taking place on the periphery of the village with properties developing in a low density manner along the main east–west road.

It would be expected that most of the buildings existing in Phase 1 would have been close to Colliers Lane, and so in an area that suffered truncation from both post-medieval and RAF construction. It is not surprising therefore that there was only a single Phase 1 building found, but the presence of the ditches, ponds, and other features, as well as a quantity of pottery, indicates denser occupation. However the truncation means that there is very little evidence about the size, nature, and status of the buildings of this period.

The dates, principally from the pottery and building materials, of the features in the north-east corner of the excavation cluster fairly clearly into two groups, the first of which is mainly in the 12th and 13th centuries but extends up to the early or mid-14th century, Phase 1, and the second from the late 15th century onwards, Phases 2–8. Where there was residual pottery within later contexts this clustering was still there, showing that there was very little, if any, pottery on the site between Phases 1 and 2. This means that this part of the site was almost certainly unoccupied for a period of about 150 years. This, with the formation of a soil over some Phase 1 features, means that there was a less intensive use, such as agriculture or horticulture. The implication is that Stanmore village and its outlying settlement contracted. This would be consistent with the known period of national population reduction and economic downturn starting around the middle of the 14th century, which is associated with outbreaks of the Black Death (Bolton 1980). A movement of people to elsewhere in the village is an alternative explanation.

Late medieval and post-medieval reoccupation

Near the very end of the medieval period or early in the post-medieval period occupation began to

expand once more (Table 1). The pattern appears to have been a ribbon development at a low density. Even though there had been changes of use, firstly to agriculture or horticulture and then back to occupation, there was strong continuity of the properties. In the case of boundary 'D' this is shown by the recutting of the ditch, on almost exactly the same alignment, during Phase 3. In the case of 'C' it is shown in Phase 3 by the position of one side of [B3], and another stretch of wall, which both run alongside the boundary, and in Phase 5 by the insertion of a culvert into the middle of the Phase 1 ditch fill.

The occupation density, or perhaps rather the property density, may have been lower than during the medieval period, as the third boundary, 'B', had gone out of use by Phase 3, when [B4] was built over the Phase 1 ditch fill. Building [B5] sat to the east of this ditch and within one of the original Phase 1 plots of land, but the layout of its drainage and outbuildings in Phases 3 and 5 makes it clear that its property included the whole of the Phase 1 plot to the west of 'B', and at least part of the plot to the east of it. Given that the main building on the new property was [B5], it is very likely that it included the whole of the original plot to the east, although the rest of it was outside the area of excavation.

Therefore, enough evidence survived to show that the basic structure in land holdings was intact between the medieval and post-medieval periods, even if there had been some consolidation of the properties. That said, the pattern of properties on the site during Phases 3–5 is not complete (Figs 8 and 11), as their survival is restricted to the two areas of the site that were least damaged by later truncation, firstly the north-east corner of the site, and secondly the area within and around the later buildings [B12] and [B13], which was protected to some extent by their very substantial footings. The presence of boundary walls in these areas only, on boundaries 'C', 'F', 'G', and possibly 'H', suggests that there were more across the site that did not survive. Any boundaries in the middle of the site, such as postulated boundary 'E' (Fig 8), would have been removed by the severe truncation there, and any in the footprint of the country house would also have been destroyed.

The record is more complete from the post-medieval period than Phase 1, as the building methods were more substantial, using brick or tile plinths even for the timber buildings; the buildings spread across the whole site from east to west in Phase 3,

and as the remains were later they were less truncated. Figs 8 and 11 show that there is sufficient evidence to point to a series of separate properties, most likely in a ribbon pattern, along the south side of Colliers Lane, and some changes in the positions of their boundaries.

In addition, a relatively low pressure on space is implied as at least some of the buildings were oriented sideways to Colliers Lane, as would be expected near the edge of a village. While the size of the properties cannot be established accurately, especially their extent southwards from Colliers Lane, they mostly appear to have been relatively substantial without being large enough to indicate high status. This impression is confirmed by the buildings themselves, as these are consistent with being the houses of middle status people, with the exception of [B8], and possibly [B3]. It also fits with Andrew Drummond purchasing Hodgkins from a London merchant, although his may well have been the best of the properties there.

