G. Stanley Hall, Child Study, and the Teaching of Geography

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ABSTRACT
G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924), founding president of Clark University, was a leader in the child study movement and a significant figure in psychology and education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hall had pronounced opinions on many educational subjects, including the teaching of geography. His criticisms and program for the reform of school geography were based on a mix of European ideas of heimatkunde or "home geography," developmental or "genetic" psychology, and his work in the child study and nature study movements. This article traces Hall's involvement with geographic pedagogy from the 1880s through World War I, including his sponsorship of the first American Ph.D. dissertation in the teaching of geography, completed at Clark in 1906.

Key words: child study, Clark University, G. Stanley Hall, heimatkunde, pedagogy of geography

In his massive two-volume collection of essays entitled Educational Problems (1911), President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University (Fig. 1) concluded his survey of school geography by asserting, "there are few greater needs than that of creative pedagogic new departures in this vexed domain" (Hall 1911, Volume 2, Chapter 21, 569). The place of geography in the school curriculum and the best methods of teaching it have been among the most persistently debated educational issues since the beginning of the Republic. From Jedidiah Morse's first school text, Geography Made Easy (1784), to recent efforts to create new curricula through the alliance of geography teachers with academic geographers and to implement the "Geography for Life" standards, geographers, educators and government officials have regularly appealed for creative new departures in the teaching of geography.

In the 1890s and early 1900s, the question of how best to teach geography took place in the context of such circumstances as the rise of the public high school, the articulation of the secondary school science curriculum, ideas concerning the integration of subject matter in the lower schools, and above all the emergence of the "New Psychology" and its implications for educational practice and theory. In addition to Hall, leading participants in these debates included U.S. Commissioner of Education William Torrey Harris, Harvard's President Charles W. Eliot, university professors John Dewey, William Morris Davis, and Nicholas Murray Butler, and teacher educators Charles DeGarmo and Charles and Frank McMurry. All agreed that geography was an important part of the common learning to be expected of every American student. But they differed significantly over where, how, in what form, and under whose auspices it should be taught (Kliebard 1986, Chapters 1 and 2).

By the mid-1890s G. Stanley Hall had become the chief spokesman for child study, a movement in education that joined an intense Germanic romanticism with a characteristically American empirical approach to educational theo-
ry and method. Hall's hope was to build a scientific pedagogy through the intensive study of the educational needs of the child at various stages of psychosocial development. During the seminal period of school reform between the late 1880s and World War I, Hall's standing in child study, the associated nature study movement, and the application of developmental or "genetic" psychology to educational problems was at its maximum (Ross 1972, Chapters 15 and 16). This general visibility, rather than any specific expertise in geography, made Hall a major voice in the debates over geographic pedagogy at exactly the time when the pre-college curriculum, as in our own day, had become a contested enterprise (Krug 1964, Kliebard 1986).

**HALL'S EXPERIENCE OF SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY**

Hall's interest in geography as a school subject had begun as a pupil in the rural schools of Worthington and Ashfield, Massachusetts, during the 1850s. Since 1827, geography had been a required subject in the Massachusetts common schools. But its content varied widely, depending on the locality and the skills of the district school's teacher. Hall's teachers used what were perhaps the most popular school geographies of the time, S. Augustus Mitchell's series of texts and atlases (Walters 1987, 158-159), which "gave us our only glimpse into the field of science," Hall later recalled (Hall 1923, 485-486).

Although the innovative geographic work of Arnold Guyot in Massachusetts was contemporary with Hall's school days, it apparently had no effect yet on teachers in Hall's remote Western Massachusetts region. Hall had been exposed to a highly traditional form of geographic instruction. Teaching and textbooks reflected the then prevalent "faculty psychology," which stressed the early training of the memory as the guarantor of accuracy in later stages of life. The method, aside from "much drawing of maps," was memorization: definitions, boundaries, capitals, products, volcanoes, coastlines, rivers, capes, and bays. Yet, perhaps with some retrospective idealization, Hall recalled that "geography... was less disliked than any other study in the old district school" (Hall 1923, 486).

