

ST. PAUL'S CROSS

ST. PAUL'S has dominated the City from the summit of Ludgate Hill for over 13 centuries. Its lofty and stately structure has served as a rallying point for both religious and secular purposes. What more natural than that the citizens should assemble close by the cathedral at their folkmotes and on other public occasions, to receive commands, to rejoice, to weep, to protest or just to stare and wonder!

The Dean and Chapter in 1285 obtained a licence to enclose an enlarged churchyard with a stone wall, having gates and posterns, and a few years later the Mayor and Citizens complained that a piece of ground on which they had been accustomed to hold their folkmote had been appropriated to the churchyard. It is known that the folkmote was held around St. Paul's Cross which it would appear was therefore originally outside the churchyard proper. Its actual site, rediscovered in 1879, is now indicated by an octagonal stone set in the footway close to the N.E. wall of the present cathedral.

St. Paul's Cross was originally a stone cross standing upon a rostrum of stone steps and the statutes of 1311 are recorded as having been proclaimed "on the steps of the cross". In 1387 the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops invited subscriptions to repair the Preaching Cross which had become frail owing to tempests and earthquakes. Stow says it was "by tempest of lightning and thunder defaced and Thomas Kempe new builded it in form as it now standeth." He further goes on to describe the structure as "a Pulpit Cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone and covered with lead, the very antiquity of which Cross is to me unknown." It would appear, therefore, that the covered pulpit with a wooden cross built by Bishop Kempe about 1450 replaced a ruinous stone cross. A picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries depicts the structure though somewhat out of perspective.

This preaching cross beneath the shadow of the cathedral has, through the centuries, witnessed the leave-taking of kings, the reading of proclamations and papal bulls, the public penance of heretics and sorcerers, the cursing of traitors and the preaching of many famous sermons which were, unhappily, not always confined to the spiritual welfare of those that listened. This paper is concerned mainly with the preachers, and touches only briefly on the other manifold activities at the Cross, just sufficiently to recapture the mixed feelings with which the citizens must have beheld it.

As the meeting place of the folkmote it is mentioned in January 1242, when the King met the assembled citizens and asked leave to pass over the sea to Gascony. The chronicles record the presence of the King at a folkmote at St. Paul's Cross on two occasions in 1257 and before his excursions to France in 1259 and 1261. Oaths of allegiance were ordered to be taken at a folkmote in 1260 when the

King and the Archbishop of Canterbury were present, and again in 1262 when the Mayor did fealty to the King before his Council. The next day the Mayor in turn administered the oath to all the Aldermen at Guildhall and the day following every man of 12 years and upwards took the self-same oath before the Alderman in their wardmotes. Still other leave-takings and solemn oaths of allegiance are mentioned by the chroniclers of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Such a place of meeting was obviously suitable for proclaiming statutes, decrees and orders, at a time when publicity was entirely dependent on word of mouth. The great bell of Paul's bidding the citizens assemble might on occasion have been heard with a qualm similar to that produced by the siren in the last war. Papal bulls were read there and the King's nominee for the office of sheriff, before the City acquired the right to elect such officers, was announced from the cross and the people listened, sometimes with dread, to his charge. A papal confirmation of statutes was pronounced in 1398 both at St. Paul's Cross and St. Mary Spital. The Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to the preacher at St. Paul's Cross in 1523 ordered him to announce the date of the festival of the dedication of Churches. The Great Chronicle informs us that the victory of Granada, 1492, the marriage of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII to James IV of Scotland, 1502, and the birth of a son to Charles I were proclaimed from the cross.

As a place frequented by the populace it was used for the public degradation of heretics, sorcerers and lollards. A clerk accused of sorcery in 1441 was placed upon a scaffold against St. Paul's cross on a Sunday and "so schewed all the peppill." From Kingsford's Chronicles we learn that in 1496 on one Sunday two heretics stood at St. Paul's Cross, and on another, four lollards with their books of lore hanging around their necks. At sermon time the books were burnt. The Great Chronicle suggests the penance of heretics was a common sight at the Cross in the 15th century. The case of Jane Shore in 1483 is well known and we read of similar public penance by heretics in almost every year about 1500, including the Prior of St. Osith in Essex.

