



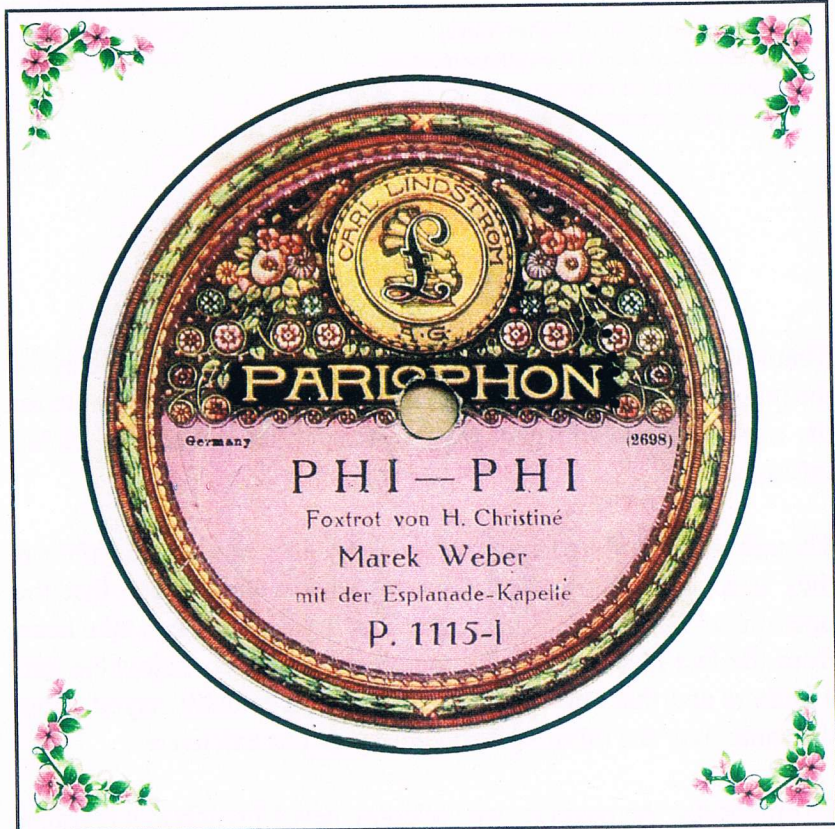
The Phonographic Record

Journal of the Vintage Phonograph Society of New Zealand (Inc.)

A society formed for the preservation of recorded sound

Volume 48. Issue 2

February/April 2013



This early (ca. 1920) German version of the Parlophon label isn't often seen in New Zealand. With all the care that must have gone into such an elaborate design (very old-fashioned compared to the stark simplicity of a 1920's Vox or Polydor), it seems strange that no allowance was made for the centre hole.

THE PHONOGRAPHIC RECORD

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For your information

Thank you to the many members who have contributed articles for the magazine, some of them printed in this issue and more in store for the next. It is great to have a mix of machine and record related information.

Though some familiar faces are now not seen at meetings as often as they used to be, reminding those of us in Christchurch that the operational base of the Society is quite “fragile”, we can take heart from the fact that the monthly meetings are always enjoyable get-togethers and that attendance numbers have actually stayed about the same over the (almost) half century of our existence.

To emphasise the positive, we welcome new Christchurch member Laurence Varlet as well as three new members from the North Island: Kerry Power, Steve Burden and Scott Flutey.

Gavin East
 Editor

THE PLEASURES OF THE CHASE

By Peter Bowler

Sitting here in Australia, when I read *The Phonographic Record*, I am always impressed by the variety of interesting machines and long-forgotten acoustic oddities that turn up in New Zealand, and the range of horns and parts that you are able to provide. My own special interest, however, is not so much the machines as the records that may be played on them. Admittedly, if I came across an EMG or an HMV 194 going cheaply at a local charity shop I would be delighted. But when I got it home my first act would not be to test the spring or polish the woodwork but rather to play the old pink label pre-Dog single-sided Ruffo that came with the machine!