Hall's professional interest in the teaching of geography, however, began with his discovery of pedagogy as a legitimate academic field near the end of his second period of study in Germany, in the late 1870s (Ross 1972, 106-107). Geography both as a school and a university subject had appeared earliest in Germany and Switzerland, and its spread was closely tied to the expansion of required elementary education. In Germany, Hall was exposed to a very different way of teaching geography, and he wholeheartedly embraced the German-Swiss pedagogical method of *heimatkunde*, or "home geography," adumbrated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and given a pedagogic basis by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Carl Ritter, and Friedrich Froebel (Capel 1981, 51, 59). *Heimatkunde*, with its emphasis on active learning and on experiencing the environment at first hand, seemed to Hall the obvious route through which to introduce children to the geographic ideas and concepts they would need to comprehend the larger world which, to use Guyot's phrase, was "the theatre of human activity."

**HALL, SCIENTIFIC PEDAGOGY, AND GEOGRAPHY**

Hall lectured on school geography in Boston from 1881 to 1883 in a pedagogy course offered through Harvard's extension program. On completion of his first lecture series in April 1881, President Eliot wrote him with a mixed appraisal of their effects. On the basis of testimony from Charles Francis Adams, however, Eliot congratulated Hall on his lecture treating methods in history and geography (Eliot 1881, Ross 1972, 112-113, Kliebard 1992, 52-53).

After 1883, as a lecturer and subsequently as professor of psychology and pedagogy at the new Johns Hopkins University, Hall continued to discuss methods of teaching geography in his lectures on the pedagogy of lower and intermediate-grade curricula. His reading lists were subsequently published as a bibliography on educational methods (Hall and Mansfield 1886). Unsurprisingly, Hall's geography lists stress *heimatkunde*, and of the thirty-four references, twenty-eight are in German. A note at the end adds four more titles, including English translations of Ritter's *Geographical Studies and Comparative Geography*, though curiously enough Hall does not mention Guyot's *Earth and Man* (1849). In Hall's own interleaved and annotated copy of the first edition, seven additional references appear, all German, though none of these were included in the second printing seven years later.

Some of Hall's other publications while at Hopkins reflect his continuing interest in geographical knowledge and activity. For his edited volume *Methods of Teaching History* (Hall, ed. 1883), Hall had commissioned an essay on "Physical Geography and History" from President Daniel Coit Gilman, himself a geographer heavily influenced by Alexander Von Humboldt, Ritter and Guyot. Gilman evidently made some rough notes that were coaxed into shape by Hall's younger colleague, the historian J. Franklin Jameson. Neither man was willing to have his name attached to the subsequent, rather disjointed three and a half-page essay, however. The Gilman/Jameson essay cites the work of Guyot and also that of George Perkins Marsh, figures whose work Hall himself does not reference until nearly thirty years later.

Although Hall would not become widely known for his views on school geography until the next decade, his work in pedagogy and child development during the 1880s laid a foundation for his controversial views on the subject during the 1890s (Kliebard 1992, Chapter 3). His first major empirical study in pedagogy, the now classic "The Content of Children's Minds," published in 1883, begins with a summary of an 1869 study of the environmental concepts of children entering the Berlin city school system. Hall's paper then reports on a later study by K. Lange comparing children's entry-level knowledge in the schools of Plauen with that of children entering school in the surrounding
country districts.

The Berlin children had understood parks but not forests, and thought of a lake as an artificial container holding water and empty for part of the year, as a pond in a city park might be. When asked about mountains (bergs) they might have seen, one class of girls replied "the Pfefferberg," a nearby beer-hall. Few of these children had seen even nearby squares and gardens, or knew the general geographic features of the city. More than half the girls and nearly half the boys could not identify such Berlin landmarks as the Unter den Linden or the Brandenburg Gate (Hall 1883).

The implications for instruction, especially for heimatkunde as a method of teaching geography, were clear. The section reporting on Hall's own empirical study, a compilation of responses of school children in Boston, does not stress environmental learning. But his finding that nearly 90 percent of his subjects did not know what an island was, that more than half were ignorant of beaches and woods, and that more than 40 percent did not know what was meant by the terms "pond" and "river," foreshadowed concerns Hall was to revisit as a leader of the nature study movement at the turn of the century.

