3d March, 1834, states that Avery, Tompkins & Co. are contractors on routes Nos 1903 and 2101, at a compensation of 24 000 dollars; and they receive, for divers improvements on routes Nos. 1903, 2101, and 2102, which are all included in the grand aggregate of contracts above named, and also for improvements on 2107, *which is not included* in it, an extra allowance yearly of 13.500 dollars. Thus first grouping, and then dividing into smaller groups and confounding one group of contracts with another, until it becomes impracticable to trace and reduce to their elements these multiform transactions.

After several other extras for improvements which result in daily mails, with increased expedition on these routes, and an increased allowance of 11,000 dollars a year, there occurs this extraordinary allowance:

"For running, besides a tri weekly line in a *four horse wagon*, so as to exclude passengers, and *insure* the regular arrival of the mail during the winter season, they were allowed, from December 1, 1832, an additional compensation at the annual rate of two thousand five hundred dollars." Thus, after paying these individuals a large compensation by contracts for carrying the mail, and giving them further large extra allowances for carrying it, they are paid two thousand five hundred dollars a year further extra *for carrying it in a wagon*.

In examining the proportions which the money paid for the transportation of the mail bears to the receipts for postages in particular districts of country, and even in whole States, the disproportion is in some cases remarkable.

The extra allowances of E. P. Johnson, on one single contract, as has been shown, consume the whole revenue of Indiana.

The *extra* allowances of contractors in Virginia fall short, in but three hundred and thirty five dollars, of swallowing up the whole revenue received by the Department in that State.

In North Carolina, the *extra* allowances fall short of the nett receipts for postages six hundred dollars

In Alabama, the *extra* allowances are to the nett proceeds for postages as two to one.

The whole nett proceeds of postages in Virginia, as appears by the Postmaster General's report of the 28th of February, 1831, was seventy nine thousand two hundred and sixty two dollars ninety one cents. The whole cost for transportation in that State by the contracts of October, 1831, and allowances and extra allowances made to contractors, is $233,959 Falling short but $6.29 of three to one.

The whole nett receipts in Alabama were	$2 678
The cost of transportation within it is reported at	157,568

Being something more than five to one.

These estimates are subject to variation equal to the increase of postages in those States from January, 1830, until the contracts took effect, and the extra allowances were made. When those corrections are made, the disproportion between the nett receipts for postages, and the expenditures in those States, though lessened, will still be enormous.

The law contemplates that on new routes, and consequently in new States, a considerable expenditure should be allowed over and above the amount of receipts: but even where the money is fairly and judiciously applied for the benefit of the public, there is a limit beyond which such expenditure is not permitted to pass without the consent of Congress.—By the 39th section of the act of 1825, reducing into one the acts regulating the Post Office Department, it is provided "that it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to report annually to Congress every post route which shall not, after the second year from its establishment, have produced one third of the expenses of carrying the mail on the same."

If this provision of law had been attended to, the aggregate of the routes in Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama, ought to have been reported as unproductive routes and Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, would but just have escaped its provisions; the expenditure in each of these last named States being more than double the amount of receipts.

There are two States which lie, side by side, nearly equal in population, extent of territory, and in the revenue which they yield to the department, which show a remarkable difference in the sums paid in each for the transportation of the mail.

In Vermont there was received for postages, as appears by the report of February 28, 1831 nett	$17, 663 72
In New Hampshire,	16,838 82
Difference in favor of Vermont,	1,824 90
There is paid for transportation in New Hampshire,	$8 818 96
In Vermont,	23,208 66
Difference on the other side,	15,616 80

Your Committee find no good reason for this disproportion of expenditure in these two States.

Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Nathaniel Macon, of May 14th 1801, says that "a very early recommendation had been given to the Postmaster General to employ no printer, foreigner, or Revolutionary tory, in any of his offices." *His* reason for the exclusion of the PRINTER from any connection with the Post Office Department is obvious, and if we would preserve the press from corruption, and prevent it from exerting a corrupting influence over the community, that recommendation ought to be esteemed as a precept, and religiously observed in the present and in all future times. But this admonition has passed unnoticed, or is disregarded, by those who now conduct the affairs of this Department. Large sums of money appear to have been expended in such a manner, that the obvious tendency of the expenditure, is to extend the influence of the Department over the public press, and through that press over the People.

