

Edinburgh Food Heritage Trail

A Resource for Teachers



EDINBURGH WORLD HERITAGE



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



Old and New Towns of Edinburgh
inscribed on the World
Heritage List in 1995

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Introduction

During the reigns of the Georgian monarchs, Edinburgh underwent considerable change, particularly with the building of the elegant New Town to the north. The stern classical beauty of the New Town was not without its detractors, many preferring the conviviality of the Old Town with its old customs, habits and daily rhythms. Many of these of course surrounded that universal preoccupation eating, cooking and shopping for food. Indeed many women who made their homes in the upmarket new houses across Princes Street came back to the Old Town for their shopping.

A short walk in the Old Town quickly demonstrates the nature of food in Georgian Edinburgh with the limitations of geography and the climate and the seasonal nature of food supplies, in an era when methods of preservation were limited as were imported foodstuffs.

As a result the experience of eating was in the main local although there were imports. Shopping was done every day and there were still times of the year when food supplies were limited. Little was wasted and our ancestors would have been appalled by the food that we throw away today.

Cities and towns grow up as places where among other things people can buy and sell surpluses of food which they have grown. Inevitably they demand more and more food which is grown by others, this of course impacts on the ecological balance.

The evidence of maps shows that despite the shortage of space in the Old Town, there were gardens in which people grew fruit and vegetables in an effort to be self sufficient in some areas.

Even in Georgian Edinburgh there were issues around sustainability. The city's love of shell fish and their export led to the near obliteration of the oyster beds in the Forth Estuary.

There were also issues around imported foodstuffs, which had an impact on growers thousands of miles away. The fashionable drinks of coffee, chocolate and tea and Scotland's growing fondness for confectionary rested on sugar. Scotland's sweet tooth meant tooth decay at home and misery and slavery for others abroad.

Let us follow our ancestors as they go for "the messages" in Edinburgh's Old town. Perhaps your class are maidservants to fashionable ladies or young highland lads anxious to help and gain advancement in the city. Our journey takes us from a modern treasure house of books to a secret garden.

Edinburgh Food Heritage Trail

Before you start - some things to think about before your walk:

Who were the Georgians?

In Class talk a little about how Georgian Edinburgh became divided into the Old Town around the Castle and Royal Mile and the New Town to the North of Princes Street.

Do we have any ideas about how people in Georgian Edinburgh might have shopped and what they ate?

How much do we know about where our food comes from today?

What do we mean by words such as sustainability and air miles?

Keeping Safe on the Walk

The walk is designed so that you can stay on the same side of the Royal Mile. There are some roads to cross and this can be a busy place, just as it was in the 18th century. Pupils should be prepared for this. Although it is not a long walk, pupils should wear comfortable shoes and be prepared for rain. There are toilets in the National Library of Scotland.

The Trail

The trail is from the National Library on King George IV Bridge to Bakehouse Close at the Canongate end of the Royal Mile. There are 8 stops along the way and you can spend as much time at each as you wish.

There are questions to think about on the way and ideas for follow up work once you get back to class

Find out more about Edinburgh's food history at:

www.ewht.org.uk/visit/edinburghfoodheritagetrail

Starting Point: The National Library of Scotland, King George IV Bridge

The National Library has collections of handwritten and printed recipe books. These demonstrate that despite Scotland's poor reputation for its diet, the rural poor, for example were once "remarkably healthy", living on a simple frugal diet based on seasonable availability. Although there were from time to time famines and shortages.

Their archives show that a modern favourite – curry – was available in Georgian Edinburgh and that a low sugar version of marmalade was possible because sugar was too expensive to be eaten in quantity.

Find out more about the National Library of Scotland and its archives at:

www.nls.uk/learning-zone

Despite this, many intending visitors to Scotland were fearful of the food with scare stories about Haggis and "sheep's heid" broth. Indeed many early tourists were known to stock up on essentials at Berwick upon Tweed, just as many modern tourists from Scotland have been known to take boxes of corn flakes and baked beans to the Spanish Costas.

As this walk will show you could, however, buy almost anything you needed within a short walk.

Before you begin walking, stand outside the library and look at Victoria Street opposite which leads down to the Grassmarket. This was where the cattle drovers brought their beasts in for sale. It was a low lying point of entry, easily accessible from the countryside and the prevailing wind carried away the smells. It was a place of cheap inns where the drovers could stay. Part of this street, called the West Bow, has oval holes on the top floors called Doocots. These were for edible neighbours, pigeons, a plentiful supply of food.