I first became aware of the great singers of yesteryear, singers of a hundred or more years ago, as a student in the 1950s. Heavens, I now realise that this was only forty or fifty years after their records were made. But even then it was next to impossible to find any 78s earlier than 1930s HMVs or Columbias. I wondered if I would ever get a chance to hear those fabulous singers of the Victorian and Edwardian eras that I read about every month in the collector's pages of the *English Gramophone* magazine. Finally I answered a classified ad in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and made my way by train and tram to a Darling Point Road address in the eastern suburbs, where I met the seller who turned out to be John Young, the distinguished operatic baritone. So for the first time I was able to acquire old 78s of singers who till then had been just names to me. My first Plancon (the French coloratura bass), my first Battistini (the "Glory of Italy" as he was called), my first Tamagno (the creator of *Otello*). And fourteen more. I remember staggering back to the tram stop, a long walk when carrying seventeen heavy 78s, and nursing my burden all the way back home.

Since then there have been periods when the collecting urge waned, periods when it was resurgent. But always there has been the quicken-

ing of the heartbeat when I see, out of the corner of my eye, a box of 78s in a charity shop, or within that box a glimpse of the tell-tale blue label of an old Vocalion (it might be a Malcolm McEachern, or a Horace Stevens!) or an old green Zonophone (it might be a Peter Dawson!) or the bright orange label that could signify only Battistini. Alas, not once in all those years have I had the experience of glimpsing in one of these boxes the bright red of a Gramophone & Typewriter label. The few "G&T"s that I possess have all been given or sold me by friends, or bought from American auction houses.

The real joy of the chase, the thing that keeps me looking through unpromising box after box of old records, is the magic of it all. In this regard, every gramophone is a time machine. When the record plays, it is as though I am an observer, back in 1905, or 1910 or whenever. Let me mention just one example. I have an old Zonophone of Stanley Kirkby, an English baritone who, like Peter Dawson, recorded anything and everything for the Gramophone Company. He is singing a well-known hymn, the "Old Hundredth". It is a little odd to have a hymn sung just by a solo singer, but this perhaps accentuates the magic of what I am listening to. Here is a man, in a little room in Maiden Lane in London, a hundred years ago, singing a hymn into a cone on the wall. And I am in the next room, listening to him.

But this magic, this romance of the time machine, is not the only factor calling me to the chase. There is the ever-present possibility of encountering the greatest beauty. The experience of putting a newly acquired 78 on the turntable and hearing, emerging from those black grooves, singing of such beauty that it takes your breath away. It may be a singer whose name you know well, Gigli perhaps or Lotte Lehmann, just singing sublimely something that you had never heard them do previously. The singer may be completely unknown to you, as was the case for me a few weeks ago with the German tenor Felix Senius, whose 1909 recording of 'Un aura amorosa' from *Così* turned out to be a thing of beauty, a loving, lingering, romantic bel canto interpretation of an aria which is itself about love. (So impressed

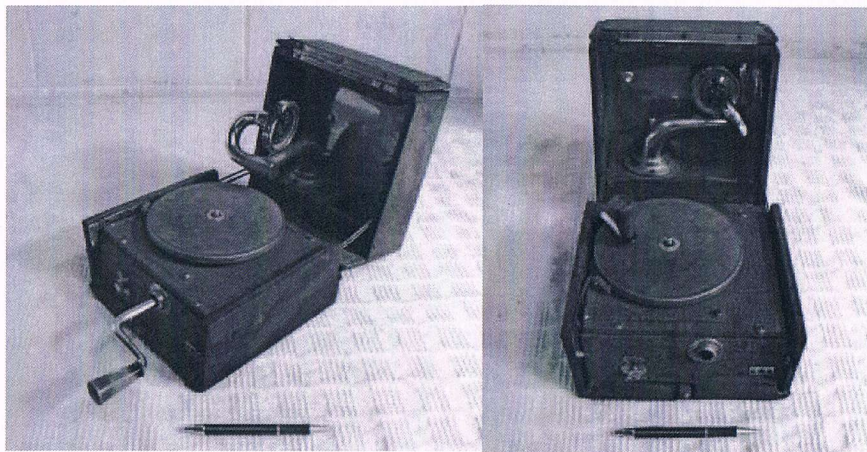
was I by this recording that I did some research and found that Senius died from ptomaine poisoning after a dinner given in his honour!) Another recent discovery, a rapt, delicate performance of Schubert's song 'Am meer' by the previously unknown tenor Gustav Walter. I came across this on an LP reissue, found in a junk shop, of an old 1905 disc.

