1
 I. The Problems of Peace Jefferson Davis: Temporarily clapped into irons during early days of two-year imprisonment He and fellow "conspirators" finally released All rebel leaders pardoned by President Andrew Johnson in 1868 Congress removed all remaining civil disabilities some thirty yeas later
 I. The Problem of Peace (cont.) Congress posthumously restored Davis's citizenship more than a century later.
 Conditions of South: Old South collapsed economically and socially Handsome cities, Charleston and Richmond, now rubble-strewn and weed-choked Economic life creaked to a halt Banks and businesses locked doors, ruined by runaway inflation
 Factories smokeless, silent, dismantled I. Problems of Peace (cont.)
 Transportation broken down completely Agriculture—economic lifeblood of South—almost completely crippled Slave labor system collapsed Not until 1870 would cotton production be at pre-war levels Princely planter aristocrats humbled by losses Investment of more than \$2 billion in slaves evaporated with emancipation
5 I. Problems of Peace
(cont.)

- Beaten but unbent, many white Southerners remained dangerously defiant:
 - –Continued to believe their view of secession correct and "lost cause" a just war
 - Such attitudes boded ill for prospects of painlessly binding up Republic's wounds

6

7 II. Freedmen Define Freedom

- What was precise meaning of "freedom" for blacks:
 - -Responses to emancipation--
 - Many masters resisted freeing their slaves
 - Some slaves'pent-up bitterness burst forth violently
 - Eventually all masters forced to recognize their slaves'permanent freedom
 - Some blacks initially responded with suspicion

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8 II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Many took new names and demanded former masters address them as "Mr." or "Mrs."
- Whites forced to recognize realities of emancipation
- Thousands took to roads, some to test their freedom
- Other searched for long-lost spouses, parents, and children
- · Emancipation strengthened black family
- Many newly freed men and women formalized "slave marriages" for personal and pragmatic reasons, including desire to make their children legal heirs

9 II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.)

- Others left to work in towns where existing black communities provided protection and mutual assistance
- Whole communities moved in search of opportunities
 -25.000 "Exodusters" went to Kansas
- Church became focus of black communities
- Formed their own churches pastored by their own ministers

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10 II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.) -Black churches grew robustly -Formed bedrock of black community life -Gave rise to other benevolent, fraternal, and mutual aid societies -All these organizations helped blacks protect their newly won freedom Emancipation meant education for many blacks: -Freedmen raised funds to purchase land, build schoolhouses, and hire teachers—all proof of their independence 11 12 II. Freedman Define Freedom (cont.) -Southern blacks soon found: Demand outstripped supply of qualified black teachers Accepted aid of Northern white women sent by American Missionary Association to volunteer as teachers Also turned to federal government for help • Freed blacks were going to need all the friends—and power they could muster in Washington 13 III. The Freedmen's Bureau 14 Freedmen's Bureau created March 3, 1865: A primitive welfare agency • Provided food, clothing, medical care, and education both to freedmen and white refugees Headed by Union General Oliver Howard, who later founded

Howard University in Washington, D.C.

- Bureau achieved its greatest successes in education:
 - -Taught 200,000 blacks to read
- In other areas, bureau's achievements were meager

15 III. The Freedmen's Bureau (cont.)

- –Suppose to settle former slaves on forty-acre tracts confiscated from Confederates:
 - Little land made it to former slaves
 - Administrators collaborated with planters in expelling blacks from towns and cajoling them into signing labor contracts to work for former masters
- White Southerners resented bureau as federal interloper that threatened to upset white racial dominance
- -President Johnson repeatedly tried to kill bureau

16 IV. Johnson: The Tailor President

- -What manner of man was Andrew Johnson?
 - Reached White House from very humble beginnings
 - Born to impoverished parents, orphaned early, never attended school but apprenticed to a tailor at ten
 - Taught himself to read; later his wife taught him to write and do simple arithmetic
 - Became active in Tennessee politics
 - Impassioned champion of poor whites against planter aristocrats

