

**An archaeological desk-based assessment  
of Caroline Park, Granton, Edinburgh,  
Lothian, Scotland**

**Centred on NGR: NT 228 772**

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## Summary statement

The client, Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd, propose to develop land in the vicinity of Caroline Park, a post-medieval country house with formal gardens and a designed landscape. Since the 1830s the area has become increasingly developed for heavy industry, but remarkably the house has survived. Caroline Park House, a Category A listed building, is recognised as being one of Scotland's most important 17<sup>th</sup>-century houses. Plans have been put forward, in line with government policy for 'brown field' sites, to regenerate the Granton district, bringing the post-industrial dereliction that has built up over the years to an end. The Waterfront Granton Master Plan outlining the proposals was published in December 2000.

Aware that the development proposals will have an impact on any surviving archaeology, the client commissioned C K Currie of CKC Archaeology to undertake a desk-based assessment of the development area. The aim of this assessment is to identify the archaeological potential of the site, and make appropriate recommendations.

It is possible that both Caroline Park House and its landscape were influenced by the presence of earlier features. It is thought that the house incorporates part of a tower house dating to at least the later 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it is possible that the landscape also incorporated earlier features. To do justice to its importance, it has been proposed that any future development in the area would, in ways yet to be fully determined, show respect to historic alignments associated with a well-documented historic landscape surrounding the house. The present proposals hope to go some way towards creating a development that respects the surviving elements of the designed landscape, and reinstates historic boundaries and vistas where possible.

The later history of this landscape shows that it has been much disturbed by intensive industrial development during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, promoted by the Buccleuch family, who were also responsible for the development of Granton Harbour, starting in 1835 with Granton Pier. By the later 19<sup>th</sup> century much of Caroline Park's designed landscape had been destroyed, leaving a much restricted policy around the house. Documentary and cartographic sources for the landscape's evolution are good, in particular, two 18<sup>th</sup>-century plans survive that show an elaborate layout of walled courts and gardens. The remains of one stone gateway and part of a walled court still survive to give a glimpse of the quality and nature of the design.

In order to determine how far archaeological remains of the pre-1740 landscapes survive, a programme of archaeological evaluation that includes both geophysical techniques and trial trenching is proposed. In order to best understand the extent and evolution of the historic landscape it will be necessary to undertake archaeological investigation outside the development area as well as within. This is necessary to fully understand any fragmentary traces which survive within the seriously disturbed development site. There is the opportunity for the results to add to our understanding of the landscape, and contribute to the future development and its landscape character.

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## **An archaeological desk-based assessment of Caroline Park, Granton, Edinburgh, Lothian, Scotland**

### **Centred on NGR: NT 228 772**

This report has been written based on the format suggested by the Institute of Field Archaeologists' *Standard and guidance for archaeological desk-based assessments* (Birmingham, 1994). The ordering of information follows the guidelines given in this document, although alterations may have been made to fit in with the particular requirements of the work. All work is carried out according to the *Code of Conduct* and By-laws of the Institute of Field Archaeologists, of which CKC Archaeology is an IFA-registered archaeological organisation (reference: RAO no. 1).

#### **1.0 Introduction (Figs 1, 13; Plates 1-5)**

The client, Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd, propose to develop land in the vicinity of Caroline Park, a post-medieval country house with formal gardens and a designed landscape (Fig. 1). Since the 1830s the area has become increasingly developed for heavy industry, but remarkably the house has survived. Caroline Park House<sup>1</sup>, a Category A listed building, is recognised as being one of Scotland's most important 17<sup>th</sup>-century houses (Plates 3-5). Plans have been put forward, in line with government policy for 'brown field' sites, to regenerate the Granton district, bringing the post-industrial dereliction that has built up over the years to an end (Fig. 13; Plates 1-4). The Waterfront Granton Master Plan, outlining the proposals, was published in December 2000 (Llewelyn-Davies 2000). The present proposals hope to go some way towards creating a development that respects the surviving elements of the designed landscape, and reinstates historic boundaries and vistas where possible.

Aware that the development proposals will have an impact on any surviving archaeology, the client commissioned C K Currie of CKC Archaeology to undertake a desk-based assessment of the development area. The aim of this assessment is to identify the archaeological potential of the site, and make appropriate recommendations.

#### **2.0 Historical background**

Caroline Park lies on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, about five kilometres north-west of Edinburgh city centre. There appears to have been a residence of some substance there since at least the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the construction of the present house started. The earliest surviving house in the vicinity was Granton Castle, the site of which is about 100m north-west of the present Caroline Park House on the west side of the burn that divides the two properties. Initially these properties formed the baronies of Easter Granton (later Royston) and Wester Granton (Granton Castle).

The earliest part of the present house at Caroline Park seems to date from *c.* 1585 when an L-shaped building was built by Andrew Logan. This was known as 'Roystoun', and was

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<sup>1</sup> Caroline Park House was formerly known as Royston House. See section 4.1.2 for the sequence of events leading to the name change.

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extensively remodelled following its purchase by Sir George Mackenzie (1630-1714)<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Tarbat, and after 1703 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Cromarty, in 1683. It is thought that Tarbat may have used Sir William Bruce as his architect. Substantial landscaping, included walled gardens, courts and tree-lined walks, were laid out by Tarbat. In 1739 the property was bought by John Campbell (1678-1743), Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. His eldest daughter and heiress was Lady Caroline Campbell (?-1794), from whom the property takes its present name. She married Francis, Earl of Dalkeith (?-1750), the eldest son of the Duke of Buccleuch, but outlived him by many years. There are a number of plans surviving that show the development of the landscape from c. 1739 onwards.

In 1794<sup>3</sup> on the death of Caroline, by then Baroness Greenwich, the property passed to her only surviving son, Henry 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812). From the later 18<sup>th</sup> century it declined in status. A succession of tenants contributed to the gradual demolition of the courts and walled gardens, the parkland reverting to an open farm park. By the late 1830s industrial development had begun to have an affect on the landscape. In 1837 a daily Edinburgh to London steamer sailed from Granton Pier on the edge of the park. This was followed by the world's first train ferry across the Forth, which led to railway lines cutting across the former designed landscape. This encouraged the development of industrial exploitation, which continued into the 1980s, with the eastern part of the walled gardens overlain by an oil storage depot. The present proposals include the reclamation of the oil storage depot site plus other industrialised areas for mixed urban development.

### 3.0 Strategy

The strategy for this report is based on the Institute of Field Archaeologists' *Standard and guidance for archaeological desk-based assessments* (Birmingham, 1994). Information reported on here was taken mainly from sources found at:

- The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland (RCHMS), John Sinclair House, Bernard St, Edinburgh.
- Edinburgh City Archives, City Library, Edinburgh
- The National Register of Archives, East Register House, Princes Street, Edinburgh.
- The National Register of Archives, West Register House, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (maps).

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<sup>2</sup> Dates are as given in L Stephen & S Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, London, 1921-22 (hereafter DNP).

<sup>3</sup> DNP gives Caroline, Baroness of Greenwich's death as 1794. Harris (1896, 33) gives it as 1793.

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## **4.0 Results (Figs. 2-12)**

### **4.1 Sites & Monuments Information (Fig. 2; Plates 1-6; Appendix 1)**

Information was collected from the Scottish Sites and Monuments Record database kept by the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland (RCHMS), at John Sinclair House, Bernard St, Edinburgh. It was collected from both the development area and those parts of the surrounding area thought to be of relevance to this study (Fig 2).

This showed that there had been little systematic archaeological work in the study area. What little is known of the area for the earlier periods seems to be derived from casual antiquarian observations in the later 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These include a small number of prehistoric and Roman finds. In most cases the exact locations are vague. A full listing is given in Appendix 1 in this report. Later sites of importance include Caroline Park House, a Category A listed building, and landscape features associated with it, the site of Granton Castle, and a range of listed industrial buildings from the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The only piece of recent archaeological investigation of below ground deposits occurred on the site of Granton Castle in 1992. This showed the archaeology of this site to have been removed by later disturbance. Intensive industrial development since the 1830s could have had a similar result in our places within the study area. A full listing of the known sites is given in Appendix 1 in this report, to which the reader is referred.

A more detailed discussion of these sites is given in the sections below.

### **4.2 Documentary research**

#### **4.2.1 Early history**

Despite the little systematic archaeological work undertaken in the study area, there are clear indications that it was occupied from an early date. The proximity of the first safe harbour on the Firth of Forth, and the freshwater source supplied by the Granton Burn would have made it a natural habitation spot for early man. Chance finds include a prehistoric stone axe (RCHMS number NT27NW6), a possible burial cist (RCHMS numbers NT27NW12) and Roman pottery (RCHMS number NT27NW4), all found nearby (Fig. 2; Dennison 1916-7, 235; Curle 1931-2, 351, Ove Arup 2001). The Roman pottery is particularly tantalising. A piece of Sigillata bowl, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (ibid), it fits in with the Hadrianic/Antonine incursions into Scotland, and implies the invading forces may have used the shore near Royston as a landing point. If this is the case, one might expect further finds in the area. Unfortunately, the only recent archaeological work on the site of Granton Castle, where the pottery was thought to have been found, proved entirely negative, the archaeological deposits having seemingly been removed by recent disturbance (RCHMS number NT27NW 2, file notes).

Historically the baronies of Easter and Wester Granton were divided by the Granton Burn. The importance of this freshwater source seems to have been important enough to cause the main residence of both baronies (or manors) to spring up virtually next door to one another.

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Although the earliest known date for a house on the Caroline Park House site is *c.* 1585, Granton Castle is first known from 1479, when it is referred to as 'Grantoun House' belonging to one John Melville (Harris 1896, 41). The Earl of Hertford landed nearby in 1544 with an English invasion force that caused much damage to the locality, including reputedly ruining Granton Castle (*ibid.*, 38).

Caroline Park (Royston) House originally formed the estate of Easter Granton, its earliest known owners being the powerful Logan family of Restalrig. They still held it in 1580 (*ibid.*, 33). It is thought that Andrew Logan was responsible for building an L-shaped tower house on the site *c.* 1585. An Act of 1535 required all landowners with more than £100 in rental income to build a tower within a barmkin. In the main these buildings tended to be of rectangular or square plan, but some of the more wealthy landowners adopted more elaborate plans, of which the L-shaped plan, as built at Caroline Park (Royston) House, was one of the most common (Whyte 1990, 101-2).

In 1601 Walter Henryson bought the estate. His son sold it to David Johnkin in 1641 for £1333-6-8d. This family sold the barony of Easter Granton to Patrick Nicholl. In 1676 he had the barony 'erected into that of Roystoun' (Harris 1896, 33), and from here until 1739 the property went by the name of Royston House. Nicholl's only daughter, Margaret, married George Graham the younger of Inchbrace in 1665, and had the estate of Royston settled on them. It was the Grahams who sold the estate to Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat on his being ennobled as a Viscount in 1683 (*ibid.*).