Some Questions

Discuss whether you think it would be easier to be poor in the countryside than in the town in Georgian times? Would food and fuel supplies be easier or more difficult to obtain?

Why would people shop everyday? What would be the advantages or disadvantages of shopping like this?

Cattle were often sold off by farmers before winter. Why might this have been?

If you were writing a bestselling story, what food would help you concentrate?

Now turn left and walk towards the Royal Mile, note the domed building ahead

Stop 1 Statue of David Hume and the Bank of Scotland on the Mound

As you walk towards the Royal Mile you will have noticed the domed building ahead of you. This is the Bank of Scotland building. This is not only important in terms of Edinburgh's skyline and financial services, but it was built on a giant spoil heap created when the New Town was built. This included a mass of oyster shells, and you can see a small example inside the Museum on the Mound.

Today we consider oysters a luxury, but in Georgian Edinburgh they were very popular and in plentiful supply. Having a plate of oysters with a drink was rather like having a packet of crisps today. They were in season from September to April.

According to Professor John Wilson (Christopher North) Edinburgh ate 100,000 oysters a day- "What desperate breedy beasts eisters must be, for they tell me that Embro devours a hunner thousand every day". Not only was there a huge demand for oysters in Edinburgh, they were exported to Holland and Kent for the London market.

A French visitor to Edinburgh in the 1780's wrote of the plumpness and wonderful flavour of the Edinburgh oyster.

Their popularity led to overfishing in the Forth – the passion for oysters was unsustainable.

The Philosopher Cook - Statue of David Hume by Alexander Stoddart

David Hume was a famous philosopher, he loved cooking and eating. It is said that he wanted a house in the New Town so that he might have a larger kitchen for his hobby.

It was widely thought that Hume did not believe in God. There is a famous story which Hume himself liked to tell that having grown somewhat large because of his eating, he was out walking one day and fell into a bog. He was rescued by some Newhaven fishwives, but only after he said his prayers!

Old Town Living

If you look to the left towards the Castle you get an excellent view of Old Town tenements- these give an idea of life in Georgian high rise Edinburgh.

Some Questions

Has anyone ever eaten an oyster? What juice is normally put on them?

Is overfishing a problem today? If so what sort of fish are in danger?

Now continue down the Royal Mile to St Giles Cathedral

Stop 2 West Parliament Square in front of St Giles Cathedral

This is one of the most important parts of Edinburgh and is often known as 'The heart of Midlothian' as the stones in the pavement indicate. This has always been a busy place, with St Giles' Cathedral at the centre and the Old Scottish Parliament buildings and courts to one side.

In Georgian Edinburgh it was also the city's shopping centre. Stall holders set up around the Cathedral. It would have had the appearance and atmosphere of a market.

Look across the Royal Mile from the Cathedral and imagine a row of tenement buildings down the centre of the road housing shops known as the Luckenbooths or locking booths, which would survive until their demolition in 1817. The writer Thomas Carlyle described them as 'miniature shops', where you could buy everything from combs to shoe laces.

The Luckenbooths are important because they housed Edinburgh's first cookery school, run by Elizabeth Cleland. Little is known about her, except she ran the school for young ladies and in 1755 published her recipe book called *A New and Easy Method of Cookery*, this is one of the most important sources of information about Georgian food in Scotland. It was also "sold at her house in the Luckenbooths".



Above: The High Street with street sellers and the Luckenbooths next to St Giles' Cathedral.

With the Parliament building and the Courts, this area has always been busy with lawyers in particular going about their business to and from the courts. The first coffee house is recorded at Parliament Close in 1673.

Parliament Hall was the location of the Lord Provost's dinner for King George IV's famous visit in 1822, when over 300 people had an eight course meal on gold and silver plate.

On a gruesome note public executions also took place in this area. Magistrates were treated to a dinner following the hanging which was known as the "deid chack".

Some questions

Why do you think Mrs Cleland set up her cookery school at the Luckenbooths?

What sort of students do you think she might have taught?

Do you think Mrs Cleland sounds like a good businesswoman; who does she remind you of?

