

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Mystery of the St Andrews Cathedral:

Reformation to Preservation

By

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A Note to the Reader

The following project is a museum exhibit intervention for the current St Andrews Cathedral Museum. It is an intervention because the current museum does not contain the following information. In the project which follows, I invite the reader to partake in some willful suspension of disbelief and imagine that they are a visitor in St Andrews: they have taken the train from Edinburgh, have wandered through the tourist filled streets, and have entered the St Andrews Cathedral Museum. To their left is the current museum exhibit which focuses on the ancient and medieval artefacts and history of the cathedral. To their right is the following project. Therefore, throughout the project there are comments which prompt the reader to look through the cathedral grounds or take photographs as if they are truly there in St Andrews.

The captions at the top of each page, or infographic tile, will help guide and orient the reader. Tiles with the same caption belong together and the accompanying file, titled Thibeau-MA Professional Thesis- St Andrews Cathedral Museum Mockup, illustrates how these tiles fit together on a wall.

I have preserved the original spelling; spelling mistakes in the text are noted with [sic]. I have not adjusted for inflation.

MA Professional Thesis

A Museum Exhibit Intervention for the St Andrews Cathedral Museum, St Andrews,
Scotland

The Mystery of St Andrews Cathedral: Reformation to Preservation

By Rachel Erin Thibeau



Image 1: David Hay Fleming, Collector, "St Andrews Cathedral," Photograph, ca. 1887, David Hay Fleming Photograph Collection, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: ALB-2-232.

<https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/st-andrews-cathedral/121585>.

Almae Matres

Andrew Lang
(St Andrews, 1862. Oxford, 1865)

St Andrews by the Northern Sea,
 A haunted town it is to me!
 A little city, worn and grey,
 The grey North Ocean girds it round,
 And o'er the rocks, and up the bay,
 The long sea-rollers surge and sound.
 And still the thin and biting spray
 Drives down the melancholy street,
 And still endure, and still decay,
 Towers that the salt winds vainly beat.
 Ghost-like and shadowy they stand
 Dim mirrored in the wet sea-sand.

St Leonard's chapel, long ago
 We loitered idly where the tall
 Fresh-budded mountain ashes blow
 Within thy desecrated wall:
 The tough roots rent the tomb below,
 The April birds sang clamorous,
 We did not dream, we could not know
 How hardly Fate would deal with us!

O, broken minster, looking forth
 Beyond the bay, above the town,
 O, winter of the kindly North,
 O, college of the scarlet gown,
 And shining sands beside the sea,
 And stretch of links beyond the sand,
 Once more I watch you, and to me
 It is as if I touched his hand!

And therefore art thou yet more dear,
 O, little city, grey and sere,
 Though shrunken from thine ancient pride
 And lonely by thy lonely sea,
 Than these fair halls on Isis' side,
 Where Youth and hour came back to me!
 A land of waters green and clear,
 Of willow and of poplars tall,
 And, in the spring-time of the year,
 The white may breaking over all,
 And Pleasure quick to come at call.
 And summer rides by marsh and wold,
 And Autumn with her crimson pall
 About the towers of Magdalen rolled;
 And strange enchantments from the past,
 And memories of the friends of old,
 And strong Tradition, binding fast
 The 'flying terms' with bands of gold, —
 All these hath Oxford: all are dear,
 But dearer far the little town,
 The drifting surge, the wintry year,
 The college of the scarlet gown.

*St Andrews by the Northern Sea,
 That is a haunted town to me!*ⁱ

The Exhibit Intervention

Since its inception in 1908, the St Andrews Cathedral Museum has focused on the medieval history of the cathedral. It showcases glass and stone fragments from the cathedral, Celtic stone crosses, pre- and post-Reformation era gravestone markers, and the stone sarcophagus of Saint Andrew. Most of these objects were discovered in the 19th century and early 20th century.ⁱⁱ

Local historian, antiquarian, and Custodian of Historic Buildings in St Andrews, David Hay Fleming (1849-1931) led the archeological digs, or ‘howkings,’ at the cathedral from the 1890s to the 1920s. Fleming worked alongside W.T. Oldrieve, a member of Her Majesty’s Office of Works in Edinburgh, to create the Cathedral Museum. Fleming’s interest in the medieval and the archaeological history of the cathedral explains the focus of the museum.ⁱⁱⁱ

However, in the century since Fleming created the Cathedral Museum, little has been done to discuss the preservation history of the cathedral or to highlight Fleming and Oldrieve’s roles in creating the museum. It is therefore the goal of this intervention to discuss the post-Reformation life of the St Andrews Cathedral, the founding of the museum, and the preservation history of the cathedral, all of which are topics not currently highlighted in the museum.

Moreover, the museum has been closed to the public since the Covid-19 pandemic sent the world into lockdown in March of 2020. After the lockdown was lifted in June 2021, the museum remained closed due to concerns about falling masonry and visitors’ safety. As of April 2022, the museum remains closed to the public as masonry inspections and work continues without any indication of when the museum or cathedral grounds will open again.

Historic Environment Scotland, the body in charge of St Andrews Cathedral, has not yet announced the extent of the damage or the steps they will be taking to protect the cathedral. However, their head of conservation, Dr. David Mitchell, made the following statement regarding their conservation approach: “We are taking proactive action now to assess the nature and scale of the immediate challenge, and to explore a range of solutions and options. It is inevitable our approach to protecting historic buildings will have to change - we need to reimagine how we manage these historic and much-loved places. **A range of solutions is needed, including repairs, investment and new and innovative interventions. In some cases reduced physical access and accepting the natural process of decay will need to be considered.**”^{iv}

Given the current concerns surrounding the cathedral, it makes sense to begin a discussion of the cathedral’s preservation history.

The Exhibit Intervention

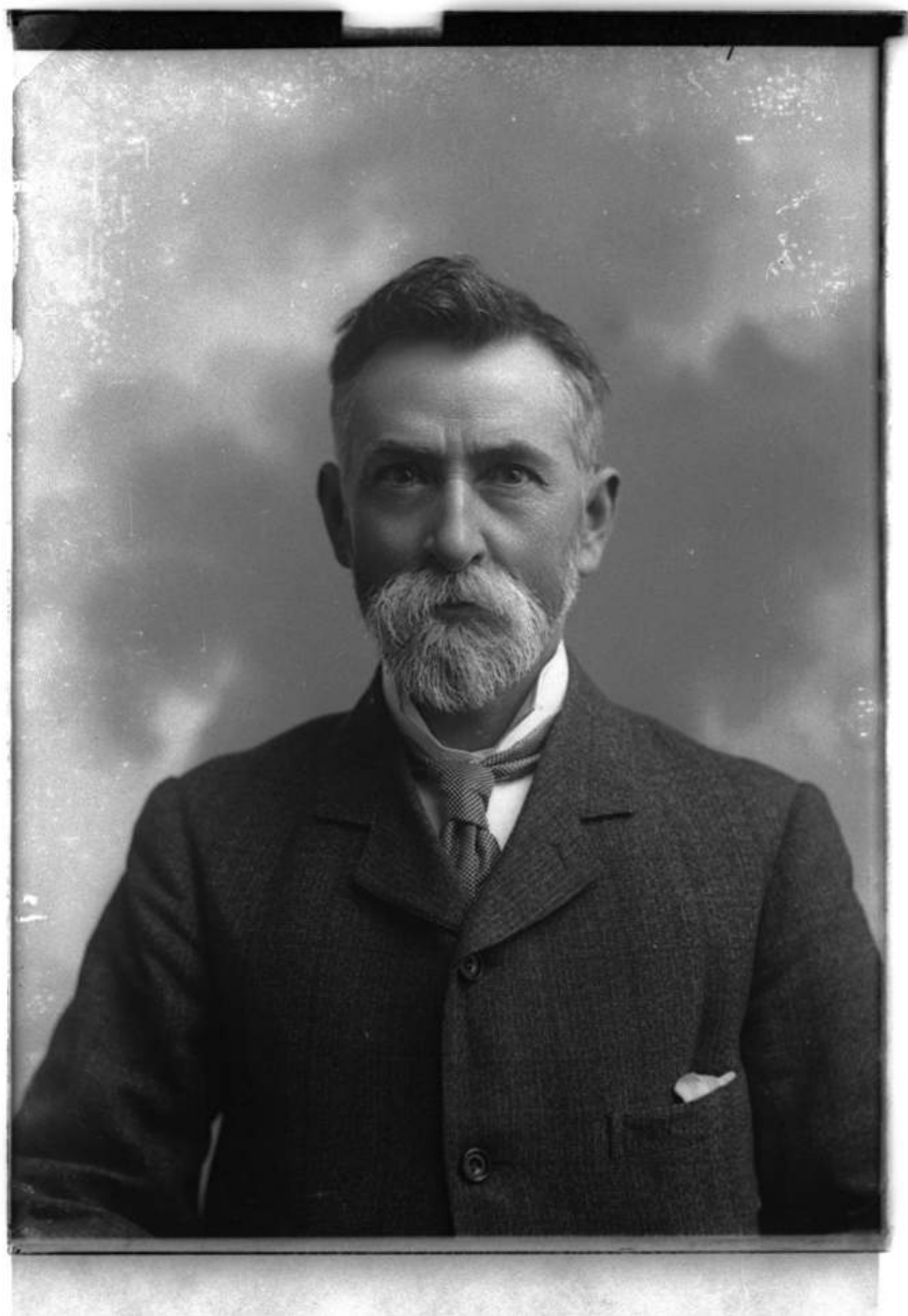


Image 2: John Fairweather, Photographer, "Dr. David Hay Fleming," Photograph, ca. 1905, George M Cowie St Andrews Photojournalism Collection, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: GMC-F-107, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/dr-d-hay-fleming/8289>.

David Hay Fleming, local St Andrews historian and Antiquarian, and Custodian of Historic Buildings in St Andrews.

The Exhibit Intervention

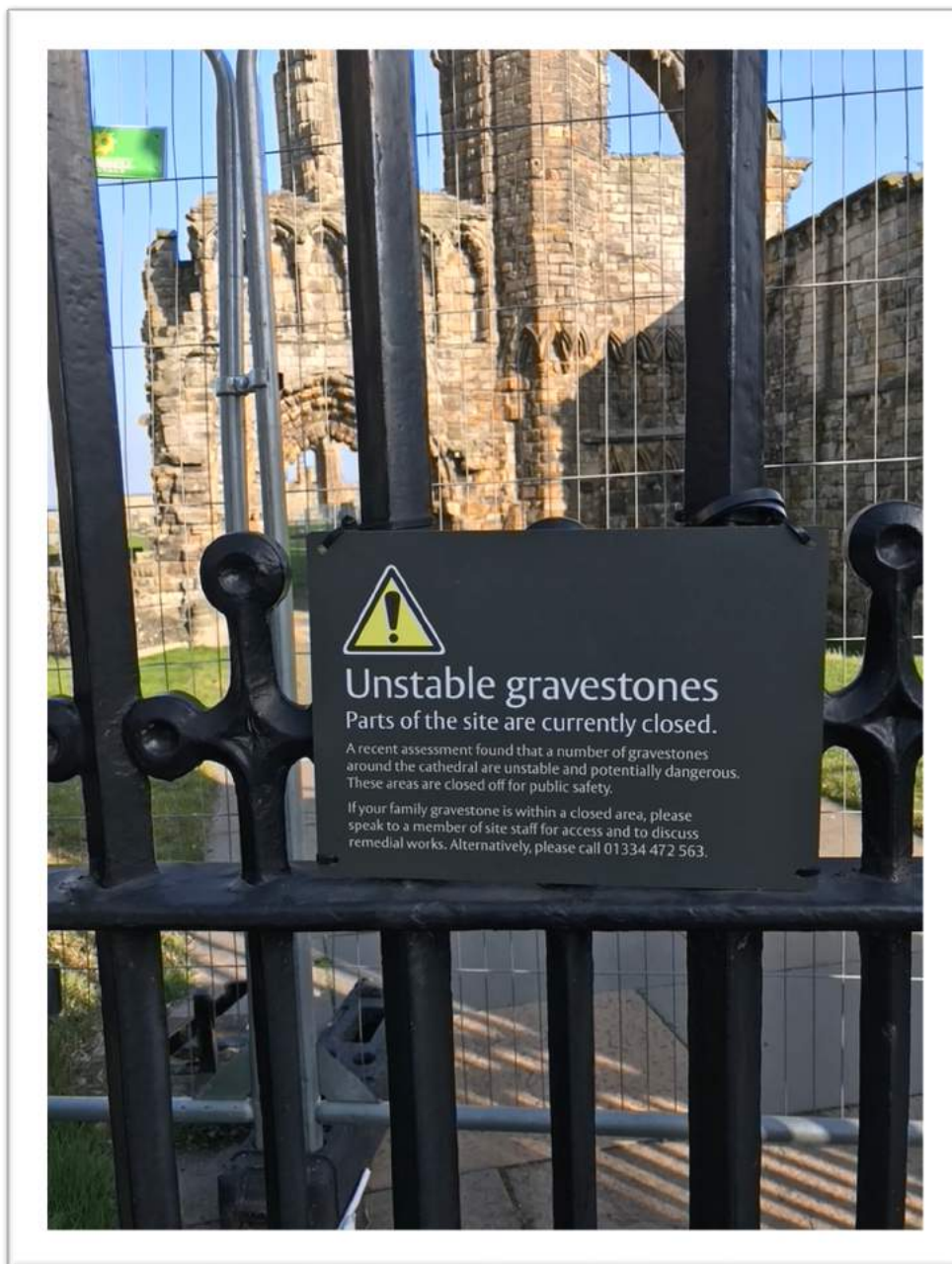


Image 3: Photograph by author, "Unstable Gravestones," Photograph, taken March 20, 2022.

This sign is on the iron gate in front of the cathedral. It reads: "Unstable gravestones. Parts of the site are currently closed. A recent assessment found that a number of gravestones around the cathedral are unstable and potentially dangerous. These areas are closed for public safety. If your family gravestone is within a closed area, please speak to a member of site staff for access and to discuss remedial works. Alternatively, please call 01334 472 561."

The Exhibit Intervention



Image 4: Photograph by author, "Monument is Closed," Photograph, taken March 20, 2022.

This sign, also attached to the iron gate in front of the cathedral, reads: "We regret this monument is closed. During a condition check, we identified a potential risk of danger from falling masonry that needs to be explored further. The monument is closed while we undertake further detailed examination and remedial works."

The Exhibit Intervention



Image 5: Lonely Planet, "Scotland," Lonely Planet RF, no. 150364810, accessed April 24, 2022, Courtesy of Getty Images.

St Andrews is located North of Edinburgh, on the East Coast of Scotland. Today, the journey from Edinburgh to St Andrews is a quick, hour-long train ride. The railroad runs along the coast, giving visitors spectacular views of the North Sea and other small coastal towns.

Medieval St Andrews

“O, little city, grey and sere,
Though shrunken from thine ancient pride
And lonely by thy lonely sea...”

In its prime, between the 12th and 16th centuries, St Andrews was a bustling cathedral town located on the East Coast of Scotland. It was home to fishermen, professors and students from the University of St Andrews— Scotland’s oldest university, founded in 1413—, Augustinian canons, and pilgrims who traveled from all over to visit the relics of St Andrew.

