Chapter 14


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Readers of late nineteenth-century books and periodicals were regularly addressed as potential consumers of new technological luxuries. From the early 1880s proponents of the incandescent electric light used such media to present it as a safe, hygienic, and economic alternative for homes hitherto besmirched and poisoned by the effluvia of gas lamps. In October 1880, for example, the North American Review published ‘The Success of the Electric Light’, Thomas Edison’s tendentious attack on the alleged dangers of gas lighting.1 The new electrical generating technologies of Edison and his rivals were more subtly discussed a year later in ‘The Development of Electric Lighting’, an anonymous contribution to the British Quarterly Review. In his technical survey of recent advances in equipment at the Paris Electrical Exhibition, the freelance inventor and electrician, James Gordon, sought to rebut the prevailing consensus that the provision of domestic electric lighting was a financially unviable enterprise. Importantly, Gordon also aimed to address concerns Quarterly readers might have about the ‘glare’ of the electric light and especially its ‘harsh’ effect on ladies’ complexes. He thus advised that a suitably shaded electric lamp would yield a ‘beautiful soft light’, just like that of its gas counterpart.2

Such evidence from the periodical press enables us to challenge a long-held assumption among historians of technology that electricity was a self-evidently superior illuminant to gas, naturally taken up by consumers when economic conditions were congenial.3 Such accounts overlook the alternative representations of electric lighting as, for example, aesthetically unpleasing for women or a wanton luxury for men, as depicted in the Punch cartoons analysed below. In this chapter I focus on attempts by ‘Mrs J. E. H. Gordon’ to help her engineer husband overcome such consumer scepticism, comparing the gendered assumptions of and projected audiences for her handbook Decorative Electricity and a Fortnightly Review article on the same theme, both published in spring 1891.4 I then show how reviews of Alice Gordon’s book in a wide range of periodicals cut across such conventional scholarly boundaries of general versus technical, engineering versus domesticity,
and periodical versus book, and reveal an important gendered diversity in journalistic responses to her work.  

**Punch, 'Paterfamilias', and the Gendered Consumer of Domestic Illumination**

*Mr Paterfamilias*. My intention, MRS P., is to have gas laid all over the house.

*MRS P.* Oh, my dear, you know what happened at the SIMKISSE when they had it. Pray do consider—

*Mr P.* My determination is the result of much and anxious consideration, MRS. P.

*MRS P.* You know it got into their store-closet and blew up the boy. And then there's Dr LETHBEY's evidence—he's a scientific man, you know. It was in the *Times* last week all about the ammonia getting into the ground, and causing dreadful smells, and oil of vitriol destroying French polish, and books, and I don't know all what [...]"

Sue Bowden and Avner Offer have recently claimed that the consumption of electric lighting in Edwardian Britain was a gender neutral activity. Can this claim be generalized to an earlier period when the electric light—and its predecessor the gas light—were innovations somewhat more challenging to domestic equilibrium? We have reason to suspect otherwise when we study Linley Sambourne’s representations of men and women encountering gaslight and electric light in the nineteenth century. His highly stylized caricatures in *Punch* suggest gender asymmetries in social resistance to electric light that respectively pre-date and post-date the publication of Alice Gordon’s *Decorative Electricity*, whilst also embodying Sambourne’s own particular male-centred view of prerogatives in domestic illumination.

In the concert scene published as ‘Happy Thought’ in *Punch* in 1889, Sambourne’s caption reads: ‘The Electric Light so favourite to Furniture, Wall Papers, Pictures, Screens &c., is not always becoming to the Female Complexion. Light Japanese Sunshades will be found invaluable’ (Fig. 14.1). Certainly the furnishings and decorations in the illustration suffer none of the corrosive effects of gaslight, and men standing in the picture seem unperturbed by the dazzling glare of the electric light that whitens their faces. By contrast, the women present—both singer and seated female audience—are obviously not at all comfortable under the harsh brilliance of the artificial illumination. They are even forced to adorn themselves further with the exotic fashion accessory of Japanese sunshades to prevent the aesthetically displeasing installation from damaging their delicate eyes and skin. The titular ‘Happy Thought’ can thus only have been entertained from the perspective of the masculine gaze.

