

The White Rose under the First Tudors

Part I

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THIS ARTICLE is intended to be the first of three, to cover Yorkist resistance from 1493 to 1525, and it will be the shortest. For most of this period the Tudors were opposed by Edmund and Richard de la Pole, nephews of Richard III. Their histories will be traced, at greater length, in the second and third articles. Before them, however, went Warbeck, but for whose execution (and that of the innocent Earl of Warwick) the two de la Poles might never have been tempted — or driven — to rebel. They 'inherited' some of Warbeck's followers, and the sympathy of those European Princes — the most notable being the Emperor Maximilian — who had believed in Warbeck, and condemned Henry's brutality. Today, Warbeck is generally held to have been an impostor, although scrupulous historians would allow that we cannot know this to be true. While he lived, however — and for some years afterwards — it was widely believed that he was the son of Edward IV. When towards the end of 1492 Edward's sister Margaret, Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy, accepted Warbeck as her nephew, her Yorkist kinsfolk in England must have taken heed. First among these was, still, her mother, the House of York's matriarch, Cecily, Duchess of York. At Berkhamsted Castle she passed her days, it would seem, in pious contemplation. It was not always thus. Among her servants were several who had served her cousin, the Kingmaker, and her sons the Yorkist Kings. It may safely be supposed that they and their mistress thought of Henry Tudor without pleasure. Within months of the Duchess of Burgundy's recognition of Warbeck, Hertfordshire men — some of whom appear to have been related to members of Cecily's household — were with Warbeck in Flanders, and by 1494 one of Cecily's councillors, and one of her kinsmen, were plotting against the King.

On 1 April 1495 at her castle of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, the eighty-year-old Cecily, Duchess of York, made her will.² She had survived her husband, her sons — among whom were the two Yorkist Kings — and her daughter Anne, Duchess of Exeter. Those of her grandsons nearest to the Yorkist succession in 1485 were dead, thought to be dead, or captive. John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, eldest son of John, Duke of Suffolk (d.1491) by Elizabeth, the elder of her two surviving daughters, had died at Stoke Field in 1487, attempting to overthrow Henry Tudor, supplanter of her son Richard III, and husband of Edward IV's eldest daughter, Elizabeth. The mystery surrounding the fates of Edward's sons, and the unjust imprisonment of Edward, Earl of

Warwick, son of George, Duke of Clarence, enabled Cecily's other surviving child, Margaret, Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy, to support a succession of conspiracies against Henry Tudor. Of the above-mentioned members of her family, only her husband (beside whom she requested burial), her son Edward and her granddaughter the Queen, were named in Cecily's will.

The King, the Queen, their male offspring, and the King's mother received bequests, as did religious establishments, for with the years Cecily had grown increasingly devout. Next to benefit were the daughters of Edward IV, Bridget, a nun, Cecily, wife of Henry's uncle, John Viscount Welles, Anne, recently married to Thomas Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey, and Katherine, wife by the following October of William Courtenay, whose father Edward had been created Earl of Devon after Bosworth.

The Duchess then turned to the children of her daughter Elizabeth. Remembered were Lincoln's younger brother, Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, Edmund's Countess, Margaret Scrope, his brothers, William and Humphrey (the latter a priest), and his sister, Anne. Omitted were Anne's sisters, Katherine, Elizabeth, and Dorothy, and Edmund's youngest brother, Richard.³

Among rewarded officers and servants were Master Richard Lessy, dean of her chapel (who was to receive money to pay his debt to the King), Sir John More,⁴ John Walter (or Water — Richard III's York Herald),⁵ Nicholas Talbot and his wife Jane (widow of the Kingmaker's herald),⁶ and Cecily's kinsman, Alexander Cressener. Among those named as executors were several of Henry's closest advisers, and the deans of the colleges of Stoke Clare, Fotheringhay, and of her chapel.⁷ On 31 May the Duchess died, and it was to Richard Lessy that administration was granted, on 27 August.