The story of the relics arrival in St Andrews is as follows: “Legend has it that Saint Rule (or Regulus) was the guardian of the relics of St Andrew at Patras in Greece in the fourth century. Warned by an angel that they were to be removed to Constantinople, Regulus resolved to take them elsewhere. Eventually his boat was wrecked off the Fife coast and the sacred bones of Saint Andrew were brought to Kilrimont and interred in a shrine.” However, scholars believe it is more likely that the relics arrived in Scotland sometime in the 8th century. Regardless of how the relics arrived, the medieval town of Kilrimont, now St Andrews, quickly became the headquarters of the Scottish Church.^v

In 1160, Bishop Arnold (1160-1162) oversaw the laying of the cathedral’s foundations. The cathedral would replace St Rule’s chapel, which had grown too small for the Augustinian canons. Given the enormous size of the cathedral, construction was not finished until the late 13th century.^{vi}

Following the completion of the cathedral, St Andrews became the ecclesiastical seat, or religious capital, of Scotland. The creation of the cathedral also allowed the town to flourish, quickly becoming one of Scotland’s wealthiest burghs. Historian Douglas Young writes: “The fact that **St Andrews diocese had in it about a quarter of the nation’s population** and revenue [in the 13th century] **made its bishop and his ‘family’ of supporting clergy crucially important when external aggression threatened the independence of the realm.**”^{vii}

Unfortunately, this wealth and power was no match for the Reformation. This is where the mystery begins.

How did the largest cathedral ever built in Scotland fall into ruin? Why did the townsfolk of one of the wealthiest towns in Scotland stand back and watch as the cathedral decayed before their eyes? What happened to the cathedral after it fell into ‘disuse’? Why, in 1908, did a St Andrews historian work so hard to open a museum for the cathedral? And what is being done today to preserve the cathedral?

Medieval St Andrews

“O, little city, grey and sere,
Though shrunken from thine ancient pride
And lonely by thy lonely sea...”

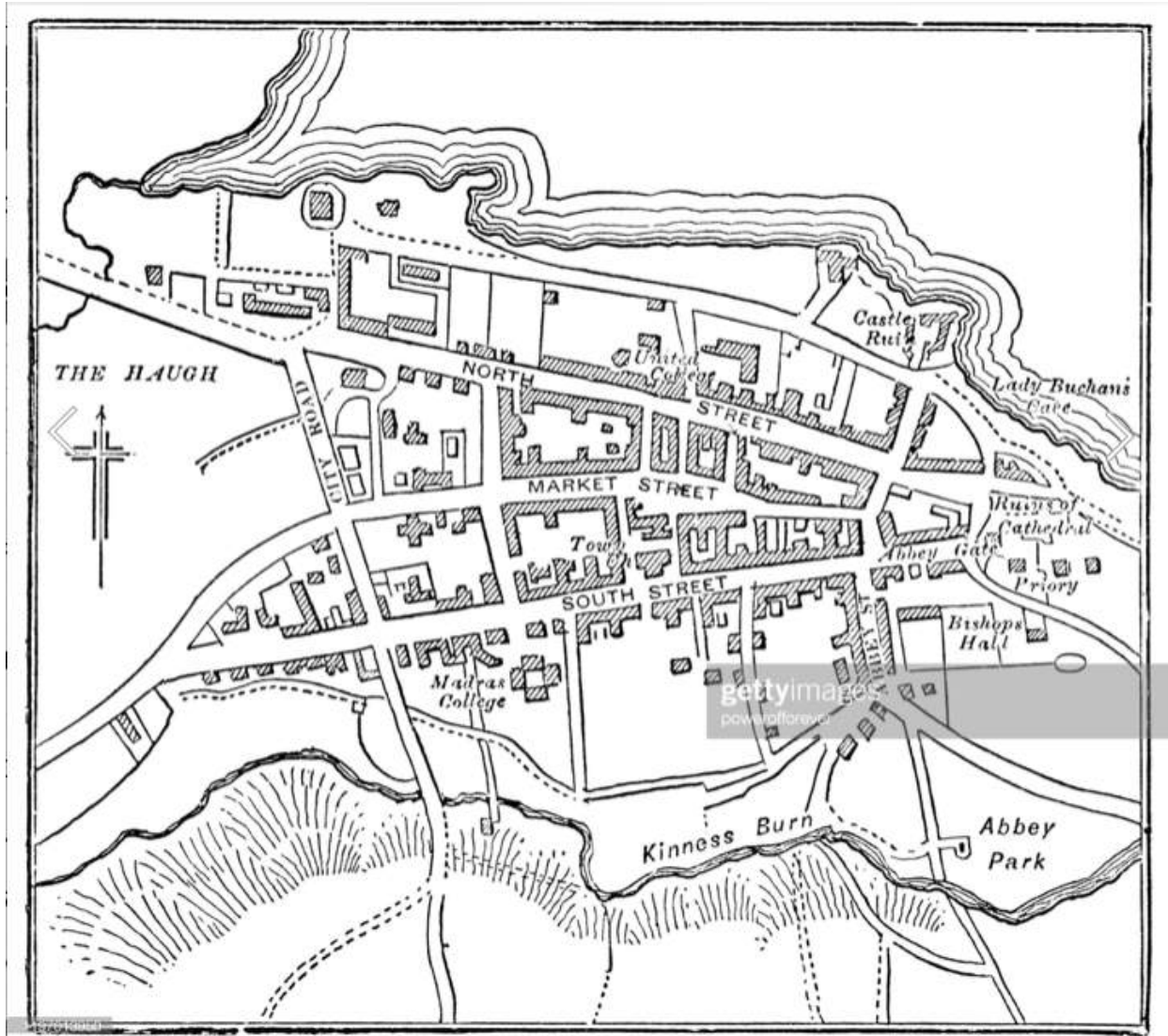


Image 6: Unknown, “Map of the City of St. Andrew’s, Scotland Victorian Engraving, 1840- stock illustration,” DigitalVision Vectors, no. 655923570, accessed April 24, 2022, Courtesy of Getty Images.

This 19th century engraving of St Andrews marks the major streets and buildings in town. In the East, on the far-right side of town, is the St Andrews Cathedral, the priory house, and the bishop’s hall. The castle ruins are Northwest of the cathedral. The three major streets, North Street, Market Street, and South Street are all marked as well. The three streets come to a point, ending at the cathedral, indicating the cathedral’s importance in medieval St Andrews.

Historical Descriptions of St Andrews

“A land of waters green and clear,
Of willow and of poplars tall,
And, in the spring-time of the year,
The white may breaking over all,
And Pleasure quick to come at call.”

“**The length of the cathedral from E. to W. as marked by the towers, as nearly can be measured, on very rough and unequal ground, is 350 feet; and the breadth of the cross ailes [sic.] from N. to S. 160 feet.** On the north side of the town, **a little west from the cathedral, on the brink of a perpendicular rock, are the ruins of the castle.**...From the castle, westward, there anciently ran a street, called the Swallow-street, said to be the residence of the merchants. It is now a public walk, between the walls of gardens and fields. **The inhabited streets are 3, running nearly from W. to E. but not quite parallel, as they all terminate at the cathedral,** in the E. end: The South-street or Shoegate, Market-street, and North-street. These streets are intersected at right angles, by narrower streets called wynds.”^{viii}

- Statistical Report, 1793

“St Andrews is **situated upon a ridge of rock projecting into the sea**, at the bottom of the large bay to which it gives name. The ridge is washed by the waves on the west and north, and terminating towards these two quarters in an abrupt and high precipice, gives the city, to a traveller [sic.] approaching from the west, **a grand and elevated appearance.** On advancing along the road... we have a prospect of St Andrews at the distance of some miles. Few views perhaps are more interesting. The vast sweep of the bay of St Andrews, the golfing links, and the coast...and the **venerably majestic towers and numerous spires of St Andrews shooting into the air over the water’s edge, directing before us—form a finely varied and imposing scene.**”^{ix}

- Rev. James Grierson, author of *Delineations of St Andrews*, 1823

“**The Situation of St Andrews, on a rocky plateau, at the pit of the bay to which it has given its own name, is strikingly picturesque, and unsurpassed for free exposure to the bracing breezes of the German Ocean.**...Leuchars Junctions, the North British Railway, is barely five miles distant; and after passing it, the hoary towers of St Andrews are seen in the east, but are soon hid again from view... Soon the train skirts our famous Links, and as the Railway station is neared, **the Ancient City has the appearance of a charming watering-place of mushroom growth,** save for the College Steeple towering high above the modern buildings, and the turrets of the Cathedral peering over the house-tops in the east.”^x

- David Hay Fleming, St Andrews historian, 1902

“For a medieval town the lay-out of **St. Andrews is unusually elaborate and regular.** The plan is governed by the site of the city— **a wedge shaped plateau lying between the sea and the valley of the Kinness Burn** and having at its eastern extremity the ecclesiastical settlement to which St. Andrews probably owes its existence...**While almost all the streets and wynds have been re-named, the old town plan is still remarkably intact.**”^{xi}

- St Andrews Preservation Trust, 1947

Violence or Neglect? What the Historians Think

How did the St Andrews Cathedral fall into ruin? The answer depends on which historian you ask.

Some historians argue that on June 11th, 1559, John Knox came to St Andrews and gave a sermon at the Holy Trinity Church against the wealth and grandeur of the Catholic Church. Supposedly, this sermon stirred up the people of St Andrews so much so that following the end of the sermon, they ran to the cathedral and tore down the Catholic fixtures and furnishings which decorated the entire space. Evidence of this violence can be found in the quite literally defaced statues which now reside in the cathedral museum, and in empty pedestals in and around the cathedral precinct. This mob is also accused of taking down the roof of the cathedral, leaving the inside open to the elements. Left without its roof, the cathedral would have quickly rotted from the inside out.^{xiii}

Other historians believe that by June 11th, 1559, the St Andrews Cathedral was already in a state of neglect and borderline disrepair. Throughout its nearly 400 years, the cathedral experienced a pattern of damage, repair, and damage, which continued through to the Reformation.^{xiii} Some historians believe this pattern inevitably led to the cathedral's neglect and subsequent decay and ruin. The bishops and canons simply could not keep up with the costly and large scale repairs the great cathedral required. These historians, therefore, argue that when John Knox arrived in St Andrews on June 11th, 1559, he gave a sermon against the wealth and grandeur of the Catholic Church but there was no violent mob which destroyed the cathedral and left it open to the elements. Instead, the bishop and canons had already removed many of the catholic fixtures and furnishings in an attempt to protect them.

Given the current state of the cathedral and the sparseness of sources from this period of St Andrews history, it is difficult to know exactly what led to the ruin of the cathedral. It is likely that the truth is a combination of violence and neglect. Regardless, today we are left with the remnants of Scotland's largest cathedral and mythlike stories of violence and chaos which brought about the end of the town's wealth and glory.

Historian David Hay Fleming summed up this part of the mystery well when he wrote in 1902 that "The date of the great catastrophe has not been ascertained."^{xiv}

Violence or Neglect?

“And still endure, and still decay,
Towers that the salt winds vainly beat.
Ghost-like and shadowy they stand
Dim mirrored in the wet sea-sand.”



Image 7: David Wilkie, *John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation, 10th June, 1559*, oil on panel, ca. 1827 (Petworth House, The Egremont Collection—acquired in lieu of tax by HM Treasury in 1956 and subsequently transferred to the National Trust), <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/486166/>.

This image portrays John Knox preaching a sermon in St Andrews’s Holy Trinity Parish Church in June 1559. Some historians attribute the destruction and subsequent ruin, abandonment, and decay of the St Andrews Cathedral to this sermon. Other historians disagree and instead argue that the cathedral fell into ruin through a prolonged period of **neglect** which began well before John Knox arrived in St Andrews in 1559.

Violence or Neglect?



Image 8: Chris Tabraham and Kirsty Owen, “The vandalism of the cathedral by Protestants following John Knox’s notorious sermon of 11 June 1559,” in *St Andrews Castle, Cathedral and Historic Burgh: The Official Souvenir Guide* (Scotland: Historic Scotland, 2010), 69.

This image, taken from the 2010 Historic Environment Scotland Official Souvenir Guide for the St Andrews Castle, Cathedral, and Burgh, depicts the **violent** sacking of the St Andrews cathedral in 1559. Whether such an event truly happened is contested by historians.

Violence.

“[The cathedral] was demolished, as is well known, in the **tumult and violence** of Knox’s reformation.”^{xv}

- William Fordyce Mavor, *Traveler’s Journal*, 1789

“At the period of the Reformation, the animosity subsisting between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Scotland were strong, and had led to an **open warfare**. The celebrated John Knox... having expressed in his discourses the notion, that **the destruction of the religious edifices might be one of the most effectual means of eradicating Popery**, the heated multitude eagerly imbibed the idea, and proceeded without delay to put it into execution. **The religious edifices of St Andrews were accordingly assailed, and in a very few hours, what had been the labour of ages, was involved in ruin.**”^{xvi}

- *Statistical and Historical Account of St Andrews*, 1838

“The Reformation of the Scottish Church in August 1560 had a devastating effect on the cathedral priory and other churches in the town. By then, much of the damage had been done for **the turning point proved to be a sermon preached by John Knox in the parish church on 11 June 1559, which so aroused the congregation that they were immediately moved to tear down the rich medieval furnishings associated with ‘popish’ worship.**”^{xvii}

- Richard Fawcett, historian, and Historic Environment Scotland, pamphlet on the history of St Andrews Cathedral, 1993

“In 1560 the Reformation Parliament finally repudiated the Pope’s authority in Scotland the Catholic mass was abolished as the main form of worship. Before then, however, much of the damage had already been done. **The turning point was a sermon preached by John Knox in Holy Trinity Church on 11 June 1559. His words aroused the congregation, who were immediately moved to tear down the rich medieval furnishings associated with Catholic worship.** Archbishop Hamilton seems to have bowed to the inevitable and abandoned his great cathedral almost immediately.”^{xviii}

- Chris Tabraham, Kirsty Owen, and Historic Environment Scotland, pamphlet on the history of St Andrews Cathedral, 2010

“1559- John Knox preaches a fiery sermon in Holy Trinity, after which the crowd go [sic.] to the cathedral and **‘cleanse’ it of its Catholic fixtures.**”^{xix}

- Historic Environment Scotland, body in charge of cathedral preservation, statement of significance, 2011

“The preaching of John Knox in Holy Trinity Church between 11 and 14 June **marked the beginning of a planned attack on the institutions of Scotland’s ecclesiastical capital... The cathedral priory was also attacked and ‘put down’ and the books and sculptures of the community destroyed...** For St Andrews, however, the events of 1559 marked the end not just of its pre-Reformation history but of its history as a major centre of power and spirituality.”^{xx}

- Michael Brown, Historian, Introduction to *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, 2017

“In the spring of 1559 St Andrews was still a functioning Catholic city. By the end of the summer the burgh had become a bastion of the Protestant cause... On Sunday 11 June the Reformers launched their campaign to convert Scotland’s religious capital. That morning... John Knox delivered an inflammatory sermon in Holy Trinity Church... Knox continued to preach in Holy Trinity for a further three days... **In the days that followed local churches was stripped of their altars and images...**”^{xxi}

- Bess Rhodes, Historian, *Riches and Reform: Ecclesiastical Wealth in St Andrews, c. 1520-1580*, 2019

Neglect.