The next satirical cameo on the electric light that Sambourne produced for *Punch* was an exclusively male dialogue. ‘At the Door: or, Paterfamilias and the
Young Spark" (Fig. 14.2) was inspired by a report in The Times that the new "light of luxury" could only be found in the most prosperous districts of London. The illustration depicts a substantial 'Paterfamilias' majestically standing on the threshold of a plush London residence. A 'dear little spark waves a bulb from a wand and asks cheekily to be granted entrance. Upholding his (presumptively) male prerogative on financial decisions, Paterfamilias punningly replies: 'Ah! You're a little too dear for me—at present'. His patriarchal prudence is nevertheless mocked by the 'Electric Sprite' who, in the accompanying 'Electrical Elegy', taunts him, uttering lines alluding to Apelles's romantic fable: 'Why stand at your door in that dubious way? / Like the classical girl who was called on by Cupid, / You seem half alarmed at the thought of my stay.' The anthropomorphized spark thereby hints that the householder's caution betrays a deficiency of manly mettle, and with a mischievous nod to conventionally feminine concerns adds: 'Shan't soil your ceiling, / Shan't spoil your pictures, / Or make nasty smells like that dirty imp, Gas!' Paterfamilias is effectively wooed, for he relishes the future prospect of the sprite's 'bright' companionship, and it is no problem for him that the electric light is as dazzlingly 'white as the moon'. He thus concludes optimistically:

Just cheapen yourself, in supply and in fitting,  
To something that fits with my limited 'screw',  
And you will not find me shrink long from admitting  
A dear little chap like you!  

Mr Punch had not, however, always taken men to be the sole arbiters of domestic electric installations. Inspired by the publication of parliamentary Blue Books in 1854 on household ventilation, heating, and lighting, a younger and more credulous 'Mr Paterfamilias' set out to crusade as 'The Domestic Reformer'. His ultimately catastrophic plans are presented in dialogue with the long-suffering 'Mrs Paterfamilias' who, as the epigraph above illustrates, is knowledgeable and sensible, but frequently over-ruled in domestic disputes. In its didactic persona, Punch presents Mr Paterfamilias as possessing a mind that is inquiring but 'by no means robust'; Mrs Paterfamilias supposedly respected him as epitomizing all that was 'profound' in science, but sought primarily to win peace and quiet for her family.

In the matter of gas installation Mrs Paterfamilias is represented as possessing far greater financial sense and practical wisdom than her husband. She has taken the trouble to keep abreast of disastrous contemporary experiences of domestic gas installation, and reads The Times to learn about expert evidence on the damaging effects of gaslight on domestic furnishings. Although she effectively undercuts Mr Paterfamilias's delusion that he has the sole expertise and entitlement to make judgements about such matters, he has in fact already pre-empted her dissent by arranging for an installation before telling her of his plans. Once the gas-fitter Mr Socket has arrived, it is Mrs Paterfamilias who expresses appropriate horror at his 'rule-of-thumb' estimate that the installation will cost £30 to £35. Mr Paterfamilias is then suitably embarrassed when later cross-examination by his spouse reveals

Fig. 14.2, 'At the Door; or, Paterfamilias and the Young Spark', Punch 101 (1891), 98. (Reproduced courtesy of Leeds University Library.)
that the final cost of the work is more than twice that. Moreover, just as Mrs Paterfamilias foresaw, the experienced cook Mrs Fieri-Facias resigns even before the installation has begun, disgusted at the prospect of having to prepare dinner at a 'nasty stinking, singing, busting gas-pipe'.

Although comic in construction, the two female figures in this household drama represent important alternatives to Sambourne’s configuring of women as mere passive or ignorant victims of new domestic technologies. In the early 1890s, Alice Gordon recognized the new-found discretionary power some women were beginning to exercise about whether and how to install electric light. Having heard many women vowing never to allow the ‘disagreeable’ electric light into their homes, she promoted the art of ‘decorative electricity’ to encourage wealthier middle-class women to take an informed critical approach to the installation of the new medium, thus collaborating in her husband’s engineering business.