Traitors, heretics and others not arrested did not escape degradation at the Cross for they were solemnly accursed. The Dean of St. Pauls cursed all those who searched for treasure in the Church of St. Martins-in-the-Fields in 1299, and Edmund de la Pole and other traitors were solemnly cursed with book, bell and candle in 1502. The sentence of excommunication against the Emperor was proclaimed there in 1330. Bishop Reginald Pecock was abjured in 1457 and his books burnt at St. Paul's Cross.

So for the citizens the Cross provided a variety of entertainment; speeches, spectacle and personages of national repute. Lady Markham appeared clad in a white sheet in 1617 for marrying one of her servants during her husband's lifetime. The weekly and festival sermons were often far more concerned with worldly things than with religion. The origin of the sermon is lost in antiquity but prayers, a blessing, or an exhortation may have been usual at a

folkmete, even as in later centuries prayers prefaced the work of the Common Council. Michael de Northburgh, Bishop of London, provided in 1361 by his will for certain declarations to be made by the preacher at Paul's Cross so we can presume that at that date the sermon was a regular institution. The Letter Book records that in 1378 the Bishop of Carlisle preached in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Political sermons at the Cross were common and a recognized instrument of revolution. On 4th March, 1461, the Bishop of Exeter set forth Edward IV's title to the throne and afterwards asked the crowd, which had been gathered by proclamation, if they would have Edward as their King. Dr. Shaw's famous sermon preached at the Cross in 1483 upon the words "Bastard slips shall take no deep root" was one of the steps by which the protector, the Duke of Gloucester, planned to become King. He commanded the Doctor to prove to the people not only that Edward IV's sons were illegitimate but even that Gloucester's own mother committed adultery and therefore that neither the late King nor the Duke of Clarence had any right to the crown. When one reads some of the sermons one wonders what the populace made of the closely reasoned arguments, the technicalities and the quotations so freely used.

John Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote to the Lord Mayor in 1581 complaining of his unbecoming treatment of the bishop, the clergy and the late Bishop of Winchester and stating that, if he did not treat them with becoming reverence and respect, it would be his duty to admonish him from his chair, which was the pulpit at Paul's Cross, where the Lord Mayor must sit, not as a judge to control, but as a scholar to learn, and the Bishop, not as John Aylmer to be thwarted, but as John London to teach him and all London.

The attendance of the Mayor and Aldermen had been usual long before this date as the Court of Aldermen as early as 1420 had engaged William Wilkoe to suspend a cloth whenever necessary above their heads during the sermon time. On 25th March, 1555, Robert Bossall was given 3s. 4d. for cleaning the place weekly where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen sat at the sermon in St. Paul's Churchyard. An order was given in 1562 for an "apt and handsome" entry to be made at the east end of the Churchyard for convenient access for the Mayor and Aldermen to their places at the sermons on Sundays.

The Court of Aldermen gave instructions for additional sermons at Eastertide and Whitsuntide, the preachers being paid by the Corporation, the fee about 1570 being 13s. 4d. In 1569 it was decided that scarlet should be worn on Whit Sunday and Monday and Violet on Tuesday, but that the wives of the Aldermen should be in such apparel as they liked. Stow says "it hath been a laudable custome, that on Good Friday in the after noone, some especiall learned man, by appoyntment of the Prelates, have preached a sermon at Paules crosse" and "on Low Sunday one other learned man," the Aldermen wearing Violet on Good Friday and Scarlet on Low Sunday.