Beauty is not the only thing lying in wait for us in these old boxes of records. There is also comedy, and character, and an insight into social history. We can hear the delights of the Victorian and Edwardian music halls in the recordings of Dan Leno and many others. From later years, there are the monologues of humourists, from the broad to the elegant. And over all this, pressing most of us to continue the search, is the hope that we may one day find some special long-looked-for item - something that may even never have been recorded, and yet we cherish the hope that, one day, it will turn up. In my own case, I hope one day to come across a recording by Ivan Menzies, the comedic lead in many Gilbert and Sullivan performances of my era. There is no evidence that he ever made recordings. But who knows?

These are for me the pleasures of the chase.

Thanks to Peter for writing about not just collecting early records but playing them and appreciating their history. The late Dennis Brew of Auckland owned rare discs by Felix Senius and Gustav Walter and introduced me to these and many other fine singers. Gustav Walter stands out among the earliest-born singers on record since, though he was just over seventy when he made his G&T's in 1905, his voice was in excellent condition. I was thinking about poor Felix Senius recently when recalling that it is a hundred years since he died from food poisoning after a banquet in his honour. 1913 was also a bad year for a star of the English and French music hall, Harry Fragson, who it seems was fatally shot by his deranged elderly father. Thanks to the gramophone, they both in a sense live on — Ed.

ATLAS MINIATURE PORTABLE



David Peterson sold this tiny portable recently via Trade Me. Though we cannot be sure that "Atlas" was its brand name, the English soundbox appears to be original to the machine and is one we have not seen before. The ballpoint pen in the photos gives an idea of how diminutive the machine is with its six inch turntable and unusual lid-mounted "resonator".

Though the gramophone showed plenty of evidence of a hard life in its scuffed imitation crocodile skin leatherette finish and loose case joints, it had a strong motor and was happy to play through a ten inch record. Somehow its "midget" quality enhanced its appeal as a gallant little survivor (perhaps the last?) of yet another attempt to break into the lucrative market for portables in the 1920's. - Ed.

BICHROMATE CELLS

Mike Tucker

As many collectors have managed to obtain one of the Bichromate cells illustrated in early photographs of Edison, as I have, it was of considerable interest to me that having obtained a small book entitled "Electric Primary Batteries" by Bernard E Jones (Cassell, 1911), I found an excellent article on the Bichromate cells and importantly, the instructions on how to prepare the solution used in those cells and also instructions on how to keep them in good condition. I hope the following extracts from that book will be of interest, but following the instructions is the reader's responsibility.

CARBON-ZINC CELLS—THE BICHROMATE OR CHROMIC ACID

The Single-fluid Bichromate Battery

THIS is made in a variety of forms, all that is essential being a rod of carbon and another of zinc in an acidulated solution of bichromate of potash. However, the most usual commercial form is Grenet's flask or bottle battery (*see Fig. 4*), which has two carbon plates coupled together forming one element, with a plate of zinc for the other element sandwiched between them, separated by a small gap from the carbons, the whole being immersed in the bichromate of potash or chromic acid exciting solution. In the better class of bottle batteries the zinc is made to slide up out of the solution when not in use, as this preserves it much longer. The carbons are not acted upon by the solution, but the zinc is gradually consumed, and requires occasional renewal. The E.M.F. is approximately two volts, and the current is fairly constant; it can be made quite so by gradually lowering the zinc more and more into the solution as the current shows signs of falling off, as this reduces the internal resistance.

The arrangement of a zinc plate suspended between two carbon plates with only a slight space between them effects a reduced internal resistance, and also utilises both faces of the zinc plate. As a consequence, such a battery is capable of yielding a more powerful current than one in which there is only one carbon plate to each zinc.