#### **4.2.2 Aristocratic seat (Figs. 3-5; Plates 3-5)**

Soon after completing the purchase, Tarbat set about enlarging the existing tower house to create his Edinburgh house in a style suitable to his status. According to Clough, the earlier entrance to the initially remodelled courtyard house was on the north side (Plate 3). This is shown by a now faded inscription above the original main door. This states that Tarbat and his wife had this modest 'cottage' built for them in the year 1685. The initial remodelling was completed in 1685. Sir William Bruce (1630-1710) has been suggested as the architect based on similarities between Holyrood Palace and Caroline Park (Royston) House. Tarbat was said to be living at Holyrood at the time he purchased Royston (Harris 1896, 9). More recent discussion on the involvement of Bruce suggests that although the identity of the architect is unknown, Bruce's influence is 'clear' (Clough 1990, 132).

Sir William Bruce was the first great architectural figure of the post-1660 period, acclaimed in 1717 by the Whig gentleman-architect Sir John Clerk of Penicuik as 'the chief introducer of Architecture in this country' (MacInnes, Glendinning, & MacKechnie 1999, 73). A significant aspect of this period was the emergence of a distinctly Scottish architecture with its own values and traditions. The outstanding development was the full establishment in Scotland, for the first time, of a mainstream European classicism. Bruce was a knighted politician with diverse interests, whose architectural activity and status related to his social position at court. He was widely travelled, the Low Countries, England and probably France. He possessed a large, comprehensive library. A close ally of Charles II in exile he became a baronet in 1668 and by 1671 had been commissioned to design the rebuilding of Holyrood

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Palace in the new post of Surveyor-General and Overseer of the King's Buildings in Scotland. Hopetoun House (1699-1702), for the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Hopetoun, is another of his works, although it was not completed (Whyte 1990, 111).

Both the style and method of remodelling of Caroline Park (Royston) House reflects Bruce's early techniques (Plates 4-5). However, the original north entrance is clumsy, and bears the mark of a man of lesser talent. It might be suggested, therefore, that Tarbat either designed the house himself based on Bruce's influence, or used an unknown architect who was an admirer of Bruce. Others have been suggested as architect. Robert Mylne, the royal mason working at Holyrood with Bruce, held a bill from Tarbat for £2800 in 1694 (Gifford *et al* 1991, 604n), but Clough (1990, 132) argues that this bill need not have been for Caroline Park (Royston) House.

How the grounds were laid out during the ownership of the Tarbats can be deduced from surviving plans and knowledge of Tarbat's work on his northern estates. Two undated plans from around 1740 or earlier (Figs. 3-4) are key documents relating to Royston.<sup>4</sup> The earliest of these may be that entitled 'Plan of the lands of Royston' (RCHMS EDD/46/60; Fig. 3), which probably dates from the sale of the estate to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Argyll *c.* 1739. A major change of ownership or tenure was the most common use for estate plans, so this date seems to be a reasonable deduction. It can be assumed that these plans show the garden largely as it was during the ownership of the Tarbats. No doubt it represents changes to the landscape until *c.* 1739, but it depicts a design of formal walled courts and gardens around the house, with enclosed 'parkland' for grazing animals beyond.

The plans show a North Court, an elaborate, walled court with buildings, probably (?) pavilions, flanking a gate on the north of the house. This layout is confirmed by another plan of uncertain date (RCHMS EDD/46/61; Fig. 5), which shows a range of outhouses at an angle to the courtyard. There are two pavilions at the NW and NE corners of the North Court, with a third building set against the outside of the park wall and a few metres north of the NE pavilion. The Entrance Gates were set between these pavilions, with quadrant walls. These walls seem to be shown with steps along their inside faces. The RCHMS notes<sup>5</sup> attached to this drawing erroneously attributes it to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but this cannot be the case as, by this time, the stable (outhouse) had been rebuilt on a more symmetrical alignment. It is perhaps the case that the stable was contemporary with the *c.* 1585 house as its odd angle to the courtyard suggests this. The courtyard sits so oddly against this building that it is difficult to imagine the two are contemporary, although such asymmetry is not impossible. It is notable that the early stable followed the line of the burn. After 1740, when it was rebuilt symmetrically with the courtyard, it was necessary to divert the burn underneath it via a culvert, which still exists today.

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<sup>4</sup> These plans show only the estate of Easter Granton. Later plans of Caroline Park show the park extending into and incorporating Wester Granton. The Duke of Argyll purchased Wester Granton in 1740. Therefore it is likely that the plans pre-date that purchase, but by how much is uncertain. Throughout this essay these plans are referred to as the '1740' plan or plans, as this is the latest date thought to apply to them.

<sup>5</sup> A bibliography attached to the Historic Scotland listing schedule for Caroline Park further credits this plan to 1835 by William Burn. This can not be so as there are at least two later 18<sup>th</sup>-century plans in the Scottish Record Office that show the stable (outbuilding) wing rebuilt on a N-S alignment symmetrical with the courtyard (SRO RHP 5397, RHP 714), supposedly by William Adam after 1740.

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The plans also show an area of woodland planted to the north and leading along the burn to the seashore. There is a gap in the policy wall where the 'sea gate' was later erected. This layout survived into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is surprising because it was probably created when the house was approached from the north. By 1696 Tarbat had apparently decided that his north front was 'clumsy' and had refaced the south front to make his main entrance from Edinburgh. The refacing of the south front has produced one of the best contemporary facades in Scotland, and was clearly influenced by the best tastes of the time. The c. 1740 plans show a double entrance court on the south, with an entrance gate with piers and quadrant walls central to the outer court. This leads into a semi-circular grass forecourt, enclosed by trees and leading out into a South Avenue. An entrance on the west indicates that the Edinburgh road led up to the grass forecourt after running parallel along the west of the woodland defining the west side of the avenue. The avenue did not function as a carriage drive or public road, but was a long grass ride laid out for ornamentation and prestige. This approach may have been remodelled or indeed, laid out contemporary with the 1696 rebuilding of the south front.

To the east of the house were the formal gardens. Three rectangular enclosures lay against the east front. The northernmost was planted with trees, possibly an ornamental plantation, orchard or wilderness. The central garden is marked as a 'bowling green'. The southernmost was the largest area, being trapezoidal in shape. Marked 'Garden' it is shown divided at mid-point by a wide north-south walk. To the east of these gardens is a Long Walk, a wide tree-lined walk orientated north-south, with a large squarish area on its east side also marked 'garden'. The north-south walk led southwards to meet a long, wide, double East Avenue that dominates the entire design and links the semi-circular grass forecourt with a formal east entrance through the policy walls. This entrance has two semi-circular plantations flanking it. Finally to the east of the South Avenue is a trapezoidal park ringed with trees. These are thicker on the north and east sides, with a circular clump near the NE corner.

Such a design is typical of the period 1683-1739. As argued above, changes are highly likely to have been undertaken following the reorientation of the main entrance front of the house in 1696. Much of this is assumption, however, as few records survive. What little there is relates to correspondence between the first earl and his youngest son, James, who lived at Royston. The latter inherited the title, Lord Royston, on his father's death in 1714.

Although these letters often mention flowers grown in the estate gardens, Tarbat had three major properties, Castle Leod, the ancestral family seat, New Tarbat and Royston. As major works were being undertaken at the latter two periods during the time of these letters, it is not always clear to which property the itemised works refer. Anemones, ranunculus, jonquills, narcissus (daffodils), tuberose, double auriculars and tulips are all mentioned (Clough 1990, 138). A letter from Tarbat to his friend, the Reverend James McLellan asks him to send him willows and privet. Later the gardener at New Tarbat was asked to send cuttings for hedges at Royston. Stones 'for pavement' are also an item on the order list. In 1703 James Wood, a quarrier of Queensferry, was asked to send nine score and ten stones for 'the pavement to the forecourt at Royston' (ibid). In 1709, the gardener, Alexander Colterd, was paid £43 but only

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£5 for the half year of 1710. This might suggest that there were considerably more gardening expenses in 1709 than in 1710 (op cit, 141).

In 1739 the property was sold to John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich, by which date he was Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Scotland and Governor of Edinburgh Castle. The following year he purchased the adjoining estate of Wester Granton (Harris 1896, 30). Little has been made of this second purchase, but the ability to incorporate its adjoining gardens may have had a decisive influence on the gardens at Royston. It is uncertain whether the large walled garden on the west side of the burn existed at this time, but there is no reason to suppose it did not. The Historic Building listing for the Granton walled garden suggests that is 'probably of 18<sup>th</sup>-century date or earlier' (The List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, 1998 revised list). Even if this garden did not exist in 1740, the purchase gave Argyll the opportunity to expand the gardens in this direction. As will be seen below, 19<sup>th</sup>-century tenants of Caroline Park may have turned their horticultural attentions to this area following the removal of most of the walled compartments surrounding Royston House.

The *c.* 1740 plans give a good idea of the layout of the garden. The second plan (RCHMS EDD/46/59; Fig. 4)<sup>6</sup>, although very similar, shows some distinct differences to Figure 3. For the most part the garden layout is the same, except for the the bowling green, which is shown as laid out with cross-walks meeting in a central oval area. Later plans (eg SRO RHP 5397) show the more elaborate design. It is possible therefore that the more detailed plan shows alterations made following the 1739 purchase.

Argyll added the northern part of Wester Granton to Royston, forming a single enclosure or park. This combined property, Royston, was then settled on his daughter, Lady Caroline Campbell, on her marriage to Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, the eldest son of the Duke of Buccleuch (Harris 1896, 33). Hereafter, the park became known as Caroline Park after this Caroline. By this means the estate passed to the Buccleuch family, although it remained as Caroline's dowry for many years until her death in 1794. Then it passed to her only surviving son, Henry, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Buccleuch.

Little is directly known of the period of the Buccleuch's ownership. It may be assumed that on their acquisition of the property, the layout was as shown on the 1740 plans (see above). Between 1743 and 1754 Lady Caroline maintained an interest in the estate, as a detailed account book is kept of the running costs (SRO GD224/168/5/15).

This gives records of the income generated from grazing animals in the outer park. In 1742-3, the income from sheep for the period amount to £400-13-1d, and for cattle £254-16-10d. Some of the enclosures were also used to produce hay. During this period William Paterson was employed as mason. In 1744 he was paid £1-15-6d for rebuilding part of the 'Dikes' around the garden, a small sum probably indicating no more than annual maintenance. In 1746 he was paid the more substantial sum of £7-11-2d for repairing the sea dykes and 'breaches' in the park dykes. In 1751 he was paid an even larger sum of £10-5-8d for

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<sup>6</sup> This is a survey by William Edgar entitled 'Plan of the Inclosure of Royston'. It shows a slightly more elaborate design, with more detail of some of the internal arrangements.

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‘cleaning and pointing the pavement on the south of Caroline Park house’ and further repairs to the sea dykes (ibid).