“...there is not a single scrap of contemporary evidence to prove that the Cathedral was demolished at the Reformation. The ablest historians now acknowledge this, yet the old fable is repeated and perpetuated by the tongues and pens of those who are either too prejudiced to receive the truth, or too indolent to inquire into it. A careful inspection of the ruins not only reveals the fact that this Cathedral had shown signs of weakness... **The real cause of destruction was neglect not violence...** People who have kept their eyes open must have been struck by the rapidity with which a building goes to ruin after the roof fails. The absence of a few slates, or tiles, permits the rain to enter, the wood-work rots and speedily collapses, frost soon rends the soaking walls and renders them as an easy prey to the howling tempest. In the case of the Cathedral, the lead was probably stolen from the roof—secretly or openly— and the destruction would have been hastened...”^{xxii}

- David Hay Fleming, historian of Medieval St Andrews Cathedral, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 1902

“At the Reformation the Cathedral was stripped of its internal furnishings and somewhat later of its lead roofs but **its present condition is due rather to neglect and petty pilfering than to deliberate and wholesale destruction.**”^{xxiii}

- Handbook published by the St Andrews Preservation Trust, 1947

“**The notion that Knox led a mob to ding the building is a myth. It perished because it had ceased to fulfill a desired function, and from mere lack of maintenance.** The priory buildings survived as residential quarters much longer.”

- Douglas Young, historian of Medieval St Andrews, *St Andrews*, 1969

Violence or Neglect?



Image 9: Rodger Thomas, Photographer, and David Hay Fleming, Collector. "Holy Trinity Church, St. Andrews," Photograph, ca. 1850-1907. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: 2000-1-132. <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/holy-trinity-church-st-andrews/379812>.

Holy Trinity Church is the church where John Knox gave a series of sermons to the people of St Andrews in June 1559.

Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation

“O, broken minster, looking forth
Beyond the bay, above the town,”



Image 10: Unknown artist, “Capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews,” oil painting, ca. 1690 to 1770. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: HC502, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/capriccio-view-of-the-ruins-of-st-andrews-view-of-st-andrews-cathedral-incorporating-blackfriars-chapel-and-an-unidentified-gateway/1000954>.

This image depicts an imaginary scene of a handful of ruins in St Andrews clustered together. On the left are the ruins of Blackfriars Chapel. In the center are the cathedral ruins with St Rule’s tower in the background between the two fragments of the cathedral. To the far right is the beginning of the Pends gateway. The painting not only reminds us of St Andrews’ fall from grace after the Reformation, but also gives us insight into what state the ruins were in during the 17th and 18th centuries.

16th Century Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation The Decline of St Andrews

Historian Bess Rhodes explains that part of the reason the cathedral, along with the town, decayed after the Reformation was because of a failing economy. Leading up to the Reformation, St Andrews was one of Scotland's wealthiest towns thanks to trade and its role as the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland.^{xxiv} Rhodes explains how "a combination of the attacks on religious houses, the general upheaval in the burgh, and the cessation of Catholic services (and many of the traditional payments associated with them) brought about a significant reduction in clerical incomes."^{xxv} Therefore, beginning in 1559, the clerics of St Andrews began selling off pieces of ecclesiastical land to make up for their declining incomes. This divvying up of land proved to be damaging both for the reformed church and the townspeople of St Andrews.

Moreover, the structures around which the town functioned had been disrupted due to the Reformation. According to Rhodes, "the archbishop, who had traditionally acted as an arbitrator and intermediary between the different strands of governance within St Andrews, fled the city. The Catholic church courts, which had played a major role in resolving property disputes, ceased to operate. The university became divided and barely functional...This crisis in the burgh's administrative and judicial systems, combined with extensive reallocation of church lands, created a situation in which unauthorized seizures of lands and non-payment of rents and teinds [tithes] could flourish."^{xxvi}

Ultimately, in the decades following the Reformation, secular authorities and lay people increasingly took charge of ecclesiastical lands and funds, much to the detriment of the Reformed Kirk, its ministers, and the once Catholic properties. Rhodes explains how "Much of the Catholic Church's wealth was either diverted to recipients outside the burgh or simply ceased to be collected...A valuable source of investment in the city virtually dried up."^{xxvii}

Without the Archbishop, the cathedral, or the Catholic Church, St Andrews quickly spiraled into decay.

16th Century Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation The Decline of St Andrews



Image 11: John Geddy, “Map of St Andrews,” reproduction of map, ca. 1580, Papers of Dr. Ronald G Cant. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: msdep112/45, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/file/maps-and-plans/2074907>.

This famous map, created by John Geddy, ca. 1580, displays a slightly distorted view of St Andrews. The cathedral is the large structure on the far right. Geddy depicts the cathedral as whole, whether it was in fact still fully intact in 1580 is unclear. However, this map gives us a sense of the size and scope of town. Not much has changed in the old town of St Andrews since the 16th century.

17th Century Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation St Andrews: Cathedral as Quarry

Following the Reformation, the St Andrews Cathedral fell into disrepair. Sources describe it as existing in a state of “ruin,” “abandonment,” and “decay.”^{xxxviii}

Part of this abandonment was due to John Knox’s sermon and the economic decline of the town which followed in the wake of the Reformation. However, much of the decay happened throughout the 17th century as townsfolk used the cathedral as a quarry. Historic Environment Scotland explains how “following the Reformation, the detritus from the cathedral-priory’s walls and roofs lay upon the ground, for the towns-people to use as a handy stone quarry.”^{xxxix} However, based on this statement, it is unclear exactly *when* the cathedral became a quarry.

An archived description of the St Andrews Preservation Trust’s Museum building states that the building, which dates from the early 17th century, is not made with cathedral stone. According to this document, the cathedral was not a quarry in the early 17th century.^{xxx}

Historian David Hay Fleming explains how “in 1649, Parliament authorised the Town Council to use all the stones of the decayed buildings, walls, and dykes of the Abbey in fortifying the town. **The destruction at that time may have been enormous; but it was a ruin before that;** and, unhappily, the example thus shown of utilizing it as a quarry was long followed by citizens, who freely took the stones, once deemed sacred, to erect the humblest edifices.”^{xxxxi}

Therefore, we could assume that the cathedral was left essentially untouched from 1559 to 1649. However, if we are to believe that following Knox’s sermons the townsfolk tore down the roof of the cathedral, then the space would have been left open to and damaged by the elements well before 1649. Again, whether such wholesale destruction happened is up for debate. But it is possible that, after 1559, as the cathedral sat in disrepair, townsfolk began carrying off stones before Parliament officially allowed it in 1649.^{xxxii}



Image: 12 “Sketch of Celtic Stonework,” David Hay Fleming Papers, ca. 1900, MS38977/6/1/3/4. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

17th Century Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation St Andrews Cathedral as Burial Ground

According to a statistical account published in 1838, “the burying-ground for the city [of St Andrews] and parish was originally in the immediate vicinity of the [Holy Trinity] parish church, but as the space allotted for the purpose was confined, and in the heart of the city, it was with great propriety, soon after the Reformation, transferred to the vicinity of the cathedral, where it still continues. Many of the monuments which are to be found in this cemetery possess considerable interest; but none of them are of a date so old as the era of the Reformation.”^{xxxiii}

However, according to Historic Environment Scotland, the town did not use the cathedral property as their cemetery until 1689, over a century after the Reformation.^{xxxiv}

In opposition to the 1838 statistical account and Historic Environment Scotland, David Hay Fleming contends that there are, in fact, tombstones dating back to at least 1581. Fleming explains how “Of the sixty-six [post-Reformation tombstones], four... belong to the sixteenth century, and almost all others to the seventeenth.”^{xxxv} This suggests that once the priory buildings attached to the cathedral were abandoned in the early 1580s, the townsfolk of St Andrews began burying their dead on the cathedral grounds.^{xxxvi}

Fleming’s research therefore complicates the claims made by the 1838 statistical account and Historic Environment Scotland.^{xxxvii}

The cathedral grounds continued to function as the town’s burial ground until the 20th century. When Fleming was working to open the Cathedral Museum in the early 1900s, there were discussions on whether it was safe and sanitary to allow people to continue to bury their dead on the premises.^{xxxviii} In 1910, the town denied Fleming’s suggestion to close the burial ground. However, at some point in the 20th century, the burial ground was permanently closed.^{xxxix} Today, visitors can explore the grounds of the cathedral and hunt for interesting or unique tombstones.

17th Century
Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation
St Andrews Cathedral as Burial Ground



Image 13: J Valentine and Sons, Publishers, “St Andrews Cathedral & Tower,” Photograph, ca. 1880, James Valentine Photographic Collection. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: JV-694X, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/st-andrews-cathedral--tower/82117>.

Here we see the ruins of the St Andrews Cathedral (left) and the remains of St Rules Chapel (right) surrounded by tombstones.

18th Century Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation Tourist Perspectives: St Andrews in Ruin

Travel journals from the 18th century give us insight into what St Andrews looked like two centuries after the Reformation. Their descriptions and experiences vary but they all provide an image of decay, ruin, and haunting emptiness.

“The City of St Andrews is only a shadow of what it has been. The streets show grass as well as pavement.”^{xl}

- John Loveday, *A Diary of a Tour in 1732*

“Full in front, at the bottom of a long descent, appears the city, placed at the extremity of a plain at the water’s edge. **Its numerous towers and spires give it an air of vast magnificence**, and serve to raise the expectation of strangers to the highest pitch. On entering the west port, a well-built street, straight, and of a vast length and breadth, appears; **but so grass-grown, and such of dreary solitude lay before us, that it formed the perfect idea of having been laid waste by pestilence.** On a farther advance, **the towers and spires, which at a distance afforded such an appearance of grandeur, on the near view shewed themselves to be the awful remains of the magnificent**, the pious works of past generations.”^{xli}

- Thomas Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland*, 1772

“In the morning, we rose to perambulate a city, which only history shews to have once flourished, and surveyed the ruins of ancient magnificence, of which even the ruins cannot long be visible, unless some care be taken to preserve them; and **where is the pleasure of preserving such mournful memorials, they have been, till very lately, so much neglected that every man carried away the stones who fancied that he wanted them...** The city of St Andrews, when it had lost its archiepiscopal pre-eminence, **gradually decayed**: One of its streets is now lost; and, in those that remain, **there is the silence and solitude of inactive indigence and gloomy depopulation.**”^{xlii}

- William Fordyce Mavor, *The British Tourists*, 1798

18th Century
 Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation
 Tourist Perspectives: St Andrews in Ruin



Image 14: Unknown, “Ruderae Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Andreae. The ruins of the Cathedral of St. Andrews. This plate is most humbly inscribed to the Right Reverend Father in God William Ld. Bishop of Carlyle, Lord Almoner to His Majesty,” Copy of Copper Plate Engraving, ca. 1718, General Collections, © Courtesy of HES. Illustration from *Theatrum Scotiae* by J Slezzer, DP101770, <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1240067>.

This engraving illustrates the state of the cathedral in 1718 and is likely similar to what 18th century visitors would have encountered when they arrived in St Andrews.

18th Century
 Post-Reformation, Pre-Preservation
 Tourist Perspectives: St Andrews in Ruin

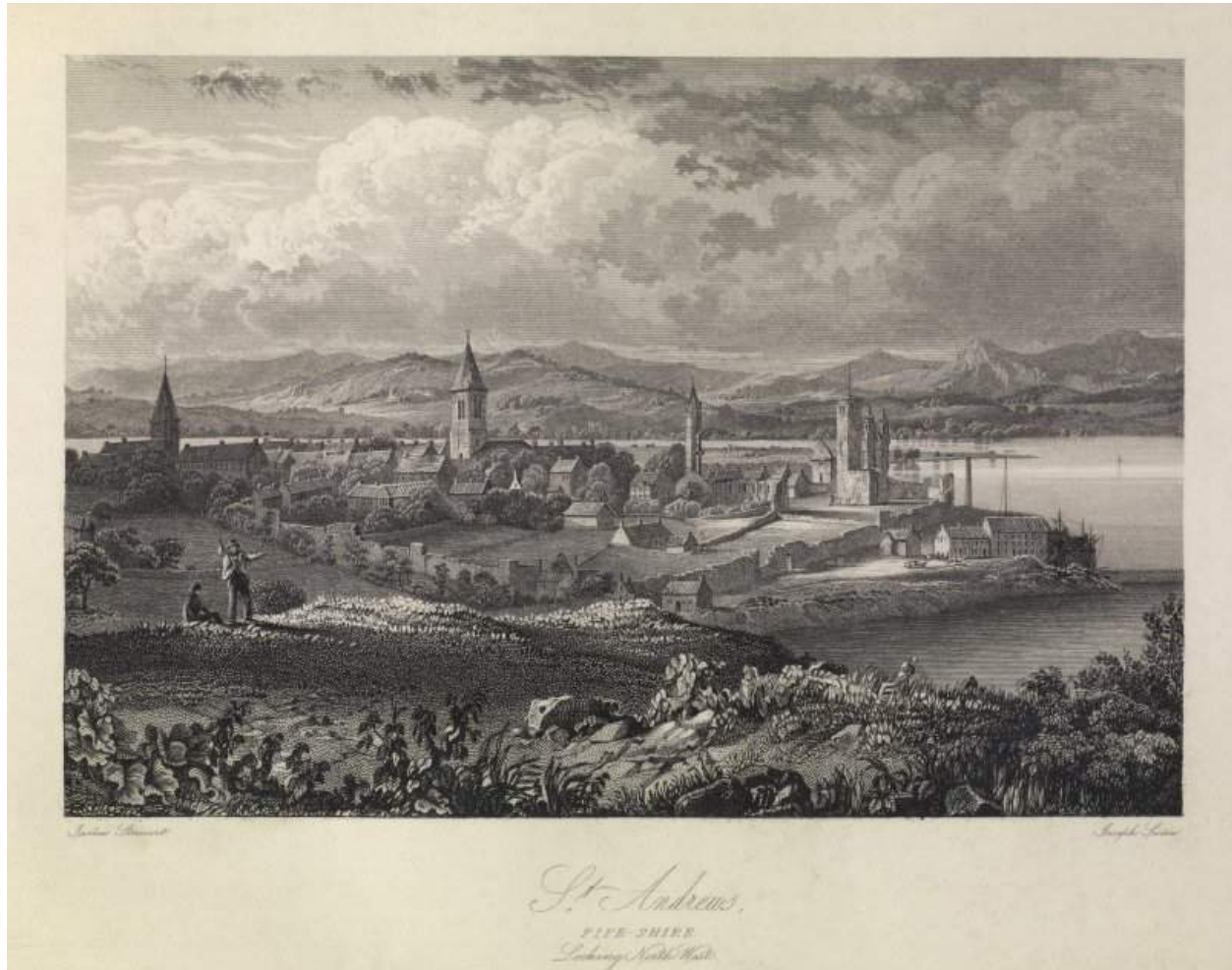


Image 15: Illustration from J M Leighton, *History of the County of Fife*, “St Andrews, Fife Shire,” Engraving, ca. 1840, General Collections, DP110233, <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1258667>.