When replenishing a bichromate cell the first thing to do is to empty out all the old solution and

BICHROMATE OR CHROMIC ACID CELLS

thoroughly wash out the battery with clean water. Cleanliness is essential with all types of batteries to get the best results, and more particularly with this one. If the zincs are much eaten away they should be renewed at the same time, and then a fresh exciting solution supplied. The most thorough method is to soak the carbon plates in hot water, rub them with a hard brush, and allow to drain,

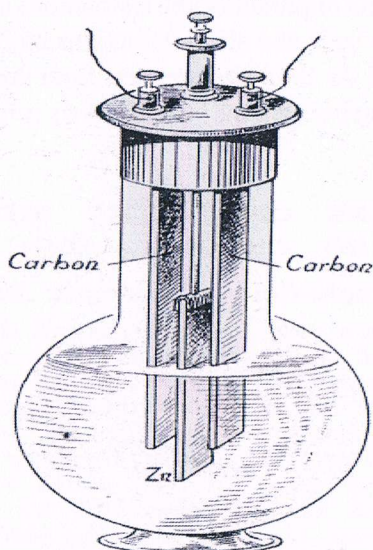


Fig. 4.—Grenet's Flask or Bottle Bichromate Cell.

If the zincs are not clean and bright, they should be re-amalgamated. To do this, have ready in a shallow dish a dilute solution of sulphuric acid, to which is added some mercury. First dip the zinc plates in dilute sulphuric acid for a few minutes, and then transfer them to the shallow dish. Then

ELECTRIC PRIMARY BATTERIES

with a clean old paint brush, or some tow fastened on a stick, rub the mercury over the zinc plates until they are clean and bright.

To make the solution to be used in all forms of single-fluid bichromate batteries, dissolve 3 oz. of bichromate of potash in 1 pt. (20 oz.) of hot rainwater, and set it aside until quite cold. Then add to it slowly, in a fine stream, or drop by drop, whilst being stirred, 3 oz. of strong sulphuric acid. Should the solution become warm by adding the acid, it

must be set aside until quite cold before it is put in the cell. If this is not done, the zinc plate will be violently attacked, even when well coated with mercury. The zinc element must be lifted out clear of the solution when the battery is not in use, to keep this and the zinc in working order. As the battery is worked, the colour of the solution will alter from orange to greenish brown, then to a blackish-brown tint, denoting exhaustion, when it must be renewed, and the zinc freshly coated with mercury.

Another suitable solution may be made up as follows:—Dissolve 2 oz. of bichromate of potassium in 20 oz. of hot rainwater; add slowly 5 oz. of strong sulphuric acid, stirring constantly, and dissolve in this mixture, while it is hot, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of bisulphate of mercury. Allow the solution to cool before using. When the solution in the cell turns green, it should be renewed.

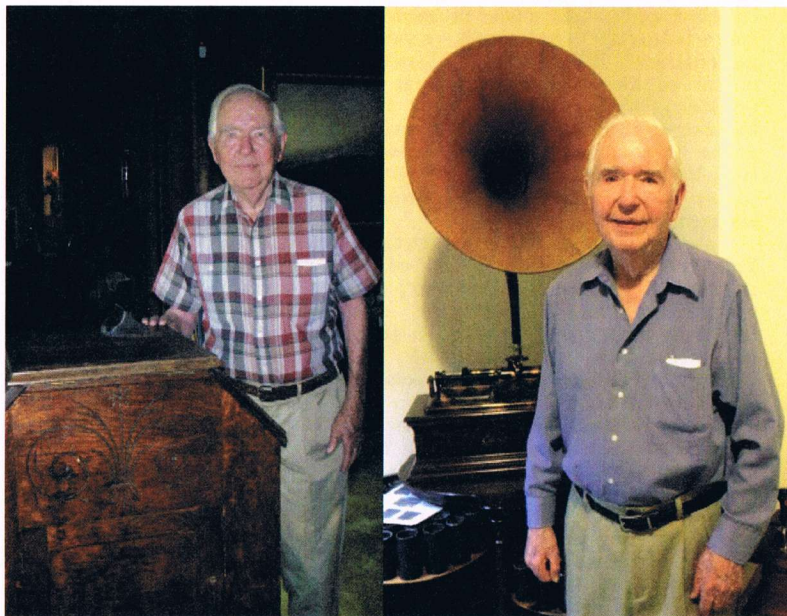
The vessel in which the solution is mixed should be of stoneware, because the heat generated would crack glass.