The Gordons’ Electrical Lighting Project and the Fortnightly Review

By the artistic gourmet of both, dinner and conversation are enjoyed with far more relish by a bright though softened light, and the pleasing acuity of our modern good talkers is the better appreciated by our minds, when our bodies are comfortably seated and fed, and our sense attuned by harmonious surroundings.

Alice Mary Brandreth was born about 1851 to an affluent London family that entertained a wide circle of literary friends including the young George Meredith, Robert Louis Stevenson, and the scientifically eminent Spottiswoodes and Sylvesters. She became involved in electrical matters after marrying her cousin James Gordon in 1878. The couple initially lived just outside Dorking where they owned, as Alice put it, ‘a large laboratory and a small house attached’, in which she assisted in her husband’s efforts to patent an iridium-based fluorescent lamp. The Gordons moved to London in 1882 when James was hired by the Telegraph Construction & Maintenance Company to work on electric lighting, latterly to develop an unprecedentedly large AC lighting scheme for Paddington railway station and hotel, completed in 1886. In this work Alice acted as assistant, deputy, secretary, translator, and confidante, sharing her husband’s many tribulations and occasional successes.

From 1888 James Gordon acted as consulting engineer for several new power stations planned for London’s wealthier districts. Alice’s activities as public relations adviser and social ambassador then became the most commercially important feature of her collaborative involvement in electric lighting. She introduced friends and acquaintances to their lavishly illuminated South Kensington home, using the 120 lamps installed there to glorify electricity as a luxuriant and elegant means of domestic lighting. Alice’s longer-term aim, however, was to build up a potential consumer base for electric light well beyond the Gordons’ network of friends and acquaintances. Given her literary connections it is not surprising that she soon turned to printed media to reach larger audiences of potential consumers. Her first article, ‘The Development of Decorative Electricity’, was published in the February 1891 issue of the Fortnightly Review for which George Meredith had written since its foundation in 1865. The personal connection was clear from her expressed aim not to bore readers with an ‘exhaustive’ account of electric lighting, but instead to offer only what George Meredith called ‘the first tadpole wriggle of an idea’ of what was needed to produce ‘good and artistic’ results.

With Meredith’s assistance Alice reached out to the readership of what was then undoubtedly one of the major periodicals of highbrow British culture. In the period 1890–92 alone, the Fortnightly secured writing from Hardy, Swinburne, Wilde, Tolstoy, Pater, Wells, and contributions from such eminent scientific figures as Kelvin, Crookes, Huxley, Tyndall, Huggins, and Wallace. Women writers and women’s concerns were more regularly represented under Frank Harris’s editorship, lending a certain ‘progressive’ context for Alice’s writing. It is not insignificant that she fashioned her authorial identity without marital signifier as ‘Alice M. Gordon’, and addressed female readers on the importance of women’s education and the responsibility of housewives for planning and arranging electrical installations. With a nod to sybaritic Fortnightly readers acquainted with Dorian Grey, Alice also contended that the acidic ‘modern’ conversationalist was best appreciated in a dining room subtly illuminated by electricity.

Alice’s principal message to Fortnightly readers concerned the means of overcoming the prevalent harshness of electric light; the cost of achieving this was treated as a subordinate theme. Decorations, she advised, should be a measure of ‘the owner’s taste and imagination’, not of his purse. The ‘unsympathetic glare’ of many existing installations was not, she claimed, conducive to ‘comfort and repose’. These hindered instead of aiding conversation by shedding light too directly onto the countenance: rays softly reflected or filtered through shades would fall rather ‘more kindly’ on tired eyes and on the faces and figures of those past the ‘half-way house of life’. Thus she enjoined readers to consider grace, simplicity, beauty of form, and, above all else, colour. A subtle differentiation of purpose was, though, to be borne in mind in implementing the art of ‘decorative electricity’. In the dining room, for example, a relatively bright light should fall on the food and silver at the focus of attention, while all else was illuminated using shades of a suitably subdued hue, taking judicious hints ‘from Nature herself’.