Do you think these young ladies would do much of the actual cooking themselves?

Who was drinking coffee? Do you think it was expensive? Why?

Continue down the Royal Mile to Old Fishmarket Close on your right

Stop 3 Old Fishmarket Close

For the shoppers of Georgian Edinburgh there were not only the shops, the Luckenbooths and the hastily put up stalls, but all manner of people walking about selling items from carts or baskets or creels on their backs. These were often women like the Newhaven fishwives in their colourful costumes famous for singing as they went about the city or advertising their produce by shouting out one of their cries such as:

“Of haddocks good this town has plenty,

And here’s a wife that sells this dainty”.

Fish had always been popular in Edinburgh and not only was it sold by the Fishwives but also from the Fish Market Close. Here the Georgian shopper could buy herrings, turbot, haddocks, whiting and cod as well as shell fish. There was also salmon from Perth and Stirling and trout from Loch Leven.

For those with a strong sense of smell Fish Market Close would not have been the happiest of experiences. You can go down into it. Don’t worry the fish have gone. Here, as Lord Cockburn described, the arriving fish were thrown out on to the street at the head of the close and taken down into the close.

Stand still close your eyes and imagine the sights and sounds, even today you can still hear seagulls. They would have tormented the stall owners and the customers. Open your eyes and look upwards and imagine people living in the tenements as they watched and could smell the arrival of the fish, “whence” as Lord Cockburn continued “they were dragged down by dirty boys or even dirtier women, and then sold unwashed, for there was not a drop of water in the place, from old rickety, scaly, wooden tables, exposed to all the rain, dust and filth”. Here several types of seaweed were also sold as delicacies.

Inevitably fish recipes were popular such as “Cabbie Claw”, which was made from quickly salted cod boiled with parsley and horse radish and eaten with egg sauce.

There were many cries to sell different types of fish but perhaps the best known because it was used as the basis of a popular Scottish song was “Wha’ll Buy My Caller Herring”.

Like salmon the herring is particularly associated with Scotland, it has been extremely important to the economy; this seasonal oily fish could be salted, put in barrels and exported as far away as the West Indies. Preparing the herring was a job undertaken by women. The salt hurt their fingers which had to be bandaged. Herring fried in oatmeal has always been popular especially when served with seasonal Ayrshire potatoes fed on seaweed fertiliser.

Some Questions

What do we call it when we take too many fish from the sea?

Responsibly harvesting the sea to have a balance of nature is said to be fishing in what kind of way? Clue it begins with S.

Leaving Fish Market Close and turning right, continue down the street to face the entrance to Fleshmarket Close across the street.

Stop 4 Fleshmarket Close

Animals were slaughtered in a variety of locations in Edinburgh. To begin with this took place in an area called "the shambles" near where Princes Street gardens are today. So many slaughterhouses were established in the city, (there were said to be about 80 at one point) that the whole business was chaotic and was eventually regulated by the council.

The number of slaughterhouses indicates how much meat the city consumed. In 1776-1777, one writer has noted that some 9,022 oxen were killed as well as 7,350 calves, 41,332 sheep and 65,790 lambs. Mutton, lamb and veal were the most typical meats to be found on the table. It is interesting that pigs are not listed. The Scots have never been great consumers of pork even although it is said that every part of a pig can be used except its squeak! Of course some pork was cured for ham and bacon.

In the winter a lot of animals were killed because farmers could not feed them. Meat was salted to be kept over winter. Fresh meat would be a rare treat for poor people more used to barley broth, salted beef and greens like kale.

The meat was sold from Fleshmarket Close.

Game was also eaten and there was a delicacy called solander goose. It was not really goose at all but gannet from the Bass Rock. It was black and oily and tasted more like fish.

Hens were kept primarily for eggs. When chicken was eaten it was often an old tough bird and used to make "cock-a-leekie" soup. A plump young hen was a treat for special occasions such as a wedding when women would gather together and pluck the fowl for the feast. It is from this that we get the term "hen night".

When a Captain Topham visited Edinburgh he was very critical of many Scottish dishes particularly haggis which he tasted but could not eat, the chicken in his cock-a-leekie soup he said was so tough it would need the stomach of an ostrich to digest it. The leeks were often cut so large, that refined ladies would only sip the broth. The "sheep's heid" was beyond description. He did, however, find "Friars Chicken", a dish of chicken cut into small pieces boiled with parsley, cinnamon and eggs in a beef stock edible.

