

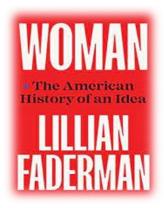
## Book Notes #114

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By Jefferson Scholar-in-Residence Dr. Andrew Roth

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"From Anne Bradstreet to Cardi B," or Woman: The American History of an Idea





Although some snarky reviewers, like Alexandra Jacobs of *The New York Times*, who criticized it as a "kind of Gyncyclopedia Britannica in a Wiki, tricky world of identity politics: impressive but not essential" [1], thought it attempted too much at the expense of depth, Lillian Faderman's *Woman: The American History of an Idea* is a *tour de force* of American women's history. Granted, it is a survey, but a necessary one, as it traces the story of American women – from Puritan New England's Anne Bradstreet's "To My Dear and Loving Husband" to the 21<sup>St</sup> century's rappers Cardi B. and Megan Thee Stallion's "WAP" – through the lens of the concept of "Woman." [2]

A Professor Emeritus of English at California's Fresno State and a visiting professor at UCLA, Faderman has been described by **The Chronicle of Higher Education** as "the mother of lesbian history." [3] **The New York Times** named several of her books as "Books of the Year," including **Surpassing the Love of Men, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,** and **The Gay Revolution.** The **Boston Sunday Globe** described her autobiographical **Naked in the Promised Land** as an "ungentle memoir (that) spares no

feelings, least of all the author's, as it tells a riveting tale of truths more dangerous than fiction." [4]

Faderman's *Woman: The American History of an Idea* is rich with anecdotal stories of the women who transformed America, from the famous, like Susan B. Anthony and Margaret Fuller, to the obscure, like the Blackwell sisters, America's first female physicians. It is also pathfinding in its inclusion of the stories of Asian, Black, Latina, and Indigenous women's struggles for equal rights while carrying the burden of being both non-white and female.

Many (most?) surveys of any topic come perilously close to being like entering a museum, strapping on roller skates, and then skating through the halls as the docent says "On your right is a Michelangelo, on your left a de Kooning (no conceptual or temporal organization here), straight ahead is an authentic replica of the *Mona Lisa*, and the medieval armory is around the corner in Gallery M". What elevates Faderman's 400 -year history of American women above all of that is her exhaustive exploration of the notion of "Woman."

"Woman."

What does it mean?

Where did it originate?

How has its meaning shifted – oscillated is perhaps a better word – over the course of its 400-year American journey from meaning first one thing, then another, then some version of the original all over again?

Simone de Beauvoir famously said in her *The Second Sex* "On ne nait pas femme; on le deviant" — "One is not born but becomes woman". [5] Which is to say, that gender, as distinct from sex, is socially constructed. One is born female (anatomical sex); one becomes (is socialized to be) "Woman" (gender). The same is true for males becoming "Men", but that would be another book.

If gender is socially constructed, who constructed it, and what does it mean?

As Faderman points out, it was, at least, in American history (obviously not only, but America is her focus) constructed by men. As she says, "In colonial America the men with the loudest megaphones, standing at church lecterns or sitting in the Massachusetts General Court, purported to define who woman is by nature, what her proclivities are, and how she is to behave." [6]

In those early colonial times, woman was defined as the weaker vessel, both physically but also intellectually. She was thought incapable of being educated. She was to be protected by first her father, then her husband. She had no rights – the law of coverture in effect saying she was first her father's, then her husband's, if not property, then ward. Her role was to be mother, bearer of children, whose duty was to care not only for her children but her entire household. If not literally, although in practice it was "literally," she was confined to home and hearth, the upkeep of which was her duty.