Another early reference to geographic learning is contained in a popular article for Scribner's Magazine. Two boys, Harry and Jack, had created a model city from a sand-pile at their parents' summer cottage. Discussing the imaginary geography the boys and their friends had created, Hall criticized the haphazard nature of their surrounding region, suggesting that the boys had an undeveloped "topographical imagination." Another group of children known to Hall had played near a coastal marsh, and by Hall's lights had made a better job of it. The second group had applied "several score" of names to local features because of their resemblance to major topographical features on a world map, reshaping some of them to resemble such islands, lakes or promontories. They had also identified certain locales as world ports and conducted business between them "with many details and circumstances of real trade" (Hall 1888, 694).

Although Hall does not appear to have used the phrase "topographical imagination" again until quite late in his career, and though like most of his concepts it is proclaimed rather than developed, both the approach of teaching global concepts through local examples and the importance of activity geared to levels of child development were to remain subtexts of Hall's geographical pedagogy. During the 1960s, similar topics were to emerge among both geographers and psychologists studying place learning and environmental cognition in children. While in no way stemming from Hall's work, they represent a renewed interest in the sense of "topographical imagination" as revealed by children at play (see, e.g., Blaut and Stea 1971).

**HALLIAN GEOGRAPHY AT CLARK UNIVERSITY**

At Clark University, Hall lectured regularly on methods of school geography, both in his regular education courses and in special Saturday courses for teachers. His associate in pedagogy, William H. Burnham, lectured on the historical development of methods in reading, mathematics, and geography in his own education courses in 1892-1893. While at Clark Franz Boas, Docent in Anthropology and sometime geographer, published a long bibliographical essay on North American geographic research in Geographisches Jahrbuch (Cole 1999, Chapter 8). Boas' student and successor, Alexander F. Chamberlain, gave some attention to children's sense of geography and topography in his lectures on folklore. In Hall's 1893 Annual Report of the President, partly intended for use as publicity for Clark's exhibit at the forthcoming World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Hall boasted of the library's collection of French, German, and American texts and reports, including many on geography and methods of teaching it, as well as maps and pictorial material.

Beginning in 1892, under the rubric of either curriculum analysis, child study, or nature study, Hall lectured in the two-week Clark summer sessions. In his program he included geography, both in relation to "what our knowledge of the nature of the child now establishes" and to recent recommendations in American, British, and German conference reports. In 1894, for example, geography and nature study were among the topics of his course on "Branches of School Studies." The audience for these institutes included school superintendents, normal school teachers, and other influential curriculum builders.

**HALL AND THE "COMMITTEE OF TEN"**

Between 1893 and 1905 Hall locked horns with Harvard's formidable President Eliot over the recommendations of the National Education Association's Committee on the Secondary School Curriculum, the influential "Committee of Ten," which Eliot had chaired. The Committee's Conference on Geography report, described by one modern scholar as "confused and turgid" (Sizer 1964, 118), was strongly influenced by Harvard's William Morris Davis. It had recommended that, in the high schools, geography should be taught as physiography, defined essentially as the study of landform processes. In the third or fourth years, this base should be supplemented by a half-year course in meteorology (taken following a course in elementary physics), and also by a half-year course in geology. Although most of the geography conference specifics were not adopted, the full committee recommended that physiography should become the standard first-year high school science course, to be followed by a year each of biology, chemistry, and physics (U.S. Bureau of Education 1893, Krug 1964, Sizer 1964, Kliebard 1986).

Although its mandate was secondary education, the geography conference briefly reached down into the lower grades, and thus onto what Hall regarded as his turf. Here they recommended broad courses on the earth's environments and peoples as the introduction to a number of different natural and human sciences in the elementary
grades. In the later grammar school years, the report argued, geography should be oriented to the natural sciences. Physical geography should be taught to all students in the upper grammar school grades, prior to their entry into high school work.

