

NATHANIEL BOLTON,
A FORGOTTEN NEW ENGLAND POET

BY CHARLES K. BOLTON

THOSE who have read the life of Sainte Thérèse of Lisieux marvel at the subordination of the body to spiritual emotion. But in early New England conditions not far removed from those in Lisieux were known. Religious fervor dominated family groups to an extraordinary degree. They had the language of fanatical piety even where performance did not always keep pace with good intent. In the village of Oakham, near Worcester, Mass., lived a family named Bolton, whose letters throw light on rural life a century ago. Stirred by the writings of Thomas Paine, a radical in politics and religion, Bolton published "A poem on infidelity" in 1808. But most of his known work is in the manuscript collection sold at auction in Boston by C. F. Libbie and Co. in 1913; and purchased by me and now presented to this Society. There are in this collection a dozen poems by Bolton, and two of his letters; there are also 28 letters from relatives and friends.

These family papers which are still in manuscript have a value to the student of early American literature. They picture a school teacher who had none of the culture to be derived from college surroundings, and none of the inspiration fostered by acquaintance with great poets and letter writers. In short, they picture through one example the typical rural school master of an era which was passing away with the death of Washington. This man, unaided by a literary circle, produced through a period of thirty-five years poem after poem shot through with the spiritual fervor

of the time, and affording a mirror of the educational standards considered adequate for a country teacher. The letters and other writings produced by men and women of social position are numerous even in this century-old era, but letters from isolated villages and from the frontiers of Maine, Vermont and New York, now so freely drawn upon for this sketch, are not so often met with.

Again, the poems of Nathaniel Bolton would never have satisfied lovers of Robert Browning; but would Browning's poems have met the needs of farmers in a village like Oakham where Bolton lived? His poems were thought worthy of printing to celebrate the victory of Gates over Burgoyne, and to commemorate local worthies like Dr. Field. As the literary output of an average little rural centre of activity they are discussed in this paper. It is the fashion today to have tame poets attached, as professor or consultant, to well-known colleges. Bolton was in some degree a poet laureate of the town in which he lived. Details relating to his career and the lives of his friends recorded in these manuscripts can nowhere else be found. Therefore they are set down here.

Nathaniel Bolton, Jr., schoolmaster and poet, was born on December 15, 1749, probably at Bridgewater, Mass., the descendant of Nicholas Bolton of Dorchester. His father had married in 1740, Deborah, daughter of Israel Washburn and widow of John Ripley. Throughout his long life Nathaniel kept in touch with his relatives, Huldah his daughter, wife of Blake Dean of Oakham, Mass., Rev. Daniel Bolton¹ his brother who lived in New Lisbon, New York, and with widely scattered children.

¹Nathaniel's brother, Rev. Daniel Bolton, was born Sept. 17, 1750, married at Bridgewater Oct. 22, 1772 Alice Leach, and moved to Oakham and Stafford, Conn. He was ordained at Ashford, Conn., June 27, 1792. Three years later he gathered another Baptist church at the joining of Ashford, Union and Woodstock, and remained 1796-1809. It was known as the Bolton church. He moved to Burlington, N. Y. and later to New Lisbon, Otsego County. He died at Burlington June 8, 1820, in the 30th year of his ministry. She died there Dec. 24, 1809, aged 56. Children: Deborah, Lucy, Alice Brown, Daniel, Oliver Dille, Jessa, Nathaniel, Lorenzo, Polly.

Nathaniel was not long in military service, but went from Oakham to Rhode Island in July, 1777. He married, probably in November of the same year (intention dated the 15th), Jane, daughter of Thomas Thompson of Bridgewater. Her sister Bethia was the wife of a well-known citizen of Bridgewater, Capt. Thomas Cushman, and their son corresponded with the Boltons. When the schoolmaster began his work at Oakham primitive life was the rule in rural New England. Letters passed from one to another rarely oftener than two or three times a year. When a Bridgewater traveller was to visit Oakham, people near his home hastily wrote letters freighted with news of crops, of the health and names of children, religious experiences, and gossip about neighbors. Occasionally letters slept for weeks in such a post office as that at Bangor, Maine, until someone could be found about to journey to a point near the home of the person addressed.