The accounts are quite detailed. For instance, it records 7-6d obtained from ‘an Old Boat thrown in on the Shoar’ in 1746-7. The old residence at Granton appears to have been leased, and brought in an annual rent of £90, suggesting that it was still in habitable repair. A further £23 per annum came from the rental of the ‘oyster scalps’ on the sea shore (op cit).

Of particular interest is evidence of planting activity in the park. The gardener was paid for ‘weedings from amongst the plantings’. This would seem to be for thinning the plantations. In 1746-7 expenditure related to planting trees ‘in a strip around the park wall’, and for ‘casting a ditch’ around that strip. Payment was also made for making ‘ye pealing upon the top of the ditch and putting pealing around ye lines of Larinx Trees’. The ‘pealings’ mentioned here, and elsewhere in the accounts are clearly timber palings or fences to protect the trees from grazing stock.

#### **4.2.3 Period of transition 1767-1837 (Figs. 6-8; Plate 6)**

The period 1766-8 seems to have been one of transition for the park. From *c.* 1767 there are many documents relating to preparations for leasing the property. During 1766-8, an annual inventory of garden tools was drawn up. One assumes this was so Lady Caroline and her agents could be aware of what was being handed over to the new tenant, and what was needed to fulfil the maintenance of the garden. These lists include a range of tools required to mow and roll grass, cut turf and keep hedges tidy. In 1766 these include three pairs of ‘hedge sheers’, an old turfing iron, two rolling stones, a hay knife, and an old hedgebill. The inventory further states that three new scythes and a new hedgebill are required, and the old hedgebill needs repair (SRO GD224/168/3/1). This document, with its frequent mention of ‘old’ tools, might suggest that the garden had been neglected for a number of years, possibly the result of decreased use of the house by Lady Caroline. The last entry in her surviving account book was 1754, and this might indicate that the conjectured neglect between then and 1766 was the impetus to the decision to let the property to a tenant.

Harris (1896, 33) claims that General Sir James Adolphus Oughton (1720-80), Deputy Commander in Chief of the armed forces in Scotland, was a tenant in the house from 1763 until 1780. This may be correct, but documents in the SRO only record Oughton’s interest in the property from around 1767. It appears he took the house on a provisional arrangement with Lady Caroline, and then contracted for a longer lease of nineteen years from 1768 (SRO GD224/168/1/19). It is uncertain, in view of Harris’ statement, if these negotiations related to a new lease or the renewal of one that had been in being for some years<sup>7</sup>. In a memo of 1768 Oughton remarks that the ‘plantings’ are ‘entirely neglected’, and are open to cattle ‘of all sorts’. This implies that the many of the ‘fences’ of the estate are in a ruinous condition.

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<sup>7</sup> Harris can be found in error over a number of points, so it is possible that his dates for Oughton’s tenancy need to be treated with caution. For example he states that the park was named after Caroline of Ansbach (1683-1737), wife of George II (Harris 1896, 30), and that the first substantial house on the site was built in 1683 (ibid, 27). Both statements are now known to be incorrect, so there may be other errors.

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Oughton agreed to repair these ‘fences’<sup>8</sup>, but not to build new ones (SRO GD224/168/1/21). It is hardly likely he would have lived on the estate for five years under such conditions, particularly as his other correspondence shows him to be a keen improver.

There is a plan, previously thought to date to around 1760 (Fig. 6), that shows the layout altered from that previously (SRO RHP 5397). There are a number of features shown hereon that can help to date this document. By the time of this plan, a number of the courts are shown as having been removed, and it is also notable that a new stable block is shown built at right angles to the house, replacing the previously unsymmetrical outhouse. This new building was constructed after the 1739 purchase, being the work of the architect, William Adam (Fig. 5). The plan may be later than 1760 because developments, mainly the demolition of structures documented in the late 1760s, are not shown. Detailed records of the garden 1767-8, when General Oughton was negotiating for a lease on the property, include a mason’s estimate of 1768 for a number of garden repairs, and a number of structures are recorded as being proposed for demolition (SRO GD224/168/2/1). The *c.* 1760 plan appears not to show the structures referred to in this estimate. As the estimate is for work not yet undertaken, one could assume that the plan either post-dates 1768 or is a proposal for the works. There is correspondence between General Oughton and the Lady Caroline about the ‘improvements’ he proposes for the estate. This *c.* 1760 plan shows a move away from the strict formality of the earlier landscape, at a period when less formality was fashionable. This suggests that it was during General Oughton’s tenure that many of the earlier walled courts were taken down.<sup>9</sup>

Lady Caroline had a good opinion of General Oughton, as she wrote of how she considered him as a tenant of the best sort, and stated that it was a pity there were not more like him (SRO GD 224/168/3/14). She heartily approved of his proposal to thin the plantations, stating ‘they want it very much’. She further comments that she is very much ‘out of the [fashionable] world’ these days, and would therefore always be able to find time to write to discuss improvements with Oughton (*ibid*). Their correspondence talks much of agricultural improvement to the property. In July Oughton told her of his intention to lime and dung the enclosures over the next few years to ‘improve them’ so he can get a good return (SRO GD224/168/3/19). There is little direct mention of any ornamental additions to the designed landscape.

In 1768 Oughton obtained a mason’s estimate for works in the park. This came to almost £100, and, from the schedule of works, it would seem that substantial alteration to the gardens were made, both repairs and the removal of features. Where the repair of walls was proposed, the impression is that they are to be rebuilt to keep stock in check rather than to ornament the grounds. As an example, the schedule states that on the ‘east wall’<sup>10</sup> is to be taken down to the foundations and rebuilt to four feet high before replacing the old

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<sup>8</sup> A ‘fence’ is used at this time to refer to both wooden fences and stone walls. It is possible that walls are meant here.

<sup>9</sup> On this evidence, this plan is hereafter referred to as the ‘1768’ plan.

<sup>10</sup> The position is not entirely clear. From the previous entry it would seem to mean the east wall of the ‘outer court’.

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capping.<sup>11</sup> The schedule also specifies the repair of ‘the circular walls and stairs to the Pavilions’ (SRO GD224/168/2/1), probably the North Court pavilions. Thus this reference confirms and explains the structures shown on the pre-1740 plan (RCHMS EDD/46/61; see above page 7-8).

Proposals to the west of the house aimed to open the landscape out to the park. The walls by the ‘Iron Gate’ were to be demolished, as well as the walls at the south-west corner of the house. Tradition claims this gate, or another similar, was removed to the north side of the house to make the present structure known as the ‘sea gate’ at this time (Plate 6). Cockburn mentions it as being in place by his father’s time in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Between the outbuilding range and a ‘new garden’ 249 cubic yards of earth were to be removed to make a ‘sink fence’, presumably a ha ha. Further mention of ha ha’s are elsewhere made in this schedule (SRO GD224/168/2/1) and in other documents (SRO GD224/168/1/19). A letter of 1767 summarises Oughton’s proposals:

‘...the improvement at present is to Remove the East Dyke of the South Parterre...and to employ a sunk fence along the head of the Brae from the South Parterre to the new garden... and to remove the Hewen Stone Chucks or Pillars of the Iron Gate marked X on the East side of the Parterre, to the Gate at the head of the South Entry towards Edinburgh and that the Iron Gate should be sold to defray the expence – the General (esteemed a person of taste) also thinks that the planting in the verges are over crowded and would require weeding and that in the thickets the planting is too thick and over top one another, and that the weedings being sold might afford money to answer part of the expense to be had in the Enclosures.’ (SRO GD224/168/1/19).

Both the 1768 plan (SRO RHP 5397; Fig. 6) and a sketch plan of the estate from the Oughton correspondence of 1767-8 (SRO GD224/168/3/20) shows the ‘new garden’ to be an outlying enclosure of two acres to the SW of the house, away from the previous design of courts around the house. No ha ha is shown on the 1768 plan, but the sketch plan mentioned above indicates its course as a dotted line. It is not shown clearly until William Bell’s map of c. 1770-85 (SRO RHP 714; Fig. 7).

Various dates have been given for Bell’s plans of Caroline Park<sup>12</sup>. The ha-ha seems to post-date 1768, and plans continue to show its route until 1914, despite its being cut through by the making of Granton Gasworks just a few years before (OS 25” map, sheet I.14; Fig. 12). An enclosure, referred to as the ‘new garden’ in the late 1760s (eg SRO GD224/168/1/5), is never shown as anything but an enclosure. It disappeared completely under the gasworks’ site between the 1895 and 1908 OS maps being published (sheet I.14; Figs. 10-11). There is no indication what purpose this garden served, or whether it was more than a short-lived feature. It is recorded as a kitchen garden on the map of c. 1768 (SRO RHP 5397; Fig. 6).

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<sup>11</sup> It is possible that this wall is being reduced in height. The old courts seem to have been surrounded by high walls, like that surviving on the NE side of the house where the height is well over two metres.

<sup>12</sup> SRO RHP 714 is given as 1770, but another version drawn up for the same purpose of resolving a dispute over a road between Lady Caroline and William Davidson of Muirhouse (SRO RHP 92695-6), is dated 1785.

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It would appear that the ‘new garden’ was up and running by 1768 when Oughton was proposing to ‘improve’ the grounds, so it may also be that the landscape at Caroline Park was being made more informal at this time. Certainly a number of the courtyard walls and formal garden walls appear to have been demolished, probably soon after Oughton’s arrival in c. 1767. Bell’s plan of c. 1770-85 (Fig. 7) shows a much simplified layout, with a single enclosure remaining SE of the house, together with the North Court and only the long East Avenue intact (SRO RHP 714). Although a few relict formal features survived, the last thirty years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was a period when agricultural improvement came to the forefront.

When General Oughton ceased living at Caroline Park is uncertain. Harris (1896, 33) says it was around 1780. This is the year that he died, so his death may have ended the tenancy. Harris also claims (ibid, 34) that in 1794 Caroline Park was tenanted by Sir John Stewart of Allanbank, Sir Walter Scott’s friend.

The Old *Statistical Account* (1791) mentions iron manufacture in the area. Caroline Park (‘Roystoun’) was stated to be one of the largest houses in the Lothians, but it is clear that industrialisation of the area was already under way. Ironstone quarries existed ‘along the shore at Caroline Park’. This is supported by a document of July 1784 that proposes to lease out rights to extract ‘ironstone’ and coal from Caroline Park (SRP GD224/168/1/12). The most prolific agricultural produce of the area was hay, which was indispensable for stables in Edinburgh (OSA 1791, pp. 211-26). Mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century records for Caroline Park confirm this.

A key, early 19<sup>th</sup>-century description of Caroline Park occurs in *The Journal of Henry Cockburn* (Cockburn 1874, ii, 143). Cockburn (1779-1854) describes the house and park during his father’s tenancy. His family lived there from around 1796, but Harris (1896, 37) points out that the family were at Hope Park until about 1801-2, making this the most likely date for their arrival. They continued to live at Caroline Park until c. 1835-6. Whatever the exact date, Cockburn’s description is important as it states clearly that most of the walled gardens, courts and walks had been swept away by the turn of the century.