Endeavours to assure the comfort of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are indicated by the payment in 1585 of 31s. for rushes, flowers,

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strawings, faggots, coals, men's wages carrying cushions, perfumes, bread, ale and water. The Vergers of St. Paul's were rewarded for opening and shutting the door of St. Dunstan's Chapel at the repairing thither of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on Sundays and other days and there tarrying till the sermon time, 20d., and to the Yeoman of the Waterside for keeping clean the said chapel, 6s. 8d. The Chamberlain was given orders in 1567 to cause the gutter whereby the rain water fell upon the Officers of the City to be turned and diverted and to enlarge the bench whereupon the officers usually sit. The City was still dissatisfied with the accommodation and after a survey in 1569 it was decided to move the pulpit slightly to the east to make way for the wives of the Aldermen. A few months later Sir Thomas Rowe, Kt., Lord Mayor, reimbursed the Chamberlain for "the building of the newe house for the ladie mayres and other ladies and Aldermen's wives to hear the sermon at Paule's Crosse which his lordship hath freelye builded at his owne charges, and the Lady Mayres to have a key of the same for the use of her and her friends during her life." Carpenters were sent in 1623 to examine the place where the Mayor and Aldermen sat to see whether it was substantially supported as it was conceived to bear a very great weight. The structures around the Cross, mostly leaning against the Cathedral walls, must have been considerable, as Queen Elizabeth frequently attended with a numerous company and James I accompanied by the nobility was present in 1620. The Cross and pulpit, together with sheds and grandstands, were pulled down in 1643, but the Court of Aldermen considered the provision of a new pulpit and place for the Mayor to hear the sermons upon the Lord's Day as heretofore. The Court further ordered that Parliament be moved for power to be given to them to nominate ministers to preach on Sundays in the place to be provided in St. Paul's Churchyard, and in the interim until a place be prepared the Court might have power to confer the allowance formerly given to the preachers at Paul's on such minister as shall preach before the Mayor and Aldermen at such place as they shall attend. The Court apparently attempted to obtain the power of appointing preachers many years previously, for in a letter to the Bishop of London they accuse Mr. Dyos of defaming them to their faces in a sermon from the Cross in 1581. He was stated to have said "that if the appointing of preachers were committed to them, they would appoint such as would defend usury." The City's Cash Account for 1643 records the payment of only three preachers at Paul's Cross and also payments to preachers elsewhere, which sermons, it is stated, should have been preached in the Churchyard. Authority was given by Parliament on 11th May, 1643, for payment to such preachers. When it became apparent that a new pulpit would not be provided in the Churchyard, the Court decided to attend within the Cathedral and the Accounts record payments to Divines who preached at St. Paul's the sermons heretofore preached at St. Paul's Cross. In 1662 we find the first payments to Vergers for laying out and taking in the City's carpets and cushions. After the Fire, the Chamberlain is ordered to pay the

ministers " that since the burning of St. Paul's in the late dreadful conflagracon have preached and shall hereafter preach on the Lord's Days at the public assemblies of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen."

It had been usual for the Corporation to extend hospitality to the Preachers in the form of diet and lodging the cost of which was borne by the Corporation's own revenue. On the 12th January, 1608, the Court of Aldermen ordered that a fit and convenient lodging and resting place for the Preacher at Paul's Cross with his man be provided by the City at the house of Roland Fleming at the east end of Paul's Church. They were to be permitted to remain five nights and to be supplied with a study, a fire, a candle and necessary linen, and could dine at the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs' table. In 1608 Fleming is paid £4 a quarter for the lodging and the next year a further £16 per annum to provide competent diet for the preacher and his man for three days. This allowance for diet was increased in 1612 to £20 per annum, and his total allowance for lodging and diet increased to £40 per annum in 1616. On the petition of Roland Fleming who was 71 years of age, his son John was admitted on 5th June, 1632, to entertain the preachers at his house in Watling Street for five days as heretofore. On the death of John Fleming in June, 1642, Humfrey Mosely was admitted to provide lodging for some of the preachers but in 1662 the Bishop of London asked the Court of Aldermen that the Divines appointed to preach in St. Paul's (the Cross having been demolished in 1643) might have like diet and lodging as heretofore. Within a month Timothy Garthwaite was appointed to the position at the old fee of £40 per annum.