William Smith, whose extra allowance, as stated in the Blue Book, (p 256 and 288,) amount to $11,129 a year, is the proprietor of an efficient party press in Culpepper county, Virginia.

Horatio Hill, said to be the conductor of a violent party press in the State of New Hampshire, is a contractor to carry the mail on no less than fifteen mail routes; & instead of extra allowances, his contracts are noted in the margin "WITH NEWSPAPER PRIVILEGE," which we understand to mean the privilege of carrying and distributing newspapers at pleasure on his mail routes.

Hay and Bennett were contractors for carrying the mail from Bellefonte to Meadville, in the State of Pennsylvania, from the 1st of January, 1828, to the 31st of December, 1831. On the 5th of January, 1830, they obtained an extra allowance of $500 a year for increased expedition, and it is said that Bennett thereupon purchased an opposition press in Meadville, and arrayed it at once on the side of the administration.

At the lettings in October 1830, this route was advertised to run through in two days and seven hours. E Platt & Co bid for it at $1.980, Moore, Libo & Co. at $2.450, and Benjamin Bennett at "$850, pt. 525 $700" in broken bids, equal, it is believed, to $1 575 for the whole route. The bid of Benjamin Bennett is marked accepted, and the acceptance erased, and that of J B Bennett (the owner of the press) is accepted at $3.500, through in two days. But the schedule which appears to have been made out at the time of executing the contracts states that on account of the unusual freshets and destruction of bridges, and other material changes in the road since the 15th of October, 1831, it is agreed to run through in two days and a half each way, making five hours longer time than it was fixed at by the advertisement, and proposed for the other bidders. Supposing the bid of Benjamin Bennett to be fictitious, or made by arrangement merely to enable the Department the better to transfer the contract to J. B. Bennett, there is still a difference between the next lower and valid bid, and that at which it was struck off of 1,520 dollars a year, equal in four years to 6,080 dollars, which appears to be the extra expense incurred by the department to place this contract in the hands of a newspaper editor.

"That *incidental expenses* comprehending the *secret service* fund of the Department, present an interesting subject for consideration. No law appropriates money for those expenses—Congress exercises no control over them. The Postmaster General, at his mere discretion, selects the object of his patronage, which he dispenses from the revenue derived from postages, and is guided by that discretion alone in fixing the amount of that patronage. He may employ one printer and one travelling agent, or one hundred of each at his pleasure; and he may pay each of them as much as he pleases. If, by the improper exercise of this and his other unrestrained powers, the Department becomes bankrupt, then, by the construction which he bestows on the Constitution, he (not Congress alone) may borrow any amount of money, on the credit of the nation, to supply the deficiency. Subjoined is a statement of these incidental expenses from the year 1790, prepared by a clerk, at the request of the Committee, accompanied by a view of the "*contingent expenses*," and of the sums appropriated by law for the salaries of the officers of the Department, which must not be confounded with the "*incidental expenses*." By this the senate will perceive that, from a sum less than two thousand dollars, these expenses, under former administrations, gradually increased for many years, there being an average annual addition of about one thousand dollars. In 1829, they had swelled to the sum of $56,471, exceeding the sum expended in any former year; and in the year commencing July 1, 1832, embracing the period of the last Presidential election, they amounted to about $88,000 being a sudden increase of near 20 000 dollars over the corresponding expenditures of any former year.

Of these expenses, no detailed account is required to be rendered to Congress—no report of the various items which form their aggregate amount is published. The money to defray them constitute what may be emphatically called *the secret fund*. The fund commonly so called, which is placed in the hands of the President to defray the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, is not so properly entitled to the appellation—*That fund* is limited in its amount by the will of Congress, whose approbation is requisite to its existence. *This* fund is unlimited by aught but the will of him who uses it, and is as free from the control of the laws as if it were the treasure of an independent government. *That* fund is also limited by the acts of appropriation to a certain object. *This* has just so many objects as the Postmaster General may select. Whatever expenses he chooses to consider as "*incidental*" to his department, he pays, and the only account which he renders for it is confined to a line in his annual report, thus: "The incidental expenses for last year were 87.701 dollars." The consequence of this state of things is, that, while the secret service fund in the hands of the President is 30.000 dollars the fund expended during the current year by the Postmaster General for the "incidental expenses" for his department has now increased, as appears by the estimate in his last annual report, to thrice that sum.