She was, in short, domestic. But not only, for the concept had, at least for upper-middle class and upper-class women, a corollary. She was also a *lady* defined by her gentility, her graciousness, and her needlework. Thomas Jefferson advised

his daughters that the latter defined them as women. When her husband died, although she was educated, Sarah Josepha Hale's only career option to support herself and her children was needlework. As we learned in a previous **Book Note**, which can be found <u>here</u>, she rebelled, and became one of America's first women professional writers, editor of **Godey's Lady's Book** and one of the 19<sup>th</sup> century's most influential women, who, paradoxically enthralled with the notion of "Woman," became an anti-suffragette. When in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Benjamin Rush proposed a school for women that they might better educate their sons, he had to reassure sponsors that they would also be educated in the Christian religion so that "the government of her would be easy and agreeable" and that she would know her place. [7]

Knowing her place, she had no life outside of the home — as the weaker vessel "she was more fitted to keep and order the House and Children." [8] Or, as even Thomas Jefferson patronizingly said, American women were "too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics." [9] If she ventured out of the home, as did Anne Hutchinson in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, she risked banishment or worse. Even a century later, if she sought a life outside the home, in addition to banishment, she risked a public whipping or "a public shaming as hens that crow, as Benjamin Franklin called them in 1734". [10]

That is the baseline definition of "Woman:" the weaker vessel, of limited physical and intellectual strength, suited only for childbearing and childrearing; the keeper of the domestic hearth. Sewing and the domestic arts her only concerns.

But the meaning of "Woman" changed over time. In the early Republic after the American Revolution, it shifted subtly as Americans recognized women's contributions to winning the revolution and at some subliminal level the challenge in its founding documents that all are created equal. Think not only of Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, Molly Pitcher, and the Philadelphia women sewing shirts for the troops, but also of Martha Washington and Catharine Greene, wife of General Nathanael Greene, wintering with the troops, and other women like Elizabeth Willing Powel who dared to contribute to the Glorious Cause.

As Faderman vividly illustrates, how to get women back in the home after they have glimpsed a life outside it is a recurring theme in women's American experience. We'll see it repeatedly as first a crisis of the moment brings women into the public arena to help the public cause, but after the crisis abates, they are sent back home. It happened after the Civil War, it happened after World War I, it happened after World War II, and, to a lesser extent, it is happening now after the COVID inspired "Great Resignation."

But it happened first in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> century. As Americans sought to create a culture distinct from the British from whom they had just rebelled there emerged the notion of "Home" as the rock, the bulwark upon which society rested. As Richard White says in *The Republic for Which It Stands*, "...home, (was) a symbol so ubiquitous and seemingly so bland it (could) vanish in plain sight." [11] That is to say, it was part of the cultural wallpaper; an unquestioned given of American culture. As White continued, "Home embodied all the gendered and racialized assumptions of American republicanism and the American economy. It contained manly men and *womanly* (emphasis added) women united in monogamous marriage to

reproduce families." [12] Any threat to home, was a threat to all of society; those without proper homes were a danger to society.

"Home" defined America and Americanism. For its popular culture images, think Currier and Ives. And "Home" was "Woman's" domain. There gradually emerged the notion that "Woman" as keeper of the domestic hearth was man's moral superior. Her task was to civilize men by raising sons capable of building the new republic. It was the notion of "Republican Motherhood," which had nothing at all to do with the 21<sup>St</sup> century political party of the same name. Ironically, it gave women great social power (think of the women's temperance movement, women abolitionists, late 19<sup>th</sup> & early 20<sup>th</sup> century social reformers, like Jane Addams and Erie's own Sarah Reed), but that is getting ahead of the story.

At first and always, however, it was limiting.

These two notions – the earlier colonial and the later new republican – merged to create "Woman" as the cultural ideal that bound women to home. In her frailty, in her delicacy, "Woman" was the weaker vessel, she was man's dependent with no need for either education or independence. But she was also man's moral superior, the vessel (the vestal?) whose virtues upheld society's values. She was the keeper of the hearth – "Home" – the mistress (master?) of her domestic duties. Thus, "Woman" was a paradox: weaker, but as man's moral superior, the rock upon which society rested.

The conundrum the concept "Woman" postulated could tie women in knots.