17 IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.)

- Excelled as a stump speaker
- Elected to Congress, he attracted favorable attention in North (but not South) when he refused to secede with Tennessee
- After Tennessee partially "redeemed" by Union armies, appointed war governor and served courageously in a dangerous job
- Politics next thrust Johnson into vice presidency
- Lincoln's Union party in 1864 needed a person who could attract War Democrats

IV. Johnson: The Tailor President (cont.) -"Old Andy" a man of unpolished parts: -Intelligent, able, forceful, honest -Steadfastly devoted to duty and to the people Dogmatic champion of states rights and the Constitution -Yet he was also a misfit A Southerner who did not understand North -A Tennessean, distrusted by South -A Democrat never accepted by Republicans -Hot-headed, contentious, stubborn -Wrong man in wrong place at wrong time -A Reconstruction policy devised by angels might well have failed in his tactless hands 19 V. Presidential Reconstruction 20 War over Reconstruction: -Lincoln believed Southern states never legally withdrew from Union His "10 percent" Reconstruction plan (1863): -State could be reintegrated into Union when 10% of its voters in presidential election of 1860 swore allegiance -And pledged to abide by emancipation Next step would be formal erection of state government Lincoln would then recognize purified regime V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.) -Lincoln's plan provoked sharp reaction in Congress where Republicans feared: Restoration of planter aristocracy Possible re-enslavement of blacks

- -Republican rammed through Congress 1864:
 - Wade-Davis Bill:
 - -Required 50% of state's voters take oath of allegiance
 - Demanded stronger safeguards for emancipation than Lincoln's as price of readmission to Union
 - Lincoln "pocket-vetoed" bill

22 V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Controversy over Wade-Davis revealed:
 - -Deep differences between president and Congress
 - »Congress insisted seceders left Union and "committed suicide" as republican states
 - »Thus forfeited their rights
 - Could be readmitted only as "conquered provinces" on such conditions as Congress should decree
- Majority moderate group:
 - –Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states should be restored as simply and swiftly as reasonable—though on Congress's terms, not president's

23 V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- Minority radical group:
 - -Believed South should atone more for its sins
 - Wanted social structure uprooted, planters punished, newly emancipated blacks protected by federal powers
- -Andrew Johnson:
 - Agreed with Lincoln—seceded states never left Union
 - Quickly recognized several of Lincoln's 10% governments

24 V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.)

- May 29, 1865 issued his Reconstruction proclamation (see Table 22.1):
 - –Disfranchised certain leading Confederates:»including those with taxable property worth more than \$20,000

»though they might petition him for personal pardons -Called for special state conventions to: »Repeal ordinances of secession »Repudiate all Confederate debts »Ratify slave-freeing Thirteenth Amendment -States that complied would be swiftly readmitted to Union 25 26 V. Presidential Reconstruction (cont.) -Johnson granted pardons in abundance -Bolstered by political resurrection of planter elite, recently rebellious states moved rapidly to organize governments in 1865 -As pattern of new governments became clear, Republicans of all stripes grew furious VI. The Baleful Black Codes Black Codes: -Regulated activities of emancipated blacks: Mississippi, first to pass such laws in November, 1865 Varied in severity from state to state: –Mississippi's the harshest; Georgia's the most lenient -Their aims: Ensure stable and subservient labor force Whites wanted to retain tight control they exercised in days of slavery 28 VI. The Baleful Black Codes (cont.) -Dire penalties on blacks who "jumped" labor contracts: -Committed them to work for same employer for 1 year -Generally at pittance wages Violators could be made to forfeit back wages or could be dragged back to work by a "Negro-catcher" –In Mississippi captured freedmen could be fined

-Then hired out to pay fines

29 VI. The Baneful Black Codes

»Arrangement closely resembled slavery

(cont.)