He states that:

‘Caroline Park, where my father’s family lived for about thirty-five years, must formerly have been, perhaps, one of the finest places of the kind near Edinburgh. It was the only one that, both in its building and its pleasure-grounds, and its one hundred-acre park, had an obvious air of stately nobility. My father did it no good. He was agricultural, and sacrificed all he could to the farm. His friend and landlord – the Duke of Buccleuch – did not prevent him from removing several very architectural walls, a beautiful bowling-green, a great deal of good shrubbery, and an outer gravelled court at the north front bounded by the house on the south, two low ornamental walls on the east and west<sup>13</sup>, and a curiously-wrought iron gate, flanked by two towers, on the north. Even when he went there, it stood in a wood, quiet and alone. The sea and sea-rocks were its own. Except Lauriston Tower, and the old and admirable gardened house of Muirhouse, there was not then (about 1796 or 1797) a single house between us and Cramond to the west, nothing till we reached Wardie on the east... Except along Caroline Park and the bank of wood at Muirhouse, not two miles in all were

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<sup>13</sup> These may be the walls conjectured as being reduced in height by Oughton in 1768; see note 11.

fenced by walls. The now ruined castle of Roystoun had still its roof and several floors and windows, and was inhabited by our gardener. The abominations of Granton Pier, with its tram-roads, brickwork, and quarry, had not then been conceived. Winter made little impression on a spot rich in evergreens; the long over-arched alleys were not broken in upon. Every gate had its urns, every bit of wall was dignified by its architectural decoration. The 'Sea-gate', a composition of strong iron filigree work, was the grandest gate in Scotland. The very flowers knew their Goshen, and, under my mother's care, grew as they grew nowhere else.'

Lord Cockburn clearly considered his father a philistine for this destruction. This may, however, have been a partisan view of an idealised landscape. Not only does he appear to get the dates of his family's stay wrong, but there is perhaps a hint of exaggeration in the description of the high architectural nature of the walls. For example, he tells his reader that his father 'sacrificed' everything he could to agricultural use, yet his mother took great care of flowers there making them grow like 'nowhere else'. This would suggest that parts of the garden survived even his father's depredations.

Cockburn's opinion of the wooded nature of the original estate is supported by John Law's description in 1794. He states that there was 'no means easy to obtain a distant view of the house... from the great number of trees crowded together about it' (Law 1794, 14-5).

Margaret Warrener (1896, 168) wrote a further description of the property, when it was already much depreciated by industrial encroachment. She states that 'to the west' lay the garden. This was an 'enchancing tangle of flowers, fruit-trees and shady bowers'. Beyond it, she says, rose the ruins of Granton Castle.

This might help to explain the discrepancy in Lord Cockburn's description. From what Warrener says, it would appear that the walled garden to Granton Castle had become the walled flower garden for Caroline Park House. It was probably here that Cockburn's mother grew flowers like 'nowhere else', Granton Castle estate having been united with that of Caroline Park in 1740, when purchased by Argyll (Harris 1896, 30).

There is little written evidence for the development of the park in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The years 1834-5 saw the house and grounds under the appraisal of the architect, William Burn. The catalyst for this may have been the end of the Cockburn family's tenancy. Around this time an estate plan was drawn (Fig. 8) showing few major changes since the 1768 survey. Of the walled gardens, only the North Court and the enclosure around the bowling green seem to have survived (Bow Hill Archives: Buccleuch Book of Estate Plans no 2).

In a letter of May 1835 Burn reported to Walter Francis, the 5th Duke of Buccleuch (1806-84), that the 'Garden and back court walls are in bad repair, but may be pointed at little expense' (RCHMS EDD/46/48). On the 1834 estate plan a walled garden is shown adjacent to the site of Granton Castle, where it is suspected that the main kitchen/flower garden was transferred. The 'New Garden' is only shown as an enclosure, so its horticultural use may have been short-lived. Burn was responsible for drawing up a series of plans of the house, possibly connected with its refurbishment following the change of tenancy (RCHMS

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EDD/46/49-51). The new tenant was Lord John Scott, an uncle of the Duke of Buccleuch (Harris 1896, 37).

#### **4.2.4 Intensive industrial expansion (Figs. 9-12; Plates 1-2)**

From the 1830s the Buccleuchs became involved with the industrial development in Granton. Granton Pier was up and running by 1837 (SRO RHP 2811), with the harbour referred to in 1830 (SRO RHP 9477). A map of the area dated 1837 (SRO RHP 2811), shows Caroline Park in a minimalist form, similar to that shown by Bell. Without doubt little of the earlier formal arrangement had survived Oughton and Cockburn's depredations. The creation of Granton Pier and harbour spelt the end of Caroline Park as a serious gentleman's residence.

The *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, (1845) mentions Caroline Park as one of the better houses in the district, but expends more space on the developments around Granton Pier. This states that:

'This noble erection... was begun in 1835, and finished in 1845. It is 1700 feet in length, and 180 in breadth, and is capable of accommodating a large amount of tonnage. Upon the pier there are ten jetties, two low water slips, eleven warehouses and sixteen cranes. This splendid work was built at the earnest request of steamboat proprietors, by His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, who employed as the engineer, James Walker, Esq... The stone was supplied from an extensive quarry, the property of his Grace, situated a mile west of the pier... The gas, which extends to the end of the pier, was brought by his Grace from Leith... A branch of railway from the pier is intended to join the terminus of the Edinburgh and Glasgow line under the North Bridge, and will be opened in the month of August next. His Grace is supposed to have spent on this very spirited undertaking, including the splendid hotel and houses for the officers, &c. &c. a sum of £140,000' (NSA 1845, 601-2).

This description indicates that the quarry by the sea gate may have been created between 1835-45<sup>14</sup>. Its presence indicates that the Buccleuch family were concerned to promote the development of Granton Pier at the expense of Caroline Park. The railway was already planned in 1845, and arrived a few years later cutting the park in two.

The 1855 OS 6" map (sheet 2; Fig. 9) shows the route of the railway. It also shows the North Court gone, along with the bowling green. The enclosure to the SW of the house (of which part of the north wall still survives) had lost its southern wall. This was still shown in 1837 (SRO RHP 2811), but disappeared soon after. Some of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century avenues were still present in 1837. The railway cut through the East Avenue, thereby destroying a major axis of the park. With the coming of this convenient transport system the stage was set for further rapid industrial development.

The last 'aristocratic' tenant to live in Caroline Park was Lord John Scott, who is reputed to have quit the property in 1872 when A B Fleming & Co Ltd, the ink manufacturers took

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<sup>14</sup> Although proposals to lease the quarrying rights in July 1784 might suggest this started earlier (SRO GD 224/168/1/12; see page 13).

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possession. Shortly before 1896, the stable/outbuilding was 'remodelled' by Robert Irvine FRSE for his own residence (Harris 1896, 31).

Warrender (1895, 166) recalls a curious incident during Lord Scott's time connected with the building of the railway. She states that on the east side of the house, close to where the railway cut through the park, there was a large flat stone. This was said to mark the site of the burial of the crew of a plague stricken ship that had been cast up on the Forth shore. Lord Scott dug under the stone to find many bones, which he reburied. He then asked the Granton engineer, a 'Mr Hawkins', not to disturb the burials in constructing the railway. Sometime later Scott found that this instruction had been ignored, the railway had cut through the burial site, and the stone removed to an adjacent site.

It is uncertain what to make of this tale. 'Plague stricken ships' and victims of other macabre events are frequent explanations for such finds in the past. The reality is often more mundane, and it is possible Lord Scott had excavated a prehistoric cairn burial. A number of burial sites have been located along the Granton shoreline. Four have been identified to the east of Caroline Park (Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of Scotland, NMRS nos NT27NW 8, NT27NW 9, NT27NW 11, NT27NW 12). Another of uncertain location is hinted at within the park (RCHMS NMRS no NT27NW6), but none of these seem to relate to this site.

It would seem that the development prior to 1872 was such that a gentleman such as Lord Scott still felt that he could tolerate it and live at Caroline Park. However, in the years immediately prior to his leaving Caroline Park the situation must have been changing rapidly. Before 1855 industrial development was confined largely to the east of the railway, although quarrying just outside the sea gate may have continued beyond the Buccleuchs' need for stone for Granton Harbour. The statue of Nelson on top of the Trafalgar Square column was made of sandstone local to the Granton area, and is reputed to have come from this quarry in the early 1840s (Ove Arup 2001, 165).

By 1895 development started west of the railway with a small gas works and a timber yard between the house and the railway, on the site of the later oil storage depot (OS 25" map; sheet I.14; Fig. 10). Further west, at least two large factories were built within the former park boundary, with a railway running along the shore linking them with Granton Harbour. These factories were a large iron works and the 'Scottish Printing Ink Factory & Chemical Works', the latter A B Fleming's works. As they had taken up Caroline Park House as offices in 1872, it might be assumed the factory was already present at that date.

Greater changes occurred between 1895 and 1908 (Fig. 11). The Granton Gas Works was developed on the area formerly the 'Garden Park', which included the 'new garden' site. In conjunction with this, a complex series of railway lines, known as the 'mineral railway' were expanded to serve the Gas Works and link it with other sites along Granton shore. This led to the excavation of a cutting within 50m east of Caroline Park House, to help screen the line. Thus any semblance of order in the eastern parks was lost. At least one of the original forecourt boundaries still survived after 1914 (Fig. 12). Included in the changes was the use of the old quarry for railway sidings. East of the main railway, the 'Scottish Motor Works',

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one of the earliest manufacturers of electric cars, founded in 1899 was built. Although this venture was short-lived, and had been replaced before 1914 by a printing works, followed by the wire works in 1925, its site is one of great significance for the history of manufacturing, and the former factory building is now a Listed Building (Ove Arup 2001, 166).

From 1908 the vacant plots in the area were rapidly infilled with industrial works of one sort or another. Caroline Park became restricted to the area between the Granton Gas Works and the mineral railways, a strip barely 100m wide at its widest point. The iron gates forming part of the 'sea gate' had gone by 1896 (RCHMS EDD/46/47), the wooden shuttering then filling the gap between the piers giving it a forlorn appearance. The land between the mineral railway and the main railway remained largely open, apart from the small gas work, until after 1955 (RCHMS 58/RAF/1713; Plate 1). By 1961 this had been infilled by the oil storage depot (RCHMS 53/RAF/4488; Plate 2). Between 1985 and 1993 this was removed, leaving an area of over 25 hectares in a derelict and contaminated state (RCHMS Film 635/3, RCHMS 1827/4).

In 1987 the mansion, with a small area of surrounding land, was sold by the Buccleuch family to Andrew and Brigetta Parnell. Parts of the former outbuildings are let as offices and flats. A surviving portion of the original parkland south of the house was subsequently sold by Buccleuch Estates to the City of Edinburgh. The rest of the former parkland has become a largely derelict industrial landscape.