Whilst much of her narrative concerned the comfort of menfolk in their favoured rooms, the implied reader of her article was female—a wife and perhaps also mother—whose presumptive role it was to run a male-centred household. In this capacity she had to address the technical details of sockets and such gadgets as an electric cigar-lighter. The location given most attention was the ‘dingy little hole’ that often served as library, den, and smoking room of the ‘master’. This place could be improved by installing a pendant and a standard lamp covered with red silk to give it a ‘bright and cozy look’ when the master returned. Moreover a ‘delightful’ nook for reading could be contrived by affixing an electric light to the projecting ear of a high-backed chair, with a switch located so that master could dim or extinguish the light if he wished to mediate or take a ‘refreshing little sleep’. Alice advised, nevertheless, that such willingness to remove and empower was
not always appreciated. The master would not always ‘fancy’ arrangements made for his comfort and convenience, and she advised women to use ‘discretion and sympathy’ to discover what their husbands wanted even if the electrician had to be called back several times.  

This particular instance of gender prerogatives in tension did not in her account generate questions of expense. If the master of the house wanted his domestic lighting re-installed to his idiosyncratic tastes, then he would indeed pay for the electrician to make several visits. Yet it was a different matter when the mistress’s plan to use decorative shades to subdue lighting came into conflict with the master’s pursuit of value for money:

The master generally wishes to get all the light possible, and the mistress to have the light asbecoming and pleasant as possible. It is rather difficult to reconcile these two wishes; and after some discussion the master testily exhales: ‘My dear, what is the good of going to all this expense if you will tie the light up in bags?’

The scene, evidently familiar in households awaiting the arrival of the electrician, suggested an exasperated husband who resented the cost implications of making light more congenial to female interests. Alice used humorous anecdote to play down the inevitable tensions attending a woman’s attempt to reconcile her divergent responsibilities towards decoration and budgetary constraints.

This was Alice’s only explicit recognition in the *Fortnightly* that women had concerns about electric lighting that might conflict with the priorities of the male householder. However, in her book on the same subject, published only a few weeks later, we find women’s interests much more specifically addressed.

**Decorative Electricity and the Periodical Press**

Persons about to have electric light put into their homes, who happen to have read a paper on the subject in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review* by Mrs J. E. H. Gordon, will hasten to provide themselves with this little volume; and if they do not happen to have read the article, they are hereby strongly recommended to lose no time in getting the book.

Her decision to publish a periodical article and book on the ‘decorative’ use of electric lighting concurrently in 1891 attracted attention to Alice Gordon’s work. What was at stake in the reception of her writings is evident in the sardonic reaction that *Decorative Electricity* aroused in the weekly *Journal of Gas Lighting*. Its regular polemical column, ‘Electrical Lighting Memoranda’, sniped disingenuously that the electrical press did ‘not seem to think much’ of the book and that ‘the best portion’ of it had already been published in the *Fortnightly*. Yet while some short passages were indeed common to both texts—notably the anecdote of marital disharmony cited above—the article was not simply a précis of the book, nor was the book simply an extended version of the article. Whereas her article was addressed evocatively to an elite or epicurean *Fortnightly* reader, Alice Gordon and Electricity was composed as a detailed practical guide to the installation of electric lighting throughout the home.

According to the sardonic gas spokesman mentioned above, Mrs Gordon’s book was written after the style of the ‘esthetic’ handbooks which had become ‘only too plentiful’ since ‘fashionable ladies had taken to instructing the world’ on wallpapers and fireplaces. A reviewer for *World* made the same genre identification, more sympathetically judging it to be a ‘pretty little handbook’ that even succeeded in ‘being literature’. *Decorative Electricity* was published by the same London company that had published James Gordon’s *Practical Treatise on Electrical Lighting* six years earlier. Not insignificantly Alice’s authorial identity was styled quite traditionally as ‘Mrs J. E. H. Gordon’, and the frontispiece stressed the educational and engineering credentials of her husban. Indeed, the chapter written by James, to dispel rumours about ‘Fire Risks’ of electrical lighting, could hardly have been more prominently emphasized. Tellingly, the *Journal of Gas Lighting* assumed the book was jointly authored, and the hostile *Electric Review* even argued that the book should have been entitled ‘A few chapters from the Autobiography of Mr and Mrs J. E. H. Gordon’. The *Saturday Review* accepted Alice’s authorial claims, but chauvinistically attributed the value of the book to her experience of her husband’s ‘singularly complete and careful’ electrification of ‘his own house’.