- Tried to restore pre-emancipation system of race relations:
 - -All codes forbade a black to serve on a jury
 - -Some even barred blacks from renting or leasing land
 - Blacks could be punished for "idleness" by working on a chain gang
 - -Nowhere were blacks allowed to vote
- Oppressive laws mocked ideal of freedom
- Imposed burdens on former slaves struggling against mistreatment and poverty

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30 VI. The Baneful Black Codes (cont.)

- · Worst features of Black Codes eventually repealed
- Revocation not lift liberated blacks into economic independence:
 - Lacking capital, many former slaves slipped into status of sharecropper, as did many landless whites
 - Sharecroppers fell into morass of virtual peonage
 - -Many became slaves to soil and creditors
 - Dethroned planter aristocracy resented even this pitiful concession to freedom
- · Black Codes made ugly impression on North

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32 VII. Congressional Reconstruction

- Congress met in December, 1865:
 - -New Southern delegations presented themselves:
 - Many were former Confederate leaders
 - Four former Confederate generals, five colonels, and various members of Richmond cabinet and Congress
 - Worst of all, Alexander Stephens, ex-vice president, still under indictment for treason, there
 - "Whitewashed rebels" infuriated Republicans in Congress

33 VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.)

· Also during war, Republicans able to pass legislation favorable

to North: -Morrill Tariff, Pacific Railroad Act, Homestead Act • On first day of congressional session, Dec. 4, 1865, they shut door on newly elected Southerners • Realized restored South would be stronger than ever in national politics • With full counting of blacks because of end of 3/5 clause for representation, rebel states entitled to 12 more votes in Congress 12 more electoral votes in presidential elections VII. Congressional Reconstruction (cont.) -Republicans had good reason to fear: Southerners might join with Northern Democrats and gain control of Congress and maybe White House Could then perpetuate Black Codes Dismantle economic programs of Republican Party by: -Lowering tariffs -Rerouting transcontinental railroad -Repealing free-farm Homestead Act -Even repudiating national debt VII. Congressional Reconstruction 35 (cont.) -Johnson deeply disturbed congressional Republicans when he announced on December 6. 1865 that: Rebellious states had satisfied his conditions • In his view, Union restored 36 VIII. Johnson Clashes with Congress Clash exploded in February 1866:

	President vetoed bill extending life of Freedmen's Bureau (later repassed)
	-Republicans passed Civil Rights Bill: • Conferred on blacks privilege of American citizenship • Struck at Black Codes • Vetoed by Johnson
	 In April, congressmen steamrollered over his veto—something repeatedly done
37	
38 V	 III. Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.) -Lawmakers riveted principles of Civil Rights Bill into Fourteenth Amendment: •Approved by Congress and sent to states-1866 •Ratified-1868 •Sweeping amendment; major pillar of constitutional law: -Conferred civil rights, including citizenship but excluding franchise, on freedmen -Reduced proportionately representation of a state in Congress and Electoral College if it denied blacks the ballot
39 V	 Johnson Clashes with Congress (cont.) Disqualified from federal and state office, former Confederates who as federal officeholders had once sworn "to support the Constitution of the United States" Guaranteed federal debt, while repudiating Confederate debt (see text of Fourteenth Amendment in Appendix) Radical faction disappointed Fourteenth Amendment not grant right to vote. All Republicans agreed no state should be readmitted into Union without first ratifying Fourteenth Amendment. Johnson advised Southern states to reject it. All did but Tennessee.
	K. Swinging 'Round the Circle ith Johnson

- Battle between Johnson and Congress:
 - -"10 percent" governments passed Black Codes
 - In response, Congress extended Freedmen's Bureau and passed Civil Right Bill
 - -Johnson vetoed both measures
 - –Would South accept principles enshrined in Fourteenth Amendment?
 - -Republicans would settle for nothing less