If one ever wondered what it was (is) that 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and now 21<sup>st</sup> century women wanted liberated from, it was this all-encompassing, this all-limiting, for some all-suffocating, notion of women's essence, of women's character. For, if one was not a wife and mother and therefore not a "Woman," what was one to do? More metaphysically, if one was not a mother and wife and therefore not a "Woman," what was one? If one wanted, in Margaret Fuller's memorable phrase "to be a sea captain, if she wishes", what was one to do? In short, if one did not want to be (or to only be) "Woman", what was one to do? In **Woman: The American History of an Idea** Faderman charts, in great detail, both the struggles of women wrestling with the notion of "Woman" and the oscillations back and forth over time in American society of the power of that definition to thwart and to draw women back into "Woman's" defining embrace.

Rather than attempting to summarize the contents of Faderman's global treatment of the topic, I'll only point to five of the book's strengths: its over 100 pages of notes; its treatment of diversity; its exploration of derogatory language to demean women who step outside of the cultural confines of their times; its analysis of changing sexual mores resulting from women's new found freedoms; and her treatment of feminism's four phases. Regarding the first of these five qualities, it might sound odd to praise a book for its *End Notes*, but if one to explore the history of the struggle for women's rights, Faderman's well-documented sources will give you a substantial head start on the project.

Faderman, like many contemporary historians, works hard to write back into history those who have been excluded. Most histories of the women's movement focus on it as a creation of middle-class and upper-class white women.

Faderman writes back into the story Asian women, Black women, indigenous women (Native American women), and Latinas. She begins the latter with a personal recollection of the Pachuca girls with whom she attended high school. Social outcasts, with their leather jackets, slicked back hair, tight skirts, and 'bad girl' behavior, they defied both their own male-dominated culture's strictures and the larger Anglo-culture's attempts to turn them into "Woman:" modest, chaste, domestic, and lady-like. But Faderman goes further with a deep look at women like Dolores Huerta, who with Cesar Chavez founded the United Farm Workers, Margarita Salazar, who became a Rosie the Riveter during World War II, and the Brown Berets in East Los Angeles declaring themselves Chicana nationalists in the 1960s.

Faderman provides extensive coverage of African-American women who fought for women's rights while carrying the burden of being both female and Black in America. In addition to the names most people already know, like Sojourner Truth, who famously declared she could be both a worker and a woman with her "Ain't I a Woman" speech, the legendary Harriet Tubman, and the fearless opponent of lynching Ida B. Wells, Faderman provides insight into Black women like Frances Harper, who sought suffrage for Black men and women, but Black men first; Mary Church Terrell, whose autobiography spoke of *A Colored* **Woman in a White World**. In 1896, Terrell helped to found the National Association of Colored Women. Faderman also introduces readers to Mary McLeod Bethune, who was the first Black woman college president, and Anna Julia Cooper, who in the 1920s already in her 60s went to Paris and earned a Ph.D. in history from the Sorbonne and was a mainstay of the NAACP. If there is a criticism of Faderman's book, it is that the mini-biographies, really more vignettes than biographies, of the women she discusses are too short. But then again, that is not the purpose of her book.

Asian women have not so much been written out of American history, as they were simply ignored. Faderman tries to rectify that by pointing out in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century one of the strongest goads to supporting women's suffrage was the fact that in allegedly backward China Sun Yat Sen's republican government promised women equal voting rights. That decision "became a great focus of a May 4, 1912 'Votes for Women' parade in New York City." [13] During America's first sexual revolution in the 1920s Chinese women flaunted the intense strictures of their culture's demand that they be Kewpie-dolls by adopting the behavior and mores of the "flapper." During World War II, Chinese women left home to work in wartime factories, but the real tragedy of the era was the internment of Japanese-Americans. But in the story of Sue Kunitomi, Faderman tells how that internment ironically liberated Japanese women from their culture's restrictions. Kunitomi, who before the war worked in the family grocery store in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo, became a reporter for the Manzamar Free Press in the camps, and after the war settled in the Pacific Northwest to live a life previously unthinkable. [14] And, of course, two decades into the 21St century, Asian women proportionately earn more college degrees than any other demographic group. [15]