Occasionally a man or woman met a traveller who knew the home people, as when Rev. Daniel Bolton at New Lisbon, Otsego Co., N. Y. met John Gilmore of Ware, Mass., a friend of the settlers in Oakham. A correspondent of the poet in Maine did not care to receive a visit from her child in New York because the meeting would be short and the parting more poignant than she could endure. Houses were comfortable (Oliver Bolton's house was 28 x 36 feet), the barns large, but poverty was often as articulate as the local preacher.

Nathaniel's children played a leading part in his life, so that those who survived should be recorded early in any biographical sketch.

Charles was the first son. He wrote from Wrentham to his sister Huldah in February 1800, promising to send tea or snuff to his mother. Charles sailed from Orrington, Maine, with Capt. Elijah Brown of Boston in the sloop *Nancy* July 18, 1804. All were lost at sea. The poet wrote: "Charles my first born beloved of me,

was drowned in the raging sea, In eighteen hundred four. He perished in the watery main." He was engaged to Lydia Peirce who wrote affectionate letters to Charles's parents long after his death.

Huldah, born in 1782, died January 8, 1837, aged 55. She married Blake Dean, of Oakham in the autumn of 1802. They had a son, dead at 21; a daughter Rhoda married to Abiathar Johnson; and another Cynthia, his second wife. Huldah was consulted by the whole family circle.

Oliver, born in Stafford, Conn. January 15, 1784, died at Dover, N. H. September 5, 1832. He married in October, 1812, Mary—and had eight children. The poet died at his house. Oliver was a very religious man, faithful to every church duty, and an appreciation of his character appeared in *The Morning Star*. His wife survived him. The sons were Charles Vaughan of Foxcroft, Maine, and Oliver of Waltham, Mass.

Abishai, born about 1786, died before October 26, 1816, a teacher at Buckstown, later known as Bucksport, Maine, aged thirty. His father wrote in 1816: "And now Death has another slain." Oliver said that Abishai was in heaven. The poet said that Abishai's "bosom friend, belov'd and kind," with "two sweet babes" were "left behind." His wife Polly was "as nice a woman as ever broke this world's bread." His home was in Orrington, Maine. She and the daughters were well in 1818, but she died early in life, and the children were placed with friends.

Barnum, died at the Marine Hospital in Charlestown, Mass. December 19, 1818. He was a sailor and had been ill for sixteen months. In 1812 he wrote from Savannah after a voyage of forty-four days from Plymouth, England, and was bound to St. Petersburg, Russia, as second officer of the *Venus* of Hampton. His mother made his trousers and stockings. He said that following the sea was a dog's life, and he meant to settle in Orrington, being very fond of his brothers. He wrote from Barcelona in 1816 while he was in the

service of William Gray, the famous merchant. When dying he asked for a Bible. Oliver said he was in heaven.

Nathaniel Bolton, the poet, lived on the country road from Rutland to Brookfield, about half a mile south of Ware Corner.¹ This was not far from the junction of Five Mile River and Maynard's Brook. The house was already old before Nathaniel left it to live with his sons in Maine. He had been in Oakham as early as July 23, 1777 when he marched with Capt. John Crawford to Providence on the Rhode Island alarm. During the years immediately following he taught school, farmed the land, and wrote verses. The *Massachusetts Spy*, published at Worcester, announced on April 8, 1779 that on April 15th the printer would issue "A POEM on the surrender of Gen. BURGOYNE, &c. composed by Nathaniel Bolton of Oakham, the week after that glorious conquest obtained by General GATES. Thereafter it was advertised as issued. No copy of this poem has been found, although it was printed probably by Isaiah Thomas.