#### **4.3 Present description (walk-over; Fig. 2; Plates 3-6)**

Caroline Park House stands in a thin strip of former parkland between the site of Granton Gas Works to the west and the site of the former oil storage depot to the east (Plates 3-4). The house has been listed (Category A) due to its historical and architectural significance, and is in good condition. Despite the towering gasometer to the SW, screening by trees could largely hide its industrial surroundings. A major vista northwards exists over the Firth of Forth (Plate 6).

The house is in Scottish Baroque style. Extensions, built in the local greyish Granton sandstone, to an L-plan tower house have developed to form an internal courtyard<sup>15</sup>. In the *Buildings of Scotland* the south front is described as 'without parallel in Scotland. The general outline is French, the detail Edinburgh' (Gifford *et al* 1991, 605), demonstrating the quality of this fine building (Plates 4-5). The present owners have restored the grassland to the south of the house, and put a line of conifers at the edge of the property to screen the house from the industrial landscape beyond (Andrew & Brigetta Parnell pers comm).

On the NW side of the house, the former stable block has been converted into the offices of *Scottish Field*. Beyond, in different ownership, are the remains of the former walled garden

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<sup>15</sup> The description in the listed building summary states: '1685 and 1696. Caroline Renaissance. Quadrangular plan. 2-storey and attics on south side. Harled façade (1696) ashlar with centre façade recessed between two pavilions with ogival roofs: plaster order at 3-window centre with pulvinated rustication and ogee roof over, Doric porch with wrought iron balcony above. N façade has balustraded wall head between twin shaped gables. Good contemporary interior work' (Historic Building no 28040).

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of Granton House. The site of the latter house is covered in recently-grown scrub. A recent archaeological evaluation here came to the conclusion that the historic levels had been removed (1992, RCHMS SMR no NT27NW 2: data file). The garden walls appear to stand to full height, although the interior was not seen. Air photographs suggest that it was still being used as a garden recently (Plates 3-4). These gardens are separated from Caroline Park House by the deeply cut ravine of the Granton Burn, the historical division between the formerly separate estates of Easter and Wester Granton.

The Granton Burn runs parallel with, and just to the east of, Caroline Park Lane. The latter forms the modern, western policy boundary. At the southern end of the policies it is culverted underground at a point shown, on a plan of *c.* 1768 (Fig. 6), the west end of the East Avenue (SRO RHP 5397). Flowing northwards it cuts through an area of parkland trees, most of which are probably self-seeded sycamores, but there are one or two specimens of holm oak and holly. The latter are probably remnants of ornamental planting schemes. In general there is little planting in the current policy area much more than one hundred years old.

East of the house, is a long sinuous cutting, now partly lined by trees. This was formerly the cutting for the mineral railway, made between 1895 and 1908, which forms a track down to the sea gate. To the east of this is a chain link fence, acting as the eastern policy boundary.

A short length of ashlar wall about 3m in length extends northwards from the NE corner of the house. This is the sole surviving remnant of the North Court's walls. At its north point a further length of ashlar wall, at right angles to the North Court remnant, comprises the only substantial, surviving length of former wall of the formal garden (Fig. 2, F). This extends for about 30m east before terminating on the edge of the former railway cutting. The wall is about 2m high with a diagonally sloped coping on the top. The wall ends with a built 'stop', but it could not be determined if this was original. Immediately to the north of this are the ruins of an old stone-lined well (Fig. 2, G). These stand over a metre higher than the surrounding ground, suggesting that the well was once covered. According to local tradition it is haunted by the spirit of the 'green lady' (Warrender 1896, 166). It is shown on the 1855 OS 6" (Fig. 9) and the 1895 OS 25" (Fig. 10) plans, but not on any other known map.

Within the former North Court are two rectangular earthwork platforms on a N-S alignment. They are divided by traces of a grass path leading centrally to the north door of the mansion. The platforms are no more than 0.3m high, are regular in shape and of roughly the same dimensions. They fill the area of the North Court, ending where the gate would have been. A low bank with mature trees forms a boundary where the northern edge of the court stood. These trees suggest that the court walls must have been removed at least a hundred years ago. The court is not shown on the 1855 or 1895 OS maps, suggesting that it was demolished before this.

Descending from the site of the North Court towards the shore brings you to the sea gate, now in a derelict state (Plate 6). The gates lack their finials, the iron gate itself has been missing since at least 1896. Immediately to the west is a recent water treatment plant fed by the waters of the Granton Burn. To the east is the site of the old stone quarry now the site of

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industrial buildings. The cut face of the quarry is still visible on the south side, although now much overgrown.

The site of the former oil storage depot is on the east of the policies (Plate 2). This is now derelict wasteland, partly invaded by scrub, although there are large open areas where the oil storage tanks once stood (Plate 3). The retarded growth of the vegetation suggests the soil to be contaminated. It is still possible to make out the circular marks of the former tanks, with evidence of metal pipes still protruding from the ground. Along the western edge of this area is a thicker belt of birch and scrub with some evidence of soil dumping. As this dump is adjacent to the mineral railway cutting it may have been associated with its construction. However, the soil here seems to be of relatively recent dumping, and may therefore have been connected with the landscaping of the site prior to the installation of the oil tanks sometime after 1955. More likely, it is due to the more recent removal of these oil tanks. On the eastern edge of this area is a large embankment some 4m high that represents the line of the former railway leading to the western arm of Granton Harbour. Further to the east is a more derelict wasteland. Beyond is the former line of the eastern branch of the railway, which now acts as a division between the wasteland and, on the other side, the surviving factory units. This includes the site of the former motor works, later the old wire works. Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd, the present developer, have now taken over part of this site as their offices.

Apart from the short stretch of sea shore immediately beyond the sea gate, the shore is taken up by further industrial units. These are more modern than those to the SE. In most cases, they seem to have been rebuilt on sites previously occupied by industrial units. The short open stretch of shore below the sea gate contains much brick debris, reputedly tipped here following housing demolitions elsewhere.

On the south side of the policies, beyond the conifer screen, is an area of rough grassland. This was recently sold by the Buccleuch estates to the City of Edinburgh to be incorporated into the Granton Waterfront scheme. Following the incorporation of Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd in March 2000, the land was transferred to them. Although the grass is quite rough here, it is possible that this area is relatively undisturbed, and may be suitable for archaeological investigation.

## **5.0 Discussion (Fig. 13; Plates 1-6)**

### **5.1 The significance of Caroline Park in a national context**

Caroline Park House is one of the finest late 17<sup>th</sup>-century country houses surviving in Scotland. Its survival within an area of intense industrial development is most fortunate and surprising. It has connections with people of great significance in Scottish history. Its first important owner, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Tarbat, was one of the foremost politicians of his time, and a supporter of the Union in 1707. He held high office under four reigning monarchs, thereby giving himself the reputation for being an 'unstable but very wily statesman' (Harris 1896, 27).

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When the Mackenzies sold the property in 1739 to John Campbell, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich, it passed to yet another notable figure in Scottish history. Campbell, who won his peerage in reward for his promotion of the Union, served with Marlborough at Ramilies, and in 1713, after the Treaty of Utrecht, was appointed Commander-in-Chief to the armed forces in Scotland. His daughter, Caroline, after whom the property was subsequently named, married into the Buccleuch family, to this day one of the greatest landowning families in the United Kingdom. Thus before 1767 the estate was associated with three of Scotland's leading families.

Caroline Park was at the forefront of 17<sup>th</sup>- and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century architectural development in Scotland. Not only is the house a major monument of that era, but, by considering Tarbat's works at his other major estates (Clough 1990), it is apparent that the designed landscape at Royston undoubtedly conveyed a direct expression of wealth and status. The formal landscape with its entrance courts and walled gardens (see Figs. 3-4) represents the evolutionary high point in the landscape design. From *c.* 1767, Caroline Park was 'improved' in accordance with overwhelming, contemporary concerns to increase agricultural production using new methods and techniques.

## **5.2 Caroline Park: discussion of its archaeological and historical context**

Despite some evidence for prehistoric and Roman activity at Caroline Park, its archaeological importance is centred on the post-medieval mansion. The formal landscape layout (shown on the maps of *c.* 1740) is the most significant and extensive landscape scheme to have been implemented at Caroline Park. Thereafter the park was downgraded in terms of its architectural and aesthetic qualities. Any archaeological work should aim to increase our knowledge of the site's development and layout.

Early commentators like Harris (1896, 27) had the mistaken notion that the present house was little influenced by that before it.<sup>16</sup> This view is quite wrong, as the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century tower house formed the core of Tarbat's house. Equally there is the possibility that earlier landscapes influenced Tarbat's own scheme. For instance, it is notable that the early stable/outbuilding wing is not symmetrical with the house, but follows the line of the burn. This deeply cut ravine could have proved a major obstacle to any design that did not pay attention to it. Although the post-1740 rebuilding of this wing solved the problem by diverting the burn under it, the layout of the grounds had clearly paid attention to existing features. This example may have been natural, but it is highly likely that at least some of the alignments of the Tarbat garden were influenced by pre-existing man-made boundaries. There is no current means of knowing whether a prehistoric or medieval feature influenced the Tarbat landscape and its predecessors, but it is worth investigation. There is, therefore, good reason to target features in the 1740 layout in any archaeological evaluation of the study area that might be proposed.

It has already been noted above that Lord Scott discovered burials, under a large stone in the park, around 1845. These were viewed as the victims of a plague stricken ship, but in view of the burial cists and cairns found in the area in the 19<sup>th</sup> century this 'stone' may have marked a

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<sup>16</sup> Harris comments that 'if there had been a house previously on the estate it must have been quite a small one'.

prehistoric site. If this is the case, then it may have survived the post-medieval landscaping of the park, and, therefore, in turn may have influenced the parkland layout and boundaries.

There are unresolved questions about the development of the landscape at Caroline Park House, which complemented one of Scotland's major 17<sup>th</sup> and early-mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century houses. In view of the extensive development proposed for the Granton area, attempts should be made to investigate and record any vestiges of landscape which survive. There have previously been no intensive studies of prehistoric or historic landscape in the area. Not only would this serve as 'preservation by record' in the event of the development wanting to destroy part of that archaeology, but it would hopefully be able to make important contributions to any decisions concerning incorporating elements of this landscape into the development.

The issue to be resolved is the type of archaeological investigation, and the areas which would best yield archaeological remains. Consideration of the documented landscape history of the area indicates that archaeological investigation should seek to find out as much as possible about the 1740 layout and its predecessors. Figure 13 shows how the former parkland fits into the present landscape.

Other aspects of the area's history and archaeology that need to be considered. These are largely listed buildings connected with the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century and 20<sup>th</sup>-century industrial development of the area (Ove Arup 2001). The early archaeology of the area, outside the Caroline Park designed landscape has been so badly disturbed by industrial development that any intrusive archaeological evaluation may well be unproductive (Plates 1-4). Nevertheless alterations to listed, and other historic, industrial buildings may need to be recorded both prior to and during any alterations to these structures. It is not intended to discuss these requirements here in any detail. Suffice to alert the client and the authorities of the need to undertake historic building recording prior to alterations.