While this image is from the 19th century, it illustrates Thomas Pennant’s description of entering St Andrews and seeing the tall towers and spires from a distance. We can see the towers of St Andrews Cathedral and St Rules on the right, St Salvators Chapel spire just left of center, and the spire of the Holy Trinity Church to the far left.

The 18th Century Revival of St Andrews Hints of Former Luster

By the late 18th century, the St Andrews Cathedral and the surrounding town were decaying and in ruin. However, based on a 1793 statistical account*, there were fledgling efforts to revive the town and its damaged economy: “After the Reformation, the city gradually fell into decay, from which it is now emerging, by the spirited exertions of a few individuals.” The account points to an uptick in trade and exports out of the St Andrews port. Two decades before, the shore-dues— money charged by the port to those wishing to use or trade at the port— had been producing a scant £10 sterling. However, by 1793, when the account was published, the shore-dues were producing approximately £66 sterling a year.

The main export was grain, but St Andrews also supplied the eastern coast of Fife with iron and wood which had, in times past, been provided by Dundee in the North or Ely in the South.

There was also an increase in shipbuilding in St Andrews in the late 18th century. This industry provided jobs for locals and helped to boost the economy.

The report also mentions the establishment of a “factory for the sowing and tambouring of muslin” in 1792. This factory took on a number of apprentices, some of which were young girls, who earned wages.^{xliii}

There were also signs that the population was slowly increasing throughout the last quarter of the 18th century. Though it is hard to accurately gauge and trust historical population numbers, the statistical account of 1793 argues that between 1774 and 1791 there were 1,922 births in the St Andrews parish and only 1,434 deaths.

The statistical account closes its section on general information about St Andrews with the following comment: “A spirit of enterprise has arisen among the inhabitants, new houses on an improved plan of size, accommodation, and elegance, are yearly rising, and there is every reason to believe, that St Andrew’s will continue to flourish, and will gradually regain its former lustre.”^{xliv}

By the late 18th century, the citizens of St Andrews began working to rebuild their once great city. However, it would take at least another one-hundred years before the town would begin to resemble its former, pre-Reformation self.

*In the case of this source, they use the term ‘statistical account’ to refer to any ‘information useful to government.’ The source covers all topics ranging from general history, the identification of local caves, quarries, and craftsmen, trade, as well as population numbers, and everything in between.^{xlv}

The 18th Century Revival of St Andrews

Hints of Former Luster



Image 16: Charles G. L. Phillips, Creator, "St Andrews from the Pier," Etching, ca. 1900-1940, Heritage Collection, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: HC2001.9, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/st-andrews-from-the-pier/1001311>.

This etching depicts St Andrews from its pier in the harbor. Rising into the clouds is St Rules tower (far left), the towers of St Andrews Cathedral (left of St Rules), and St Salvator's tower (left of St Andrews). During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, St Andrews economy slowly came back to life, in part due to increased activity in the port.

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews Relaying the Foundations

The population of St Andrews continued to increase throughout the first quarter of the 19th century. The second statistical account of St Andrews, published in 1838, has a table which argues that between 1801 and 1831 the population increased by nearly 1,500 people.^{xlvi} This increase in population matches the broader trend happening throughout Scotland: between 1801 and 1841 Scotland's population increased by just over one million people.^{xlvi}

However, despite the efforts of St Andrews' citizens to revive their economy in the late 18th century, and the slow but steady increase in the population, the town was still in a rather dismal state in the early 19th century. Evidence of this lies in the state of the University buildings.

After the Reformation and the ruin of the cathedral, both physically and economically, the University of St Andrews had become the prime contributor to the town's economy, as it brought in students and professors from all over. By 1838 however, many of the University buildings were in varying states of disrepair. According to the 1838 statistical account, many of these buildings had been left to fall into ruin because the University did not have adequate funds to repair them. Only through the financial assistance of the Lords of the Treasury was the University able to repair some of these buildings. However, the funds provided by the Lords of the Treasury were not enough to repair every building in need.^{xlvi}

As for the cathedral, Reverend James Grierson, author of *The Delineations of St Andrews* (1823), believed that because "the stones of which the structure [the cathedral] was built have been mostly of a bad quality, and have yielded very much to the influence of the weather. In the course of a few years **it more than likely that the whole remaining parts of it will tumble to the ground.**"^{xlvi}

The cathedral did not tumble. Yet, the image which emerges from early 19th century sources is one of a town struggling to repair the wounds caused in the aftermath of the Reformation and the intervening centuries. Industry, the economy, and the population were all growing, but the University was struggling financially, and the cathedral appeared to be on the brink of collapse.

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews

Provost Hugh Lyon Playfair

In 1842, Hugh Lyon Playfair (1786-1861) became provost of St Andrews. During his nearly two decades as provost, Playfair took it upon himself to repair the crumbling and dilapidated town and to unify different voices on the town council.ⁱ His reform movement included clearing and paving the existing streets as well as laying the foundations for new ones, and establishing funds for a library, a town hall, and for public sanitation. He pushed for spaces for leisure activities, such as a bowling green and public footpaths, which still wend their way through town today. Playfair also secured funds to erect new academic buildings for the University.ⁱⁱ He supported initiatives to beautify the town which included planting trees, fixing up house fronts, and updating the streetlights.

A visitor to the town and author of Playfair's biography describes walking through St Andrews in the mid-19th century as a "pleasure" rather than the "penance" it once had been, thanks to all the "modern" updates Playfair had given the town.ⁱⁱⁱ

Playfair's desire to update and reform the town had the added benefit of boosting the town's economy and providing employment opportunities for all.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

As for the St Andrews Cathedral, Playfair is credited with creating a 'breakwater,' or wall, to prevent the cliffs upon which the cathedral stands from further eroding into the North Sea. He also saw to repairing the walls of the Pends Gateway which were at risk of falling. His biographer explains how the Abbey wall of the cathedral "together with the ruins of the Cathedral and others adjoining, received considerable reparation, and had many of the encumbrances removed, &c., and thus rendered more worthy the inspection of the curious."^{liv} Playfair also worked alongside the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to make the cathedral priory a pleasant, if not solemn, space for visitors and townsfolk to walk through.^{lv}

By 1861, St Andrews was no longer a shell of its former glory but rather a 'modern' 19th century town. Hugh Lyon Playfair's efforts to reform the town, however, were not the only factors which breathed new life into St Andrews. The introduction of a local train station made it easier than ever for people to visit, quickly making golf the main attraction for visitors.

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews
Provost Hugh Lyon Playfair



Image 17: Thomas Rodger, Photographer, "Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair," Salted Paper Print Photograph, ca. 1850, The Collection of Early Photographic Material, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: ALB-6-53-3, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/sir-hugh-lyon-playfair/20467>.

Provost Hugh Lyon Playfair
 ‘Ane Auld Ballad Upon A New Knychte’

I. The wind blaws keen at Aberdeen,
 Sae does it at Dundee,
 O’er mony a stately toun it blaws,
 In Scotland’s cauld countries.
 But of a’ the touns the wind blaws o’er,
 There’s nane sae dear to me,
 As the grey towers o’ St. Andrews toun,
 St. Andrews on the sea.

II. For there, I ween, dwells Golfers keen,
 A jolly companie;
 And mony a leal and trusty friend,
 A mony fair ladye;
 And there “the Major” keeps his state,
 And rules the auld citye;
 A mighty man of heart and hand,
 And the pynk of courtesye,
 Is the Major of St. Andrews toun—St. Andrews on
 the sea.

III. In distant lands he let the bands
 Of India’s chivalre;
 In hot Bengal, the best of all,
 The Horse Artillerie.
 With meikle credit and renown,
 He served the Companie;
 And if he serve himself also,
 The more it pleaseth me;
 This Major of St. Andrews toun—St. Andrews on
 the sea.

IV. And when at length in health and strength,
 He reached his native shore,
 He set himself with might and main,
 The citye to restore.
 With main and might, what he tought right,
 He did it fearlessly,
 And no man dared to wag his beard,
 When told to let it be,
 By this potent tyrant of St. Andrews on the sea.

V. The streets he paved, the wrath he braved,
 Of the fishwife progenie.
 The Mussel Scaup rebellion,
 He quelled with stern decree.
 He made the Madras, flare up like glass,
 As a famed Academie.
 And equal justice did to all
 Of high and low degree;
 This Provost of St. Andrews toun—St Andrews on
 the sea.

VI. But time would fail, e’er half the tale
 I could declare to thee,

Of how he fought the Home Office,
 And banged the Treasurie.
 And all for the sake of the Colleges,
 And the Universitie. Though weather he ever got
 thanks for the same,
 It is quite unknown to me;
 Except being told to write with his name—the
 letters L.L.D.

VII. The Old Town Hall, best work of all,
 He improved more sensible;
 With a Market Place and Private Rooms,
 Most beautiful to see; And all against the wish of
 those,
 Who cried out let it be,
 For I won’t subscribe to keep up such
 A splendid deformitie;
 Although much required, and long desired,
 By the Provost of St Andrews—that toun upon the
 sea.

VIII. The Queen she dwells in Windsor Tow’r,
 In Windsor Hall sits she;
 Says— “Albert, call Sir George the Grey,
 And bid him bring to me
 The best and worthiest of our land,
 That they may knighted be.
 And first of all, let us install
 Our friend from the North Countrie;
 That mirror of all Magistrates, and make him
 K.C.B.”

IX. “Sir Hugh, arise,” the Queen she cries,
 As he knelt beside her knee;
 “I wot ‘twere better for all this land,
 And better far for me,
 If we were served but half as well,
 By our well-paid Ministrye,
 As you have served your native toun,
 Withouten fear or fee,
 Sir Hugh, thou Prince of Provosts from St.
 Andrews on the sea.”

X. Now let us sing, long live the Queen,
 And the Provost long live he:
 And here’s a health to his Ladye fair,
 And a health to his Fam’lie;
 And let us all, both great and small,
 Learn from this historie,
 To work that’s given us
 Upright and manfully,
 Like Sir Hugh, the famous Provost of St.
 Andrews on the sea.^{lvi}

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews Industrialization, Golf, and Holiday Makers

During Queen Victoria's reign (r. 1837-1901), Scotland became a popular tourist destination, and this was in part due to Queen Victoria herself. She was the first monarch since King Charles I (1625-1649) to visit Scotland, and her frequent trips North encouraged others to do the same.^{lvii} Biographies of Queen Victoria emphasize how much she loved the land and its history and highlight her many trips North.^{lviii} In 1852, her husband Prince Albert (1819-1861) purchased Balmoral Castle for the Queen, making it their permanent residence in Scotland.^{lix}

It was also during Queen Victoria's reign that the railways which connected England and Scotland were completed.^{lx} While the railways made travel to Scotland convenient, fast, and safe, the Queen made it fashionable.

The Queen's frequent trips North and the rise in tourism that ensued coincided with Hugh Lyon Playfair's reform efforts in St Andrews.^{lxi} Tourism in St Andrews was further helped by the arrival of the railroad in 1847. Tourists in the mid-to-late 19th century would have experienced a vastly different St Andrews than their 18th century counterparts had. Gone were many of the crumbling buildings and grass covered roads. Instead, visitors were met with a 'modern' town which was once more bustling with industry and holiday makers, many of whom were there to play golf and participate in other leisure activities.^{lxii}

Legend has it that St Andrews is the birthplace of modern golf and that the Links golf course, or Old Course, which runs the length of West Sands beach, is the oldest golf course in the world.^{lxiii} In 1754, the Royal and Ancient Golf Club was created (R&A); it was a gentlemen's golf club which hosted yearly golf tournaments. The R&A was captained by many distinguished men, notably, Hugh Lyon Playfair in 1818 and Prince Leopold, Queen Victoria's fourth son, in 1876.^{lxiv} By the 1880s, golf was so popular in St Andrews that there were complaints of overcrowding on the course.^{lxv}

By the close of the 19th century, St Andrews had become a 'modern' city and popular tourist destination.^{lxvi} Tourism throughout Scotland increased thanks to Queen Victoria's many trips North and to the completion of various railway systems connecting England and Scotland, as well as cities throughout Scotland. The many visitors in St Andrews boosted the economy and helped persuade others to visit.

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews

Newspaper Remarks on the Town's Reemergence

“When summer again arrives, and female elegance and gaiety are to be adorning our streets, the stranger will scarcely be able to recognize the ancient and venerable city. Its fine steeples, indeed may discover its identity; but otherwise **it has undergone, is now undergoing, and is to undergo, such changes since last autumn that its aspect will speedily be changed.** Our active and indefatigable Lord Provost, how dignified in mein, spares no pains, no labour, in making the city worthy its great original- worthy of its great name. **Of late, indeed for a series of years, St Andrews, though not sinking into decay, was little merging out of it. It had sunk, on losing its archiepiscopal preeminence, into one of the meanest and most miserable cities of the empire and the constantly going-on improvements of two centuries had slowly improved it.** Its streets were covered with grass, and might have fed sheep in summer; its houses could scarcely withstand the tempests of winter, at least, many of them in our principal streets; and its roughly and miserably paved streets crowned our evils. Such was the state of St Andrews when the present Provost, Major Playfair of St Leonards, was elected Consul. He has paved our principal street- built a splendid Infant School- ornamented our principal buildings- put up the arms of the city on our Port- in short, he has remodelled the city. **Ere the improvements are concluded, the city will be almost restored to its primitive magnificence.**”^{lxvii}

- Dundee Courier (Dundee, Scotland), 1844

“St Andrews-

Lady Woodburn and Lady Meyer are at St Andrews at present. **The visitors' season is now practically over, although a good many strangers are yet to be seen in the city. This year has been remarkable for the number of distinguished personages who have sojourned here, many of whom had never found their way to St Andrews before.**”^{lxviii}

- Dundee Courier (Dundee, Scotland), 1901

The 19th Century Revival of St Andrews Industrialization, Golf, and Holiday Makers



Image 18: David Hay Fleming, Collector, *St Andrews from Links*, Magic Lantern Slide, ca. 1887, David Hay Fleming Photographic Collection, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: DHF-15C, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/st-andrews-from-links/81403>.

This slide image was taken on the Old Course of St Andrews and is looking toward the town. The Old Course is on the opposite end of the town from the St Andrews Cathedral.

Preservation in the 20th Century

Creating the St Andrews Cathedral Museum

By the close of the 19th century, St Andrews was no longer a town of ruin and decay. Its economy had been revived, many of the crumbling buildings had been repaired, and its streets were bustling with golfers, tourists, and students.