The above solutions produce chromic acid in the course of their chemical activity; but that acid may be supplied in the first case, if desired, in the place of the bichromate. Chromic acid is preferred by some as being a better depolariser, enabling the battery to give a steadier current. The proportions in this case are:—Water, 20 parts; chromic acid,

BICHROMATE OR CHROMIC ACID CELLS

3 parts; sulphuric acid, $1\frac{1}{2}$ parts; and chlorate of potash, $1\frac{1}{2}$ parts, all by weight. Other suitable proportions are:—Water, 20 parts; chromic acid, 3 parts; sulphuric acid, 3 parts; and chlorate of potash, $\frac{1}{4}$ part. The chromic acid and chlorate of potash must be dissolved in the water first, then the sulphuric acid in a fine stream or drop by drop, the solution being allowed to get quite cold before putting it in the cells. Fully eight hours' good work should be got out of the battery before it needs renewing.

There is no doubt that chromic acid batteries are among the most powerful of the primary batteries. If properly made and worked they furnish strong currents for fairly long periods, and are invaluable for experimental work. But the cells must be of glass, the zinc elements must be kept well coated with mercury, all the elements must be lifted out of the solution when not in use, and the solutions must be properly prepared.



After reading the reminiscence in the last issue about Ray Phillips visiting New Zealand many years ago, Jeff Oliphant emailed from California with news of Ray who, at 92, is taking things quietly these days but still enjoys the hobby.

Thanks to Jeff for these photos of Ray; one taken a while back showing him with his 1895 Edison Kinetophone, the peepshow filmstrip viewer with accompanying phonograph mechanism, the other taken in January 2013 of Ray with his Edison Idelia and Herzog cylinder cabinet

- Ed.



Among the usual table models and portables listed on New Zealand's popular auction website Trade Me recently, this formidable device (unsold with a high reserve) certainly stood out. The owner had been told that it was one of two identical gramophones made many years ago in Auckland using English components in local cabinets. That pedigree was quickly confirmed on the website by a collector who owns the other one! We are looking at a Bond Cascade, or at least a New Zealand version of one, a 1920's machine contemporary with the first EMG models and other English gramophones designed for optimum horn performance regardless of aesthetics.

There must have been several enthusiasts here who set about building their own versions of what they saw in "Gramophone" magazine. I wonder what happened to the crude but remarkably effective "imitation" EMG I used to own, last heard of as a piece of restaurant décor

-- Ed.

RECENT MEETINGS

By Gavin East

October 2012

Over the years we have enjoyed several visits to private "backyard" cinemas, built by film enthusiasts to recreate the magical atmosphere of the "pictures". For the October 2012 meeting we gathered at one which was new to most of us, the Reel Cinema owned by Graham and Yvonne Ritchie in New Brighton, Christchurch. This is a part of the city badly damaged by the 2011 earthquakes, as negotiating the roads reminded us, but the Ritchies' property seems to have come through safely.

After a few minutes getting some routine business out of the way, we settled back in very comfortable tiered armchairs as Graham told us something of his background as a projectionist before showing the 2011 Academy Award-winning silent film "The Artist". This was a very special experience as Graham had the temporary use of a 35 mm. exhibition print which he ran through his 1927 Ernemann projector, a veteran of many years' hard service in the Oxford Town Hall. The huge spool was in the next room with the film being carried into and out of the projector on a long series of pulleys along the ceiling. That may seem the perfect recipe for a breakage but it all ran without a hitch! With 35 mm. film about to be abandoned by New Zealand's main commercial operators in favour of video, seeing a new movie projected from a strip of film will soon be for everyday cinemagoers a thing of the past, whether they realise it or not.

Over supper John Hastilow showed us a very early looking 35 mm. handcranked projector, made for home use, which he bought about forty years ago from the collection of Ron Osgood in Blenheim. John shared several amusing and touching memories of Ron, some of which we published in the last issue.