It is easy to forget that Cecily and Henry Tudor's mother were cousins. Margaret Beaufort had long forgotten that in 1444 (when both were children) she had been married to John de la Pole. By March, 1455, the marriage was dissolved. The consequences were vast, for de la Pole subsequently married Cecily's daughter, and Margaret became the wife of Edmund Tudor.⁸

The Duchess of York had lived through several revolutions and rebellions, and the last five years of her life were no exception. Henry's title was being challenged by the pretender Warbeck, whose claim to be the younger son of Edward IV was upheld by Margaret of Burgundy, by Margaret's son-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian, and by several other princes. Warbeck's well-known story requires no rehearsal. By 1493, Henry realized how dangerous the conspiracy against him might become, despite the fact that among Warbeck's following were few Englishmen of rank. The most eminent was Sir George Nevill, bastard son of Sir Thomas Nevill. An esquire for the body to Richard III, he had married Mary Fitzlewis, Countess Rivers, widow of Anthony Woodville. Pardoned after Bosworth, he had fought for Henry at Stoke Field, where he was knighted. In 1491, however, he had joined Warbeck in Paris.⁹ With Margaret of Burgundy was Richard Harleston, the late King's Governor of Jersey, who after Bosworth had vainly tried to hold the Channel Islands for York.¹⁰ Nevill and Harleston were not nonentities, and other recruits trickled in. To test the extent of the conspiracy, Henry sent spies into the Warbeck camp. Meanwhile his opponents in England sent messengers to the Duchess Margaret, to urge speedy and concerted action.¹¹

In June 1493 Warbeck welcomed two notable recruits — Sir Robert Clifford of Aspenden, and his father-in-law, William Barley of Albury. With them were Clifford's servant, Richard Walter, and Thomas Brampton of Albury. All were from Hertfordshire. Clifford met Warbeck, and reported to the conspirators in England that he 'knew him to be King Edwardes sonne by his face and other lyniaments of his body'.¹² Sir Robert's testimony was impressive, for he was no discontented Yorkist. His two elder brothers had died opposing York.¹³

Barley's connections were significant, for he was related to the nurse of Edward's sons, to Sir James Tyrell, to Thomas Darcy an esquire for the body (to Edward IV) who should have been knighted had Edward V been crowned, and perhaps to Richard Harleston.¹⁴ His daughter, Anne, became the wife of John Grey, fifth son of Thomas Marquis of Dorset, who as eldest son of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, was half-brother of the young prince Warbeck claimed to be.¹⁵

Henry's agents were not idle. On 1 August 1493 Lorenzo Bonvisi, merchant of Lucca in Tuscany, Thomas Barley and others, were obliged to stand surety for the allegiance of John de Lysa (apparently another foreign merchant, perhaps Flemish), who was not in future to 'associate with nor aid' Henry's 'traitors and adversaries' in Flanders.¹⁶ In February 1494 Thomas Bagnall, John Scott, John Heath, and John Kennington, accused of having forged seditious bills, were taken from the sanctuary of St. Martin-le-Grand and tried. Condemned to death, all — save Bagnall — were hanged at Tyburn, together with William Bulkeley, yeoman of the Crown, and an unnamed Fleming, on 26 February.¹⁷

Later that year, a more important group of conspirators were arrested. Included were churchmen, members of the King's household, and officers of the Calais garrison. The clerics were William Worsley, Dean of St. Paul's, William Rochford, Provincial of the Dominicans, a fellow Dominican, friar Thomas Poyntz, William Sutton, parson of St. Stephen's Walbrook, London, Robert Layborne, and the Duchess Cecily's dean, Richard Lessy.¹⁸ To these the chronicler Fabyan added the Prior of the Dominican priory of King's Langley, which lay six miles to the south-east of Berkhamsted.¹⁹