41 IX. Swinging 'Round the Circle with Johnson (cont.)

- Crucial congressional elections of 1866—
 - Johnson's famous "swing 'round the circle" (1866) = a comedy of errors
 - Delivered series of "give 'em hell" speeches
 - As vote getter, he was highly successful —for opposition
 - His inept speechmaking heightened cry "Stand by Congress" against "Tailor of the Potomac"
 - When votes counted, Republicans had more than a two-third majority in both houses of Congress

42 X. Republican Principles and Programs

- Republicans had veto-proof Congress and unlimited control of Reconstruction policy
- -Radicals:
 - In Senate, led by courtly and principled idealist Charles Sumner:
 - -Labored tirelessly for black freedom and racial equality
 - In House, most powerful was Thaddeus Stevens
 - -Had defended runaway slaves in court without fees
 - -Insisted on being buried in a black cemetery
 - -Devoted to blacks; hated rebellious white Southerners
 - -Leading figure on Joint Committee on Reconstruction

43 X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Radicals opposed rapid restoration of Southern states:
 - -Wanted to keep them out as long as possible

- Apply federal power to bring about drastic social and economic transformation in South
- Moderate Republicans:
 - –Invoked principles of states'rights and self-government
 - -Recoiled from full implications of radical program
 - Preferred policies that restrained states from abridging citizens'rights
 - Rather than policies that directly involved federal government in individual lives

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45 X. Republican Principles and Programs (cont.)

- Policies adopted by Congress showed influence of both groups
- By 1867 both agreed on necessity to enfranchise black votes, even if it took federal troops to do so
- By 1866, bloody race riots in several Southern cities

46 XI. Reconstruction by the Sword

- Reconstruction Act passed by Congress on March 2, 1867 (see Map 22.1)
 - -Divided South into five military districts:
 - Each commanded by a Union general
 - Policed by about 20,000 blue-clad soldiers
 - Temporarily disfranchised ten of thousands of former Confederates
 - -Congress laid stringent condition for readmission:
 - Required to ratify 14th Amendment giving former slaves rights as citizens

47

48 XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

- Bitterest pill--stipulation that they guarantee in state constitutions full suffrage to former adult male slaves
- Stopped short of giving freedmen land or education at federal expense
- Overriding purpose of moderates:
 - Create electorate in South that would vote their states back into Union on acceptable terms

- »Thus freeing government from direct responsibility for protection of black rights»Approach proved woefully inadequate to cause of justice
- 49 XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

for blacks

- Radical Republicans:
 - Only true safeguard was to incorporate black suffrage into federal Constitution
 - Congress sought to provide constitutional protection for suffrage provisions of Reconstruction Act
 - –Fifteenth Amendment, passed by Congress 1869; ratified by required number of states in 1870 (see Appendix)
- Military Reconstruction of South:
 - -Usurped some presidential functions as commander in chief
 - -Set up a martial regime of dubious legality

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- 50 XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)
 - Ex parte Milligan (1866) ruled:
 - Military tribunals could not try civilians, even during wartime in areas where civil courts were open
 - Peacetime military rule seemed contrary to spirit of Constitution, but circumstances were extraordinary
 - -Southern states:
 - Started task of constitution making
 - By 1870, all of them had reorganized governments
 - And were accorded full rights (see Table 22.2)

51 XI. Reconstruction by the Sword (cont.)

• When federal troops left a state, its government swiftly passed back into hands of white Redeemers or "Home Rule" regimes—inevitably Democratic