November 2012

For the last monthly meeting of the year, fourteen of us gathered at John and Ann Hastilow's home in Bristol Street, Christchurch on

Monday 26 November for a very enjoyable evening. The house, a classic Christchurch large wooden single storey bay villa of the early 1900's, has come through the earthquakes structurally intact but its brick chimneys are now history and there is still major interior plastering work to be done.

In the course of business Roger Brown reported that the vintage fete at Oxford had been a great success with the inclusion of some of the Society's machines from the collection housed at the Oxford Museum plus Joffre Marshall's display of model engines.

The Society's collection (which will be featured in a forthcoming article) cropped up again since we were waiting for the annual insurance account. An inevitable flow-on from the earthquakes has been a sharp, often prohibitive rise in premiums. As we were expecting this year's account to be over a thousand dollars, we had a good hard look at whether this expense was sustainable, given that the parts are stored about as safely as they can be in my concrete block garage and the machine collection at Oxford is in a building with sprinkler and alarm systems. We took note of the fact that none of the Oxford Museum's own collection is insured. After a good discussion we agreed that David Peterson, Robert Sleeman and I would decide on appropriate action once the bill was to hand.

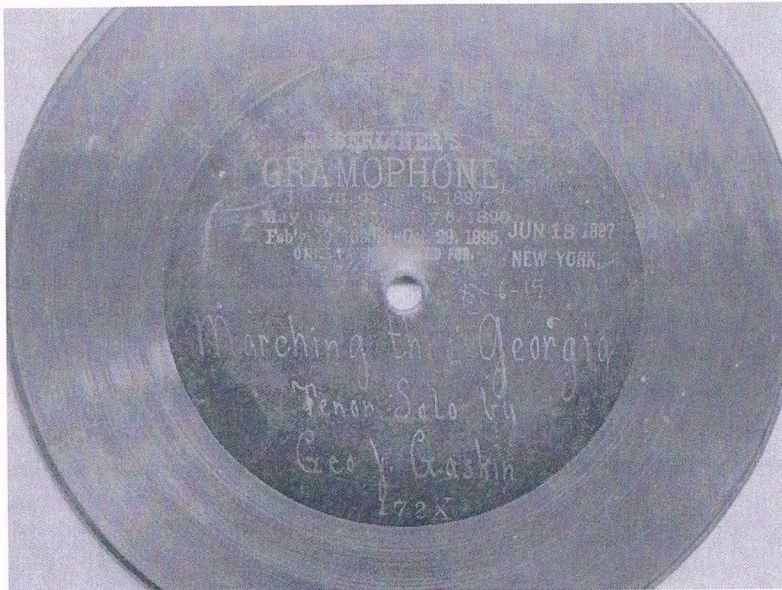
After the heady excitement of matters such as these it was a relief to close the meeting at ten to nine and head down the hallway to the kitchen where John and Ann served supper. Looking out the back door, some of us noticed that the side door of the garage and workshop was open so - well, you know how it is, we felt we just had to make sure that everything was in order out there and that no villains had taken advantage of the meeting at the other end of the house to make off with the 1912 Cadillac tourer loaded with John's Hepplewhite diamond disc machine and HMV 181 saxophone horn cabinet model.

January 2013

As usual for the first meeting of the year, I frantically shifted piles of books and records off chairs and redistributed some of the dust to make the living room marginally habitable. It wasn't the largest turnout for a January meeting but those who were able to come enjoyed catching up. We all agreed that the pre-Christmas buffet dinner at Sequoia 88 Redwood had been a fine finish to 2012.

Following on from the November 2012 meeting, the insurance account had arrived at the end of the year. Robert Sleeman, David Peterson and I had discussed it and decided that, with our membership base and the likelihood of declining parts sales, an annual expense of over a thousand dollars for insurance was not sustainable. I cancelled our policy.

Though finding people to make parts is our major problem these days, there is one item for which we have good news, the Edison Amberola 30 front grille. We discussed the process of having another batch of "blanks" laser cut so that Roger Brown can paint them with the woodgrain finish which makes them such a popular item on the parts list. It is particularly satisfying to be able to supply these grilles since Amberola 30 restoration projects, like Firesides, are still coming to light even now.