### **5.3 Recommendations for further work**

It is recommended that the area of Caroline Park designed landscape be investigated to:

- verify the extent and nature of the designed landscape
- document the extent and nature of any archaeological survival

This should consist of two phases:

1. Phase One - recover information about the garden design using geophysical prospecting techniques.
  2. Phase Two - a programme of excavating linear evaluation trenches to clarify any information given in (1), and to determine if any of the walls or other boundary features, or features relating to the internal garden layout that might survive.
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Despite the initial scope of this report being restricted to the development area, it must be accepted that an area surrounding or contiguous to the development area needs investigation. Large areas of the Caroline Park designed landscape that lie within the development area are likely to have been disturbed or even destroyed. This is particularly so in the case of the oil storage site (Plate 3). A walk-over survey conducted on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2001 detected massive ground disturbance in this area, confirmed by geophysical survey undertaken on behalf of Waterfront Edinburgh to locate former pipelines (Alan Couper, Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd, pers comm)<sup>17</sup>. Any surviving archaeology will be in discrete localised pockets. To maximise efficiency and obtain meaningful results it will be necessary to investigate and relate the alignment of features and boundaries on the development site to contiguous, less disturbed areas.

The proposal is to undertake evaluation in an area contiguous to the development area. This will complement the documentary study undertaken for the extent of Caroline Park, and will assist in its interpretation. Some 200 square metres of evaluation trenches are proposed in order to fulfil the requirements of the planning authorities.

## 6.0 Conclusions

Caroline Park is identified as an important historic landscape surrounding one of the most important late 17<sup>th</sup>-century country houses in Scotland. It is possible that both house and landscape were influenced by the presence of earlier features. It is thought that the house incorporates part of a tower house dating to at least the later 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it is possible that the landscape also incorporated earlier features. To do justice to its importance, it has been proposed that any future development in the area would, in ways yet to be fully determined, show respect to historic alignments associated with a well-documented historic landscape surrounding the house. This might involve some partial restoration of that landscape. The later history of this landscape shows that it has been much disturbed by intensive industrial development during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, promoted by the Buccleuch family, who were also responsible for the development of Granton Harbour, starting in 1835 with Granton Pier. By the later 19<sup>th</sup> century much of Caroline Park's designed landscape had been destroyed, leaving a much restricted policy around the house. Documentary and cartographic sources for the landscape's evolution are good, in particular, two 18<sup>th</sup>-century plans survive that show an elaborate layout of walled courts and gardens. The remains of one stone gateway and part of a walled court still survive to give a glimpse of the quality and nature of the design.

In order to determine how far archaeological remains of the pre-1740 landscapes survive, a programme of archaeological evaluation that includes both geophysical techniques and trial trenching is proposed. In order to best understand the extent and evolution of the historic landscape it will be necessary to undertake archaeological investigation outside the development area as well as within. This is necessary to fully understand any fragmentary traces which survive within the seriously disturbed development site. There is the opportunity for the results to add to our understanding of the landscape, and contribute to the future development and its landscape character.

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<sup>17</sup> The report was not available to the author at the time of writing.

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## **7.0 Copyright**

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## **8.0 Archive**

Copies of this report were lodged with the client, Historic Scotland, Longmore House, Salisbury Place, Edinburgh Southside, the Edinburgh City Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), and the National Monuments Record at RCHMS, John Sinclair, Barnard Street, Edinburgh.

## **9.0 Acknowledgements**

Thanks are given to all those involved with this project. In particular, Peter Hood of the Peter Hood Partnership, provided copies of many of the original documents from the Buccleuch Papers and elsewhere that he had collected during his research for the Conservation Plan for the property. Also the author would like to thank Andrew and Brigetta Parnell, the present owners of Caroline Park House for their hospitality, and for allowing him to use the extensive collection of information, archives, photographs and plans that they have collected. Copies of photographs used in plates 1-6 were supplied in digital form by Andrew Parnell. The client, Waterfront Edinburgh Ltd, also provided background details and materials, including access to the site under the co-ordination of Alan Couper, their Operations Manager. Krysia Campbell of Historic Scotland gave considerable advice and discussion on the site, and kindly provided the author with selected documents and references. She also read an earlier draft of this report, offering many succinct and useful suggestions on its improvement.

## **10.0 Sources consulted:**

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GD224/168/1/12 Proposal to lease rights to extract ironstone and coal from Caroline Park, 1784

GD224/168/1/19 remarks regarding General Oughton's proposal to take the lease of Caroline Park (for 19 years), 1767

GD224/168/1/21 Memo of General Oughton's comments on the condition of the park, 1768

GD224/168/2/1 Estimate for mason's work at Caroline Park, Feb 1768

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GD224/168/1/3 Notes on repairs, 1768  
GD224/168/3/1-3 Inventories of garden tools, 1766-8  
GD224/168/3/14 Letter from Baroness Greenwich approving thinning plantations, 1768  
GD224/168/3/19 General Oughton's proposals for improvement, 1768  
GD224/168/3/20 Sketch plan of enclosures, 1768  
GD224/168/5/15 Account book for Caroline Park, 1742-54

Maps in Scottish Record Office:

RHP 5397 Plan of Caroline Park, after 1768?  
RHP 714 Plan of Caroline Park showing disputed roads by William Bell, 1770  
RHP 9477 Plan of Granton Harbour, 1830  
RHP 2811 Proposed site of Granton Pier, showing surrounding estates, 1837

Ordnance Survey plans:

OS 6" 1st (1855) edition, Edinburgh sheet 2  
OS 25" 1895 edition, sheet I.14  
OS 25" 1908 edition, sheet I.14  
OS 25" 1914 edition, sheet I.14

Documents at the National Monuments Record Service (RCHMS Headquarters at Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh):

Copied from Buccleuch Papers (copies not found in SRO):

RCHMS EDD/46/48 letter from William Burn re repairs, May 1835  
RCHMS EDD/46/51 ground floor plan of Caroline Park by William Burn, 1835  
RCHMS EDD/46/59 plan of Caroline Park estate by William Edgar, c. 1740  
RCHMS EDD/46/60 'Plan of the lands of Royston' c. 1740  
RCHMS EDD/46/61 plan of ground floor of Caroline Park, plus part of garden, marked early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but actually c. 1740

Other copied sources:

RCHMS EDD/46/48 plan of Caroline Park thought to be c. 1760, but evidence collected in this report might suggest 1768 or soon after; original in Courtauld Institute 62/16 (31)  
RCHMS EDD/46/47 sketch of sea gate by H R Westwood, March 1896  
RCHMS D81833 INC copy of photo showing damage by fire of 5<sup>th</sup> December 1934

Air photographs consulted at RCHMS Headquarters at Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh:

53/RAF/4488 RAF vertical, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1961  
58/RAF/1713 RAF vertical, 13<sup>th</sup> April 1955  
B635/3 dated 5<sup>th</sup> March 1985 oblique view of Caroline Park from N  
B635/10 dated 5<sup>th</sup> March 1985 oblique view of Caroline Park from S

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B635/14 dated 5<sup>th</sup> March 1985 oblique view of Caroline Park from SE  
Geonex survey (verticals at 1:5000), 41/090 sheets 157-9, dated 24<sup>th</sup> July 1990  
1827/4 dated 21<sup>st</sup> May 1993 oblique from NNW  
1827/7 dated 21<sup>st</sup> May 1993 oblique from NW  
1827/9 dated 21<sup>st</sup> May 1993 oblique from SW

Other sources at RCHMS HQ:

Historic Scotland, *List of buildings of architectural or historic interest. Edinburgh*, revised listing 10<sup>th</sup> November 1998

## 10.2 Printed sources:

Arup Scotland, *Environmental statement for Central Development Area, Granton, Edinburgh*, Chapter 9: Cultural Heritage, Unpublished client report, 2001

H N Barrott, *An atlas of old Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 2000

M Clough, *Two houses. New Tarbat, Easter Ross. Royston House, Edinburgh*, Aberdeen, 1990

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R Macinnes, M Glendinning & A Mackenzie, *Building a nation: the story of Scotland's architecture*, Edinburgh, 1999

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Recording historic buildings. A descriptive specification*, HMSO, London, 1991 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1<sup>st</sup> ed 1990)

J Sinclair, *The statistical account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1791

L Stephen & S Lee (eds), *Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, London, 1921-22

M Warrender, *Walks near Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1895

I Whyte, *Edinburgh & the Borders. Landscape Heritage*, Newton Abbot, 1990

### **10.3 Other sources consulted:**

Sites & Monuments Record (SMR) at The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland (RCHMS), John Sinclair House, Bernard St, Edinburgh.

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### Appendix 1: archaeological sites within study area

The study area includes sites within the former bounds of Caroline Park that are thought to impact on the development area. This includes some sites outside of the development boundary. Information taken from The Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland (RCHMS), John Sinclair House, Bernard St, Edinburgh.

All sites are within OS map sheet NT27NW and numbers are pre-fixed with the map sheet number for identification on the RCHMS Sites and Monuments Record (SMR). Sites given less than an eight-figure grid reference can probably no longer be located accurately, and are given approximate grid references only (eg NT27NW 6, NT27NW 12).