At an early day of the present session, one of your committee drew the attention of the Senate to this subject, by a resolution calling for an account of these expenses, for the period intervening between the 30th of September, 1831, and the 30th September, 1833. Months elapsed before any answer was given to the resolution, although, as will be seen by reference to the length of the report of the Postmaster Gen'l on this subject, hereto annexed, the whole of it might have been transcribed from the Post Office books, by a tolerable clerk, in one day. When, after repeated inquiries for this paper, it was at length, for the first time, communicated to the Senate, it appeared in *secret session*, in company with another paper giving an account marked "*confidential*." On the last paper, over which the veil of secrecy still hangs, your Committee make no comment; but to the paper, on which the injunction of secrecy does not rest, they invite the attention of the Senate.

While examining this document with a view to the correction of the abuses which it disclosed, the attention of your committee was arrested by the extent of official patronage to printers which it develops, and the amount of that patronage as exhibited in the "Blue Book." The resolution of Congress, of the 14th of July, 1832, directed that there should be included in the next (present) edition of this book a *correct* list of all printers *in any way* employed by any department or officer of the Government, within the period between the 30th of September, 1831, and the 30th of September, 1833, with *the compensation* allowed to *each*. The resolution of Congress, to enable the Secretary of State to comply with it, enjoins it upon the "several heads of departments directing or incurring the expense, to cause the list, and the matter thereby required to be added, to be lodged in the Department of State." The document in the Blue Book (page 182, § 4) entitled, "List of all printers employed by the Post Office Department between the 30th of September 1831, and the 30th of September 1833 with the compensation of each," is the official paper furnished in obedience to this resolution, & is the first publication of any portion of the incidental expenses that has ever been made in obedience to the requisitions of law.

The object of the resolution was to interpose the check of public opinion to arrest the abuse of official patronage to printers, no other check having been provided. To the end, also, that this patronage might not be abused, without detection, by employing the owners of the press, in any other way than in printing, it provided that the list to be furnished should embrace all printers in any way employed with the compensation to each, no matter for what allowed. If a printer be a mail contractor, it was intended by the resolution that the fact should appear. If any one of those who control the public press enjoys for years a monopoly in supplying the Department with the articles to the great profit of the contractor, the fact was designed to be shown in order that the public might judge of the extent and influence of the Executive patronage over the press so controlled. But, so far from accomplishing this, or any other proper object of this part of the resolution, it has been the means of eliciting a report from the Post Office Department precisely calculated to mislead the public in reference to the whole subject.

On the list of printers in the Blue Book True & Greene, proprietors and printers of the Boston Statesman, are thus stated to be employed:

True & Greene, for printing blanks,	$6.692 75
For advertising proposals,	206 50
Total,	6,899 25

But the exhibit now made by the account of the Department, hereto appended, shows that they have been employed during the whole time, (as the present Postmaster General had in fact for years before employed them,) in furnishing paper, printing blanks and twine, to the amount of $29.907 75

See the amount for the following items.

1832. January 25. True & Greene's compensation for furnishing blanks, paper, and twine, to various post offices in New York and elsewhere, from 1st October to 31st December, 1831, inclusive. $3,944 10

May 9. True and Greene's compensation for furnishing paper and twine, &c. from the 1st January to the 31st of March, 1832, inclusive, 2.144 85

Aug. 27. True & Greene, dr. for blanks, paper, and twine, from 30th June, 1832, 2,824 10

Dec. 15. True & Greene, dr. for blanks, paper and twine, from 1st July to the 30th September, 1832, 2,455 05

1833 March 28 True & Greene do. for blanks, paper and twine, from 1st October, 1832, to 31st December, 1833, 2,164 85

April 23 True & Greene, dr. for blanks, paper and twine, from 1st October, 1832, to 15th April, 1833, 3 727 25

July 24. True & Greene, for paper, blanks, and twine, from 1st October, 1832, to 30th September, 1833, 3,022 12

Oct. 16 True and Greene, for blanks, paper, and twine, from 1st April to 1st October 1833, 9,625 95

Real compensation $29 607 75

So that the printers of "the Boston Statesman," thus employed by the Department, received compensation for the articles which they were employed to furnish, within the period named in the resolution, exceeding, by $25003 05, the sums published by the Depatment in the Blue Book.