For the short programme of records I chose a few that are covered by the very approximate term "78". Up first was the second oldest record ever played at one of our meetings, "Marching thro' Georgia" sung by George J. Gaskin on seven inch Berliner 172X, recorded in New York on 18 June 1897. This disc is so well worn that I figured that one playing with a steel needle wouldn't make it any worse so we heard it on the EMG Mk Xb with a Meltrope III soundbox.

To get it sounding anywhere near "probably about right", I had to set the speed control of the EMG's electric motor at its lowest point of about 60 r.p.m., a reminder of how much variation there is in early discs. Even though Mr Gaskin sounds like someone shouting from the other end of a long tunnel, I find Berliners such as this utterly captivating as echoes of the infancy of commercial recording and of a time now beyond living memory. In 1897 the Civil War and Sherman's march to the sea were only a little over thirty years in the past and would have been vivid memories for many of the people who first heard this record. Not that I could imagine it being a big seller in the South...

When I noted that this was the second oldest record ever played at one of our meetings, I had in mind the occasion many years ago when I brought along my HMV Monarch Senior and assailed the audience (probably at far too high a speed) with an 1896 disc of "The commodore polka" played on the cornet by W. Paris Chambers. Finding records like these, to say nothing of the five inch Berliners which came to light in Christchurch five years ago, does make one wonder how much of this "gear" was sold here and whether there could be a handcrank machine or two still to be found.

Just to stay in the realm of small diameter and low fidelity, I had recently turned up a dozen Little Wonder records, the bargain price single sided five and a half inch discs which were such a commercial success in the USA between 1914 and 1923. They are not particularly rare in New Zealand but it just happens that none had previously crossed my path. Until looking into them and finding such informative websites as <http://www.littlewonderrecords.com/> I had assumed that they were made for the juvenile market but no, they are a lot more interesting for being recordings of the latest hits of their day. Leaving the EMG to recover from the indignity of being made to play the Gaskin Berliner, I opened the HMV 191 for the


rest of the brief recital and began with Little Wonder number 33, "Notoriety rag two-step" played with raucous verve by an anonymous (Prince's?) band.

A website chock full of interesting and helpful information is that of Tim Gracyk, <http://www.gracyk.com/index.html>. In his writings on pioneer American popular recording artists, Tim often acknowledges and draws on the lifetime of research left by Jim Walsh who began his series of "Hobbies" magazine articles in the 1940's when it was still possible to interview veterans such as Billy Murray. I mention this because I was quite surprised to read that Jim Walsh had a very high opinion of Al Bernard, whom he regarded as the finest blues singer on records. With the passions of blues enthusiasts, to make a claim like this about a white ex-minstrel show vaudeville performer of the 1920's would seem to be inviting grievous bodily harm! Whatever, I certainly enjoy listening to Mr Bernard though I admit to having bought some of his Brunswick discs mainly because they feature the pianist J. Russel Robinson. All this is a long-winded introduction to the next record played on the 191, "Ain't dat a shame" by Al Bernard and "Russell" Robinson on Panachord P12054-B, pressed in Australia from a Brunswick master. This lively tale of anguish at being locked out of one's "lady friend's" house in the rain was probably endured by the meeting audience in polite silence rather than with delight too rapturous for words.

It takes very little to encourage me to praise the virtues of HMV saxophone horn machines and the No. 4 soundbox. As one of the largest of the sax horn models, the 191 provides a range and in particular a bass response (after all, there must be seven or eight feet of horn tucked away in there) which is a constant pleasure. To demonstrate, I played Layton and Johnstone's waltz song "We two" on Columbia DO-498. Turner Layton's piano solo is not so flamboyant as to tax the mica diaphragm of the No. 4 soundbox and the sound is as rich, full and warm as surely anyone could want from a windup gramophone nearly ninety years old.

FRANCIS & DAY'S
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"The Man in the Velvet Suit"

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TOGETHER WITH
A
CRITICAL
APPRECIATION
AND
BIOGRAPHICAL
SKETCH
BY
CHARLES WILMOTT

LONDON: FRANCIS, DAY & HUNTER, 142, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.
NEW YORK: CALHOUN & FRANCIS, DAY & HUNTER, 62-64 WEST 45TH STREET.