Where sites are given a listed building number as well as an archaeological (SMR) number, the listed building number is given after in brackets. Where historic buildings are recorded only on the 1998 revised list, the date of the addition is given only. Sites only given listed building numbers are given at the end of the list as indicated. Together with further sites of merit not listed in either of the above, these are lettered below from 'A' to 'N'

RCHMS Sites & Monuments Record sites:

Site no	Site name, description and date	Grid reference
2	Granton Castle; possible late medieval fortified residence, later PM country house	NT 2267 7718
3.00	Caroline Park House; 16 <sup>th</sup> C & later country house (Listed building no 28040; Category A)	NT 2267 7718
3.01	Caroline Park, Post-medieval stone gate piers (Listed building no 28041; Category B)	NT 2271 7734
4	Granton Castle, Roman pottery, 2 <sup>nd</sup> C AD Sigillata bowl	NT 2258 7727
6	Caroline Park, Prehistoric polished stone axe	NT 226 771
12	Granton Iron Works, Iron Age burial cist	NT 23 77
15	Caroline Park, dovecote; post-medieval (Listed building no 28139; Category B)	NT 2260 7722
20	Granton Gasworks; late 19 <sup>th</sup> /early 20 <sup>th</sup> C gasworks (Listed building no 45792; Category C (S))	NT 2231 7696
292	Granton Ironworks; early 20 <sup>th</sup> C iron works	NT 2314 7730

Additional listed buildings:

A	Granton Walled Garden; Post-medieval Walled Garden formerly attached to Granton Castle/House (added to revised list 10-11-1998; Category C (S))	NT 2265 7727
B	Former Madelvic Motor Works; early car production plant 1899-1912 (Category B)	NT 2320 7710
C	24-26 West Harbour Road; 19 <sup>th</sup> C warehouse (Category C (S))	NT 2338 7723
D	22 West Harbour Road; late 19 <sup>th</sup> C industrial building (Category C (S))	NT 2340 7723
E	20 West Harbour Road; 19 <sup>th</sup> C storekeeper's cottage & outbuildings (Category C (S))	NT 2341 7723

Additional sites noted as part of this study:

F	Caroline Park; remains of Post-medieval ashlar stone walls of former garden courts	NT 2270 7721
G	Caroline Park; remains of former stone well in garden; Post-medieval?	NT 2271 7721

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H	Caroline Park; cutting of former mineral railway through park Early 20 <sup>th</sup> C	NT 2272 7721 (centred)
I	Caroline Park; embankment for former railway through park to Western Wharf of Granton Harbour; 19 <sup>th</sup> C	NT 2300 7725 (centred)
J	Caroline Park; alignment of former railway through park 19 <sup>th</sup> C	NT 2320 7715 (centred)
K	West Harbour Road; fragmentary traces of stone gate at east entrance to former park; Post-medieval	NT 2319 7718
L	West Granton Road; fragmentary traces of former park wall alignment? Post-medieval	NT 23007682
M	West Shore Road; fragmentary traces of former park wall alignment? Post-medieval	NT 2282 7738
N	General's Rock; possible former landing point on Forth shore; multi- period?	NT 2287 7753

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## Appendix 2: glossary of archaeological terms

**Archaeology:** the study of man's past by means of the material relics he has left behind him. By material relics, this means both materials buried within the soil (artefacts and remains of structures), and those surviving above the surface such as buildings, structures (e.g. stone circles) and earthworks (e.g. hillforts, old field boundaries etc.). Even the study of old tree or shrub alignments, where they have been artificially planted in the past, can give vital information on past activity.

**Artefacts:** any object made by man that finds itself discarded (usually as a broken object) or lost in the soil. The most common finds are usually pottery sherds, or waste flint flakes from prehistoric stone tool making. Metal finds are generally rare except in specialist areas such as the site of an old forge. The absence of finds from the activity of metal detectorists is not usually given much credibility by archaeologists as a means of defining if archaeology is present

**Desk-based assessment:** an assessment of a known or potential archaeological resource within a specific land unit or area, consisting of a collation of existing written or graphic information, to identify the likely character, extent and relative quality of the actual or potential resource.

**Earthwork:** bank of earth, hollow, or other earthen feature created by human activity.

**Evaluation:** a limited programme of intrusive fieldwork (mainly test-trenching), which determines the presence or absence of archaeological features, structures, deposits, artefacts or ecofacts within a specified land unit or area. If they are present, this will define their character, extent, and relative quality, and allow an assessment of their worth in local, regional and national terms.

**Period:** time periods within British chronology are usually defined as Prehistoric (comprising the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age), Roman, Saxon, Medieval and Post-medieval. Although exact definitions are often challenged, the general date ranges are as given below.

**Prehistoric** c. 100,000 BC - AD 43. This is usually defined as the time before man began making written records of his activities.

Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age 100,000 - 8300 BC

Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age 8300 - 4000 BC

Neolithic or New Stone Age 4000 - 2500 BC

Bronze Age 2500 - 700 BC

Iron Age 700 BC - AD 43

**Roman** AD 43-410

**Saxon** AD 410-1066

**Medieval** AD 1066-1540

**Post-medieval** AD 1540-present

**Pottery sherds:** small pieces of broken baked clay vessels that find their way into ancient soils. These can be common in all periods from the Neolithic onwards. They often find their way into the soil by being dumped on the settlement rubbish tip, when broken, and subsequently taken out and scattered in fields with farmyard manure.

**Project Design:** a written statement on the project's objectives, methods, timetable and resources set out in sufficient detail to be quantifiable, implemented and monitored.

**Settlement:** usually defined as a site where human habitation in the form of permanent or temporary buildings or shelters in wood, stone, brick or any other building material has existed in the past.

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**Site:** usually defined as an area where human activity has taken place in the past. It does not require the remains of buildings to be present. A scatter of prehistoric flint-working debris can be defined as a 'site', with or without evidence for permanent or temporary habitation.

**Stratigraphy:** sequence of man-made soils overlying undisturbed soils; the lowest layers generally represent the oldest periods of man's past, with successive layers reaching forwards to the present. It is within these soils that archaeological information is obtained.

**Worked flint or stone:** usually taken to mean pieces of chipped stone or flint used to make prehistoric stone tools. A worked flint can comprise the tools themselves (arrowheads, blades etc.), or the waste material produced in their making (often called flint flakes, cores etc.).

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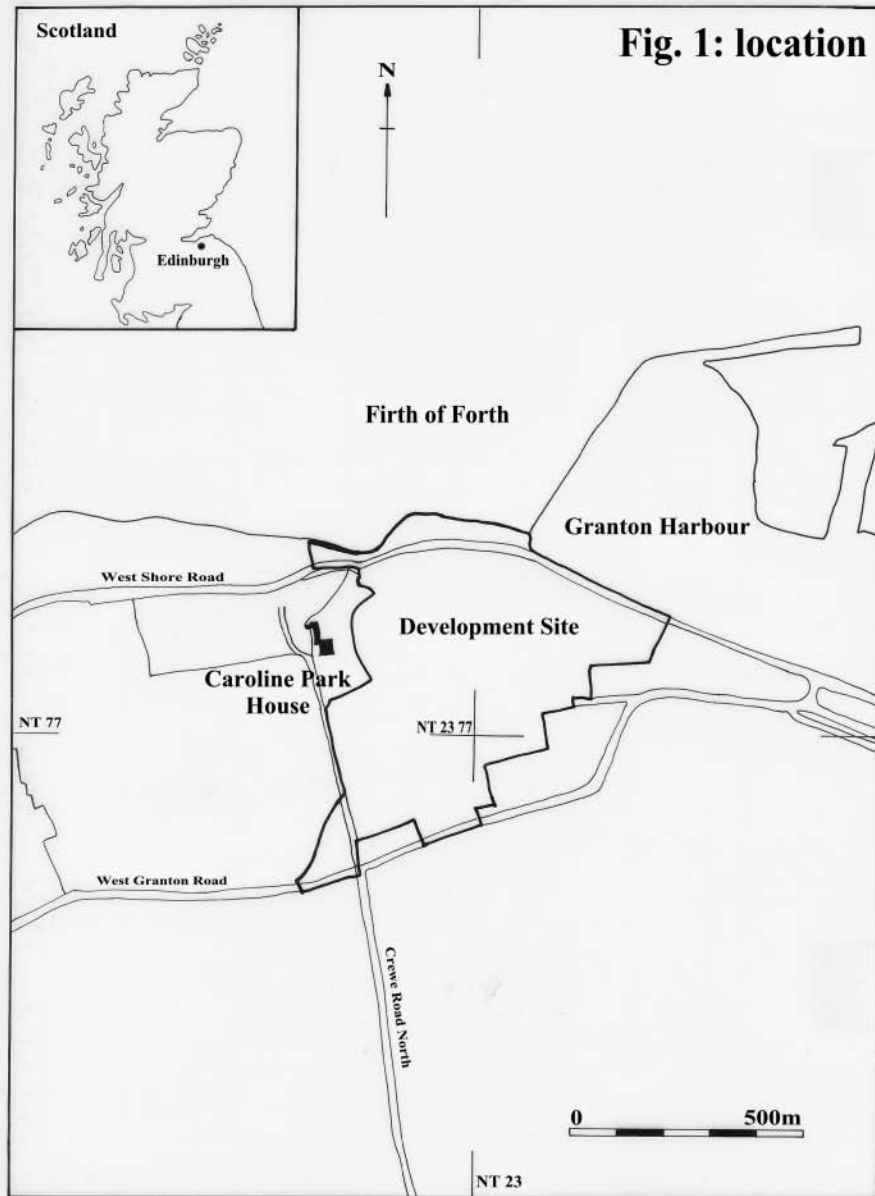
Plate 1: Caroline Park and environs from 1955 air photograph before construction of oil depot (photo supplied by Andrew Parnell)



Plate 2: Caroline Park and environs from 1961 air photograph following construction of oil depot (photo supplied by Andrew Parnell)



**Fig. 1: location**



## Fig. 2: Sites & Monuments Information

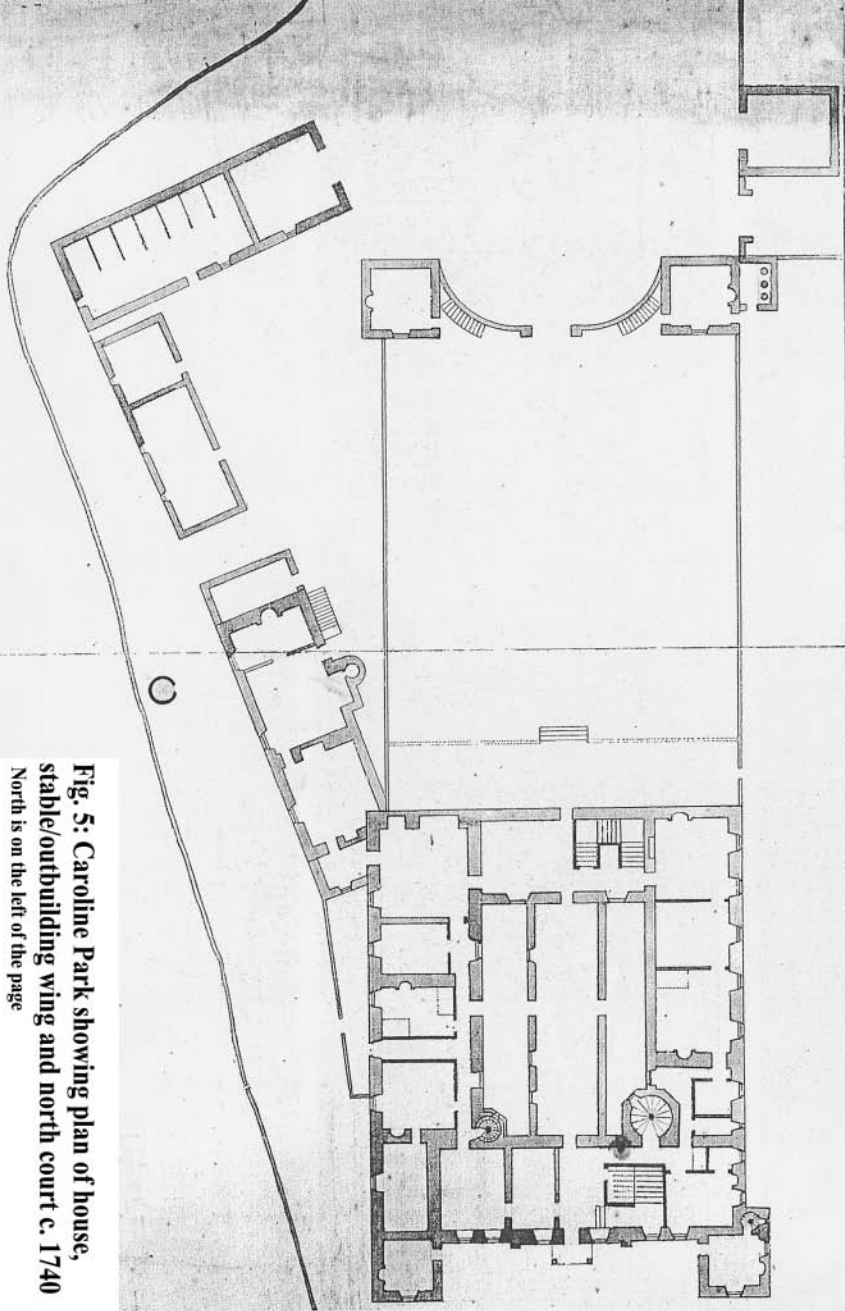
For key see Appendix 1 (pp 27-8)