How long it was between the demolition of [B2] and the building of the bow-ended extension to [B3] in its place is unresolved. [B2] and [B3] together would have formed a coherent unit with two ranges, and the repairs to [B2]'s south-west wall also hint at its longevity. Further circumstantial support for [B2] surviving well beyond Phase 2 is that the footprint of [B2] and the bow-ended extension are very similar in position, even if the latter is very much larger. This implies that the extension was a direct replacement for [B2].

If it is correct that [B3] and [B2] were standing concurrently as a single residence, this house would appear to be particularly comfortable and spacious. This could even have been the house of a member of the lower gentry. Before 1632 the church had been some distance to the south of the post-medieval centre of habitation of the village, but when it was moved to the present churchyard it would have made the site a far more prestigious and desirable location. Changes to the positions of one or more boundaries are likely to be a symptom of dislocation caused by a rise in status of the properties.

The Phase 3 boundary wall ('A' in Fig 8) dividing the road from the plots to the south curved slightly. The road ran north-east to south-west at the north-east corner of the limit of excavation, but east-north-east to west-south-west at the west limit of excavation. This dictated the alignments of the structures on the site, which fall into these two clear groups. In the centre of the site (around Buildings [B6] and [B9]) there was an area where the two

orientations overlapped, during different phases. However, as the higher prestige house, [B8], was on the east-north-east to west-south-west orientation this one began to dominate, as seen during Phase 5.

The 1838 Tithe Map informs us of a medium-sized building that did not survive at all, in the heavily truncated centre of the site (Figs 11 and 23). Little can be deduced about it, but as it was on a north-west to south-east alignment, it is a good candidate for a house that pre-dated the imposition of the orientation of [B8] over this area of the site, and therefore probably dates to Phase 5 or earlier. It would have been within the same property as Buildings [B6] and [B10].

The construction of [B8] was a major change and meant that there was now a different type of building, and therefore very likely a different type of occupant, on the site. However at that time the properties had not yet been consolidated into a single holding. Two new buildings, [B10] and [B11], were built in phases that were later than the villa, even if the chronological imprecision means that there is some overlap of the phase dates in both cases. Both [B10] and [B11] were probably ancillary structures associated with earlier buildings, rather than being new houses, but they nevertheless show that these buildings were occupied separately, and were being actively improved.

The Drummonds' country house

The 1760s country house was commissioned at a time of transition in architectural fashion, even if Vardy was essentially a Palladian architect of the Burlington school (Pearce 2001). The style in which he designed the house, although conservative for its time, was not as traditional as his design for the exterior of Spencer House, which he built in the 1750s, referred to by Pearce (*ibid*) as his most important private commission. Stanmore Park shows an awareness of then current architectural trends. Country house design had to some extent broken free from the strictures of Palladianism as practised by Lord Burlington's circle in the 1720s and, although Palladianism continued to dominate English architecture until at least the 1770s, other styles had become acceptable and new fashions had modified the Palladian repertoire.

Thus, Walpole (the 'first Prime Minister') and Sanderson Miller had employed a non-archaeological⁷ form of the gothic style at the end of the 1740s and during the 1750s. Robert Adam and his immediate predecessors and contemporaries,

such as James Paine, James Stuart, and Robert Taylor had expanded the range of classical motifs and forms that were acceptable. Robert Adam revolutionised interior design during the 1760s and 1770s. His plasterwork decoration was flatter than earlier, more realistic, work and the available forms of decoration expanded. He also helped to establish stucco as a practical render for external elevations. The Picturesque movement, which arose at about this time and was led by garden design, encouraged a more eclectic, informal, and naturalistic approach to country house design. Houses became increasingly integrated with their more naturalistic gardens. The semi-sunken basement with its windows partially visible above the surrounding ground level was no longer obligatory. Asymmetry had crept in to house design and comfort became more important. The 'Neo-Classical' movement introduced architectural forms and motifs collected archaeologically from the wider ancient classical world, rather than the more limited palette identified by the codifiers of the Renaissance, such as Palladio.