Some questions

Why do you think farmers could not feed their animals easily in winter?

It was difficult to keep meat, except by salting it. What do we do today that the people of Georgian Edinburgh could not do to preserve meat?

Why do you think we sometimes find other people's food choices distasteful?



Continue down the Royal Mile to the Tron Kirk and into Hunter Square behind it.

Stop 5 The Tron Kirk and Hunter Square

In Hunter Square the sculptured baskets and the words on the benches give clues as to which foodstuffs were sold here. This was where the shopper would stop for fruit and vegetables. Of course more than anything else fruit and vegetables were seasonable. The winter

could be rather bleak with little more than potatoes, carrots, turnips and cabbages for sale.

In the main it was women who sold vegetables bringing them from outlying districts like Musselburgh in creels on their backs. They would bring heavy potatoes and turnips (neeps) in winter and in the spring and summer kale, green peas in pods, radishes, cress and spring onions (syboes) and leeks. They would set up stalls with tables and stools in and around the church with an awning or piece of carpet to mark their space. As it grew dark they would light a tallow candle and paper lanterns.



The biting north wind meant that fruit in Scotland was difficult to grow. There were apples although these were not particularly good and indeed there was said to be only one good apple orchard near Edinburgh. Hugo Arnot, a lawyer, said that Edinburgh apples were unfit for the table. Pears were not much better. There were certainly few exotic fruits except for imports and those grown in the heated walled gardens or hot houses of the wealthy where peaches, cherries, grapes, melons and even pineapples were grown. Wild cherries known as "gean" could be palatable if the crows didn't get there first. Gooseberries, or grossets as they were called locally, were, however, good as were red and black currants. Strawberries were hugely anticipated and grew well around Roslin, which people would visit on excursions. Huge excitement greeted the short strawberry season and people over-ate them.

The street sellers were famous for their cries, why not try some:

The Salad Seller

"Wall-cresses an' purperry" this woman doth sing, The first of good salads that bloom in Spring"

"Four bunches a penny, the bonnie caller radishes"

"Wha'll buy syboes, wha'll buy leeks, wha'll buy the bonnie lass wi' the red cheeks?"

The Vegetable Seller

"Green-kail and leeks, cabbage and neeps I've here to sell- come buy in heaps"

"Potatoes hot all hot".

Green Pea Seller

"My pease and beans wha'll buy frae me, their hot and warm as warm can be".

Close by the Tron Kirk, Susanna Maclver started another cookery school in Steven's Law Close. She also published a cookery book in 1774, called *Cookery and Pastry*. It included the first printed Scottish recipe for haggis.

Walk back on to the Royal Mile and continue to the Netherbow Wellhead which will be opposite you next to the house known as "John Knox House"

Stop 6 The Netherbow Wellhead

Water is something we in the 21st century in this country take for granted. It is essential for cooking, cleaning and indeed for life. The supply of water was always a problem in Edinburgh.

Edinburgh's first supply of piped water was established in the late 17th century. The water came from Comiston Springs, south of the city. It was directed to large storage areas such as the Castlehill reservoir and from there along pipes made from hollow elm trunks. It was then piped to wellheads like this one. It was still never enough.

The wellheads contained lead tanks and the water came out of the grotesque human faces which were made of bronze. The masks you see today are replicas but an original is in the City of Edinburgh Museum further along the Royal Mile.

People would gather around the well to collect water and gossip. If you were well off you could pay someone to collect water or stop a passing waterman who would announce his arrival rather like a modern ice cream van with "long battered tin horns" which the writer Thomas Carlyle would describe as making a sound "worse than an ass, a hog and 50 magpies" combined.

Water supplies could often be the source of disease. In times of epidemics the Old Town was usually the worst affected. Alternative drinks like milk were, if anything, even worse. Tobias Smollet reported that the milk was often poor as a result of the cows' diet, watered down and found with snails floating in it!

Some Questions

Can you think of any countries today where water is in short supply or polluted?

In some countries people have to walk many miles to collect water every day. How do they take the water back to their homes? Who is often responsible for taking the water back home?

The wellhead is rather beautifully made, but part of its construction contains a substance which would make alarm bells ring today. What do you think it might be?