As one might suspect, "fraught" best describes the history of Native American women and the concept of "Woman." Beginning with first contact between both French and English settlers and the indigenous people in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans simply could not comprehend that in Iroquoian culture women held political power, women made major decisions for the group, and that

descent was not patriarchal but matrilineal. When after an early skirmish, Seneca women came to parley with the settlers for peace, their pleas "fell on deaf ears" for the European men would not accept them as equals. [16] Settler attempts to convert the Native Americans to European social conventions, such as those by The Sisters of the Order of St. Ursula (the Ursuline Sisters) in 1720s New Orleans and President George Washington's 1796 address to the Cherokee Nation diminished Native American women's status making them subservient to their husbands. [17] Similarly, the history of Native American women and the women's suffrage movement is not a happy one. It hit its nadir in the 1913 suffragette march in Washington, D.C. when parade organizers could not overcome their prejudices and had an actress Daisy Norris ride in the parade dressed as an Indian princess Dawn Mist. [18] The New Woman movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century found an adherent in Zitkala-Su, a Dakota Sioux, who wrote in her graduation speech from a Quaker boarding school in 1895 "Half of humanity cannot rise while the other half is in subjection." [19] Zitkala-Su became a passionate advocate for Native American women's rights. World War II was liberating for Native American women, who left their reservations for work in war factories. Perhaps even more so for those who remained on the reservations, as, in the absence of men away in the military, they reassumed their ancient ancestral positions of leadership.

Rush Limbaugh and his excoriating whelps about "feminazis" was neither the first nor the most imaginative to use demeaning language to try to put women who resisted "Woman" by seeking an education, by seeking a career, or by seeking the vote back in their place. Whether Benjamin Franklin's scolding characterization of women with opinions as "hens that crow," or John Adams much more benign but still belittling comment that "a woman should be given no voice in government — because Nature made her 'delicate" and thus "unfit for the great Business of Life, and the hardy Enterprises of War, as well as the arduous Cares of State," men have always used insulting language to demean women seeking their rights. [19]

It began early in colonial history. Women who sought a role outside of Home and hearth were called "monsters, unsexed, unnatural, manly (the worst insult of all), and Amazons." [20] Franklin again, in his role as Poor Richard in his Almanac of 1734, gender-shamed women who stepped outside their assigned role as "unnatural: ill thrives that hapless Family that shows/A Cock that's silent and a Hen that crow./I know not which lives more unnatural lives,/Obeying husbands or commanding wives." [21]

Offended at women claiming spaces in the public square, men hurled their worst insults. They called such women "unsexed" and "manly," as a Kansas paper did Sojourner Truth saying "Sojourner Truth is the name of a man now lecturing in Kansas City." Susan B. Anthony was called "a grim old gal with a manly air...an Amazon of the female army...a pantaloonatic she-rooster." [22] Anthony, a savvy infighter, turned the insult around in her 1900 essay "The New Century's Manly Woman" claiming "manly" as a compliment to the New Woman who would "strive to be 'manly' – since men claimed for 'manliness' all the positive virtues... a manly woman meant a woman who was an 'all-around being' with 'body and brain fully developed." [23]

Similarly, 20<sup>th</sup> century Second Wave feminists took the ultimate male insult aimed at a strong woman unafraid to voice her opinion – bitch – and turned it

into a mark of pride in 1970s "The Bitch Manifesto" and 21<sup>st</sup> century "riot grrrls". [24] Debasing females continues today, as Donald Trump insults Carly Fiorina's facial appearance, asking how anyone who looks like that could be president. And just reflect for a moment about the vile insults cast at Nancy Pelosi for daring to be as strong, willful, and shrewd as any male politician (and smarter than almost all). The insults took an odd turn in the 1960s when women's sexuality was called into question. Many snickering males opined that any woman not content to be "Woman" must be homosexual. Lesbian became an epithet used to demean feminists. This took a surprising turn when none other than Betty Friedan worried that the "lavender menace" of lesbian feminists would undercut and disgrace the entire project. [25]

Faderman's comprehensive analysis of the intertwining threads of "Woman's" oscillating meaning, the quest for women's economic and political rights, and women's sexuality is beyond the summarizing scope of a mere **Book Note**. She traces American women's sexuality and gender identification from the earliest colonial times when some hardy pioneer women slipped gender's bounds and did the work of men while their sisters remained at home doing their duty in the marital bed for God and country propagating the next generation. Obviously, some found it enjoyable, either prematurely coupling before the sanctifying vows of marriage or slipping outside the marital bounds to favor another than their husband, for why else were there such horrific penalties for bastardy and fornication? The penalties included public whipping, branding, and even death. That behavior happened is unarguable, for it is a given that societies do not pass laws forbidding that which does not happen.