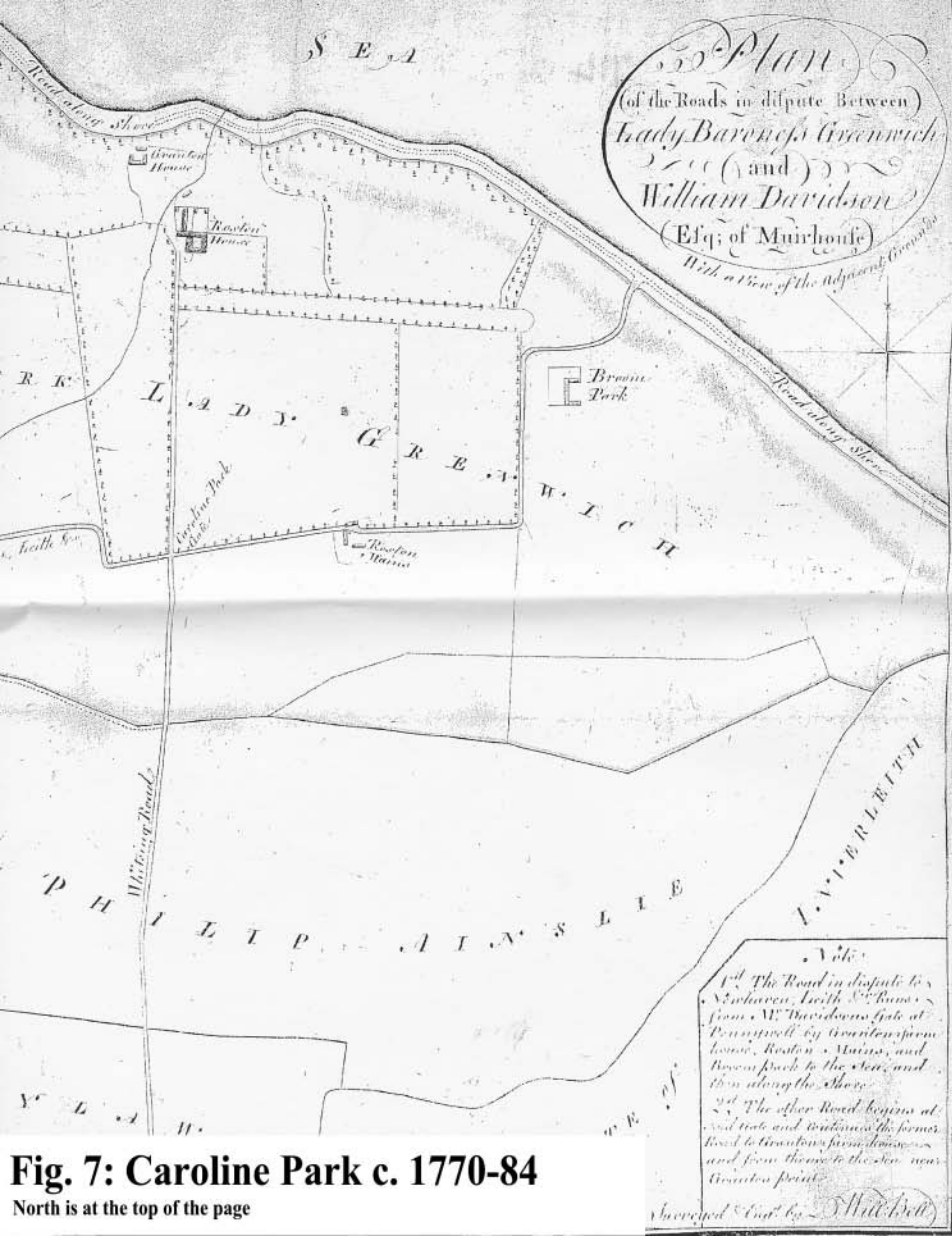


**Fig. 5: Caroline Park showing plan of house,  
stable/outbuilding wing and north court c. 1740**  
North is on the left of the page

100  
20  
40  
60  
70  
80  
90  
50  
40  
30  
20  
10  
1.125 ft. = 1 in.

Scale of Feet.





**Fig. 7: Caroline Park c. 1770-84**

North is at the top of the page

Fig. 11: Caroline park from OS 25" map (1908 ed)

North is at the top of the page

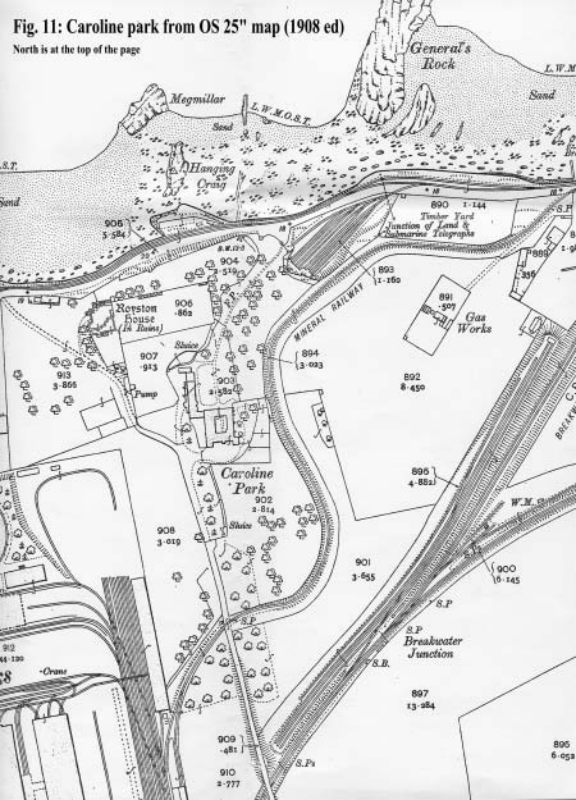
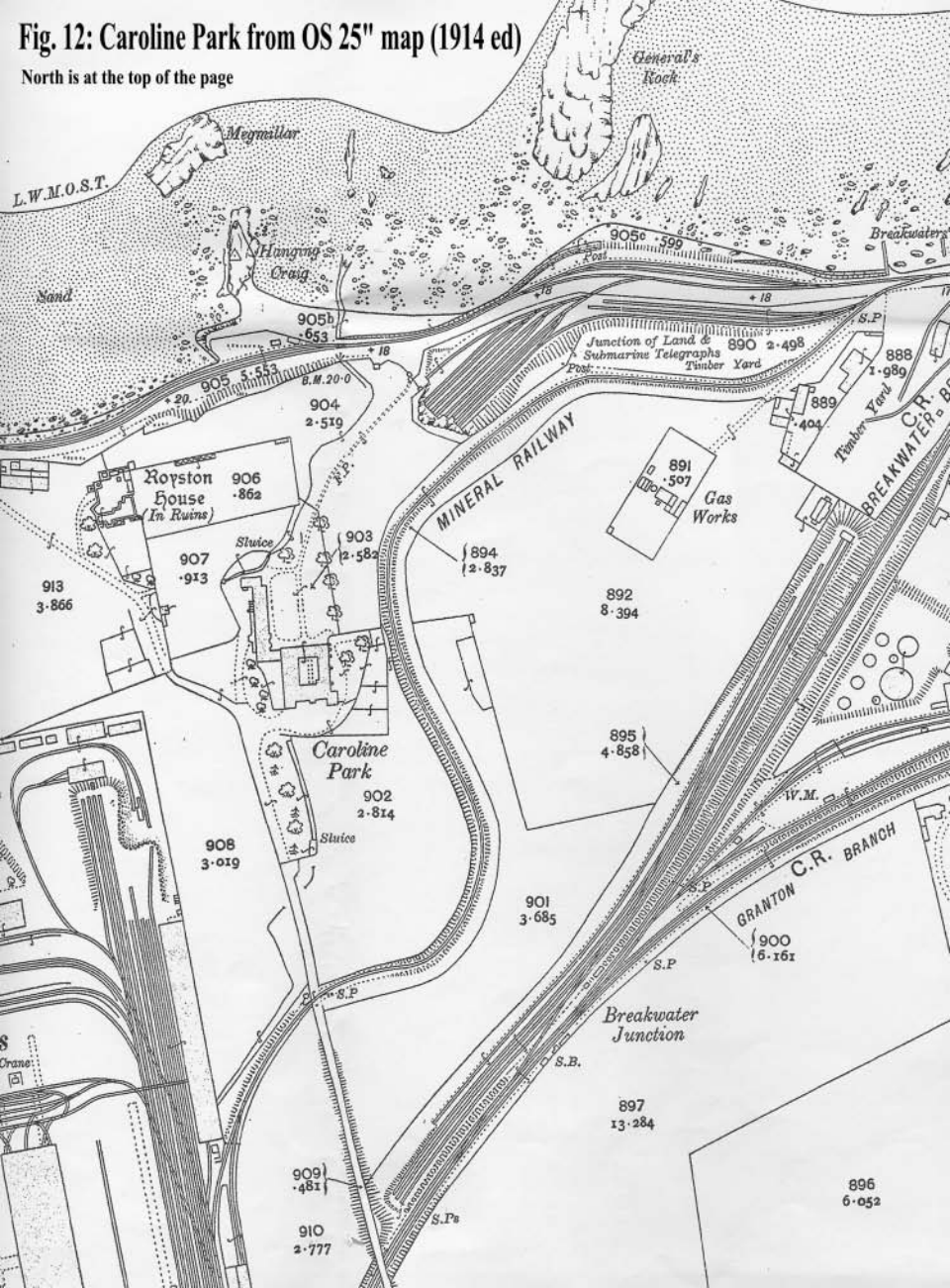


Fig. 12: Caroline Park from OS 25" map (1914 ed)

North is at the top of the page





**Fig. 13: Caroline Park layout of c. 1740 superimposed over modern OS map**

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