Hall soon became the most prominent critic of the Committee of Ten's report, attacking it in the next several years in his classes, in public lectures and academic discussions, and in a variety of publications (Kliebard 1992). As an alternative to the recommendations of the committee, the 1897 Clark summer school was focused on "The Study and Teaching of Nature" as an emerging school field. Here Hall and his associate in biology, Clifton Hodge, reviewed the "pedagogically puerile and perverse" school texts then in use, as well as discussing "the problems of school geography, reading and elementary mathematics." The course description suggests that Hall was finding in "nature study," a movement in which both he and Hodge were to become leaders (Schmitt 1969, Chapters 7 and 8), a bridge away from Davison's physical geography.

In the 1898 Summer School Hall went back to child study as the organizing principle, lecturing on its relationship to "nature work and the several sciences" in primary and grammar schools. But Hall also lectured on "geography and its relation to industry, occupation, ethnology, politics and topography." By the end of the 1890's Hall had apparently become aware of the problems school personnel had identified in the process of implementing the Committee of Ten's recommendations in physiography and was anticipating the turn, emanating from parents and school administrators rather than from professional geographers, to commercial and human geography at the school level (Fellmann 1986).

Throughout the 1890s Hall continued to argue for heimatkunde, at least in the first years of school geography, and in 1901 reported on a geography curriculum he and others had earlier designed along these lines for an unspecified small town near Worcester. This program had reinforced his faith in "the possibilities of geography as a study of outdoors," though he noted wryly that the local school committee had decried his experiment as "education by picnics" when they discovered that his pupils could not bound Wisconsin (Hall 1901a).

However mistaken, even wrong-headed his reading of the Committee of Ten recommendations may have been, their publication had brought forth from Hall a renewed stress on the importance of activity as a means of teaching children geography. Thus in 1894, in a paper on "Child Study in Summer Schools," Hall described a study of children's games conducted during a recent Clark summer school in which geography games, among others, were studied and then built into a school program which, Hall claimed, would replace rote learning with activity, for in the child, "motion and thought go together" (Hall 1894, 335).

Hall as Geographical Critic

By the late 1890s, as we have seen, Hall was off on a different track, nature study (Schmitt 1969). At first he had found geography and nature study compatible, the link being heimatkunde. But beginning in 1898, apparently based on his detailed analysis of existing geography texts, he launched a frontal attack on school geography in a lengthy series of addresses and publications. In a volcanic eruption of incendiary metaphors, Hall denounced the school geography then prevalent in texts and classroom practice as "a modern limbo," "a farrago of scraps" of seven to ten other sciences, the most "anti-scientific [and] unpedagogical of all school topics," a "gehenna or place of skulls," and a "science of the poor in spirit and the feeble of heart." In other characterizations he derided school geography as "a kind of hash" of the remnants of other sciences, an "unlinked sausage," a "fungoid, nondescript and amorphous parasite," "the favorite tumbling-ground for the half-educated and uneducated," and, by analogy with Turkey, "the sick subject of our curriculum" (Hall 1898). This was simply the opening barrage.

In Hall's fevered rhetoric, geography had become "the text-book maker's pet and the true pedagogue's abomination," as well as "the greatest obstacle to-day in the way of placing the study of nature on a sound pedagogic basis." Its claims were too broad and the men who mostly wrote its texts "would not be recognized as members of any geographical society." American geography was not respected in Europe; Hall pointed out that in a list of 229 geography texts compiled by John Scott Keltie of the Royal Geographical Society, only three were of American authorship. The subject, he asserted, "has all the defects of popularized science, without [its] saving merits" (Hall 1898, 147-151).

The address in which Hall first formulated his catalog of criticisms was printed in the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, but Hall repeated much of the indictment in addresses to other groups of teachers between 1898 and 1905. The 1898 address also appeared in reprinted or in summary form in a number of other educational publications. Much of the critique was also recycled in later essays for such highly visible periodicals as the Review of Education and The Outlook.