In the midst of this revival, local Historian and Antiquarian, David Hay Fleming (1849-1931) began his ‘howkings,’ or archaeological digs, in the St Andrews Cathedral precinct. These ‘howkings’ began in the 1890s and continued through to the 1920s; they turned up glass and stone fragments from the cathedral, pre-and post-Reformation era tombstones, and Celtic stone crosses. Many of these discoveries currently reside in the St Andrews Cathedral Museum.^{lxi}

However, in the early 20th century, Fleming was still dreaming of opening a museum on the cathedral’s property. In 1905, despite having the financial support of the Town Council, the Scottish Government, and the local Literary and Philosophical Society, Fleming could not immediately open a museum.^{lxx} This was partly because one Mrs. Stirling, who lived across the street from the cathedral in Deans Court, consistently rejected all plans for the museum building.^{lxxi} Fleming and WT Oldrieve, a member of Her Majesty’s Office of Works in Edinburgh, were constantly writing to one another, discussing ways to respond to Mrs. Stirling’s concerns. Only WT Oldrieve’s responses remain, yet from these responses we can see Fleming and Oldrieve’s attempts to problem solve:

WT Oldrieve to DH Fleming, November 6th, 1905:

“I have received your letter of yesterday enclosing copy of one written by you to Mrs. Stirling regarding the building at present being erected within the Cathedral Grounds. **Mrs. Stirling called on me this forenoon and stated that she had heard from you and that she had written in reply to the effect the building must be removed.** I told her that I had seen a copy of your letter to her. **I fear her decision will be a great disappointment to you, but she appears to be quite determined that the building must be removed.**”^{lxxii}

WT Oldrieve to DH Fleming, November 22nd, 1905:

“St Andrews Cathedral: Mr. Thoms received a letter from **Mrs. Stirling intimating that she is willing to contribute £25 towards the cost of the Museum if a suitable site is found to erect it elsewhere.**

In the light of this offer I am suggesting to Mr Thoms whether he and you could not combine with the University Authorities in making an application to Lord Crichton-Stuart to have accommodation either in the restored Crypts as suggested by you, or to have a grant of a site to re-erect the building on the Priory side of the Cathedral Grounds.

I shall be very glad if you will kindly consider this suggestion and take such steps as you think advisable in the circumstances.”^{lxxiii}

WT Oldrieve to DH Fleming, December 5th, 1905:

“I have been too busy to take up the matter of the Museum since receiving your letter of the 27th ultimo.

Thank you for letting me see Mr. Thoms letter of the 25th ultimo. I have now written to Mr. Thoms sending him the drawing of a proposed brass plate 36” x 12”, the inscription being as follows:-

“**This Museum was erected in the year 1905 by the consent [*]**

“**of Mrs. Anna Stirling of Deanscourt, St. Andrews, whose**

“**right to prevent building upon the ground was kindly with-**

“**drawn in the interests of Archeology, at the joint expense**

“of H.M. Office of Works, the Corporation[sic.][**] of St. Andrews,

“and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrew

“for the preservation of local relics of historical interest.”

“I have told Mr. Thoms that any suggestion he cares to make with reference to the wording of the inscription will be carefully considered. I should like to say the same to yourself. Perhaps therefore you will write at once direct to Mr. Thoms if you care to suggest any amendment in the inscriptions...”^{lxxiv}

WT Oldrieve to DH Fleming, December 16th, 1905:

“I am sorry to say that our Solicitor has advised that **Mrs. Stirling has a legal right to object to the erection of the Museum Building, and that in his opinion there has been no legal waiver of the right to object.** He thinks, however, there may possibly be room for doubt upon one or two points in the case and that it might be well to submit a Memorial to the Scottish Law Officers for their opinion.

I think no time should now be lost in approaching the owner of the Priory with the object of seeking consent to erect the building upon the Priory Ground next the Cathedral Ground.”^{lxxv}

WT Oldrieve to DH Fleming, January 6th, 1906:

“St Andrews Cathedral. Museum Building:. I have now received a reply from Messrs. J. & F. Anderson, and I am sorry to say that **Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart does not see his way to grant a lease of any portion of the Priory House Grounds for the purpose of erecting thereon a Museum for sculptured stones.**

As a last resort can you suggest any position within the Cathedral Grounds upon which a smaller wooden erection might be placed so as to **prevent the scheme from entirely falling to the ground.**”^{lxxvi}

Preservation in the 20th Century

Creating the St Andrews Cathedral Museum

According to David Hay Fleming, Mrs. Stirling objected to the erection of a museum building on cathedral grounds because the gusset garden, where Fleming and Oldrieve intended to build the museum, had belonged to her uncle who had sold the land to the Woods and Forests Commission under the conditions that no one be buried nor any building constructed on the property.^{lxxvii} Mrs. Stirling's objections delayed the opening of the museum for nearly 4 years.^{lxxviii}

By June 1909, however, the museum was “practically open to the public,” thanks in part to Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart who, in November 1908, had offered to house the museum in the undercrofts of the cathedral which his father, Lord John Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute, had repaired in the 1890s.^{lxxix}

Mrs. Stirling's objections to the erection of the museum, however, are only part of the story revealed in the letters between Fleming and Oldrieve. Fleming and Oldrieve wrote each other nearly every day and were frequently inviting each other to travel from Edinburgh to St Andrews to check on the museum. Oldrieve also consistently congratulated Fleming on his hard work and research when it came to the St Andrews Cathedral.^{lxxx}

Their letters also discussed more day-to-day topics ranging from the museum needing additional roof lights, to stone and glass fragments discovered in various digs and where they should be housed, to the appointment of grounds keepers and the allowances they should be paid.^{lxxxi}

Fleming and Oldrieve also discussed other projects they were working on, including Holyrood Chapel in Edinburgh, Linlithgow Palace, and an exhibition in Glasgow which wanted to feature glass and stone fragments from St Andrews.^{lxxxii}

From these surviving letters, it not only becomes clear that Fleming and Oldrieve were close friends who were deeply invested in making St Andrews medieval history accessible to the public, but that they were interested in reviving other medieval cities and spaces that had since then been damaged or destroyed.

While Fleming was fascinated with the post-Reformation era tombstones which litter the cathedral grounds, he and Oldrieve were not interested in educating visitors about the post-Reformation life of the cathedral. Instead, they intended the museum to be for the ancient and medieval “Sculptured Stones” which had been discovered within the precinct walls.^{lxxxiii} Their interest in ancient and medieval carved stones explains the current focus of the museum.

Preservation in the 20th Century Creating the St Andrews Cathedral Museum

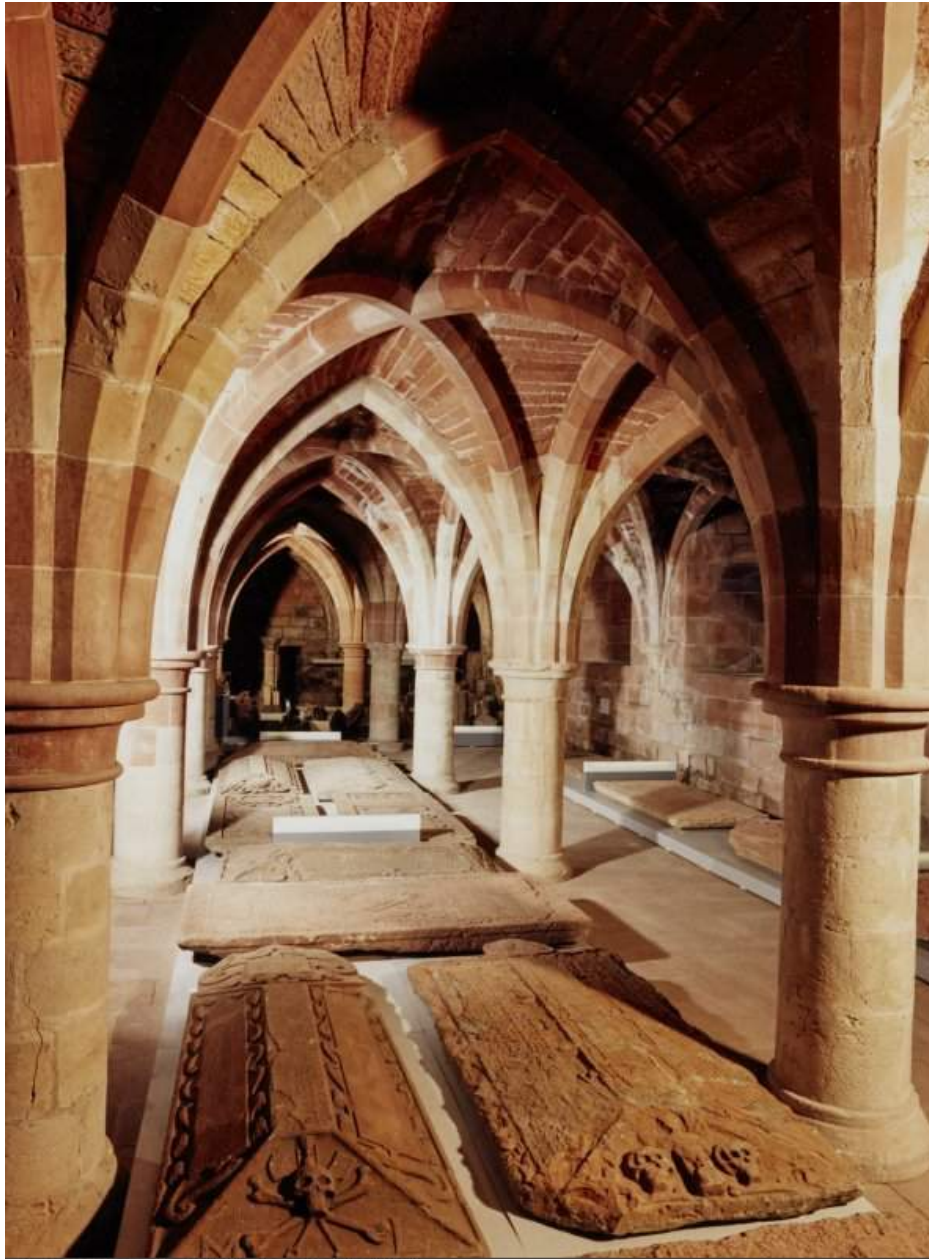


Image 19: Unknown, "St Andrews Cathedral," Photograph, April 24, 1990, Historic Scotland Photographic Library, SC 2029324, <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/2029324>.

This photograph is of the inside of the St Andrews Cathedral Museum. Lying on the floor are tombstones and other carved stones which were discovered throughout the late 19th and early 20th century.

Preservation in the 20th Century

The St Andrews Cathedral in Ruin

The St Andrews Cathedral Museum was opened in 1908 and to this day features many fine examples of medieval stone carvings and fragments from the cathedral. Fleming and Oldrieve continued working together to perfect their museum even after it opened, adding signage where necessary, discussing whether an active cemetery on sight was sanitary or if it should be closed, and continuing to carry out digs in and around the cathedral to discover as much as possible about the cathedral's medieval history.^{lxxxiv}

While Fleming kept meticulous notes regarding his many 'howkings' and discoveries, there is very little material discussing the measures which were taken to preserve and protect the cathedral itself.

We know that in the mid 19th century, Provost Playfair took steps to protect the cliffs upon which the cathedral stands from further erosion and created walkways for visitors to stroll through the grounds. However, it is unclear what steps were taken in the early 20th century to protect the cathedral, especially as it transitioned into a tourist attraction. The letters between Fleming and Oldrieve mention masons and stoneworkers working at the cathedral, but the type of work is unclear. Were these men there to help move tombstones into the museum or to repair damaged pieces of the cathedral?^{lxxxv}

What is clear, however, is that throughout the 20th century, the town continued to grow and change around the ruins of the cathedral. Today, the town of St Andrews is bustling with tourists and university students. What was once a dreary and decaying town is now revived and repaired.

Yet, the ruins of the cathedral remain much the same.

Preservation in the 20th Century

The St Andrews Cathedral in Ruin



*Image 10: Unknown artist, “Capriccio view of the ruins of St Andrews,” oil painting, ca. 1690 to 1770. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: HC502, <https://collections.st-andrews.ac.uk/item/capriccio-view-of-the-ruins-of-st-andrews-view-of-st-andrews-cathedral-incorporating-blackfriars-chapel-and-an-unidentified-gateway/1000954>.

This image appeared early in the exhibit and helped illustrate the state the ruins were in during the 17th and 18th centuries. When this painting is compared with the following photograph, the ruins appear nearly identical, despite the centuries which lie between the two images, and the different vantage points.

*Originally seen on page 19.

Preservation in the 20th Century

The St Andrews Cathedral in Ruin



Image 20: Image taken from Historic Environment Scotland, “St Andrews Cathedral Overview,” accessed April 20th, 2022, <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/st-andrews-cathedral/overview/>.

This photograph, taken from the top of St Rule's tower, looks down at the remains of St Andrews Cathedral. The ruins of the cathedral have not changed much since the 17th century. Today, visitors can climb the stairs of St Rule's tower to take in panoramic views of St Andrews and the North Sea.

Conservation in the 21st Century

Climate Change and the Importance of Preservation History

As of April 2022, the St Andrews Cathedral and its museum remain closed to the public due to falling masonry and safety concerns. The cathedral, like many other historic sites, has been affected by increasingly severe storms and damaging acid rain. Even before the current climate crisis, the St Andrews Cathedral had been battered and seriously damaged by violent storms whipping off the North Sea. If medieval storms had the strength to tear down parts of the cathedral when it was in its prime, what will happen to the remaining ruins as storms continue to grow in severity? Acid rain also poses a threat to the cathedral as it slowly erodes the stone, causing it to decay swiftly.

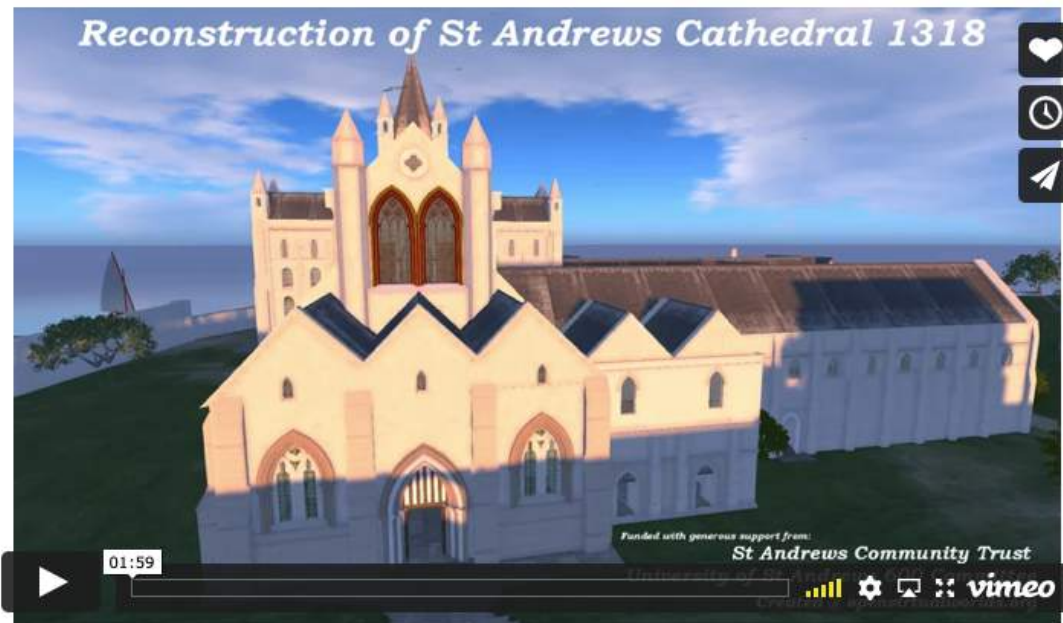
Historic Environment Scotland is currently in the midst of assessing the damage done to St Andrews Cathedral and, therefore, the extent of the damage and the steps they will be taking to protect and possibly repair the cathedral is unclear. Given the historical significance and age of the cathedral, there is no easy solution. It is not simply a matter of taking down and replacing stones which are damaged. Those in charge of conservation must balance the need to protect the space's historic and architectural integrity as well as the safety and longevity of the space.^{lxxxvi}

Examples of varied conservation approaches can be seen at York Cathedral in England and Cologne Cathedral in Germany. In York, the limestone of the cathedral has been damaged by years of pollution, and researchers have experimented with different oils to repair and protect the stones from further damage and have found that olive oil may be the solution.^{lxxxvii} However, in Cologne, the cathedral has opted to completely replace its damaged stones and decorations.^{lxxxviii}

These approaches focus on the physical aspect of the cathedrals; however, there is also a virtual option. While it does nothing to protect the physical space, a virtual reconstruction of a historic space allows to live on, even if it is damaged or destroyed. It also makes the space accessible to all, regardless of where they are in the world.