• In 1877, last federal muskets removed from state politics and "solid" Democratic South congealed XII. No Women Voters 53 -Struggle for black freedom and crusade for women's rights were one and the same to many women -Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony: During war temporarily shelved their own demands Worked wholeheartedly for cause of black emancipation • Woman's Loyal League gathered 400,000 signatures on petitions asking Congress to pass constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery 54 XII. No Women Voters (cont.) -With war over and 13th Amendment passed, feminist leaders believed their time had come -Reeled with shock when wording of Fourteenth Amendment which defined equal citizenship: Inserted word male into Constitution in referring to a citizen's right to vote -Both Stanton and Anthony campaigned against Fourteenth Amendment Despite pleas from Frederick Douglass, who supported woman suffrage, but believed this was "Negro's hour" 55 XII. No Women Voters (cont.) -When 15th Amendment proposed to prohibit denial of vote on basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," Stanton and Anthony wanted word sex added to list -Lost this battle, too -Fifty years would pass before Constitution granted women right to vote XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in the South 56 • Congress, haltingly and belatedly, secured franchise for freedmen: -Lincoln and Johnson had proposed to give ballot gradually to

blacks who qualified for it through:
 Education, property ownership, or military service
 Moderates and many radicals at first hesitated to bestow suffrage on freedman
57 XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
 14th Amendment heart of Republican program for Reconstruction: Fell short of guaranteeing right to vote
–Envisioned for blacks and women—citizenship without voting rights
 Northern states withheld ballot from their tiny black minorities Southerners argued Republicans were hypocritical in insisting Blacks in South be allowed to vote
58
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
Union League:
–Black men seized initiative to organize politically:
Freedmen turned League into network of political clubs
Mission included building black churches and schools
 Representing black grievances before local employers and
government • Recruiting militias to protect black communities from white
retaliation
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60
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
 African American women's roles:
–Did not obtain right to vote
-Attended parades and rallies common in black communities
-Helped assemble mass meetings in new black churches
 Showed up at constitutional conventions, monitoring proceedings and participating in informal votes outside convention halls
61
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
African American men's roles:
–Some elected as delegates to state constitutional convention:

 Formed backbone of black political communities At conventions, sat down with whites to hammer out new state constitutions that provided for universal male suffrage Even though no governors or majorities in state senates, black power increased exponentially
62
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
Former masters lashed out at freedmen's white allies with terms
Scalawags and carpetbaggers:
Scalawags—Southerners, former Unionists and Whigs Cornethedgers, supposedly alegay Northerners who needed
 Carpetbaggers—supposedly sleazy Northerners who packed all their goods into carpetbag suitcase at war's end and had come to seek personal power and profit
 Most were Northern businessmen and former Union soldiers who wanted to play role in modernizing "New South"
63
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
 Radical regimes (legislatures) passed much desirable legislation: Steps toward establishing adequate public schools Streamlined tax systems
• Launched public works
• Granted property rights to women
 Reforms retained by all-white "Redeemer" government that later returned to power
XIII. The Realities of Radical Reconstruction in South (cont.)
 Despite achievements, corruption rampant: Especially in South Carolina and Louisiana
Conscienceless pocket-padders used inexperienced blacks as pawns
 Worst "black-and-white" legislatures purchased: As "legislative supplies," such "stationery" as hams, perfumes, suspenders, bonnets, corsets, and champagne
Corruption by no means confined to South in postwar years
65 XIV. The Ku Klux Klan

 Deeply embittered, some Southern whites resorted to savage measures against "radical" rule
•Resented successful black legislators
 Secret organizations mushroomed
Most notorious—"Invisible Empire of the South":
–Ku Klux Klan, founded in Tennessee in 1866
–Used fright, tomfoolery, and terror against "upstart" Blacks
-"Upstarts" flogged, mutilated, and murdered
–Klan became refuge for bandits and cutthroats
–Any scoundrel could don a sheet
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68 XIV. The Ku Klux Klan (cont.)
 Force Acts (1870-1871) used U.S. troops to stamp out "lash law"
White resistance:
 Undermined attempts to empower blacks politically
 White South flouted 14th and 15th Amendments
Wholesale disfranchisement of blacks in 1890s:
Used intimidation, fraud, and trickery
 Literacy tests, unfairly administered by whites to advantage
illiterate whites
–Whites used goal of white supremacy to justify such devices
69
70 XV. Johnson Walks the
Impeachment Plank
 Radicals attempted to remove Johnson from office:
–Initial step—Tenure of Office Act (1867)—
 Passed over Johnson's veto
 Required president get consent of Senate before he could oust
an appointee once they had been approved
 One goal was to freeze into cabinet Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a holdover from Lincoln's administration
-Who secretly served as informer for radicals
71 XV. Johnson Walks the Impeachment Plank (cont.)
-Johnson abruptly dismissed Stanton, early 1868