The involvement of Sutton and Rochford was perhaps due to their known connections. In 1488-9 Sutton became a feoffee of Dame Joan Ingoldesthorp (a Tiptoft, whose daughter had been wife to the Kingmaker's brother, the Marquis of Montagu), of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, and of Sir George Nevill and his wife, the Countess Rivers.²⁰ Dame Joan granted Sutton and Rochford annuities during the life of Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester, wife (in 1471) of Sir William Stanley.²¹ Dame Joan died on 21 June 1494. The last Tiptoft Earl of Worcester (d.1485) was the Countess Elizabeth's son, and Lord Dudley was one of his heirs. The Tiptoft inheritance was of concern to Sir William Stanley, to whom were probably linked two members of the Cheshire family of Doenes, feoffees of both Dame Joan and Lord Dudley.²² The dower lands of the Countess Rivers certainly became a bone of contention between Sir George Nevill and Henry Tudor. As Richard Sutton was another of Lord Dudley's feoffees, it is likely that William Sutton was that baron's kinsman.²³

The lives of the churchmen were spared, but not their purses. Worsley soon

owed the King £1000.²⁴ As the Duchess Cecily forsook, her bequest helped Lessy to pay his fine. Bound to the King in £200 on 2 March 1495 together with a group of Berkhamsted men, most of whom figured in Cecily's will, he was pardoned two days later.²⁵ In 1498 Lessy died. He requested burial at Berkhamsted.²⁶ It is with mild surprise that one learns that this man who was so close to the pious Duchess (and who was a papal chamberlain to boot) was, in 1481, pardoned by the Pope (and ordered to do penance) for having made a bigamous marriage.²⁷

The laymen arrested were John Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort of Coleshill, Warwickshire, Sir Thomas Thwaytes, Treasurer of Calais 1483-90, Robert Radcliffe, Keeper of the Town of Calais, William Daubeney, Clerk of the Jewelhouse to Richard III, Alexander Cressener's son Thomas, and Thomas Astwood.²⁸ Executed — early in 1495 — were Mountfort, Robert Radcliffe and Daubeney.²⁹ Lord Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Guisnes. Having attempted to escape, he was beheaded at Calais, in November 1496.³⁰

By the end of 1494, Clifford had had enough. On 22 December he and Richard Walter were pardoned, and both returned to England.³¹ In January 1495 Clifford received from Henry a gift of £500.³² From Sir Robert Henry received information which led to further arrests. Clifford revealed that in March 1493 he had spoken of Warbeck to the Lord Chamberlain, Sir William Stanley, who had declared that were he certain that the pretender was Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him. Also betrayed by Clifford were Stanley's nephew Sir Humphrey Savage, and Sir Gilbert Debenham³³ — and possibly Sir William's bastard son, Thomas Stanley. On 16 February 1495 Sir William and his nephew were beheaded as traitors on Tower Hill.³⁴ Until released by Henry VIII, Thomas Stanley remained a prisoner in the Tower.³⁵

These executions discouraged the remaining conspirators. They also cast a shadow over the King's family, for Stanley and Savage were Henry's relatives. So, perhaps, did that of Robert Radcliffe, who in April 1472 had married Margaret Welles, half-sister of the King's uncle (and brother-in-law), Viscount Welles.³⁶ Lord Fitzwalter and Thomas Cressener were nephews of Robert Radcliffe.³⁷ More immediately serious for Henry was the disaffection evident in the Calais garrison.

In the act of attainder of 1495, Fitzwalter is linked with William Barley and Thomas Brampton.³⁸ Unlike Barley's son-in-law, Clifford, these two remained stubbornly loyal to Warbeck, as did John Brampton. When in July 1495 Warbeck descended upon Deal, John was present, and he was duly attainted. From Deal some two hundred rebels were led away by John Pecche, the sheriff of Kent. Some were hanged at London, the others at coastal towns.³⁹ Among those who escaped were Richard Harleston, who (perhaps with Sir George Nevill) again fled to Flanders.⁴⁰ Others were John Stapleton and Edward Skelton (Cumbrians formerly of Richard III's household), Rowland Robinson (a Durham man rewarded by Richard), John Taillor (former servant of the Duke of Clarence), and a mercer, John Heron.⁴¹