The increasing informality of country house living meant that the villa had displaced the great house as the most fashionable form of country house for the landed élite in the 1750s and early 1760s (Worsley 1995, 228). Another fashion of the 1750s, which fitted the informality and sociability of villas of the period, was the introduction of an internal plan consisting of a circuit of rooms set around a central top lit staircase. This first appeared in an urban setting in Norfolk House, London, and soon became very fashionable in country houses (Girouard 1978, 196–8), such as Stiff Leadbetter's Langley Park, of 1755, where all sides of the building became of equal status, effectively creating four fronts (Worsley 1995, 236). Robert Taylor, who built villas for many City clients in the counties around London (Rowan 1996, 85–7), took the circuit of rooms a step further and at Harleyford House, Buckinghamshire, in 1755, gave each elevation separate architectural treatment, creating an asymmetric plan, with unusually shaped rooms. Taylor also used canted bays and bows extensively in his work (Worsley 1995, 236). Taylor's Danson Hill, Bexley, and Asgill House, Richmond, both *c.*1760, had asymmetric canted bays that did not extend up to the full height of the building. Worsley states that Taylor's villas epitomised the 'concept of movement', which is a sense of advance and recession and a variation in height, partly through his use of canted bays. This concept was only articulated by the Adam brothers in the 1760s (Worsley 1995, 256). Vardy's Spencer House also shows some 'movement' on its elevation onto Green Park.

Vardy's house showed some concessions to the fashion for villas. The house was not large and its south elevation, towards the garden, resembled that of a villa with its five central bays breaking forward and emphasised by an attic storey, with two recessed bays either side, rather than the central pediment which would have been more usual beforehand. The north elevation, towards the front, was less villa like, with projecting flanking bays. The elongated plan was also more the shape of a country house than a villa. The internal plan of Stanmore took the development of plans with a circuit of rooms on board, and was built with a circuit around a central staircase (Fig 4), although the exterior remained traditionally axial, with the main elevations facing front and back.

The canted bays at Stanmore may not have been original to Vardy's work. Even if they were, the house's external symmetry and the symmetrical use of canted bays meant that their effect would not have been as fashionable as it was in other houses. Vardy's house to some extent showed a sense of 'movement'; the projecting pedimented flanking bays on the front of the house step forward and up from the recessed central five bays. The central portico also displays 'movement'. At the rear of the building the flanking bays are recessed and lower than the central bays. The canted bays, original or not, contributed to this sense of 'movement'. Overall, although Vardy's designs for Stanmore accepted contemporary trends to some extent they did not do so wholeheartedly. The house as it was commissioned was therefore moderately fashionable, but cautiously designed.

The interior plasterwork shows a very Adamesque flatness and may not be original to Vardy's design. The historic photographs show the Ionic orders on the front and rear porticos to be Greek in style. These probably represent later remodelling by George Drummond, although Vardy was probably aware of the newly discovered Greek motifs; he had worked with James 'Athenian' Stuart at Spencer House. Stuart was one of the chief exponents of a more archaeological and eclectic approach to classical architecture and can be seen as one of the initiators of what became the Greek Revival of the late 18th century. Stuart was responsible for some of the Spencer House interiors while Vardy had designed others, Stuart eventually taking over all of the interior work and supplanting Vardy on the project (Pearce 2001).

Successful businessmen often bought large country estates in an attempt to establish themselves and their heirs as part of the landed ruling élite, thus giving a degree of permanence to their wealth and

power. Owning a country house at the centre of a working estate provided local influence and a power base. Agriculture was also seen at the time as a secure source of income. The Drummonds' purchase of Stanmore and the building activity in the 1760s can be seen as an attempt to buy into the established landed élite, a social circle with whom they dealt on a regular basis through the Drummond bank. This may explain the conservative nature of the initial design and the relentless acquisition of farmland by the Drummonds and their trustees. The average annual income of a peer in the late 18th century was about £10,000, which mostly derived from land. The more important landed aristocrats had incomes of £40,000 to £50,000 (Wilson & Mackley 2000, 18). In 1807 George Harley Drummond's total income from land (including all of the estates in other parts of the country) was £5,784, with the Stanmore estate providing only £1,200, according to Drummond's agent. Their non-landed income was £2,275 (RBS: DR/321, 84-7). This demonstrates that the family was only moderately successful in its attempt to buy into the landed élite. The Stanmore estate was small compared with many country estates and they failed to achieve the traditional power base of the large country house with many surrounding dependent tenants.

In its social context, the moderately conservative style of the original house can be seen as an attempt to replicate other landed estates and adopt the image of established landowners, rather than copying other rich city businessmen by building a flamboyant villa. In employing Vardy who had built famous buildings and who was known for his adherence to the Palladian norms, the Drummonds were employing a 'safe' architect who would design a building that was acceptable to the élite and could function as the centre of a large estate. The house was therefore designed by Vardy with an awareness of contemporary architectural developments in a basically traditional manner and shows that he was more in tune with current architectural developments than he is generally given credit for. Worsley (1995, 290) cites William Chambers as participating in a movement towards simpler decoration in the 1770s and gives his work at Gower House, London, and Milton Park, Northamptonshire, in 1770 as examples of this. The fact that he was also working that year at Stanmore may have added to the austerity of the house's exterior.