Conservation in the 21st Century

Virtual Reconstructions



[Click Here: Reconstruction of St Andrews Cathedral](#)^{lxxxix}

In 2009, the University of St Andrews partnered with Open Virtual Worlds, to create a digital reconstruction of the St Andrews Cathedral from 1318. The reconstruction is a product of medieval and early modern descriptions and depictions of the cathedral, the surviving footprint and materials, as well as expert interpretations. This digital reconstruction allows viewers to peer back through the centuries and see St Andrews Cathedral in its prime.

However, the St Andrews Cathedral has stood in its current state for nearly 500 years, whereas it only stood whole for approximately 400 years. Therefore, a reconstruction of its ruined state would prove useful to visitors and scholars who want to learn about cathedral and its past.^{xc}

Moreover, as climate change, natural disasters, and pandemics continue to affect and change our world, conservationists are forced to consider whether or not they should embrace the inevitable decay of these ancient spaces. While heartbreaking to consider a time when the St Andrews Cathedral does not exist, knowing that a digital reconstruction which details the cathedral in both its glory and decay, eases the pain.^{xci}

Conservation in the 21st Century

Looking Forward

As this exhibit has shown, the post-Reformation history of the St Andrews Cathedral is full of mystery. How and when exactly did the cathedral fall into complete disrepair? Can we blame John Knox and his fiery sermon? Or was the cathedral already in a state of neglect well before he arrived? What did the townspeople think as they walked by the cathedral every day? What steps were taken in the early 20th century to protect the cathedral from further damage?

While we may not be able to solve the mystery completely because the documentation simply does not exist, we can make sure future visitors and historians are not met with an even larger mystery. Whether or not the St Andrews Cathedral is still standing in another 500 years, steps should be taken today to document the state of the cathedral and the steps taken to protect it.

Written descriptions, photographs, and virtual reconstructions keep spaces alive, even if their physical state decays and disappears.

As you wander through the cathedral grounds today, take photographs and write down what you see. Who knows, perhaps one day your photos or notes will be featured in the Cathedral Museum as evidence of what a 21st century visitor saw.

Acknowledgments

I was sixteen when I first heard about St Andrews. My mum was talking to me about college and told me about a program at William and Mary, they offered a joint degree program where students would spend two years at William and Mary and two years at the University of St Andrews. At the end of their four years students would have a degree from both William and Mary and St Andrews. I wanted to be part of that program so badly.

After hours of looking at and reading about the University of St Andrews I decided that, when it was time for me to apply, I would apply to William and Mary's joint degree program and the University of St Andrews so I would double my chances of going to Scotland.

Flash forward to March 2016, I was in the spring semester of my senior year and had heard back from every school I had applied to, except St Andrews. One morning, while getting ready for school, I got an email from St Andrews with their decision enclosed. After I opened the email, I ran downstairs to where my parents were making lunches for my siblings. With tears in my eyes, I told them I had been accepted. That day at school I told all my friends I had been accepted and was going to go to St Andrews. It was one of the best days of my life.

Unfortunately, life had other plans and I did not end up attending the University of St Andrews in the fall of 2016. Instead, I flew to Texas with the plan to study abroad at St Andrews during my junior year.

In the fall of 2018, I boarded a plane and flew to Scotland alone. I spent the year studying medieval history at the University of St Andrews and I loved every moment. I loved how old the town was and how there was a castle and cathedral right next to my classes. I loved that the town was full of old people there to golf but that it was also teeming with university students. I loved the ocean, the Scottish accents, and loved that it looked exactly like my home back in Massachusetts but with a medieval Scottish twist.

Needless to say, I had become obsessed.

When I came to the University of Chicago, I knew I wanted to write my MA thesis on St Andrews. I spent most of fall quarter trying to figure out what I would write about. I became worried when it seemed as though no one studied Scottish history. I called my dad one day because I felt completely lost and like I would never be able to write a paper on Scotland. After a good cry, and many words of encouragement from him, I felt better and was determined to write about St Andrews.

In the months that followed I came up with a plan to write about the post-Reformation life of the St Andrews Cathedral. I checked out every book in the library on St Andrews and started reading. However, much to my dismay, every book written on St Andrews was interested primarily on its medieval history up to the Reformation. A few books had a chapter or two devoted to post-Reformation St Andrews, but these mainly focused on golf and the University of St Andrews in the 19th and 20th centuries. When books did discuss the cathedral, it was always to say it was in some state of decay and ruin.

From this gap in the story my thesis was born. I wanted to highlight the post-Reformation history and life of the cathedral. I wanted to figure out how and why it decayed. I wanted to understand how something so big and beautiful could waste away in such a short period of time.

Unfortunately, however, the books written on St Andrews were not as interested in the town's post-Reformation history as I was. I quickly ran out of sources and leads. The only place that I knew would have material was the University of St Andrews archives... in Scotland.

After winter quarter ended, I again boarded a plane for Scotland and flew there alone. I spent my entire spring break in the St Andrews archives, reading everything I could about the St Andrews Cathedral Museum and preservation efforts in the 19th and 20th centuries. And after the archives closed, I would wander through town trying to soak up as much of it as I could. I had missed the town and its medieval ruins so much... and it still felt like home.

This thesis project is born from a great love for Scotland: specifically, St Andrews. I wanted to showcase the St Andrews Cathedral in a way that had not been done before. I wanted to demonstrate that a space still has a story and a life even if it is no longer fulfilling its original purpose. I wanted others to look at this project and fall in love with the beauty and mystery which is the St Andrews Cathedral.

I want to thank both my mum and dad for teaching me to love history as much as they do. I want to thank my mum for being my role model; she has taught me to be brave and independent. She pushed me to study abroad and when I was nervous and afraid to do it alone, she supported me and encouraged me to keep trying. I want to thank my dad for being such an amazing storyteller and for always making history come to life. Thank you for all your words of encouragement, love, and support whenever I feel nervous and unsure. I love you both so much.

I want to thank my siblings, Colleen, Chris, Ben, Josh, and Laura for always putting up with my love of history and my stories. Thank you, Willow and Cordelia, for being adorable puppies who love me unconditionally and are unknowingly motivating me to finish this thesis.

Thank you to all my friends who have listened to me go on and on about Scotland and St Andrews. Elizabeth Fulham, Hannah French, Kaitlyn Fletcher, and Faith Price who I met while abroad in St Andrews and who loved the town just as much as I did. Erin Pierce, Gabi Smith, Lisa Burckhardt, Jessica Mason, and Maddie and Jennie Nelson for pushing me to go abroad and being there for me when I came back home.

To Josh and Emily Driscoll, who watch every historical movie or period piece with me and never tire of my many historical facts or ramblings. Thank you for pushing me to travel and explore the world.

Thank you to Emma KurtzFreilich, Maria Del Pilar Ferreira, Joy Hsu, and Gretchin Kepplinger for spending hours reading over my thesis and even more hours listening to me talk about Scotland. Thank you for watching *Outlander* with me and supporting my love of Scotland. Thank you for keeping me sane during this whirlwind of a year.

I want to thank all my professors, at SMU, St Andrews, and UChicago, who have encouraged me to follow my interests. Especially to Professor Michael Brown at the University of St Andrews who provided much needed direction, insight, and encouragement for this project, and who connected me with Dr. Bess Rhodes. Thank you to Dr. Bess Rhodes for discussing this project with me and offering direction and suggestions. Special thanks to Lily Huang and John McCallum for encouraging me to fly to Scotland to do archival research over my spring break.

A special thank you to the librarians at the University of St Andrews' Special Collections who pulled all the material on the St Andrews Cathedral and David Hay Fleming, and for making suggestions for what other material I should look at.

And thank you Lily Huang for being my advisor and for always listening to me stress and worry about my thesis and classes, and for all your help navigating this thesis and program.

Notes

ⁱ Andrew Lang, “Almae Matres,” Scottish Poetry Library, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poem/almae-matres/>.

ⁱⁱ David Hay Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum* (Edinburgh: Tweeddale Court; London: 33 Paternoster Row, E.C., 1931), xvii.

ⁱⁱⁱ Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum*, xvii.

MS38977/1/0/4/69, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, September 21st, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral, ETC. Thank you for your note of yesterday’s date and also for sending the “St. Andrews Citizen” with the paragraph recording the fact that the Town Council had agreed to give another £25 towards the erection of the Shelter for the Sculptured Stones.

First however, I should like to say how glad I am to congratulate you upon your appointment as Custodian of the Historical Buildings of St. Andrews. I am quite sure that your intimate knowledge of these buildings will be of the greatest possible service to use, and that those who opinion is worth most will agree that we shall not be likely to lack sound advice upon all antiquarian subjects connected with these St. Andrews Buildings in our charge...”

“Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral & St Mary’s Church, Kirkheugh,” Historic Environment Scotland, last modified 2011, 3. <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/st-andrews-cathedral/history/>.

The Statement of Significance explains the focus and collection of the museum: “The cathedral museum, housed in Lord Bute’s restored SE cloister ranges, includes an important collection of carved stones, some of outstanding significance. Most significant undoubtedly are the early Christian stones: (a) St Andrews Sarcophagus (possibly an 8th-century royal tomb); (b) the high crosses that may have marked the boundaries of the wider precinct but which were incorporated into the 12th-century cathedral; (c) the St Leonard’s School Shrine; (d) the numerous Pictish cross-slabs. The museum also houses many worked stones that once formed part of the fabric or fixtures of the cathedral and other buildings within the precinct, as well as a large group of fine post-Reformation memorials.”

^{iv} “New measures introduced to manage the impact of climate change on Scotland’s national heritage sites,” Historic Environment Scotland, last modified January 21, 2022, <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/new-measures-introduced-to-manage-the-impact-of-climate-change>.

^v Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 2-4.

Richard Fawcett, *St Andrews Cathedral* (Scotland: Historic Scotland and M & M Press Limited, 1993), 4.

^{vi} Chris Tabraham and Kirsty Owen, *St Andrews Castle, Cathedral and Historic Burgh: The Official Souvenir Guide* (Scotland: Historic Scotland, 2010), 26.

St Andrews Cathedral is the largest cathedral in Scotland and is often times compared to St Paul’s in Rome. Though it is slightly smaller than St Paul’s by a matter of feet, the cathedral was surely an impressively large structure to behold in the 13th century.

Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 53.

St. Andrews Preservation Trust, *Old St. Andrews*, 23.

^{vii} Douglas Young, *St Andrews: Town and Gown; Royal and Ancient* (London: Cassell & Company LTD, 1969), 59.

^{viii} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838: The First and Second Statistical Accounts* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews University Library, 1989), 189-190.

^{ix} James Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews; Being a Particular Account of Every Thing Remarkable in The History and Present State of the City and Ruins, the University, and other interesting objects of that Ancient Ecclesiastical Capital of Scotland: Including Many Curious Anecdotes and Events in the Scottish History*, second edition (Cupar: R. Tullis, Printer to the University of St Andrews, 1823), 87.

^x David Hay Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood* (St Andrews: J & G Innes, St Andrews Citizen Office, 1902), 1-2.

^{xi} St. Andrews Preservation Trust, *Old St. Andrews: The Handbook of the St. Andrews Preservation Trust* (Scotland: St. Andrews Preservation Trust, 1947), 7-8.

^{xii} Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 57.

Tabraham and Owen, *St Andrews Castle, Cathedral and Historic Burgh*, 68-9.

^{xiii} "Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral," Historic Environment Scotland, 2-3.

^{xiv} Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 57.

^{xv} William Fordyce Mavor, *The British tourists; or traveller's pocket companion, through England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Comprehending the most celebrated tours in the British Islands*, volume 2 (London: printed for E. Newbery, St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Sold by Every Bookseller in the Three Kingdoms, 1798-1800), 5.

^{xvi} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 465.

^{xvii} Fawcett, *St Andrews Cathedral*, 28.

^{xviii} Tabraham and Owen, *St Andrews Castle, Cathedral and Historic Burgh*, 68-9.

^{xix} "Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral," Historic Environment Scotland.

None of these above sources (viii Fleming, ix St Andrews Preservation Trust, x Fawcett, xi "Statement of Significance") provide citations, references, or works cited. The John Knox event in June 1559 and its relation to the destruction and death of St Andrews Cathedral has become mythic in nature rather than solely factual.

^{xx} Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson, ed., *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2017), 18.

^{xxi} Bess Rhodes, *Riches and Reform: Ecclesiastical Wealth in St Andrews, c. 1520-1560* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 97-8.

^{xxii} Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 56-57.

Fleming does acknowledge that he does not know when the roof and destruction would have happened. He does not think it was caused by the St Andrews townsfolk but his vagueness on when destruction may have happened make it challenging to discount stories that argue that it was destroyed after John Knox's sermon.

^{xxiii} St Andrews Preservation Trust, *Old St Andrews: The Handbook of the St Andrews Preservation Trust*, 23.

^{xxiv} Rhodes, *Riches and Reform: Ecclesiastical Wealth in St Andrews, c. 1520-1560*, 11-13.

The Royal family also frequently visited St Andrews through the Medieval period. While they did not have an official residence in town, they visited and stayed there often, holding parliaments and weddings. This association with the Royal family would have also contributed to the town's wealth.

Rhodes's book is devoted to the economic downfall of St Andrews during the Reformation. For a more nuanced discussion of the economic shifts which were taking place in St Andrews in the 16th century one should look to Rhodes.

^{xxv} Rhodes, *Riches and Reform*, 112.

^{xxvi} Rhodes, 115-16.

^{xxvii} Rhodes, 161-2.

^{xxviii} Andrew Lang, "Almae Matres," Scottish Poetry Library, accessed April 6, 2022,

<https://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poem/almae-matres/>.

"And still endure, and still decay, /Towers that the salt winds vainly beat. /Ghost-like and shadowy they stand/Dim mirrored in the wet sea-sand."

Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 57.