Some secured pardon, others were tracked down.⁴² Only Robinson, Taillor, and a cleric known as the Dean of York, can be identified among Warbeck's following in Scotland, and when in September 1497 the pretender set out from Cornwall for his last adventure, his advisers had dwindled to Heron,

Richard Skelton, Tailor, and John Astley, scrivener.⁴³ At Exeter the rebels were beaten off by the Earl of Devon and his son William. At Taunton, Warbeck abandoned his men and fled. From the sanctuary of Beaulieu Abbey, he emerged to surrender, in October. Henry had his person, his wife, and perhaps their children.⁴⁴

In the following months a number of rebels, including Sir George Nevill and Edward Skelton, were offered pardon.⁴⁵ William Barley, realizing that all was lost, returned to England. On 9 July 1498 Sir Robert Clifford, Sir James Tyrell, Robert Barley, and William's brother, Thomas, stood surety for his lifelong loyalty,⁴⁶ and three days later, he received a general pardon.⁴⁷ At about this time, Sir James Tyrell, Captain of the castle of Guisnes (which with Hammes Castle guarded the approaches to Calais), was given a new neighbour, the King appointing as Captain of Hammes, Sir Robert Curzon.⁴⁸ Like Tyrell, Curzon was from Suffolk.

Warbeck was imprisoned and discredited, but a threat to Henry's title remained in the person of the captive Earl of Warwick. In 1487 Henry, seeking recognition and allies — and fearing an expansionist France — had sought a treaty and a marriage alliance with France's rival, Spain. Although alliance with an as yet unestablished ruling house seemed to many Spaniards rash, Spain's ambassador — the converted Andalusian Jew, Dr. Rodrigo Gonsalvo de Puebla — concluded an alliance in 1489.⁴⁹ When, in 1494, France invaded Italy, he was returned to England, with orders to draw Henry into a league against France, and to expedite the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon. With satisfaction he and his sovereigns observed the collapse of the Warbeck conspiracy, but early in 1499 a counterfeit Warwick appeared. Although the young impostor, Ralph Wilford, was speedily hanged (on 12 February), the affair was inopportune for Henry. While Warwick lived, such attempts could recur. Voicing Spanish concern, de Puebla urged Henry to rid himself of the two young embarrassments in the Tower. Throughout March Henry wrestled with his conscience, consulting, characteristically, both priest and soothsayer. Victorious, he brought forth out of his travail a solution in the form of a carefully laid trap, to be engineered by Simon Digby,⁵⁰ the Lieutenant of the Tower, and gaolers, among whom was Thomas Astwood. Accused of having attempted in August to escape, Warwick, Warbeck, and their 'accomplices', were tried and condemned. On 25 November Warbeck was hanged at Tyburn. Five days later Warwick was executed on Tower Hill. Others, including Astwood, were hanged within the next few days. Spared was John Tailor. Former servant of Warwick's father, this inveterate intriguer had been surrendered to Henry by the French in July.⁵¹ In a sense, Warwick's death brought Tailor's wheel to full circle, for he — according to the act by which Clarence was attained in 1478 — had been instructed by his master to substitute 'a strange child' for the Duke's son, who was to be conveyed by him secretly to Ireland, or to Flanders.⁵² Tailor was still 'in ward' in the Tower, at the beginning of the next reign.⁵³

Thus Henry cleared the way for his son's marriage to Katherine of Aragon — a marriage which that unfortunate Princess later declared to have 'made in blood'. To Ferdinand and Isabella, the exultant de Puebla reported that 'not a drop of doubtful royal blood' remained in England, save that of Henry, the