The work probably undertaken by George Drummond between 1774 and 1789 brought the house up to date for its time. If there was a semi-sunken basement originally, it was fully

sunken after the garden was landscaped in the naturalistic style portrayed in the early 19th-century prints. He may also have been responsible for the Greek Ionic columns of the porticos, the interior Adamesque plasterwork, the stucco, and probably the canted bays. The construction of the service complex, the service access from the horse-drawn water pump, and the other outbuildings in Phase 7 would have created a much more luxurious house with room for better facilities within the house. It would also have isolated the family further from their servants, as much of the service-related activity was removed from the house and many of the servants who had earlier slept in the house would now have lived in the outbuildings. This extra accommodation would also have allowed for an increase in the number of staff servicing the house.

It seems that most of the building activity of Phase 7 was completed before the Drummonds leased the house to Lady Aylesford in 1815. However, the improvement of the estate continued both before and after the transfer of the estate to Lord Abercorn in 1839, albeit on a greatly reduced scale. The three early to mid-19th-century fireplaces and cooking ranges in the house are evidence of the need to update the house's facilities regularly. The fixtures, fittings, and materials used were always fashionable for their time. Thus the house had an indoor bathroom and several water closets by the 1830s. The need for a silver vault reflected the opulence of the owners' lifestyle.

SPECIALIST REPORTS

The pottery

F M Meddens^b

Introduction

The pottery assemblage discussed below consists of a total of 3,021 potsherds with a weight of 84,004gr and an estimated vessel equivalent of 59.46 based on rim Eves. The pottery derives from 67 contexts.

The material

The medieval component comprises 1,870 sherds (61.9%), weighing 46,907gr (55.8%). The post-medieval assemblage constitutes 1,151 sherds (38.1%), weighing 37,081gr (44.2%).

An early medieval group is present, dating between the 11th and 13th centuries, with a likely

deposition time during the 12th century. A small amount of possible redeposited or residual material dates to the 13th–14th centuries. A likely late medieval group dating to the 15th–16th centuries could be identified and further post-medieval assemblages dating to the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were also present. It is perhaps of interest to note that the ceramic assemblage did not include any element that could be ascribed to the known RAF presence here.

With the early medieval material South Hertfordshire greywares (SHER) predominate — with 242 sherds, weighing 3,500gr, they constitute 75.4% of the total number of this group and 75.9% of the weight. The total number of sherds pertaining to the early medieval period is 321 with a weight of 4,609gr. Common fabrics include post-medieval Red Wares, Staffordshire wares, Tin Glazed Wares, Cream Wares, Transfer Printed Wares, Refined White Wares, and Stone Wares (both English and imported German ones).

A small number of the South Hertfordshire/Limpsfield greywares (SHER) dating to 1140–1300 merit further description. These comprise a jar (formerly cooking pot CPOT) rim from context [402] with a sharply everted rim. This vessel is comparatively large with a diameter of *c.*30cm. A second jar from the same context has an everted and clubbed rim and a similarly large diameter of *c.*31cm. There is a fragment of a jar from context [422] with a sharply everted rim (Fig 25.1) and a more common diameter of *c.*20cm (Havercroft *et al* 1987, 50, fig 9), as well as a sharply everted rim fragment from a bowl from the same context, and a piece of a large bowl with an everted rim with a diameter of *c.*28cm, and carinated body (Fig 25.2). The latter vessel has been in contact with fire and may have been used in cooking as demonstrated by the presence of external sooting.

A rim and handle fragment from a late medieval Hertfordshire greyware (LMHG) jug (Fig 25.3) from context [409] dating to 1340–1450 is present. The diameter could not be measured but the handle was vertically placed and shows evidence of stabbing to ensure even firing. The presence of significant quantities of Hertfordshire greywares is no surprise as the site is in close proximity to two known kiln sites at Elstree Hill South and Barnet Lane Elstree (Turner-Rugg 1988, 18–19).

A handle fragment of an Oxfordshire Brill medieval ware jug dating to 1200–1550 (Fig 25.4), from context [439], was found. It comprises a vertical strap handle with thumb impressions running along the external crest of the handle.