After the Fire, Daniel Man, who was the Hallkeeper, was appointed to entertain the preachers at Guildhall Chapel at his house adjoining the chapel with diet and lodging, according to orders touching the preachers at St. Paul's. Thus the duty of entertaining the preachers devolved upon the Hallkeeper. In 1670, on receiving a message from the Bishop of London, the Chamberlain had some doubt about paying the allowances, but the Court of Aldermen ordered the payment as it was made by the City of their beneficence. Mr. Man was only paid the amount he actually disbursed after 1683 and the preachers who stayed in town became fewer and fewer. In 1789 lodging was no longer available but each preacher was supplied with wine and a roll. About 1850 a pint of wine was allowed every Sunday except Easter and Whitsun, and a quart on Good Friday, and the anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles, the restoration of Charles II, the Fire of London and the Gunpowder Plot. The distribution on anniversaries has since ceased but a half bottle of sherry is still given to the preacher each Sunday morning with the two above-mentioned exceptions. Strangely enough the practice ceased for ten years between 1747 and 1757, but the order in the Repertory does not give the reason.

The City also supplied gowns for the preachers in the 17th century, as it was found that they had to borrow for the occasion. In 1637 two gowns of " Turkey Grograine with hoods one longer than the other " were provided and placed in the custody of John Fleming.

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The preacher before the Lord Mayor within the Cathedral was also allowed a gown in 1660.

The City made annual payments to the Vergers at the Cathedral which varied from 12d. in 1566, £1 in 1607, to 50s. in 1625 and was increased when it became usual for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend within the Cathedral. After being set at 4 marks and £1 at Christmas in 1662 it was increased to £8 in 1699 from which figure it has never varied. Other persons have received annual and occasional payments in connection with the service including bell-ringers and lay-readers. In 1580 John Haselwood, keeper of the sermon place, was given a "gowne clothe." Thomas Chapman the younger charged by will property in the parish of St. Pancras Soper Lane with the payment of 12d. a week to clean the preaching place at Paul's Cross. The Court of Aldermen ordered in 1665 that the allowance should be paid to Robert Warner, one of the Vergers, who had performed the duty, but apparently it became impossible to collect the rent.

The fees paid to the Preachers at Paul's Cross have been mentioned in connection with the transfer of such payments under authority of Act of Parliament to the Divines preaching on Sunday mornings within the Cathedral. Such payments resulted from a number of bequests made to the Corporation towards the support of preachers at the Cross usually with a provision that the name of the benefactor should be rehearsed at the Sermon.

Stow records that Stephen Forster, who was mayor in 1454, gave £40 to the preachers at Paul's Cross and the Spittle, and that William Littlebery, alias Horne, mayor 1487, gave his house in Bread Street to the Salters' Company, subject to an annual charge of £6 13s. 4d. for preachers at Paul's Cross. Early wills of citizens often provided a small gift for the preachers. John Carpenter, Town Clerk, by his will charged the property he left to the City with the payment of 8d. to each unbeneficed scholar from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who should come to preach to the people at Paul's Cross, towards the cost of the journey. The first money given to the Corporation to provide a capital sum for payments to preachers appears in 1608 when the Chamberlain acknowledged the receipt of £480, being £300 under the will of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, £100 left in the Bishop's hands by the Countess of Shrewsbury for the same purpose, with the addition of £80 interest. There was received also £10 per annum from the Drapers' Company under the will of Sir Thomas Russell. It was ordered that £50, including Russell's £10, be disbursed to unbeneficed preachers at the rate of 26s. 8d. each, any surplus to be used for some other charitable purpose.