Queen, and the Prince of Wales.⁵⁴ In the moment of triumph de Puebla rejoiced too soon. He had forgotten that Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, remained as heir to the Yorkist cause.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Among these were (1) Dame Joan Peasmarsh, widow — probably of John Peasmarsh the elder, Edward's Porter of the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1451. In 1463 Edward's 'welbelovéd squire' John Peasmarsh was protected in the Act of Resumption of that year (2) Richard Boyville (a Ricardian annuitant) and his wife, Gresild. (3) Sir John Verney and his wife Margaret (*née* Whittingham). Her father, Sir Robert, died for Lancaster at Tewkesbury. His brother, John, died on 22 August, 1485, presumably at Bosworth and, surely, for Richard.
2. J. G. Nichols and J. Bruce (eds.), *Wills From Doctors' Commons*, Camden Society 1863, pp. 1-8.
3. Some of those excluded were of course minors. Richard was born c. 1480
4. This must be the father of the future historian of Richard III, Sir Thomas More. Sir John was of North Mimms, Herts.
5. John Water became York Herald and as such was rewarded by Richard III with lands forfeited by the Duke of Buckingham. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1476-85*, p.429. A John Walter of Crawden, Cambs., was married to Agnes Barley, *Visitation of Cambridgeshire*, Harleian Society, vol. 41 (1897), p.19.
6. Jane was first married to David Griffith (or Griffin), Warwick Herald in succession to John Walter. G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, Appendix G, p.90. Nicholas Talbot made his will on 8 June, 1501, requesting burial at Berkhamsted (should he die within seven miles of that place), prayers for himself, his wife, her first husband, the Duchess Cecily, for his parents buried at 'Stedde' in Lancashire, and for other relatives. There were bequests for Lady Kateryn (daughter of Edward IV), Lord William of Suffolk's wife, to her ladies, Mistress Elizabeth and Mistress Anne Ewelme, to Lord William's servant, John Southwood, to Lady Anne Sulyard (a Barley), Rauf Verney and his wife, plus several relatives and Richard Sutton, who was an executor. *Wills From the Court of the Commissary of Bury, etc.*, Camden Society 1850, pp.85-8.
7. These were, respectively, Dr. William Pikinham, Master William Felde, and Master Richard Lessy.
8. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12, p.449. Margaret was the ward of John de la Pole's father.
9. J. Burke, *History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1836, Appendix. R. Grafton, *Grafton's Chronicle*, London 1569, vol. 2, p.192.
10. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
11. Grafton, vol. 2, pp.193-4, 196.
12. *ibid.*, p.194. Sir Robert Clifford could indeed claim to have seen the Duke of York for when still an esquire he had joustted at the wedding in 1478 of the Duke and Lady Anne Mowbray. Anne Mowbray presented him with a prize as best competitor with swords. Another prizewinner was Richard Haute — presumably the husband of the little Duke's sometime nurse. The Marquis of Dorset also joustted. See, P. Jones, Anne Mowbray, *Richard III, Crown and People*, ed. J. Petre, London 1985, p.97. P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London 1955, p.126.
13. His eldest brother, John Lord Clifford, was killed at Ferrybridge on the day before the battle of Towton. The opposing commander, Sir John Radcliffe, was also slain. The other brother, Sir Roger, was executed by Richard III.
14. Richard Harleston appears in no pedigree, but Barley's brother-in-law, Thomas (the esquire for the body) was married to Margaret Harleston, daughter and coheir of John Harleston. The 'nurse' (mistress of the nursery, to be precise), was Sir James Tyrell's cousin, Elizabeth Tyrell. Barley's wife, Elizabeth, was her daughter by her first husband, Robert Darcy (d.1462).
15. H. C. Andrews, Lady Anne Grey of Albury, *Genealogists' Magazine*, vol. 7, (1936) pp.419-422.
16. *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1485-1500*, no. 687.
17. R. Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and of France*, ed. H. Ellis, London 1811, p.685.
18. E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Illustre Families of Lancaster and York*, ed. H. Ellis, London 1809, p.507.
19. R. Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and of France*, op. cit. n. 17, p.685.
20. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, vol. 1, nos. 1086, 1090, 1092 (Dame Joan and Lord Dudley), vol. 2, no. 197 (Sir George Nevill and wife, inquest upon Richard Lee).
21. *Cal. IPM Henry VII*, vol. 1. no. 1090.

22. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 1092.
23. Richard Sutton. For Men of this name see A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III, The Extant Documents*, Gloucester 1983, p.336, and J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies*, London 1936, p.286.
24. *CCR. 1485-1500*, no. 795.
25. *ibid.*, no. 790 (the bond); *CPR. 1495-1509*, p.15 (the pardon).
26. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge 1963, p.1136. Emden opines that Lessy was possibly rector of Berkhamsted. In his will were bequests to the Abbey of St. Alban's, and the churches of Berkhamsted and King's Langley.
27. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters*, vol. 13, part 1, 1471-84, London 1955, p.106.
28. R. Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and of France*, op. cit, n. 17, p.685. Fabyan gives William Cressener, Thomas' brother, but see E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Illustre Families of Lancaster and York*, op. cit, n.18, p.507.
29. *Grafton's Chronicle*, op. cit, n. 9, vol. 2, p.196.
30. G E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, pp.486-7.
31. *CPR. 1494-1509*, p.13.
32. Mackie, *op. cit.* p.122. On August 25 1495, as knight for the body, he was made Master of the Ordnance. See *CPR. 1494-1509*, p.37.
33. Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p.742.
34. *Complete Peerage*, vol. 12, part 2, p.846. P. M. Kendall, *Richard III*, London 1955, p.383, opts for 5 February as the date of the execution of Sir William.
35. J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 2, part 2, London 1864, no. 3690.
36. J. Gairdner (ed.), *Paston Letters*, London 1910, vol. 3, p.39.
37. *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, compiled by J. Foster, vol. 2, *The West Riding*, London 1874, pages unnumbered.
38. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ed. J. Strachey, 6 vols., London 1767-77, vol. 6, p.526.
39. Fabyan, *op. cit.* (n.19), p.685.
40. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 1, p.899.
41. Heron may have been a Northumbrian. See the will of his kinswoman, widow of Ralph Lathom and of John Kyrkeby, daughter of John Heron of Felton, Northumberland. John Heron, citizen and mercer of London, received a cup, and to him and Thomas Strother went the residue (*North Country Wills*, ed. J. W. Clay, Surtees Society, 1908, p.262). For Rowland Robinson in Durham, see *36th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, HMSO, 1875, Appendix 1, p.20 (general pardon, as late of the Isle of Bradbury and of Chester-le-Street, granted by Bishop Sherwood at the instance of George, Lord Lumley).
42. *36th RDK*, p.40. In 11 Henry VIII (1495-6) Sir Ralph Bowes, sheriff of Durham, delivered to William Conyers, bailiff of Richmond, 'the bodies of John Stapleton and John Skelton, for conveyance to the sheriff of Yorkshire. For pardons see *CPR 1494-1509*, pp.122-4, 127 and 131.
43. Grafton *op. cit.* (n.9), vol. 2, p.212.
44. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, Venice*, vol. I 1202-1509, London 1864, no. 755, where Perkin is stated to have left his wife and children at Penryn in Cornwall.
45. *CPR. 1494-1509*, p.123 (Skelton), and p.131 (Nevill as of Raskelf, Yorks., and of the household, alias bastard).
46. *CCR. 1485-1500*, no. 1062.
47. *CPR. 1485-1509*, p.134.
48. *CCR. 1485-1500*, no. 1059 (mainprizes for Curzon's safe-keeping of Hammes).
49. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish 1486-1509*, vol. 2, p.21.
50. Digby had been granted the manor of Coleshill, Warws., forfeited by the executed Sir Simon Mountfort on 23 December 1495. See *CPR 1494-1509*, p.65.
51. *CSP Venetian 1202-1509* op. cit (n.44), no.799, Raimondo de Soncino to Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan.
52. *Rot. Parl.*, vol. 6, p.194.
53. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII 1509*, vol. 1, part 1, no.11, grants, section 10.
54. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. 1, no.249.