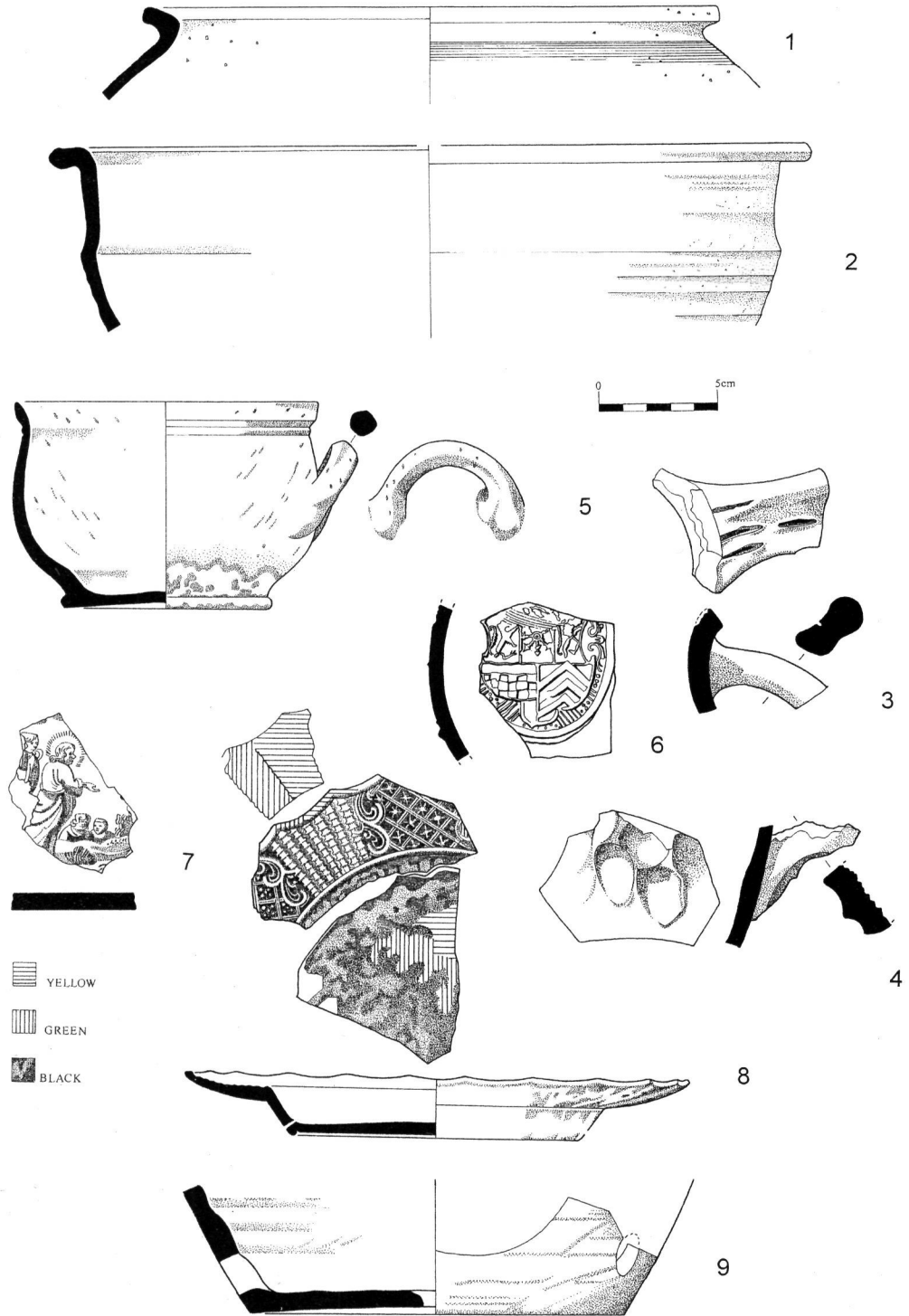


Fig 25. Some of the pottery found in the excavation

Context [409] produced a piece of Red Brown-glazed Red Border ware (RBORB) dating to 1580–1800 (Fig 25.5). This represented the rim, base, and handle of a small porringer, with a slightly everted exterior thickened rim. The vessel diameter is 12cm and the handle comprises a small horizontally-placed loop-shaped rod, the base is slightly concave.

Context [208] included a body sherd from a Frechen (FREC) bellarmine dating to 1600–1700 with an armorial design (Fig 25.6).