"Had there not been such a large parish church in St Andrews, the Cathedral might have been carefully preserved; but, as it was not required, it was allowed to decay. People who have kept their eyes open must have been struck with the rapidity with which a building goes to ruin after the roof fails."

"Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral," Historic Environment Scotland, 3.

"1560/1 - at the Reformation, some of the remaining canons become Protestant and are allowed to remain in the cloister. The cathedral itself is abandoned, when Bishop John Hamilton moves his seat to Holy Trinity. The thirteen clergy at St Mary's, Kirkheugh, are also affected by the Reformation.

1582 - with the death of the sub-prior, the priory buildings are abandoned."

University of St. Andrews. Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838: The First and Second Statistical Accounts* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews University Library, 1989) 189; 191-192.

This reprint has two sets of page numbers, one set from the original documents and one set from the reprint, for the purpose of this paper, the page numbers used refer to the original page numbers.

“Adjoining to the priory, are the ruins of the cathedral, which was demolished by a mob, inflamed by a sermon of John Knox’s.”

“After the Reformation, the city gradually fell into decay...”

xxix “Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral,” Historic Environment Scotland, 3.

xxx Ms38940/1/2, “St Andrews Preservation Trust Museum,” Papers of JF Allen, 1990-1997, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

xxxi Fleming, *Handbook to St Andrews and Neighborhood*, 57-8.

Fleming does not expand further on what Parliamentary act this was or where to find it. St Andrews Parliament does not have online archives and the University of St Andrews does not appear to have any source which matches the contents of what Fleming is describing. Fleming is the foremost historian on the St Andrews Cathedral, but he does not provide references or citations for any of his work. This leaves his work sounding very authoritative but also nearly impossible to double check.

There has also been no wholesale study of buildings in St Andrews to determine which structures are made up of cathedral stones. To better understand the history of the cathedral, such a study, if possible, should be carried out.

xxxii Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, 106-7; 109.

“Not one of these pillars now remain, but the basis where they have each stood are discerned by the holes in the rubbish which have been dug by those who carried away the stones of them... All that now remains of this once-magnificent pile, is the eastern gable entire, half of the western, the south side-wall from the western gable till it join the transept, (a length of two hundred feet) and the west wall of the transept itself on the south side of the church. The rest is entirely gone, ‘every man,’ as Dr Johnson expresses it, ‘having carried away the stones who imagined he had need of them.’”

“The present pier at the harbour of St Andrews, it is believed, was mostly constructed of materials taken from this edifice.”

xxxiii University of St. Andrews. Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 467.

xxxiv “Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral,” Historic Environment Scotland, 3.

“1689- episcopacy is finally abolished in the Scottish Church. The cathedral lands revert to the Crown. During all this time, the ground around the cathedral and priory is used as the town cemetery.”

The wording of this sentence makes it unclear if the cathedral grounds were a cemetery since 1559/the decades since the Reformation, or if 1689 is when the cemetery began. I have taken it to mean that 1689 is the year they believe the grounds started being used as a cemetery.

xxxv Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum*, 63.

The names on the four 16th century tombstones.

No. 21 David Gudlad, 1594, p. 95.

No. 36, Elizabeth Carstairs, 1595, p. 119.

No. 48, Mr. William Skene, 1582, p. 144.

No. 50, David Welwod, 1581, p. 149.

xxxvi Rhodes, *Riches and Reform*, 161.

“Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral,” Historic Environment Scotland, 3.

xxxvii MS38977/2/1/2/1, “Tombstone Transcriptions from St Andrews Cathedral,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, ca. 1890, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

David Welwod, 1581. This is the earliest post-Reformation tombstone Fleming discovered.

xxxviii MS38977/1/0/4/48, “St Andrews Nurying [sic] Ground,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 30th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

xxxix MS38977/1/0/4/54, “St Andrews Cathedral Burial Ground,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 10th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral,” Historic Environment Scotland, 7.

“The graveyard (now closed to further burial) has a wide and fascinating variety of headstones to an assortment of people, including locals, academics, military men and golfers. It is much visited, valued and admired.”

Tabraham and Owen, *St Andrews Castle, Cathedral and Historic Burgh*, 34.

“The Graveyard... it continued in use well into the 20th century.”

^{xl} John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732 through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1890), 136.

^{xli} Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXXII Part II*, (London: Printed for Benjamin White, 1776), 188-9.

^{xlii} William Fordyce Mavor, *The British Tourists*, 4.

^{xliiii} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 192.

^{xliv} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 195.

^{xlv} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, iv.

^{xlvi} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 471.

^{xlvii} “History of Scotland’s Census,” Scotland’s Census, Last Modified September 29, 2021,

<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/about/history-of-scotland-s-census/>.

Scotland’s first official census was in 1801, following this, the census was taken every 10 years. However, many of the 1801, 1811, and 1831 census records are missing or have been destroyed. From 1841 onwards the census records become more reliable. These numbers were taken from the official Scottish census website, and while there is a certain amount of error and uncertainty in the accuracy of their numbers, there is a clear trend of population numbers increasing throughout the later 18th century and early 19th century.

^{xlviii} University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 491-2.

^{xlix} Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, 109.

¹ Raymond Lamont-Brown, *St Andrews: By The Northern Sea*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2006), 195.

^{li} Ian Edward Wareham, “Playfair, Sir Hugh Lyon,” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, September 23, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22365>

University of St. Andrews Library, *St. Andrews in 1793 and 1838*, 491-2.

^{lii} Unknown, *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair L.L.D., J.P., & c., Lieutenant-Colonel Bengal Artillery, Provost of St Andrews and Honorary Custodier of Crown Property in the City*, (St Andrews: M. Fletcher, 1861), 58-59.

^{liii} Lamont-Brown, *St Andrews: By the Northern Sea*, 196.

^{liv} Unknown, *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair*, 31.

^{lv} Unknown, *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair*, 59.

^{lvi} Unknown, *Memoirs of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair*, 62-64.

^{lvii} “Leaves from the Journal of our lives in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861,” Royal Collection Trust, accessed April 23, 2022, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/1085517/leaves-from-the-journal-of-our-life-in-the-highlands-from-1848-to-1861>.

^{lviii} Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria: A Biography*, (New York: The Maximillian Co., 1903), 143-5; 184-9; and 198-9.

^{lix} Lee, *Queen Victoria*, 189; 199.

^{lx} Lee, *Queen Victoria*, 189.

^{lxi} Lamont-Brown, *St Andrews*, 201.

^{lxii} “ST ANDREWS.” *Dundee Courier*, January 23, 1844. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 24, 2022).

https://link-gale-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/doc/R3209563106/BNCN?u=chic_rbw&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=eb03e966.

^{lxiii} “The Oldest Golf Course,” Guinness Book of World Records, accessed April 24, 2022,

<https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/oldest-golf-course>.

“The R&A World of Golf Museum,” R&A, accessed April 24, 2022,

<https://www.worldgolfmuseum.com/the-museum>.

This museum details the entire history of golf in the world and in St Andrews. It explains how and why it is popular, how golf balls were made, and famous golfers who have visited St Andrews. Given that this museum is also in St Andrews and my thesis’ imagined audience are visitors in St Andrews, many would also likely visit this golf museum.

^{lxiv} Grierson, *Delineations of St Andrews*, 214-217.

^{lxv} Young, *St Andrews*, 219-221.

“The Club & Links,” R&A, accessed April 24, 2022, <https://www.randa.org/en/heritage/the-royal-ancient/the-club-and-links>.

^{lxvi} "LETTER TO THE EDITOR." *Dundee Courier*, April 10, 1876. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 24, 2022). https://link-gale-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/doc/R3209913162/BNCN?u=chic_rbw&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=74855376.

Newspaper report about 1876 increases in St Andrews railroad ticket sales, indicates people were using the railroad more this 1876 quarter than any other quarter.

^{lxvii} "ST ANDREWS." *Dundee Courier*, January 23, 1844. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 24, 2022). https://link-gale-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/doc/R3209563106/BNCN?u=chic_rbw&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=eb03e966.

^{lxviii} "St Andrews." *Dundee Courier*, October 1, 1901, 4. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 24, 2022). https://link-gale-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/doc/ID3227116595/BNCN?u=chic_rbw&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=655663fe.

^{lxix} David Hay Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum*, (Edinburgh: Tweedale Court; London: 33 Paternoster Row, E.C., 1931).

^{lxx} MS38977/1/0/4/66, "St Andrews Shelter for Sculptured Stones: Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrews" Binder of Papers Submitted to the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, 1904-1905 Session, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"Business: To consider the giving of a grant of £50 from the Society, to supplement a Government donation of £100 and £25 promised by the Town Council of St. Andrews, for the erection of a building in which to house all the Celtic Crosses, Tombstones, and other Archaeological Stones now in the Museum, Cathedral Grounds, St Leonards Chapel, etc., for the purpose of their preservation for all time coming.

"St. Andrews." *Dundee Courier*, September 19, 1904, 6. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed April 24, 2022). https://link-gale-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/doc/ID3227234040/BNCN?u=chic_rbw&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=48e91396.

Newspaper article mentioning the 'Howkings' and how they have discovered more tombstones.

^{lxxi} MS38977/1/0/4/75, "St Andrews Shelter for Sculptured Stones: Letter David Hay Fleming, From C.S. Grace," 6th November, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"I have received your letter of yesterday enclosing copy of one written by you to Mrs. Stirling regarding the building at present being erected within the Cathedral Grounds. Mrs. Stirling called on me this forenoon and stated that she had heard from you and that she had written in reply to the effect the building must be removed. I told her that I had seen a copy of your letter to her. I fear her decision will be a great disappointment to you, but she appears to be quite determined that the building must be removed."

MS38977/1/2/4/27, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, 22nd November, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

St Andrews Cathedral: "Mr. Thomas received a letter from Mrs. Stirling intimating that she is willing to contribute £25 towards the cost of the Museum if a suitable site is found to erect it elsewhere.

In the light of this offer I am suggesting to Mr Thoms whether he and you could not combine with the University Authorities in making an application to Lord Crichton-Stuart to have accommodation either in the restored Crypts as suggested by you, or to have a grant of a site to re-erect the building on the Priory side of the Cathedral Grounds.

I shall be very glad if you will kindly consider this suggestion and take such steps as you think advisable in the circumstances."

MS38977/1/2/4/28, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, 5th December, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"I have been too busy to take up the matter of the Museum since receiving your letter of the 27th ultimo.

Thank you for letting me see Mr. Thoms letter of the 25th ultimo. I have now written to Mr. Thoms sending him the drawing of a proposed brass plate 36" x 12", the inscription being as follows:-

"This Museum was erected in the year 1905 by the consent

"of Mrs. Anna Stirling of Deanscourt, St. Andrews, whose

"right to prevent building upon the ground was kindly with-

“drawn in the interests of Archeology, at the joint expense
 “of H.M. Office of Works, the ~~Corporation~~ of St. Andrews,
 “and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrew
 “for the preservation of local relics of historical interest.”

[Corporation crossed out and replaced with an arrow with Town Council]

[First line “This Museum was erected in the year 1905” is circled and a line and carrot move it to directing after “interests of Archeology”]

“I have told Mr. Thoms that any suggestion he cares to make with reference to the wording of the inscription will be carefully considered. I should like to say the same to yourself. Perhaps therefore you will write at once direct to Mr. Thoms if you care to suggest any amendment in the inscriptions

I return you herewith Mr. Thoms letter.

Did I by chance leave with you my copy of the Disposition of 1846 by which the ground under consideration was conveyed to the Woods and Forests’ Department?”
 MS38977/1/2/4/3, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 16th December, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I am sorry to say that our Solicitor has advised that Mrs. Stirling has a legal right to object to the erection of the Museum Building, and that in his opinion there has been no legal waiver of the right to object. He thinks, however, there may possibly be room for doubt upon one or two points in the case and that it might be well to submit a Memorial to the Scottish Law Officers for their opinion.

I think no time should now be lost in approaching the owner of the Priory with the object of seeking consent to erect the building upon the Priory Ground next the Cathedral Ground.”

^{lxxii} MS38977/1/0/4/75, “St Andrews Shelter for Sculptured Stones: Letter David Hay Fleming, From C.S. Grace,” 6th November, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

^{lxxiii} MS38977/1/2/4/27, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 22nd November, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

^{lxxiv} MS38977/1/2/4/28, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 5th December, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I have been too busy to take up the matter of the Museum since receiving your letter of the 27th ultimo.

Thank you for letting me see Mr. Thoms letter of the 25th ultimo. I have now written to Mr. Thoms sending him the drawing of a proposed brass plate 36” x 12”, the inscription being as follows:-

“This Museum was erected in the year 1905 by the consent[*]
 “of Mrs. Anna Stirling of Deanscourt, St. Andrews, whose
 “right to prevent building upon the ground was kindly with-
 “drawn in the interests of Archeology, at the joint expense
 “of H.M. Office of Works, the ~~Corporation~~[sic][**] of St. Andrews,
 “and the Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrew
 “for the preservation of local relics of historical interest.”

*First line “This Museum was erected in the year 1905” is circled and a line and carrot move it to directly after “interests of Archeology,”

**Corporation crossed out and replaced with an arrow with Town Council

“I have told Mr. Thoms that any suggestion he cares to make with reference to the wording of the inscription will be carefully considered. I should like to say the same to yourself. Perhaps therefore you will write at once direct to Mr. Thoms if you care to suggest any amendment in the inscriptions...”^{lxxiv}

^{lxxv} MS38977/1/2/4/3, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 16th December, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

^{lxxvi} MS38977/1/0/4/81, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 6th January, 1906, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral. Museum Building.: I have now received a reply from Messrs. J. & F. Anderson, and I am sorry to say that Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart does not see his way to grant a lease of any portion of the Priory House Grounds for the purpose of erecting thereon a Museum for sculptured stones.

As a last resort can you suggest any position within the Cathedral Grounds upon which a smaller wooden erection might be placed so as to prevent the scheme from entirely falling to the ground.”

^{lxxvii} Fleming, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum*, xvii.

^{lxxviii} MS38977/1/2/4/28, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 5th December, 1905, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

^{lxxix} MS38977/1/2/4/32, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 12th June, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral: Thank you for your letter of the 9th inst., about the arrangements required for the taking care of the Museum now that it is practically open to the public. Will you kindly let me know what addition to Mackie’s allowance should, in your opinion, be made to cover the cost of any extra assistance he may require.

I hope to meet you at the Caledonian (Princess Street) Station on Monday morning for the 9-30 Train to Stirling.”

“Statement of Significance: St Andrews Cathedral,” Historic Environment Scotland, 3.

^{lxxx} MS38977/1/0/4/1, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, August, 19th, 1904, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Letter invites Fleming to accompany Oldrieve to St Andrews.

MS38977/1/0/4/6, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, April 27th, 1907, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

The letter thanks Fleming for sending a cutting from the “Glasgow Herald” about Holyrood Chapel and Palace. Oldrieve wanted to visit St Andrews soon “to see the Celtic stone which has been discovered

You are quite at liberty to arrange with Mackie to remove the Celtic Stones which are standing against the eastern face of the east gable to the Haunted Tower...”

MS38977/1/0/4/33, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, March 20th, 1919, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Letter contents: Holyrood Palace and stained glass- man fixing the stained glass wants fragments from St Andrews so he can compare, will D Hay Fleming give dates on when he is available in St Andrews?