It is a sign of Billy Williams' popularity on the English music hall stage, and on records, that he was given the same status as Harry Lauder with a sheet music album all to himself. The songs are copyrighted 1912 and the biographical sketch paints a rosy picture of his professional and family life, sad to read when we know that he had only three more years to live. His 78's, on a great many labels but usually Regal and Zonophone in New Zealand, still turn up frequently and the cylinders with a "fresh" Edison Fireside or Amberola 30 are pretty well certain to include a Billy Williams or two. If Edison had reissued his and Harry Lauder's cylinders as diamond discs, I am sure that they would have sold well. — Ed.

ADVERTISEMENTS

Phonograph Society of New South Wales Inc:

From cylinder to CD, the Society is for those interested in all aspects of historical sound recording and reproduction at its monthly meetings in Sydney. One subscription for all: \$A30 pa Australia and overseas. Write to The Secretary, Phonographic Society of NSW (Inc), P O Box 215, Epping, NSW 1710, Australia, or visit our website www.phonographicsocietynsw.welcome.to

Phonograph Society of South Australia:

An organisation of enthusiasts interested in the collection and preservation of the artifacts of sound recording and reproduction and research into their evolution. The PSSA NEWSLETTER, containing interesting articles and news, is published quarterly. Relevant books and reprints are also sold. Annual dues (Australian currency); NZ, Asia and South Pacific \$28.00; Rest of the World \$32.00; Write to: the Secretary, PSSA, P.O. Box 235, Kent Town, S.A., 5071, Australia. Phone and Fax (+61-8+ 8337-7134) E-mail: nelsent@picknol.com.au

The Antique Phonograph Society:

The California Antique Phonograph changed its name at the beginning of 2012. We are now **The Antique Phonograph Society**. Our mailing address remains P.O. Box 169, Victorville, CA 92393 USA. However, our website changed a few years ago to: www.antiquephono.org. Rates for members outside North America are \$40 USD (check) or \$42 USD (through the website / paypal)

The City of London Phonograph and Gramophone Society Limited (CLPGS)

To join us, contact the Membership Secretary: Tim Wood-Woolley, 28 Park Terrace, Westcliff on Sea, Essex, SS0 7PH, United Kingdom or email clpgsmembership@blueyonder.co.uk. For more information visit the CLPGS Web page at www.clpgs.org.uk

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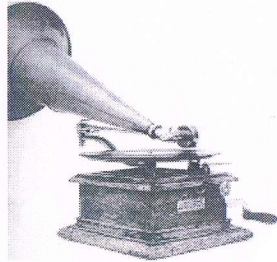
Any part of a Marathon Gramophone. W.T. Norris, 650 Two Chain Road, Rangiora, RD 6

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33 1/3 rpm vinyl records of the Moms and The Dads. Unusual reproducers and needle tins. W. T. Norris, 650 Two Chain Road, Rangiora, RD 6, 7476 NZ

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Dancing Rastus or similar figures to fit on old gramophone records. Please email: vandrbrown@xtra.co.nz or phone 064 3 312 4477 (NZ).

Wanted to Buy or Exchange:

HMV No. 4 soundbox, gold finish and early style with "His Master's Voice" printed on the front.

Record dusters with New Zealand shop names.

Gavin East, 4A Lyttelton St., Lincoln 7608, New Zealand, email

Gavin.East@lincoln.ac.nz.

We have a lot of early back issues of the Phonographic Record which anyone can have if they pay postage - Editor



This rather striking pre-electric Columbia turned up in Christchurch recently and has provided me with a good geography lesson. The language looked “sort of” like Dutch but the flag was unfamiliar. Made for the Afrikaans-speaking market in South Africa perhaps? No, a Google search on Lucas Hannema, the singer of this version of “My grandfather’s clock”, mentioned that he was born in Leeuwarden in the Dutch province of Friesland which has its own distinct language. The flag is that of Friesland and the record appears to be from a Frisian – or Friesian – or Frysian language series of the early 1920’s. I haven’t found this label among the Columbia variants on the web so will be grateful for more information. As for how a record like this came to be here, might it have been a family memento brought by one of the Dutch immigrants of the 1950’s who made such a contribution to New Zealand’s economy and culture? – Ed.