During the next twenty years he wrote occasional pieces relating to local events. In keeping with the spirit of the times these efforts were more funereal than merry. The death of little Jimmy Tomlinson, baby son of the minister, called for notice. Also the verses on tombstones of friends seem to be reminiscent of his lyre. The monument to Dr. Spencer Field, killed by a fall from his horse, bears a stanza of seven lines, and a poem on his death is in the Library at Oakham, both known to have been written by him. The latter is a broadside, probably printed by Isaiah Thomas since the *Massachusetts Spy* is mentioned in the poem. It bears the title: An/Elegiac Poem/occasioned by the Death of/Doc. Stephen [i.e. Spencer] Field, Esq. of Oakham/composed by Nathaniel Bolton of said town the week after his decease/adapted to the tune of Polly Gould/.

¹Wright, *Soldiers of Oakham*, p. 49.

The first stanza of the 33 reads:

Prepare for death ye living men,
For mortal man is born to die,
Live as you'll wish you had liv'd when
The monster death approaches nigh:
Ye living men for death prepare
There's no discharge in that warfare.

Dr. Field met several young men riding recklessly and was knocked off his horse by a collision. Stanza 8 reads:

Their rushing horses met and clash'd,
Which brought the doctor to the ground,
Against a rock his head was dash'd,
Which did produce a mortal wound—
Behold the fractur'd skull and gash;
Occasion'd by that awful dash!

It is possible that the turn of the century brought some religious awakening in the poet. He was outraged by what he considered to be Tom Paine's atheism, and wrote forty-five stanzas of protest. They were printed at Greenwich, Mass., by John Howe in a little book $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size. The title page reads: *A/Poem/on/Infidelity/By Nathaniel Bolton/[verse as given below]/ John Howe, Printer/Greenwich, February, 1808.*

Safe, in my kind Redeemer's hand,
My noblest int'rest lies;
Reserv'd, for my eternal bliss
Above these rolling Skies.

The Foreword, which fills page 2, states that the Jewish and Roman historians and the Evangelists agree in their relation of the facts concerning the miracles, death, and resurrection of Christ. He calls for a show of respect for those whose happiness is wrapped up in a future world. The verses burn with earnestness, and the most that can be said for them as poetry is that they are not inferior to the typography produced by the printer. The lines of the first stanza which run up hill across the page are:

TOM PAINE'S there are,
 Here and elsewhere:
 In English and French nation;
 Toms do arise,
 And do despise:
 All written revelation.

His vehemence is increased by the frequent use of the unpleasant word "whore." A reader of the copy now in the Boston Public Library cut this word from the leaf where it first appeared. But he tired of the task when he saw it printed again and again.

The last stanza is:

Now if some will,
 Continue still;
 The Bible to deny:
 They must remain,
 LIKE OLD TOM PAINE
 AND, INFIDELS must DIE.

John Hull (1783-1845), publisher of hymn-books and spelling books, lived at Greenwich and Enfield, villages in the Swift River valley, midway between Worcester and Northampton. In 1804 he began to issue Howe's *Genuine Almanac*. He wrote some of the poems which it contained, but the fact that Bolton had him for a printer suggests that some of the unsigned poems may have been written by him. Nathaniel Topliff of Dorchester, whose *Poems* were published in 1809, was also aroused by Paine. His poem begins:

Come, genius, now begin again,
 Sing of the "Rights of Man" and PAINE.

Nathaniel Bolton corresponded with Joseph and Molly Rice of Orrington, and in 1810 they invited him to visit them. They had a new house, plenty of potatoes, "two good yoke of cattle," hay, and had hauled eighty logs to mill. Other friends were George and Dinah (Dunbar) Richardson of the same place who retained their interest in Oakham people. After her husband's death Dinah married Jabez Bennett of

Bennett's Mills, Woodstock, Vt. and kept in close touch with the Boltons.