And from an accurate examination of the original vouchers for these payments to them, the following facts appear:

First, that the real sum paid for "the printed blanks," including the press work type setting, and the paper on which the blanks were actually printed, was $16,463 25

And that the real sum paid for wrapping paper and twine, was 13,444 50

29,907 75

So that the sum paid for the printed blanks alone exceeds the sums published in the Blue Book, by $9564 00

Secondly It appears that the only evidence upon which these large sums were paid, is the certificate of Nathaniel Greene, the postmaster at Boston. He is the brother of Charles Greene, of the firm of True & Greene. He undertakes to certify in all cases, that blanks, paper, and twine, were furnished to the various postmasters "in N. Y & elsewhere," to the precise amount stated in all the vouchers. He is the same person who edited "the Boston Statesman," before that press was transferred to its present proprietors, and, from the information we have, it appears to us that the postmaster himself was interested in it at the time of granting his certificates.

This is but one of a *class* of cases presented by "the incidental expenses," and we think it proper to remark, that, profitable as such contracts are, there is no competition admitted for them; no advertisement, or other notice, invites other persons to enter the lists in rivalry with the favored newspaper editor upon whom such compensation is to be bestowed—Established in a city where its patronage from other sources than Executive favor was probably not very great, the press of "the Boston Statesman" appears by the vouchers and receipts, to have been sustained in the year 1832, when the last Presidential election occurred, by the employment of its proprietors in rendering services to the amount of nearly sixteen thousand dollars, which was paid out of the revenues of this department

And now it also appears that Hill and Abbott, (printers of the New Hampshire *Patriot*,) were allowed, during the same period when True and Greene were employed, $7,543 26 "for blanks, paper, and twine," of which $3,328 83 was for printing blanks, though the sums appearing in the Blue Book, as paid to them, amount only to $1 494 36.

Horatio Hill also had mail contracts for which he received 6,272 dollars, with "newspaper privilege," as we have seen, though the Blue Book does not notice the fact in the list of printers; and Hill and Abbot appear also on the list of mail contractors, both for Maine and New Hampshire, with Hill and Morse, T. S. Abbot and Co., Hill and Crane, and Babbit and Hill.

During the same period, Shadrach Penn, who is the printer and proprietor of the Louisville Public Advertiser, was employed to furnish blanks, paper, and twine, to the amount of $9 586 36, although in the Blue Book his name appears on the list of printers as in any way employed by the department only for the sum of $2 297 92. The sums were paid within the same period to other persons, for "paper and twine," amounting to $24,562 61. Other sums allowed during these two years, as appears by the vouchers and accounts for printed blanks, paper and twine, not including the large sums paid to other editors for printing "mail proposals," amount to more than seventy thousand dollars.

The account now exhibited by the department shows that Francis P. Blair editor of the Globe, received from the 30th December, 1831, to the 26th of October 1833, inclusive, the sum of $21,634 90. He appears on the Blue Book for only $14,371 57. But as the department, on the application of the committee, sent us only a part of the vouchers for this account, and deferred sending the rest until it is now too late to examine them in time for this report, we cannot say how far the official statement in the Register is correct or incorrect The rates at which this printer is employed are enormous, and, in our opinion are not to be justified by reference to any thing which has occurred in the past history of this department. We herewith submit a specimen of the rates paid for advertising; and accompanying the same is a statement of the rates and sums allowed for printing advertisements in July, 1830—The sum allowed for printing these advertisements is it will be seen, about four times the amount then paid for them. See the statements marked X.