Russell's bequest was regularly received from the Drapers' Company for nearly 300 years, when exception was taken to the fact that the money was distributed to beneficed preachers, a practice followed for quite 250 years, whereas Russell bequeathed it for unbeneficed preachers. After negotiations, the City Lands Committee, on the advice of the Solicitor, executed an indemnity to the

Company, on their paying all arrears to October, 1903, against any claim for non-payment or payment to persons not strictly entitled. The Committee further agreed that in future the Company should not be held liable for payments to "beneficed" preachers and that no preacher is to receive more than one payment in any one year. The Dean and Chapter were approached but could not agree to nominate a certain number of unbeneficed clergymen as Sunday-morning preachers. At the Cross, in former times, persons studying at Oxford or Cambridge were the most usual unbeneficed preachers. Apparently should any unbeneficed person preach on Sunday morning in the Cathedral the Drapers' Company could be approached for payment of his fee and the City ought to contribute 8d. towards the cost of his journey under Carpenter's will.

During 1610 Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, offered £100 to augment the payments made to unbeneficed preachers and in August the Chamberlain acknowledged the receipt of seven deeds charging an annuity of 20 marks on the Manors of Holcott, Branfield, Aspley, Gyse and Saleford, including a conveyance from Johnson to various Aldermen dated 3rd August, 1610. The twelve youngest Aldermen were appointed trustees in 1630. Difficulty was nevertheless found as early as 1650 in collecting this rent and it was last paid to 5th April, 1813. On a report of Mr. Solicitor the City Lands Committee on 30th May, 1848, ordered the entry to be taken out of the Comptroller's Charge on the Chamberlain and all arrears remitted. On the receipt of Robert Johnson's gift in 1610 it was decided that the restriction as to unbeneficed clergy should be removed as many beneficed clergy were very poor, provided that no payment should be made to any preacher in receipt of £100 or more per annum from any appointment.

Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged receiving in 1611 from the executors of George Palyn, Girdler, £200 towards the Stock for the perpetual reward of Sunday preachers at Paul's Cross. The next year George Bishop left an annuity of £10 for the preachers, which sum is still paid annually by the Stationers' Company. In the same year the payment to preachers was increased to 33s. 4d. and further increased in 1616 to 40s. The executors of Robert Jenkinson, Merchant Tailor, paid £100 into the Chamber in 1618 and two years later a further £50 was received from the executors of Mrs. Katherine Bailife, when the allowance to preachers is stated to be increased from 42s 9d. to 43s. 9d. Thomas Adams bequeathed £200 to the Mayor and Aldermen in 1626 on condition that £10 per annum was distributed to the preachers at Paul's Cross. The fee paid to the preachers was increased to £2 5s. 6d., at which figure the earliest City's Accounts of 1633 record the payment of 55 preachers during the year. In 1632 Sir John Leman left an annuity of £10 per annum charged on premises called the Swan and the Cock in Thames Street and Botolph Lane and on receipt of the first payment in 1640 the Court of Aldermen resolved to increase the preacher's fee from £2 5s. 6d. to £2 9s. 0d. Sir John Leman's property has on occasions been distrained upon to enforce payment of the annuity.

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The Commissioners of Sewers, owners of Nos. 109 and 110, Lower Thames Street, decided in 1888 to redeem the rent charge, for which the Corporation received 2½% Consols producing £8 per annum. The deduction of £2 was made for Land Tax which the Commissioners would in future bear. The investment has been converted from time to time and in 1946 was represented by £295 14s. od. of 3½% Conversion Stock. This was the last bequest received by the Corporation for the Preachers.