In a 1901 address to the National Education Association, "The Ideal School as Based on Child Study," reprinted both in the Review of Education and the popular journal The Forum, Hall calls geography once again the sick subject of the curriculum, and even a "relic of medievalism." In this address, however, he introduces a new critique of geography as a discipline, that in it "the associations are merely those of place and contiguity, not of similarity or cause," and thus "do not respect the unity of the child's mind." Its texts present facts that "are connected neither with each other nor with the nascent stages of growth" (Hall 1901b).

Hall would now radically reduce the time devoted to geography in the lower grades, "to about one-fourth or even
one-eighth of its present volume," to be devoted largely to an initial experience of neighborhood and community based on the principles of heimatkunde and associated map work. The time saved would be used for a new developmental sequence: nature study at ages 7 and 8, followed by anthropology and zoology. In high schools, under Hall's plan, all the necessary geography would be learned as a byproduct of courses in the natural sciences and history, for which the elimination of separate courses in geography ("their common enemy") would make room (Hall 1901b).

Neither the strictures nor the recommendations were palatable to those geographers (e.g., Dryer 1899) who held geography to be an autonomous natural science. Davis' essay on "The Progress of Geography in the Schools" (Davis 1902), for example, was in part intended as a rebuttal to Hall's attacks. On the other hand, both Richard E. Dodge, like Hall an advocate of beginning with "home geography" and of commercial geography as the link to world geography, and J. Russell Smith, another human-oriented geographer, appear to have believed that Hall's criticisms had some merit (Dodge 1897, 523, Smith 1907, 472).

**Hall's Students and Geography**

A few of Hall's graduate students were also interested in school geography. Jefferson Potter, scholar in pedagogy in 1890–1891 (Fig. 2), was a former normal school teacher, most recently at the State Normal School at Farmington, Maine. He had come to Clark to study for a doctorate in psychology, but had to drop out after a year for financial reasons. While at Clark, however, Potter wrote what appears to be the first American survey of the history of instructional methods in geography (Potter 1891). Published in Hall's new journal, Pedagogical Seminary, Potter's ten-page article stretched from Homer to the 1890s, emphasizing the German-Swiss methodological tradition. He also published a few reviews of books or exhibits of maps and other educational aids in geography in the same journal.

Hall and his students in this period regularly used the questionnaire method pioneered by Charles Darwin and Francis Galton to enlist the cooperation of teachers and pupils in establishing developmental norms (White 1990). In February 1901 Hall and Frederick Saunders, Scholar in Pedagogy, sent out a "Topical Syllabus" (questionnaire) on geography, but no publication appears to have resulted. More important was the work of David Gibbs, who had earlier been a district superintendent in the Philippines. In 1906 Gibbs published his dissertation, written under Hall's supervision, as "The Pedagogy of Geography," in Pedagogical Seminary (Gibbs 1906). It was the first American dissertation in the teaching of geography.

Gibbs' introduction is entirely Hallian in its criticisms of available texts, the ordering of subject matter, the undue emphasis on physical geography in the lower grades, and the lack of attention to the developmental characteristics of the learner. "For these and other reasons," Gibbs asserted, "geography is today, perhaps, the most poorly taught subject in the curriculum." After a historical review of the literature (also beginning with Homer), Gibbs summarizes those methods and practices in the teaching of geography that stressed the centrality of observation, sense-perception, and "home geography."

Gibbs then analyses the results of the several questionnaires that he had used to survey the teaching of geography in normal schools and the opinions of superintendents, teachers and children in several school systems, to determine geographical interests by grade level and developmental stage. Gibbs respected children as informants. He asked them directly what they would find most interesting should they visit other places, and what most appealed to them in their geographical studies. Gibbs' study is also notable for paying close attention to gender differences in the responses.

Geography in the schools should begin with heimatkunde, he argues, and stress human and cultural phenomena. Gibbs also contends that "the teacher must teach from the map," and use other pictorial materials as often as possible. Should the findings of child study be incorporated into school geography texts and teaching methods, and the order of topics reversed to begin with human and animal life elements rather than with landforms, Gibbs concludes, "Geography will be one of the most valuable of school subjects..." (Gibbs 1906, 95). Between 1904 and 1907 Gibbs produced a series of graded geography texts for Philippine schools embodying the principles of heimatkunde.