During the interesting period between the 1st of July and the 30th of December, 1832, the "incidental expenses" were $22,058 07. Within that time $13,673 31 was paid for printing to the editors and printers of newspapers, besides $5166 15 for other articles by them supplied. Of the sum so paid to printers Francis P. Blair received $8,386 50 "for printing proposals for carrying the mail from the 20th of July 1832, to the 11th October 1832 a period of two months and twenty two days, (a) p 228, in pa. The period immediately preceding the Presidential election was the time selected for paying from this department to this single editor about one hundred and sixteen dollars for every day his paper issued from the press. At the same time "the mail proposals" appeared not only in the city prints, and others having extensive circulation in different parts of the country, but in the most obscure country papers, some of which, having consumed the ailment they fed on, have since perished for the want of it. We present a few examples, and inquire for what possible purpose, except that of supporting a party press, while an excited political canvass was proceeding in the State of New York, were the following expenditures made:

1832. Mack and Andrews, for publishing proposals for carrying the United States mail in N. York, 31st October 1832 $365 25

Bryan & Lesph & Co. for ditto in New York, 10th September 1832 441 09

James Stryker, for ditto, in N. York, 29th November 1832 416 10

James Wright, for publishing in "Sandy Hill Herald" N. Y., proposals for carrying the mail in N. York, 12th July, till September, 1832 413 10

$1.636 35

It will be seen, by reference to the account now furnished by the Department that while the Globe weekly, semi weekly, and daily, was publishing these very "mail proposals" for the whole Union; and while the Albany Argus and the Courier and Enquirer were publishing the same for the State of New York and transmitting them to every part of the State from which a bid could be expected, these four papers, some of them scarcely circulating through a single county in the interior, and published two or three times a week were kept up at an expense of $1.636 35 for two months, printing of the mail proposals for the State For these and other similar expenditures, now brought to light by the document annexed, we can perceive no precedents in the former history of the department.

The year 1832 was also distinguished by the amount of expenses incurred for the services of sundry agents and secret emissaries who were put in motion at an expense of nearly ten thousand dollars for that year. These trips of investigation do not all appear on the face of the account. The sum of 6 085 is credited for sums paid to S Gouverneur, the postmaster at New York. From an indorsement on one of the vouchers to support this charge, it appears that he has received credit on the books of the Department for that amount, *by him paid* for the incidental expenses of his office, from which we infer that by the direction of the department, he made these payments, and was allowed them on settlement for postages. Mr. Gouverneur is not responsible for these payments ordered by the Department. Among the receipts is one of P. S. Loughborough, travelling agent, for one hundred dollars paid him the 4th day of June 1832; and seven of Barnabas Bates, another traveller, for $1.255 cash paid him as "special agent," between the 1st of August and the 12th December, 1832, inclusive.

Mr Barnabas Bates, in October 1833 presented an account, of which the following is a literal copy.

"General Post Office,

"To B. Bates, Special Agent Dr. 1833 April 30.	
To services from July 1, 1832 to date, 304 days, at $3 per diem	912 00
Do do expenses during the same 2 50	760 00
Do do steamboat & stage fare do	184 00
	1,856 00

So that Mr. Barnabas Bates set a good price on his travels, & although, by an endorsement, it appears that Mr. C. K. Gardner, the first Assistant Postmaster General, doubted about the allowance of 50 cents of $2 50 per diem for "expenses," in addition to the "per diem for services," and the "steamboat and stage fare," yet, on putting the question endorsed on the voucher—"shall the additional fifty cents be allowed under the circumstances?" the Postmaster General underwrites—"allowed;" and on the 15th of October, 1833, Mr Bates gives a receipt for a credit allowed him on account for the whole amount of $1856—The most curious part of this matter, however, is that the department has directed Mr Gouverneur to pay these agents for travelling, as it appears they did, as "special agents," in New York and New England, and then covered and concealed the charges under the name of "*incidental expenses of the Post Office at the city of New York*" By the returns of the first quarter for 1833, it also appears that P. S. Loughborough who receives an annual salary from the Treasury of the U. States of sixteen hundred dollars as "general agent" of the Post Office Department, was paid in addition thereto the sum of $2.467 66 as "special agent," for expenses in travelling in Virginia, New York, and the Western States, per order of the Postmaster General, from 1st November, 1831, to 31st December, 1832, making the whole sum paid that officer during that period, $4,967 66. During the same period, it will be seen from the account that other agents received $4.029 40, which, with the payment to Bates made by Gouverneur, made $9 510 66 for travelling agents in about one year. It is in evidence before the committee, by O. B. Brown, that Mr. Loughborough started on another trip of investigation about four weeks ago.