- -House voted 126 to 47 to impeach Johnson:
 - For "high crimes and misdemeanors" as required by Constitution
 - Charged him with violations of Tenure of Office Act
 - Two additional articles related to Johnson's verbal assaults on Congress
 - –Involved "disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, reproach"

2 XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson

- Johnson's trial before Senate:
 - –House conducted prosecution:
 - Johnson kept his dignity and maintained discreet silence
 - His attorneys argued president was testing constitutionality of Tenure of Office Act by firing Stanton
 - House prosecutors had hard time building compelling case for impeachment
 - –May 16, 1868, by a margin of one vote, radicals failed to muster two-thirds majority to remove Johnson
 - -Seven moderate Republicans senators voted "not guilty"

73 XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

- Several factors shaped outcome:
 - Fears of creating destabilizing precedent
 - Principled opposition to abusing constitutional mechanism of checks and balances
 - Political considerations:
 - -Successor would have been radical Republican Benjamin Wade, president pro tempore of Senate
 - Wade disliked by business community for his high-tariff, softmoney, pro-labor views
 - –Distrusted by moderate Republicans

74 XVI. A Not-Guilty Verdict for Johnson (cont.)

- Diehard radicals infuriated by failure to remove Johnson
- Nation avoided dangerous precedent that would have gravely weakened one of three branches of federal government

75 XVII. The Purchase of Alaska

 Johnson's administration:
 Though enfeebled at home, achieved its most enduring success in foreign relations
–Russians wanted to sell Alaska
 In case of war with Britain, Russia would have lost it to sea- dominant British
 Alaska had been ruthlessly "furred out" and was a growing economic liability
Russians eager to unload "frozen asset"
 Preferred purchase by U.S.A. because wanted to strengthen U.S.A. as barrier against Britain
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76 XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)
• 1867 Secretary of State William Seward, an ardent
expansionist, signed treaty with Russia:
-Transferred Alaska to United States for bargain price of \$7.2 million (see Map 22.2)
–Steward's enthusiasm not shared by his uninformed countrymen, who called it Seward's Folly, "Seward's icebox," "Frigidia," and "Walrussian"
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77
78 XVII. The Purchase of Alaska (cont.)
 Why did United States purchase Alaska?
 Russia alone among major powers had been friendly to North during recent Civil War
 America did not want to offend their friend, the tsar
Territory had furs, fish, gold, and other natural resourcesSo Congress accepted "Seward's Polar Bear Garden"
79 XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction
White Southerners regarded Reconstruction as more grievous wound than the war itself:
-Left scars that took generations to heal

 Resented upending of social and racial system
 Resented political empowerment of blacks and insult of federal intervention in their affairs
 A wonder, given all the bitterness from war, that Reconstruction not far harsher than it was
80 XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)
 No one knew at war's end what federal policy toward South should be
 Republicans acted from mixture of idealism and political expediency:
–Wanted to protect freed slaves
-Promote fortunes of Republican party
In end, efforts backfired badly
•Reconstruction:
–Conferred only fleeting benefits on blacks
–Destroyed Republican Party in South for nearly 100 years
•
81 XVIII. The Heritage of Reconstruction (cont.)
 Moderate Republicans never fully appreciated:
 Extensive effort needed to make freed slaves completely independent citizens
 Lengths to which Southern whites would go to preserve system of racial dominance
 Despite good intentions by Republicans, Old South more resurrected than reconstructed:
Spelled continuing woe for generations of southern blacks
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83