A rim to base sherd from a Donyatt ware dish (DONY) dating to 1700–1800 came from context [251]. The rim was everted with exterior thickening, the base flat. The interior slip-trailed design comprised slip-trailed filled circles around the interior edge of the rim with a fine-line linear design as a central design. The diameter of the dish was 35cm. Another slipware comprised the flat base of a Metropolitan slipware plate dating 1630–1700 from context [261] with an interior central curvilinear design.

Context [349] produced a fragment of a Tin Glazed ware tile dating to 1660–1800 with a blue on white design representing a biblical scene (Fig 25.7). A central figure with a halo appears to be addressing two figures in the distance with a further figure, possibly an angel, behind him. Unfortunately not enough survives of the design to be certain about the precise biblical theme represented.

Context [476] produced some fragments of Whieldon-type ware or Tortoiseshell glaze (CREA TORT) plate dating to 1740–1770 (Fig 25.8). The pieces represent the rim to the flat base, with the rim diameter being *c.*20cm, the rim is everted and the edge scalloped. The interior of the rim has a moulded 'diamond, dot and basket' pattern as frequently seen on Staffordshire white salt glazed ware pieces.

Context [409] produced the rim to base of a small Staffordshire mottled brown glazed ware (STMO) porringer dating to 1700–1800. The diameter was *c.*12cm, the rim everted with exterior thickening, the base flat, and a small horizontal rod handle attached to the body.

From context [476] a base from a post-medieval redware plant pot (PMR) dating to 1730–1780 was recovered. The base is flat and has central and side drainage holes (Fig 25.9).

It should be noted that, despite the clear evidence for the wealth of the inhabitants of the site from the 18th century onwards, the ceramic assemblage has very little to demonstrate this affluence, neither in the variety nor quality nor range of origins of the wares represented.

18th- and 19th-century fireplaces and heating appliances

Ken Sabel¹

Introduction

During the excavation a number of fireplaces and other heating appliances were recorded in the basement rooms of the country house. These are of interest, and described here.

The fireplaces and heating appliances

Room 14 had a corner fireplace with the remains of a Bath stove grate, embossed with a neo-classical urn motif, typical of the decoration on grates produced by the Carron company in Falkirk, from 1759 onwards (Eveleigh 1983, 4).

Room 6, the possible Butler's pantry, contained a fireplace with an iron register grate that was set forward in the chimney opening with the fire relatively close to the floor. It had a heat resistant fireclay brick back and dated to *c.*1810–1820. This fireplace was of an efficient design that took on board the advances made in fireplace design introduced by Count Rumford in America in 1797 (Eveleigh 1983, 6–7).

In the 1840s a cooking range was inserted into the fireplace of Room 3. The range had a back boiler, oven, and stove with adjustable cheeks. It was manufactured at a foundry in Tottenham Court Road. Its design relied heavily on that patented by Thomas Robinson in 1780 (Sambrook & Brears, 1997, 105–6, 110). Another simpler hob grate was inserted into the corner fireplace of Room 13. This had 'cc' written on one of the hobs indicating that it was manufactured at the Carron foundry. The fire was set relatively high off the floor. It had a cast iron back plate. At the back of the flue the fireclay tile was stamped with 'HARRIS & PEARSON, STOURBRIDGE'. The fireplace in Room 2 was late Victorian with red glazed tile cheeks, used purely for heating the room. It had a florally decorated adjustable iron canopy.

Within the fireplace in the central hall in the basement (Room 8) was a *c.*1890 heating system. It consisted of a fire that heated a cylindrical iron tube, which was laid on its side. This was a hollow jacket that contained water. The hot water heated the air in the space within the jacket that passed up the building via a flue within the wall. It is not certain but likely that the hot water was used for

other purposes. There were three inspection windows with cast iron frames to monitor its workings and a cast iron door allowed the fire to be maintained.

Environmental archaeology

N P Branch and A Vaughan-Williams¹⁰

Discussion

The plant remains recovered from RAF Stanmore, from contexts in Phases 1–3, represent two broad plant communities: (1) *Rubus idaeus/saxatilis*, *Sedum* sp., and *Stachys arvensis* indicate a marginal environment with open woodland, shrubland, and hedgerows growing in close proximity to the ditches and ponds; (2) *Carex* species and *Ranunculus sceleratus* represent a damp, possibly marshy, environment. This interpretation is supported by archaeological evidence for a stream running along the western edge of the site and entering Stanmore Marsh to the south-east. The naturally high water table would undoubtedly have led to saturation of the soil and episodic fluvial inundation of the site necessitating the construction of drainage ditches and gullies. These features, and the stream edge, would have created ideal conditions for the colonisation of plant communities adapted to disturbed and damp ground environments. The presence of water flea eggs in three samples confirms the presence of open freshwater habitats in the local area.