Women discovered their sexuality during First Wave feminism, as detailed by authors like Lydia Maria Child and others. Even Margaret Fuller, tied in guilty knots by her upbringing and anguishing over whether she could have a sex life outside of marriage, finally had a child in her late-30s with her Italian lover before marrying him. Faderman does an excellent and tactful job describing the sexual mores of the women who founded the women's movement in the midand-late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many of whom eschewed marriage and the burden of children for the love another woman equally committed to the women's cause. As Faderman notes, these 19<sup>th</sup> century liaisons were call "Boston Marriages." Liaison perhaps an unfair word, for these relationships were deeper and more stable than many marriages; they included notable 19<sup>th</sup> century feminists such as Frances Willard, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and frequent speaker at our neighboring Chautauqua Institution, and Katharine Lee Bates, composer of the poem upon which "America the Beautiful" is based.

Faderman traces women's continuing sexual emancipation through the early-20<sup>th</sup> century's New Woman; bohemians such as Edna St. Vincent Millay during the World War I era; Margaret Sanger's heroic fight during the 19-teens for women's right to safe, reliable, and readily accessible birth control; to the 1920s flapper phenomenon; the sexual counter-revolution and the return of chastity under the economic pressure of the Great Depression; to World War II's liberating effect as women left Home and entered the work force; and, when, during the 1950s women were exhorted to return "Home" and modesty and chastity once again became ascendant, sexuality went underground only to burst open again with the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

standards in women's fashion (think the mini-skirt), music, and popular entertainment. In particular, she points out the fragility of women's sexual rights, which are much newer than most assume. Gay marriage and homosexuality were only legalized in the 21<sup>St</sup> century. Contraception was still illegal in 30 states when The Pill was introduced in 1960. That changed with *Griswold v. Connecticut* in 1965 when the Supreme Court declared contraception legal for married couples and in 1972 when *Eisenstadt v. Baird* extended Griswold's holding to unmarried couples. [26] Coming after publication of *Woman: The American History of an Idea* in March 2022, Faderman has no comment on the recent *Dobbs* decision reversing *Roe v. Wade*, but both Supreme Court Justices Alito's and Thomas's comments threatening reversal of *Griswold* and the decision legalizing same-sex relationships and same-sex-marriages underscore the truth that the fight over the meaning of "Woman" is never ending.

It is a reasonably well-understood tale, but Faderman does excellent job

revisiting it by combining a discussion of changing sexual mores with changing

Faderman does not synopsize in a neat table, nor for that matter in a simple paragraph or two, the arc of women's quest for equal rights. But she does indirectly define the basic pattern of feminisms four iterations. I'll briefly recap them as I bring this longish *Book Note* to a conclusion, but I need to first say that each iteration merits not a *Book Note*, but a book of its own (to sort of paraphrase Virginia Woolf).

First Wave Feminism begins in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as women abolitionists and prohibitionists first taste the power of public activism, then repelled by the condescension, if not outright hostility of their male colleagues, strike out on their own, and founded the women's movement at the famous 1848 Seneca Falls, New York convention on women's rights convened by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Later joined by Susan B. Anthony and a legion of others, this movement culminates in 1920 with the adoption of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting women the right to vote. The women's movement then goes into a period of eclipse only lightened by the work of Eleanor Roosevelt during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Among Eleanor's many accomplishments were persuading FDR to pick Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor – the first female member of a presidential cabinet.