A "religious lady" offered £50 for the preachers in 1660 and it was ordered that when the money should be received their fees should be increased from 49s. to 50s. No receipt appears in the City's Cash Accounts and in 1662 the fee is stated to be reduced from 49s. to 45s. Upon a full investigation and account in 1701, it was further reduced to 35s. At the same time it was divulged that a Mr. Ratcliffe gave £400 in 1671 to be divided equally between Petty Canons and the maintenance of Preachers. As the Cross was demolished in 1643 the gift must have been for Preachers within the Cathedral. It was stated that the Corporation agreed to permit the Dean and Chapter to invest the whole of the money in the purchase of fee-farm rents. The money was in fact advanced on the mortgage of a farm, which mortgage was later foreclosed. In 1699 the Dean and Chapter leased the farm for 21 years at a rent of £19 10s. od. for the first two years and £35 per annum thereafter. The Court were of opinion that 10s. should be paid to each preacher by the Dean and Chapter and a copy of the resolution was sent to the Dean. The fee of 35s. is still paid by the Corporation although both Russell's and Johnson's annuities have been abandoned since 1701. The present position is that the Corporation have received £1,030 in capital sums and receives annually £10 from the Stationers' Company and the interest from the Leman's stock. Disbursements amount to £89 10s. od., i.e. 50 @ 35s., for the preacher on Easter Sunday and Whitsunday is not paid, with the addition of £2 for the preacher on Good Friday, on which day it was usual for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Officers to attend. The half-bottles of sherry cost approximately £26 10s. od. per annum.

The Preaching Cross might have been rebuilt in 1907, for Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C., bequeathed £5,000 for the restoration thereof or if that was impracticable for a memorial of the Cross. The executor contended that the Dean and Chapter were bound if possible to re-erect the Cross and the words of the will and public opinion seemed to support him, but the Dean obtained a verdict in the High Court for the custody of the money and the present memorial was erected.

The report of the Coal and Corn and Finance Committee dated 26th January, 1909, on the subject was in these words:—

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed of your COAL AND CORN AND FINANCE COMMITTEE to whom on the 28th day of November, 1907, your Honourable Court referred back for consideration the Report on the Reference (14th November, 1907) on the letter from the Venerable Archdeacon Sinclair, as

to the provision, under the will of the late Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C., of £5,000 for the restoration of St. Paul's Preaching Cross, or the erection of a Memorial thereof, DO CERTIFY that the matter has been gone into very fully and we have heard Mr. Miles the Executor of the late Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C., and Archdeacon Sinclair, the Rev. Canon Scott Holland and others. It appears that Mr. Miles is at variance with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's as to the mode of carrying out of the Bequest. Mr. Miles contends that the Dean and Chapter are bound to re-erect Paul's Cross and the Dean and Chapter are clearly of opinion that the memorial which they propose to erect will be in harmony with its surroundings and a proper interpretation of the late Mr. Richards' wishes.

We submit herewith the design for the Memorial which has been prepared by Mr. Reginald Blomfield, A.R.A.

The matter has been before the High Court of Justice in an originating summons when all parties were represented before Mr. Justice Parker and as the £5,000 has by Order of the Court been handed over to the Dean and Chapter, they are now in a position to proceed with the erection of the Memorial.

Archdeacon Sinclair in the original reference asked if the Corporation offered any objection to the proposal. After very careful consideration we are clearly of opinion that the Corporation would not be justified in taking exception to the proposed action of the Dean and Chapter unless they were convinced that the Memorial proposed to be erected would be distinctly disfiguring to the garden around the Cathedral or prejudicial to the use thereof by the public.

The responsibility for seeing that architecturally the new Memorial and the existing fabric of the Cathedral are in harmony remains with the Dean and Chapter and does not directly concern the Corporation.

Under all the circumstances we ask for authority to approve a site in St. Paul's Garden to enable the Dean and Chapter to carry out the Bequest to them under the will of the late Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C."

The inscription on St. Paul's Cross Memorial reads as follows:—

"On this plot of ground stood of old "Paul's Cross" whereat amid such scenes of good and evil as make up human affairs the conscience of church and nation through five centuries found public utterance. The first record of it is in 1191 and it was rebuilt by Bishop Kemp in 1449 and was finally removed by order of the Long Parliament in 1643. This Cross was re-erected in its present form under the will of H. C. Richards to recall and to renew the ancient memories."