Finally, the incidental expenses from the 1st of July, 1834, by the returns made for the four first years & by Postmaster General's estimate, for the last, amounts, to the sum of $557 576 04, thus exceeding expenses of the 5 years previous to the 1st January, 1829, by the sum of $160,541. The necessity for legal restraint in this matter, we think, too apparent to require futher comment, and we now dismiss this part of the subject.

On the whole, your committee have found the affairs of the Department in a state of utter derangement, resulting, as it is believed, from the uncontroled discretion exercised by its officers over its contracts and its funds; and their habitual evasions, and in some instances their total disregard of the laws which have been provided for their restraint.—And your committee see no means within the power of Congress of extricating it from its present condition, and restoring it to healthy and efficient action, without providing by law a more strict system for its government; prescribing to its officers more special rules for the performance of their several duties; taking from them, as far as possible, all discretion, where the acceptance of a contract, or disbursement of money is concerned; establishing a more strict system of accountability, and enforcing an observance of the laws by penal enactment.

Should Congress advance out of the treasury for the support of the Department, the sum of money asked for by the Postmaster General, or even the whole amount of its debts, it is not probable, while under the management of its present officers with no other means than now exist to control and restrain them, that its debts would be liquidated, or its efficiency restored. Under this impression and belief, your committee cannot recommend the appropriation of any money to relieve the wants of the department until there be some further guarantee for its proper and judicious application:

Your committee, reserving the right to make a further report on these subjects hereafter, respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, (the resolutions was published in a former number.)

SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, 28th June, 1834.

To my old friend Mr Dwight of the New York Daily Advertiser.

My last letter to you tell'd you about the unsaftenty of elder bark tea, unless great care was taken in scrapin the bark, for its just as Doctor Parsons tell'd my good old mother, if its scraped both ways there is no tellin how things will work And its here just so with "the Government"— & the folks about the Gineral was always scrapin both ways, & things was gettin worse & worse. I used to tell the gineral when I was with him, he better let the Senate have a hand in directin this matter; that there wasn't in all creation a set of folks who knew owed what was right to be done, and when troubles did come, who knew how to git the Gineral out on't quicker than they did; but the Gineral would'nt give up till tother day, when he could'nt git by it, and the Senate got a chance to scrape a leetle bark for "the Government," and in less than no time it went just as the people expected it would, and just as they wanted it to work; it has cleered out Mr Taney and *Mr.* Stevenson already, and a good jag more would follow if the Senate gits another chance at scrapin the bark.

Some folks and especially them who want or expect offices think that the Senate ought to do just what the Gineral tells em—but that aint my notion, for I don't see why the people should be at the expense of having a Senate if that is to be the rule—The Senate has got a notion that it is their duty to see that no man gets an office with their consent unless he will discharge its duties for the good of the hull people and not for a party, and this is just my notion too, for it is a plagy hard bargain for all parties to be call'd on to pay wages to an office holder, and he in turn ony work for one party—that aint natural justice. If a man in office is ony to work for a party then that party ought to pay him his wages.

Times have got so now that most folks think when they are elected to office they have ony got to serve the party who voted for em; and look upon all the rest as a set of Algereens; and they go on "rewardin friends and punishin enemies," till every idle vagabond who is too lazy to get an honest livin by labor, works himself into a good fat office, jist because he has been crying about taverns and grog shops, "glory and reform," and "the spoils of the enemy belongs to the victers." Now, my notion is, its high time to put a stop to this kind of business, and git things back agin to law and common justice. The country has got enuff of "glory and reform," and the victors have got "spiles" enuff for one spell, and the ony peachable way to get the country out of the scrape, is for the people whose pockets have to pay for all this "glory and spiles," to turn right to and at the next election see that no man goes to Congress unless he is of the right kind of stuff No good farmer ever expects to raise a clean harvest of wheat, if he don't look out sharp and cull out of the seed wheat he plants, all the smutty grains, and the dock seed, and wild Inions; for if he plants any of them he will be bothered most plagily when grinding time comes; a hand'full of wild Inions will spoil a hull grist, and all the family will be eatin Iniony bread and puddin the hull season threw, jist for want of a leetle care in plantin time.

It wont do no good to be bothern yet about who is to be next President—its time enuff to select a nubber when we've got the harvest home and all thrash'd out; it will be enuff to see that we get a good honest miller then. But if we begin now afore we have planted our new crop, and say, so and so shall be our

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