Alice nevertheless hinged the credibility of her claims for the economy of electric light on her experience as a woman skilled in domestic budgetary management. Whereas gaslight generally had to be left running until the householder retired to bed, it was much easier to switch off an electric lamp on leaving a room. Economies thus effected could, she claimed, make electric lighting bills only 20 per cent greater than those for gas. Most commentators disputed her claims, however: the *Electric Review* reported data from a correspondent showing the discrepancy to be nine times greater than Mrs Gordon’s figure. The *Journal of Gas Lighting* seized on this with gleeful alacrity, and the genteel *Black and White* asserted: ‘No; the holders of gas shares may still preserve their equanimity.’ In her weekly column on ‘Home Decoration’ for *Queen*, Charlotte Robinson was more sympathetic, agreeing with Alice that the ‘great point’ with electric light was to extinguish it on leaving the room. However, this officially appointed ‘Home Art Decorator to her Majesty’ was unusually well disposed to agree with Alice’s judgement on economy because she had visited the Gordons’ house in Queensgate Gardens and admired in person its ‘cleverly arranged’ electrical fittings.

In *Decorative Electricity* Alice placed much greater emphasis than in her *Fortnightly* piece on women as discretionary agents who could potentially reject plans to electrify the home. The critical matter was not the cost of electric light but rather the aesthetic demerits that some women found so specifically objectionable. Alice noted that electric light installed in dining rooms was often ‘very glaring and disagreeable’. Its unflattering exposure of ‘every wrinkle and line’ and the headaches it caused fully justified in her view the ladies’ remark: ‘I never will have the electric light in my house.’ *Economist* in two very different weekly periodicals, the *Electrician* and *Queen*, treated women’s views with great
sympathy, quoting verbatim Mrs Gordon’s anecdotes of ladies suffering at the dinner table. The Electrician reviewer gave the ‘utmost publicity’ to these quotations so that greater ‘gracefulness and simplicity’ in fittings might prevent such ‘abuse’ in future. The writer did not merely seek to promote Mrs Gordon’s ‘much needed’ book out of deference to the interests of the electric lighting industry—one of the Electrician’s main readership bases—but also presented it as resolving the ongoing dispute about the allegedly ‘unbecoming’ effect of electric light on appearance and dress that had occupied the journal’s pages since February.39

Similarly, Charlotte Robinson’s favourable review for Queen should be seen not simply in terms of her personal acquaintance with Alice Gordon, but also as a result of the useful purposes that the book served for her advice column. She regularly invited lady readers to write pseudonymously for her advice about how to decorate their homes, and next to each weekly article she replied to dozens of selected enquiries from ‘Britannia’, ‘Harmony’, and others who sought guidance from Queen Victoria’s personal adviser. Hitherto she had evidently been unable to give expert replies on the decorative use of electrical lighting. Now, however, she advised the many correspondents who had requested ‘practical details’ on switches, fire risks, and installation procedures that they should consult Mrs Gordon’s ‘delightful little book’ to secure answers to their questions.40

Given the specialized character of Queen it is not surprising that this publication, like the Ladies Pictorial, took the readership of Mrs Gordon’s book to be women and treated their particular concerns most sympathetically. Other periodicals such as the World anticipated a principally female readership for Decorative Electricity without evincing a similar sympathy for women’s autonomous concerns; the Electrical Review judged that Decorative Electricity would ‘be read with interest by ladies who are thinking of adopting the electric light’. Other publications bore less explicit analyses of the book’s readership and of men’s and women’s respective prerogatives in domestic electrification. The St James’s Gazette described Decorative Electricity as addressing ‘persons’ about to install, and a Punch reviewer jovially rendered consumers as ‘modern Aladdins’, who would soon be able to summon the ‘Slave of the Lamp’, compelling it to present itself in ‘a variety of pleasing and fantastic shapes’.41 Sambourne’s cheeky ‘Electric Sprite’ that faced Paterfamilias in Punch four months later was certainly less mature and rather less obligingly protean.