MS38977/1/0/4/7, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, May 1st, 1907, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

About Holyrood Palace and St Andrews

“I am anxious to pay a visit to St. Andrews and will try to go with you by the 9:35 train, if that will suit you. We could then look into the question of the accommodation in the Haunted Tower”

^{lxxxii} MS38977/1/0/4/2, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 14 July, 1904, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I have no objection to put additional roof lights as may be thought necessary when we come to erect the building. I have no objection to the stipulation that there should be additional light from the roof, but this can be arranged with Mr. Thoms later on...”

MS38977/1/2/4/15, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 25th October, 1904, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I am informed by Mr. Linskill that the howkings were concluded on the 22nd inst. He suggests that it might be well for you to take charge of the fragments of stained glass, as they might not be very well protected if left in Mckay’s tool shed.

Pending the provision of a more satisfactory receptacle for objects of interest in connection with the Cathedral, perhaps you would kindly take charge of these fragments.”

MS38977/1/2/4/7, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 24 June, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I am very glad this stone has been secured for the Cathedral Museum.”

MS38977/1/2/4/10, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 29th August, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“I presume the sculptured capital of the clustered column which was recently taken out of the face of the east gable of St. Andrews Cathedral will be preserved in the Museum: There is a very human interest, especially for masons and stone carvers, in seeing a “Stuck Stane” of the middle ages!”

MS38977/1/2/4/25, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 4th August, 1904, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

MS38977/1/2/4/34, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To Mr. James Mackie, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, 20th June, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“The Board has approved your allowance being increased by £10 a year, on condition that you provide an Assistant to act as Attendant at the Museum. Such Attendant should be in constant attendance to the Museum during such hours as the Board may decide from time to time. At present the attendance may be arranged to be from about 1st May to 31st October from 2 p.m. until sunset.

When the Attendant is not in charge of the Museum admission can be obtained by application to yourself. I will have a Notice Board prepared giving such information to the Public.”

^{lxxxii} MS38977/1/0/4/46, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, March 9th, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

St Andrews Cathedral and Castle: Glasgow Exhibition asking for items from St Andrews Cathedral and Castle. Board has asked for list of items found at Holyrood, St Andrews, Stirling. Oldrieve asks Fleming to make St Andrews list.

MS38977/1/0/4/6, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, April 27th, 1907, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

MS38977/1/0/4/32, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, June 13th, 1907, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Discussing Holyrood Palace.

MS38977/1/0/4/33, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, March 20th, 1913, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Holyrood Palace and stained glass- man fixing the stained glass wants fragments from St Andrews so he can compare, will D Hay Fleming give dates on when he is available in St Andrews?

MS38977/1/0/4/7, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, May 1st, 1907, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

About Holyrood Palace and St Andrews

"I am anxious to pay a visit to St. Andrews and will try to go with you by the 9:35 train, if that will suit you. We could then look into the question of the accommodation in the Haunted Tower"

MS38977/1/0/4/14, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, April 20th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Letter discusses Holyrood Palace and Blairs Portrait of Queen Mary.

MS38977/1/2/4/7, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, June 24th, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral: I am very glad that this stone has been secured for the Cathedral Museum" and discussion of Linlithgow Palace

MS38977/1/0/4/13, Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, March 24th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Letter Discusses information and history of Linlithgow Palace; is looking forward to hearing "your paper upon the Celtic Crosses of St. Andrews and am looking forward with pleasure to what you will be able to tell us" and "I quite agree with you that the Sarcophagus should be raised upon a base and will look into the matter further with Mr. Hislop"

MS38977/1/0/4/24, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter to D Hay Fleming, From W T Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, July 2nd, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"The board has decided not to grant the loan of the articles for the Glasgow Exhibition"

^{lxxxiii} MS38977/1/2/4/29, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, February 19th, 1908, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral. Proposed Museum for Sculptured Stones. I send herewith a tracing showing the proposed Museum Building. You will see that we have arranged for an entrance from the new Chapter House and for a Tool Store for Mackie.

You will remember that the Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrews agreed to subscribe £50, also that the Corporation of St. Andrews were to subscribe another £50, when the original scheme was under consideration. Do you think that such offers will hold good in the case of the present proposal?

Lord Ninian Crichton Steward has agreed to grant a lease of the ground for the purpose of the building/ as shown on the enclosed plan, and therefore I cannot depart from it to any appreciable extent. I shall, however, be glad to learn whether you have any suggestions to make as to the arrangements shows. On hearing from you I will, if you agree with me that this might be done, write to Provost Murray and Mr. Thom."

MS38977/1/2/4/33, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, June 30th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral: I send you herewith a copy of a Memo. Of this date addressed to Mackie, from which you will see that the Board has approved of his receiving an addition of £10 a year to provide an Attendant at the Museum.

I propose to have a Notice Board over the doorway lettered as follows:-

"Museum for Sculptured Stones.

Open to the Public from 1st May to 31st October, from 2p.m. until sunset. When not open, admission can be obtained by application to the Keeper of the Cathedral Grounds."

Do you suggest any modifications? Perhaps you will let me know if you would like to do so."

lxxxiv MS38977/1/2/4/33, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, June 30th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral: I send you herewith a copy of a Memo. Of this date addressed to Mackie, from which you will see that the Board has approved of his receiving an addition of £10 a year to provide an Attendant at the Museum.

I propose to have a Notice Board over the doorway lettered as follows:-

"Museum for Sculptured Stones.

Open to the Public from 1st May to 31st October, from 2p.m. until sunset. When not open, admission can be obtained by application to the Keeper of the Cathedral Grounds."

Do you suggest any modifications? Perhaps you will let me know if you would like to do so."

MS38977/1/0/4/48, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, August, 30th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"ST Andrews Cathedral Nurying [sic] Ground: "In order to decide whether the Burial Ground should be closed for future burials it has been suggested by the Board that the Secretary for Scotland should obtain a Medical report from an Official. Accordingly the question is to be discussed at the Office of the Local Government Board.

I am asked to see one of the Officials there to-morrow (Tuesday) between 11 and 1 and I should be much obliged if you could come with me as you are so well acquainted with the circumstances of the case in all its bearings. If convenient to you perhaps you would kindly call here for me to-morrow morning with it suits you best between 11 and 12.

Would you kindly let me have a reply by messenger who brings this so that I may arrange with Mr. Murray of the Local Government Board."

MS38977/1/0/4/51, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, October 19th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Attached report from "the Local Government Board by Professor Harvey Littlejohn on the Sanitary Condition of St Andrews Cathedral Burying Ground... Do you think that we had better allow things to go on as heretofore without any alteration as regards burying, or whether we should frame new Rules so as to limit the burying to St. Andrews residents who could be said to have a prescriptive right?"

MS38977/1/0/4/54, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 10th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral. Burying Ground.: The Board has agreed to my suggestion that, although in view of Dr. Harvey Littlejohn's report of 6th October last we can do nothing further as regards closing the Cathedral Burying Ground, the price of Lairs and Fees of Burials might be revised so as to conform to the scale of rates in forces at the Parish Cemeteries.

I have suggested that the Registrar of the Parish Council should keep a duplicate Register of burials in the Cathedral Grounds, and to this the Board has also agreed..." Invites Fleming to visit St Andrews with him and asks if he can "procure a printed list of Parish Church burials"

MS38977/1/0/4/55, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, October 24th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral. Burying Ground.: I send herewith a copy of a letter dated the 20th inst/ received from Mr George Wilson, Clerk to the Parish Council, and shall be much obliged if you will kindly let me have your observations at your early convenience."

10. MS38977/1/0/4/56, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter originally sent to Oldrieve, from Geo. Wilson, a copy sent by Oldrive to Fleming" Papers of David Hay Fleming, October 20th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral. Burying Ground.: ...While of opinion that it would have been desirable that the opening of graves should be under the supervision of the Parish Council, and that a Duplicate Register such

as proposed by them would have been of considerable use, I am to point out to you that the Parish Council have no particular desire to make new Registers. But, looking to the fact that the Registers previous to those in use now were destroyed by the daughter of a former Sexton, the Parish Council are of opinion that proper provision should be made for the safe custody of the Registers, including their being kept in a fire-proof safe, I shall be glad to learn whether the Board are satisfied that every precaution has been, as will be, made for the safe custody of the Registers?..."

MS38977/1/0/4/57, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, October 26th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

St Andrews Cathedral Burial Ground.

MS38977/1/2/4/22, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 10th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"St Andrews Cathedral: Thank you for kindly sending Mr Henry's letter of the 29th inst. for me to see. This is returned to you herewith, and I am much interested to see that there are not quite substantial grounds for confirming the view that the Nave of the Cathedral was formerly longer.

Have you come to any understanding yet with Mr Wilson of the Parish Council with reference to the keeping of a Public Register of Burials?"

MS38977/1/0/4/13, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, March 26th, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Discussing information and history of Linlithgow Palace; is looking forward to hearing "your paper upon the Celtic Crosses of St. Andrews and am looking forward with pleasure to what you will be able to tell us" and "I quite agree with you that the Sarcophagus should be raised upon a base and will look into the matter further with Mr. Hislop"

MS38977/1/0/4/15, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, July 3rd, 1909, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"the notice of St Andrews Cath: museum I agree with your suggested modification..."

. MS38977/1/0/4/25, "Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve," Papers of David Hay Fleming, May 23rd, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

"Thank you for enclosing your note in 'St Andrews Citizen', about the discovery by Mackie of the base of Sculptured Column: I should much like to see this but must forgo that pleasure for a little while" Also discusses Edinburgh Castle.

MS38977/1/2/2/18, "Four Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letters To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve and Mr. Linskill," Papers of David Hay Fleming, February 3rd-November 23rd, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

1. 3rd February, 1911

Letter to Fleming from WT Oldrieve

"I am obtaining the Board's sanction to Mr Linskill's excavation, and will let you know immediately I receive the same"

2. 11 February, 1911

Letter to Mr. Linskill

From WT Oldrieve

Notifying him that the Board has given permission for the excavation with conditions.

3. 14th February, 1911

Letter to Fleming

From Oldrieve

"I have heard from Mr Linskill that he hopes to see you on Saturday to arrange about the work of exploration at the Pends. I am pleased to learn that he does not appear to wish to commence the work at one. It will certainly be better to wait for more suitable weather."

4. 23rd November, 1911

Letter to Fleming

From Oldrieve

Asking if Linskill has explored the “buried basement of the Pends Gateway” at all this year (1911).

MS38977/1/2/2/2, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From Sir Peter Scott Lang,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, December 30th- 31st, 1918, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

1. 30 Dec 1918

From Sir Peter Scott Lang to David Hay Fleming:

“Dear D Hay Fleming, Can you tell me the conditions under which the ground at the West end of the Cathedral Burying ground was handed over to the authorities. (I suppose the Authorities are the Board of works?). I know that Miss Stirling objected to the movement of stones being [word I cannot read]...”

2. 31 Dec 1918

From David Hay Fleming to Sir Peter Scott Lang:

“The triangular piece of ground (long known as the gusset garden) at the west end of the Cathedral burying ground was organized by a shoemaker some 80 or 90 years ago. He intended to build a cottage on it and had actually commenced [?] petition [?]. Miss Stirling, becoming alarmed...”

^{lxxxv} MS38977/1/0/4/10, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 17th, 1908, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Oldrieve apologizes for not responding to Fleming sooner as he had traveled North and returned sick and had been in bed until the 17th, Oldrieve does not want there to be “friction between the workmen and the Caretaker, or interfere in the very least with Mr. Hislop’s authority”

MS38977/1/2/4/21, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, August 27th, 1910, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral: Thank you very much for letting me now of the interesting further discovery at the West Gable. I will ask Mr. Hislop to see that the stonework respond is properly exposed after careful examination of the place when he is next at St. Andrews. I shall be interested to see this further proof of alteration of the plan from its original size.”

MS38977/1/0/4/26, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, June 27th, 1911, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral: I have arranged for Mr. W Paterson, one of my Draughtsmen, to be at the Museum on Thursday. He will go by the 9:30 a.m. train and be at the Museum as soon as possible after 11:35. I think I shall be able to come myself on Friday morning by the same train, but Mr Paterson understands generally what is required and will examine the stones with you so that a state may be made on Friday morning, when I have arranged for a mason and labourer to be there to render assistance in the removing of heavy stones”

Attached note for the mason and labourer: “Please arrange for a mason and labourer to be at the Museum in the Cathedral grounds at 10 o’clock on Friday [spelling I can’t read by maybe ‘first to meet?’] Mr Oldrieve and Dr. Hay Fleming. They will be required to move a few of the monumental stones there”

MS38977/1/2/4/12, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From WT Oldrieve,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, January 16th, 1912, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

“St Andrews Cathedral: Thank you for kindly writing yesterday about the blown down brickwork at one of the arches of the Vestibule of the Chapter House. I have written to Mr Gavin about it suggesting that when Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart returns home the question of having wrought iron grilles might again be raised.

I will ask for Mr Hislop to examine the roof of the Museum and report upon the matter...”

MS38977/1/2/4/14, “Letters on St Andrews Cathedral: Letter To David Hay Fleming, From RB Strachan,” Papers of David Hay Fleming, April 12th, 1924, Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums.

Strachan is writing to Fleming about the expansion of St Leonards and how they intend to take down some of the abbey wall “In this weeks “Citizen” you will notice that plans for an extension to St Leonards School have been passed

Workmen are on the site, and ~~yesterday~~ on Thursday last Mr William grant- Blacksmith informed me that part of the abbey wall was being cut through.

I looked at it at once...”

^{lxxxvi} “New measures introduced to manage the impact of climate change on Scotland's national heritage sites,” Historic Environment Scotland, last modified January 21, 2022, <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/about-us/news/new-measures-introduced-to-manage-the-impact-of-climate-change>.

^{lxxxvii} Phillip Reeves, “A Dash of Olive Oil May Preserve British Cathedral,” NPR: All Things Considered, aired January 8, 2013, <https://www.npr.org/2013/01/08/168890551/a-dash-of-olive-oil-may-preserve-decaying-british-cathedral>.

^{lxxxviii} “Learn How Pollution from Industrialization in Europe Damaged the Limestone of Cologne Cathedral,” Britannica, accessed April 22, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/video/22205/acid-rain-damage-Cologne-Cathedral>.

^{lxxxix} “St Andrews Cathedral-1318,” Vimeo, last modified 2014, https://vimeo.com/77928887?embedded=true&source=vimeo_logo&owner=20215243.

^{xc} Richard Fawcett, et. al., *Exploring Canons & Cathedrals with Open Virtual Worlds The Recreation of St Andrews Cathedral, St Andrews Day, 1318*, accessed April 26, 2022, https://risweb.st-andrews.ac.uk/portal/files/75971074/digitalheritage2013_submission_536.pdf.

^{xci} Caitlin Desilvey, *Curated Decay*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

Desilvey’s work discusses a “postpreservation” world and how conservationists and preservation societies must face difficult decisions when it comes to protecting heritage sites. Each chapter is a case study of a different site and preservation method (or lack thereof).

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