![Figure 2. Jefferson R. Potter, c. 1890 (Clark University Archives).](image-url)
HALL’S LATE INTEREST IN SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY

Hall and his associate in history, George H. Blakeslee, had begun a series of annual international affairs conferences in 1909, publishing the papers in book form. The following year they launched the Journal of Race Development, the first American journal in the international relations field. The Yale geographer Ellsworth Huntington was a conference participant as well as a contributing editor to the journal, and geography had a place in both activities.

Hall continued to lecture on "the defects and desiderata" of school geography in his Saturday morning classes for teachers through the 1909-1910 academic year. Gibbs’ optimism about a developmentally-based geographic pedagogy centered on human and cultural phenomena, and perhaps also the decline of the child study and nature-study movements (Kliebard 1992, 60-66), appears to have caused Hall to rethink his stance on school geography. By 1911, in a chapter on "School Geography" in Educational Problems, Hall retained some of his earlier rhetoric, and repudiated his criticism of the subject as combining "almost no matter with almost no method." But Hall now believed that geography had its legitimate place in the schools as "contemporary world-lore for the masses." School geography, he argued, "purveys liberal culture in the most cosmic sense of that word, comprising the domains of both nature and of man" (Hall 1911, 557).

In this essay, Hall revived the idea of the "topographical imagination," the mental construct he had proclaimed in "The Story of a Sand-Pile" back in 1888. Because of the very diversity of its subject-matter, he now argued, school geography could serve the child's developmental needs as "a good field in which to try out individual tastes and talents...." Hall had even come to see the once-despised geography textbook more benignly, as "a unique creation of American pedagogic genius very significantly expressive of the character of our people who crave to know something, but not too much, of everything." Hall now asserted that in their school geographies Americans had "achieved the real pedagogic triumph, a sui generis masterpiece. Here is something not 'made in Germany,' but by a recipe all our own." The recipe had yielded what Hall had once described as a kind of hash, but now he argued "good and well-composed hash may be the very most nutritious of all diets" (Hall 1911, 556).

It was a surprising turnaround from one who for thirty years had been arguing the opposite side of the question. But by 1911 Hall was clearly prepared to concede that school geography could achieve both psychological and pedagogical goals. It served what Hall, following Immanuel Kant, termed a "propaedeutic" function, "to arouse interest, curiosity, and to give apperception centers about which future knowledge of the world...may accrete" (Hall 1911, 569).

Although by 1914 Hall had ceased lecturing on education, the outbreak of World War I and its implications for pedagogy led him to make scattered public comments about geography in speeches and articles concerning teaching about the war and about reconstruction afterwards. As a byproduct of what, in many school systems, was becoming daily instruction in current events, Hall saw an opportunity to "vitalize" geography and map study in the schools. Through war-related school geography, coupled with European history and international relations, students could gain tools necessary both to analyze the causes of war and the prospects and methods of achieving a peaceful settlement (see, e.g., Hall 1915).

When Hall retired in 1920, he was succeeded as president of Clark by Harvard’s Wallace W. Atwood, well-known both as a geographer and geographic educator, who introduced undergraduate and graduate courses in geography (Koelsch 1980). Atwood had just published a school geography text, New Geography - Book Two, first of a long line of texts he was to issue through the Boston firm of Ginn and Company. Charles Thurber, president of the Clark Board of Trustees and a Ginn executive, sent Hall a copy. Hall reminded Thurber, a former student, that he had "kept tab on all the geographies" for years, and pronounced this one "far and away the best" of the school geographies he had seen (Hall 1920).

Ironically, Hall as an educator had come to believe that geography as a separate subject should exist, if at all, in the earliest school years, and taught afterwards only as auxiliary to other disciplines. The Graduate School of Geography at Clark, however, was established specifically to award graduate degrees in geography, and for many years it has held the cumulative record for the total number of geography Ph.D.’s awarded by an American university. What Hall might have thought privately about such a development one can only guess.

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