Some reviews displayed a distinctly condescending masculine perspective, however. Whilst the Saturday Review noted that Mrs Gordon’s book would be useful to anyone installing electric light in ‘his or her house’, it indulged in chauvinist jibes that evinced particularly manly preoccupations. Science writers for this periodical generally addressed a male readership. Thus the reviewer of James Spencer’s textbook Magnetism and Electricity (1891) judged it to be a ‘capital book for boys’, and advised the ‘distracted Paterfamilias’ in search of something to ‘amuse and instruct’ his sons that he should buy it. A week later, Decorative Electricity was, by contrast, ridiculed for use of technical jargon and for suggesting electric lighting for such places as the insides of cupboards and saucepans which an inexperienced person would ‘never have thought of lighting’ at all. The writer concluded by expressing disappointment at her rather sketchy proposal for an electric cigar lighter to sustain the masculine prerogative of smoking. The (presumably) male voice agreed with Mrs Gordon that it would be ‘inexcusable’ for matches to be left lying around in an electrified house. After electrically lighting one’s house and throwing away one’s matches, however, it would be ‘most undesirable’, the writer complained, to find oneself ‘deprived of the opportunity of smoking tobacco’, save upon the condition of summoning the housemaid to supply matches. What the housemaid might have made of this inconvenience is not considered.42

Conclusions

In spite of [...] objections by cautious householders and their wives, the ‘infant’ fought its way onward, and soon arrived at lusty manhood.43

By the turn of the twentieth century, electric light in Britain was no longer merely an extravagance for the rich, foolish, or adventurous. The Electrician, at least, had not yet forgotten the difficult days when it was more than twice as expensive as its gas rival and the glare of electric lamps allegedly ‘injured the complexion of the fairer sex’. Yet by anthropomorphizing the electric light as a self-sufficient ‘infant’ inevitably growing to successful maturity, this editorial obscured the important endeavours of Alice Gordon and others in using the periodical press to overcome the scepticism of male and female potential consumers. Nine years earlier, reviews of Decorative Electricity in the periodical press had certainly recognized some significance in her writing on ‘decorative electricity’. We cannot recover the exact extent to which either this writing or periodicals’ response to it, persuaded British householders to convert from gas to electric lighting. Nevertheless this literature reveals a hitherto unsuspected gendered complexity in the social history of electrification. Moreover it offers a valuable resource for research on the gendered discourse of the book review in late Victorian periodicals.

Notes

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3 Thomas Hughes, Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930.

My models are Mary Ann Helliger, 'The Quest to be Modern: The Evolutionary Adoption of Electricity in the United States, 1880s to 1920s', in Elektrizität in der Geistesgeschichte, ed. by Klaus Pfitzner (Bassum, 1998), 65–86; and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century, trans. by Angela Davies (Oxford, 1988), 157–87.


When the Sambourne's house was electrified in 1896, Linley took the decision unilaterally, indifferent to the views of his spouse Marion. See Shirley Nicholson, A Victorian Household (Stroud, 1998), 156.

Linley Sambourne, 'Happy Thought', Punch 97 (1889), 30. I am very grateful to Laurie Brewer for supplying me with this reference.


Linley Sambourne, 'At the Door; or, Paterfamilias and the Young Spark', Punch 101 (1891), 98–99 (99).

'Domestic Reformer', 4.

Ibid., 22–23 and 32–33.

Decorative Electricity, 60.

'Development of Decorative Electricity', 285.

Decorative Electricity, 156. 162, and 167. See also Lady Butcher [formerly Alice Mary Gordon], Memories of George Meredith O M (London, 1919).


In the volume index, Alice was more conventionally listed as ‘Mrs J. E. H. Gordon‘. See also Alice M. Gordon, ‘Women as Students of Design’, Fortnightly Review, n.s. 55 (1894), 521–27.


‘Development of Decorative Electricity’, 284.

Ibid., 279–82.

Ibid., 283.


‘Opinions of the Press’.

Ibid.

Decorative Electricity, 14–15; Electrical Lighting Memoranda', 639; 'Decorative Electricity', Electrical Review 28 (1891), 404; 'Decorative Electricity', by Mrs J. E. H. Gordon', Black and White 1 (1891), 575; Charlotte Robinson, 'Decorative Electricity', Queen 89 (1891), 554.

Decorative Electricity, 59–60 and 146.


Robinson, 'Decorative Electricity', 554.

Our Booking Office', Punch 100 (1891), 213.