The site at RAF Stanmore was clearly a damp place to live during the medieval and earlier post-medieval periods, and was situated within a relatively open landscape, with scattered trees, shrubs, and possibly hedgerows. There is no evidence for any major changes in vegetation composition and structure between these different phases of occupation. The identification of a few barley grains in samples 4 (Phase 1), 14 (Phase 2), 17 (Phase 2), and 11 (Phase 3) provides only circumstantial evidence for localised cultivation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors and Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd wish to thank Laing Homes, Barratt Homes, and Bellway Homes for funding the work, their consultants, Angus Stephenson and Rob Bourn of CgMs Consulting, for commissioning it and for their help and advice during the fieldwork, Richard Lea and Treve Rosoman of English Heritage for their comments, The Royal Bank of Scotland Group archivists and especially Philip

Winterbottom, and the demolition contractors Gaywood Ltd for their co-operation. They also thank: Tudor Morgan-Owen (photography), Josephine Brown and Michael Miles (illustrations), Peter Moore (project management); and Frank Meddens (post-excavation management and editing), and all those who worked on the excavation, enduring very poor working conditions from the combination of non-stop rain and London Clay 'natural', as well as the finds and sample processing team.

NOTES

¹ There are two other, less likely, possibilities. The first is that both features were entrances at different times. If so, as the west entrance is the more traditional position and the east arguably makes better use of the space, the implication is that the former was original and the latter was the replacement. In addition, the original entrance would be more likely to face the road than away from it. The second is that the entrance was always to the east and originally led into a screens passage which was later removed to make way for the chimney. The high end of the hall would therefore have been to the south-west.

² There are also less likely possibilities. The first is that it had the same six room plan but with the front elevation on the north side, facing Colliers Lane, so that the central corridor ran from front to back. The second is that it had four rooms on each floor, faced north and had a central front to back corridor. The front rooms would have been smaller than the rear rooms, so the house would be symmetrical in one axis only. It would have been five bays wide by three or four irregular bays deep. While this would represent a smaller house, it would still have been substantial, when its likely height is considered.

³ While these records date from later than Phase 6, there is no archaeological or architectural reason to suppose it ever extended down to the basement.

⁴ Photographs of the interior of the building show the entrance hall as being panelled. The walls in this room were topped by a Doric entablature. Its frieze was decorated with triglyphs (each with six guttae beneath) separated by medallions, similar decoration to that used by Vardy on the external west elevation of Spencer House in the 1750s (Pearce 2001). The cornice was also highly decorated in such a way as to emphasise the frieze decoration (NMR: BB75/3679). The saloon had a curved chimney on each of its northern corners. The entablatures above the doors and at the top of the walls in this room both had friezes decorated with a guilloche pattern (a pattern of interlocking circles encompassed by two 'ropes') with a rosette within each circle. The cornices were dentilled (NMR: BB75/3683). The saloon fireplaces had vertically elongated friezes with a central medallion on a projecting panel. The entablature broke forward over pilasters arranged either side of the opening. The fireplaces themselves were arched. The decoration shown on the historic photographs appears generally to have been applied in relatively high relief on the doorway in the saloon but in

low relief in the entrance hall, saloon plasterwork, and on the fireplaces. The high relief decoration shows a more traditional Palladian influence, while the less prominent decoration is more Adamesque.

⁵ The photographs and prints indicate that there was a hipped east–west roof running over the front range of rooms and two similarly orientated hipped roofs over the flanking additions at the rear of the building. The higher attic storey had its own east–west hipped roof. Certainly by the time the photographs were taken the front and rear flanking roofs, which rose to the same height, were joined on at least their west side by a north–south roof with a central west facing dormer (NMR: BB75/3674). The higher attic storey at the rear of the building extended at least as far forward as the secondary staircase. This would have created a series of rooms in the attic that did not have sloping ceilings, making them more suitable for use by the family.

⁶ The facing-brick type was 3032 in the Greater London archaeological system of building material classification.