Now go a little way along the pavement to Sugarhouse Close. If it is raining the entrance to the close provides shelter. University students live here; please remember they may be studying.

Stop 7 Sugarhouse Close

Despite the fact that Scots in many ways shopped and ate locally, there has been a long history of imported goods, especially luxuries such as fine wines and spices and dried fruit such as dates and currants from the Mediterranean for those who could afford them.

Sugar had always been expensive and other sweeteners such as honey were used

The successful planting of sugar cane in the Caribbean islands such as Barbados and the opening up of trade routes after the union of 1707, brought increasing amounts of sugar into Scotland and helped the Scots to develop their famous sweet tooth. It was used with other imports such as tea, coffee and chocolate as well as for cakes and biscuits and in the manufacture of confectionary, jams and pickles.

In the years between about 1752 and 1824 there was a major sugar refining business here, called The Edinburgh Sugar House Company. It was destroyed by fire in 1800, but rebuilt by David Jardine and Co.

The buildings which you see and which are now student flats may contain parts of the original sugar works, but in the 1860s the site was taken over by The Commercial Brewery.

The daily activities of the Edinburgh Sugar House Company are revealed in a surviving minute book in Edinburgh Central Library. The business appears to have had a number of partners who were not sugar boilers themselves but took it in turns to supervise the work on a weekly basis. They seem to have met at the British Coffee House in Edinburgh. It is clear they bought much of their equipment from London and that the raw material came from St Christopher's Island, Antigua and Jamaica. They produced loaf and lump sugar in moulds and advertised molasses for sale in the local press. They bought sugar paper from Holland and kept the men happy by brewing small beer on site. The purchase of blankets and sheets for the workmen suggested they slept in the factory. There were sometimes fights between the workers and in 1758 there was a fire and they had to claim on the insurance.

The company thought about marketing, encouraging partners to use only their own sugar and tell their friends and also entertaining local grocers with a glass of wine.

The genteel houses of Edinburgh became places for taking tea with sugar served with fruit cakes, gingerbreads, scones and shortbread all made with sugar and many of these prized recipes are to be found in the collection of The National Library where we started our walk.

What is not mentioned is that this sugar was grown in the West Indies by enslaved people captured in West Africa and shipped in appalling conditions to be sold to plantation owners. The teabreads of Edinburgh were made with ingredients produced by inhuman circumstances. When the Slavery Abolition Act was passed in 1833 Edinburgh slave owner Sir John Gladstone was paid the equivalent of £80 million pounds in compensation, the slaves got nothing.

Some Questions

Do you know of any foods today produced using people in conditions which we would see as slave labour?

What issues surround the use of sugar today?

Now come out of Sugarhouse Close and walk to the next close down from here.

Stop 8 - Bakehouse Close and the Hidden Garden

The very next close and our final stop is Bakehouse Close. Walking from the Canongate under the 16th century arch to the side of the Museum of Edinburgh is very atmospheric, it is possible to imagine the comings and goings of the Georgians in Edinburgh. It is probably the best preserved Old Town Close.

Despite the name, it is unlikely that the close was the site of any commercial bakery. Acheson House is on the left hand side and is now the headquarters of Edinburgh World Heritage and was originally built for Sir Charles Acheson, a Secretary of State for King Charles I. In 1784 it was bought by the Incorporation of Bakers in the Canongate.

Incorporations regulated the trades. They made sure that tradesmen such as bakers were properly trained by serving apprenticeships and controlled the quality of the bread. Being elected as an office bearer of the Incorporation was a mark of respect.

In the Georgian period Edinburgh's bread was considered to be of the best quality. After the French Revolution, in the 1790s some of the French Court lived in Holyrood Palace. One of them Mm. Polestron showed a local baker called Greig how to make a French bread which he named after her.

Now move a little further down the Close. You will see the entrance to Edinburgh World Heritage's office on your left. It is here you collect the key which lets you into the Garden.

A Hidden Garden

Walking along the Royal Mile one can be forgiven for thinking there were no green spaces in Georgian Edinburgh's Old Town, but as a recreated garden in the grounds of Acheson House reveals this was not the case.

