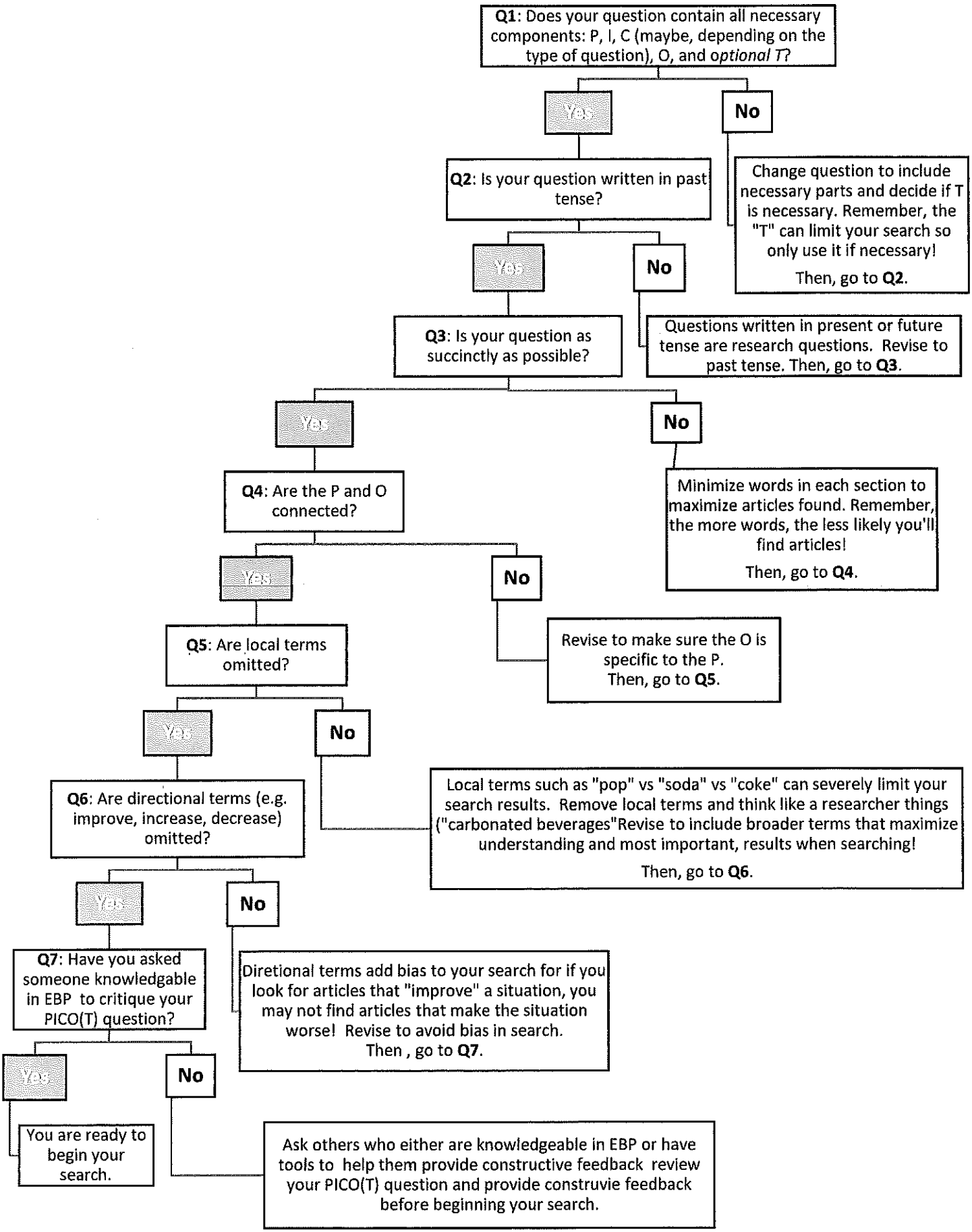King, 2019; revised with permission by C. Zellefrow