⁷ The later Greek and Gothic revivals were characterised by an archaeologically studied approach, whereby architects recorded ancient remains, and incorporated the results into their own work. In precision and detail their recording was pioneering, and largely unmatched by contemporary antiquarians.

⁸ Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd.

⁹ Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd.

¹⁰ Geography Department, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey TW20 0EX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AYRES (1998), J Ayres *Building the Georgian City*
- BOLTON (1980), J L Bolton *The Medieval English Economy 1150–1500*
- BRANCH & VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS (2002), N P Branch & A Vaughan-Williams *Environmental Archaeological Report, RAF Stanmore, London Borough of Harrow (UER00)* ArchaeoScape unpub report for Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd
- CALLOW (1996), S Callow *The Elements of Style*
- COOPER (1999), N Cooper *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680*
- EVELEIGH (1983), D J Eveleigh *Firegrates and Kitchen Ranges*
- FLEMING *et al* (1966, 1998 edn), J Fleming, H Honour & N Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*
- GIROUARD (1978), M Girouard *Life in the English Country House*
- HAMMOND (1984), M D P Hammond ‘Brick and tile kiln, “The Kiln”, Stanmore Middx’ *British Brick Society Information* No. 33, May 1984, 13–14
- HAVERCROFT *et al* (1987), A B Havercroft, A Turner-Rugg & G Rugg ‘Notes on “Hertfordshire Greyware” vessels from recent excavation in St Albans, with particular reference to size and shape as demonstrated by two new computer programs’ *Medieval Ceramics* 11, 31–67
- KELSALL (1989), F Kelsall ‘Stucco’ in H Hobhouse & A Saunders (eds) *Good and Proper Materials — The Fabric of London since the Great Fire*, 18–24
- LANGLEY (1748), B Langley *The London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works*
- LOWE (2000), J Lowe *Description and Analysis: RAF Stanmore, Uxbridge Road, Stanmore* unpub report, CgMs Consulting
- NATIONAL MONUMENTS RECORD: London Borough of Harrow file, listed under Stanmore Park, photographs: BB75/3672–3679 and 3681–3683
- PEARCE (2001), D Pearce *London’s Mansions — The Palatial Houses of the Nobility*
- ROCQUE (1754), J Rocque *A Map of Middlesex*
- ROWAN (1996), A Rowan ‘Sources and influences for the later Georgian villa — villa variants’ in D Arnold (ed) *The Georgian Villa*, 75–93
- ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND: DR/101: Sales Particulars of Stanmore Estate, Middlesex to be sold at auction 2 August 1839, E & G N Driver, London
- ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND: DR/201/10: Prints: 1780, *Cadland Park in Hampshire, the Seat of Robt. Drummond Esqr.* (W Watts, London)
- 1806, *The Seat of George Drummond Esq. — with the Church — Stanmore* (engraved by Ellis, J Stratford, London) (view from the south)
- 1815, *Stanmore House, the Seat of Lady Aylesford, Middlesex* (engraved by T Mathews, from drawing by J F Neale, John Harris, London) (view from the north)
- undated painting, *To George Drummond Esq. This view of his House including Stanmore Church & Harrow in the distance is most respectfully dedicated to him by...* J C Oldmeadow (printed by W Clark, London)
- ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND: DR/321: Notebook by B T Sellon headed: George Harley Drummond Esq., A Private History of his Concerns, by B T S, Feb 26 1807 Boswell Court, London
- ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND: DR/427: Drummond’s Bank, London, Customer Account Ledger (on microfilm), films covering the period 1727–1780
- SAMBROOK & BREARS (1997), P A Sambrook & P Brears *The Country House Küchen 1650–1900*
- THOMPSON (1992), I Thompson ‘Andrew Drummond and Stanmore Park: Where was Hodgkins?’ *The Salubrious Air* The Stanmore and Harrow Historical Society
- TURNER (1999), R Turner *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth Century English Landscape*
- TURNER-RUGG (1988), A Turner-Rugg ‘Medieval pottery production in Hertfordshire’ *Hertfordshire’s Past* 25 Autumn, 17–21
- VCH (1976), Victoria County History *A History of the County of Middlesex* Vol 5
- WILSON & MACKLEY (2000), R Wilson & A Mackley *Creating Paradise — The Building of the English Country House, 1660–1880*
- WORSLEY (1995), G Worsley *Classical Architecture in Britain — The Heroic Age*