Maps of the city show quite clearly that the old town included gardens which were laid out in formal and intricate patterns, but within the low hedges were not only beds of flowers but also vegetables, herbs and fruit trees. This demonstrates that even in small spaces we, like our Georgian ancestors, can grow at least some of our food. This is a very satisfying thing to do, it is also healthy and sustainable; it does not involve air miles and only our own time and labour. It is not necessary to garden alone; this garden, in the shape of St Andrew's Cross, has been designed and maintained by the community groups - Bridgend Growing Communities and Patrick Geddes Gardening Club.

Explore the garden.

Please feel free to smell the plants, but do not eat any of the berries or other fruits you see.

If you have a camera with you, take pictures of those plants you are unsure of and look them up when you get back to school.

How many things can you find in this garden that you could eat?

Can you find plants that you use to flavour food? What do we usually call these kinds of plants?

When you have finished exploring the garden, please exit by the gate, lock it and return the key to the office.

Thank you for taking part in this walk.

When you get back to the classroom

Design

Draw your own illustrated map of the walk you have just been on.

Where did you start and finish? How many stops were there? What was important about these stops in Georgian Edinburgh? What could you buy?

Now imagine you are leaving a map of your modern shopping experience for future children to explore how and where you went shopping for food. Where do you go and what do you buy. Do you buy in one shop or many?

Discuss

What do you think are the differences between shopping in Georgian Edinburgh and modern shopping for food? Whose shopping in your view is more sustainable? Can we learn anything from the Georgians?

Explore

Using the National Library of Scotland's on line resources for inspiration, make your own handwritten recipe book. You could use favourite family recipes. Why are they important? Does food have memories associated with it? Illustrate with drawings, stories and photographs.

Scotland has a rich heritage of words for food, such as partan for crab. Can you find any others? Perhaps ask some of the older people in your community. What about songs?

Investigate

Chocolate

We often give little thought to where our food comes from or who produces it. The sugar which the Georgians of Edinburgh made into sweets and cakes was largely produced by slaves in the West Indies. Today chocolate which we all love is produced in countries like Côte d'Ivoire, the leading exporter of coco beans by child labour. What can you find out about this? Is there anything we can do to stop it? What can you find out about Fair Trade?

Curry

Curry powder was sold in Georgian Edinburgh. Where did it come from? What connection did Britain have with this country? What spices are in curry?

Eating sea birds

There is part of Scotland where the solander goose is called gugar and can still be hunted today. Where is this? Who does it? Do you agree with this custom?

Where does our food come from today?

Arrange a visit to your local supermarket with the storemanager. Which countries does the food in this shop come from? How much is local? Does the shop have a policy about where it buys its food from?

Contrast this with a visit to a farmers market.

What issues are associated with where our food comes from?

For example you could discuss controversial topics such as: is it just too expensive for most of us to be fussy about where our food comes from?

Grow something

We can all help food sustainability and eat better by growing something ourselves. Could you have a school garden, or is there anything you could grow in the class room?

Organise

Organise a Festival of Scottish Food at your school. Make paper lanterns like the women of Hunters Square, set them out on colourful stalls. Have food tastings; sell the products of the school garden. Raise money with your recipe books. Play songs and music associated with food - you could share the street cries you have learnt or make up some new ones for your stalls. Have sections on sustainability, fair trade and food history. What about healthy eating? Do we know what is in our food, what we are really eating?

Experiment

Ask the school cooks if they could help you to produce one or two seasonable meals, perhaps one in the autumn at the end of winter and one in the summer.

Perhaps they might use the following recipe? You can but ask!

Elizabeth Cleland's Green Pea Soup 1755

Boil a peck of peas into 2 quarts of water till they are all in smash

Keep out a mutchkin of the youngest; put them in a little before you dish them

Strain and rub your peas through a sieve, then put them on the fire again

Put in a little juice of spinach, some mint, pepper and salt to taste

Work in half a pound of butter with flour till you think it thick enough

Serve up

Did the Georgians in Edinburgh measure things differently?

What are pecks, quarts, mutchkins and pounds in weight?

Other places to visit

The Museum at the Bank of Scotland – here you can see a section of rubbish heap that makes up the Mound. The oyster shells are very obvious.

Gladstone's Land – this shows you what life was like in the Old Town

Parliament House – it was here the Royal Banquet was held in 1822.

City of Edinburgh Museum - it contains many things associated with Edinburgh relating to food and drink. The garden has a stone which features brewery workers.

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