Second Wave Feminism emerges in the 1960s, as both college-educated women frustrated by their lack of career options and working women frustrated by their second-class status begin to agitate for their rights. President John F. Kennedy's 1961 establishment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women was a sort of John the Baptist precursor of Betty Friedan's 1963 The Feminine **Mystique**, which brought the women's movement back to life. The 1964 Civil Rights Act's inclusion of sex as a protected category in employment set off a legal chain reaction of women's rights, in particular 1972's Title IX. However, Second Wave Feminism's real society changing energy begins with the New York Radical Women's protest of an anti-war rally in January 1968. Although the anti-war rally's patrons were women's rights icons like Coretta Scott King, Jeanette Rankine, and Judy Collins, the New York Radical Women thought they were too lady-like, too true to the beseeching-"Woman"-seeking-male-grace for their taste. They held a counterdemonstration in Arlington National Cemetery at which they buried traditional "Woman-hood" and declared that "sisterhood is powerful." Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, they and their followers

changed American society.

Third Wave Feminism emerged after the spectacle of a white-male-dominated Senate committee berating Anita Hill during the 1991 Senate confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Although Thomas prevailed, the hearing's backwash generated a renewed feminist activism. Shortly after the hearing, President George H.W. Bush dropped his opposition to a bill giving sexual harassment victims the right to federal damages, a newly mobilized women's movement elected a large number of women to Congress in 1992, and women in general reasserted their rights, not only politically but socially, economically, and sexually. One of the characteristics of *Third Wave* Feminism was an assertive female sexuality no longer suffering from "Woman's" self-doubts or lingering guilt – think Madonna, Lady Gaga, and riot grrrl culture. It also, ironically, gave rise to an air of post-feminism as the daughters, granddaughters and great-granddaughters of the women of First and Second Wave Feminism began to take their hard-won rights for granted and some women, hearkening to the powerful allure of "Woman" began to opt out of the professions and return "Home."

Fourth Wave Feminism, somewhat like Third Wave Feminism reactions to the Hill-Thomas hearings, began to emerge in 2014 when Valerie Jarrett, an advisor to President Obama, explained the need to convene a White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault. [27] Over the 20-teens, this rapidly morphed into the entire #RapeCultureIsWhen on Twitter, Bill Cosby and other celebrities being outed for sexual assault, and the #MeToo movement becoming ascendant. The election of President Trump in 2016 fueled the movement with additional energy. And, of course, it continues today with the fight against the assault on women's reproductive rights signaled by the *Dobbs* decision and the latent threats against contraception and other women's rights.

So, let's end here by saying if you want to know what the women's movement is all about, what the on-again, off-again, on-again struggle over the meaning of "Woman" is all about, then you could do worse but hardly better than to read Lillian Faderman's comprehensive and brilliant treatment of the history of the idea of "Woman" in American culture.



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#### **End Notes**

1. Jacobs, Alexandra. "Woman Is an Ambitious Attempt to Capture Four Centuries of Being Female",

<sup>&</sup>quot;Photo of cover jacket of Woman: The American History of an Idea" from **Kirkus Review** available <u>here</u> accessed July 25, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Photo of Lillian Faderman" from @lillianfaderman available here accessed July 25, 2022.

- The New York Times (March 9, 2022) available here accessed September 5, 2022.
- 2. "WAP", for the uninitiated is a hip hop acronym for 'Wet-Ass Pussy', a song released by Cardi B. and Megan Thee Stallion in 2020. Although attacked by some for its explicit lyrics, several other sources rated it the best song of 2020 as it topped the *Billboard* Hot 100.
- 3. Toor, Rachel. "Scholars Talk Writing: Lillian Faderman" in The Chronicle of Higher Education available <a href="here">here</a> accessed September 5, 2022.
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- 6. Faderman, Lillian. *Woman: The American History of an Idea*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), p. 3.
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- 15. Tate, Emily. "Graduation Rates and Race" at **InsideHigherEd** available <u>here</u>. accessed September 6, 2022.
- 16. Faderman, cited above, p. 29.
- 17. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
- 18. Ibid., p. 188.
- 19. Ibid., p. 63.
- 20. Ibid., p. 8.
- 21. Ibid., p. 39.
- 22. Ibid., pp. 172-173.
- 23. Ibid., p. 173.
- 24. Ibid., pp. 332 and 381.
- 25. Ibid., p. 336.
- 26. Ibid., p. 304.
- 27. Ibid., p. 402.

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