The year 1810 was one of great sickness in Oakham. Nathaniel wrote a poem entitled "Reflections on the Mortality with which we were Visited the year past." Only stanzas 7 to 16 (six lines each) have survived. Stanza 7 is preceded by eight coffins in a row. Stanza 8 reads:

Since eighteen hundred ten came in,
Eighteen interments there has been;
In Deaths embrace they sleep!
Eight of a raging fever dy'd:
And ten of other ails beside;
Left friends to wail and weep.

These events may have prompted the poet's son Abishai to write: "May God grant that when you write to me again you may have the same news [of rejoicing in God] to inform me of. O my Parents do be persuaded by one who has often remembered you before God to seek the Lord, my soul is grieved for you. I cant bare the thought of being separated from you in a coming world. O my Father turn to the God of your Salvation." He was a Methodist and wrote that his father had spoken lightly of that sect.

There is some evidence of improvement in versification as the following poem shows:

ACROSTIC ON OLIVER BOLTON COMPOSED March
12th 1811 BY NATH^{EL} BOLTON

O Lord in early life and youthful days:
Thou didst to Me thy saving Grace impart:
Lord may I never Cease to speak thy praise:
But love the Lord: with all My Soul and heart
I run destructions road with swift Career:
The broad: and downward road to Death and Wo:
Vainly I liv'd: Death distant did appear:
I run as far as God would let Me go.
Eternity: that word I must Confess:
Sounded alarming in My youthful Ears:
Religion I Determin'd to possess:
But meant to put it off till old in years.

But blessed be the Lord I did begin:
 Unto his preached Word an ear to lend:
 Often I thought how I had liv'd in sin:
 And to Gods written Word I did attend:
 Lovely to Me at length Christ did appear:
 More so than Sharon's Rose or Lily White
 To my most ardent pray'rs he bow'd his ear:
 And now this Jesus is My Soul's Delight:
 O I that was but a few Months ago:
 A walking on in Vain and Sinful ways
 No more May I return: to be a foe
 To Jesus: but adore him all My days.

There is also evidence of religious feeling. Nine years later the poet's son labored in vain to extract from him a confession of faith. This is puzzling, for Nathaniel in his poems is religious in expression.

We now come to a puzzling episode in Nathaniel Bolton's career. Near him lived Mr. Peres Waterman, a man of considerable influence who had been an officer in the Revolution. Nathaniel wrote a poem of sixteen stanzas of four lines each, bearing the title "Lines composed by John Carroll [i.e. Nathaniel Bolton?] on account [of] my unjust imprisonment—and I call God to witness my innocence." The manuscript states that this poem was sent "To Mr Peris Waterman, Oakham." As Waterman did not settle in the town until 1798 it is fair to assume that the incident may be dated at least some months later. It could not be later than 1816 when Nathaniel was in Maine. No record has been found at the Court House in Worcester, so we must fall back on the poem itself. Two lines of the third stanza read:

Infuriate girl! how dar'st thou tread
 On Heaven's eternal laws?

The "girl" may have been one of Mr Waterman's daughters, of age at this time but not married. If so the poem is a defence sent to the father. What are "Heaven's eternal laws" which she is said to have trod on? He asserts that the "infuriate girl" began the strife, swayed by baneful passions. It seems to me

that she gave him a tongue lashing for trespass, slander, or something of the kind, and that he may have struck her. I cannot read into the poem any charge more serious than that.

Mrs. Jane Bolton died at Oakham May 8, 1814, aged 65, and was buried in the South Cemetery where a good slate stone faces the country road. Her husband wrote two years later:

I saw the bosom friend of mine
Breathe her last breath her Soul resign:
And willing to depart.

* * *

But there was comfort mix'd with grief:
She did depart in full belief
That God was kind and just.

In August, 1814, Abishai wrote from Buckstown, Maine, to ask his father to live with him. He was busy with potatoes but would arrive at Oakham in October. He urged his father to sell the farm and pay his debts. Abishai was a school teacher, farmer, and a man of character and ability, as shown in his letters.

Two weeks later the British had taken Buckstown (Bucksport) and Abishai was faced with the unpleasant alternative of taking the oath of allegiance to Great Britain or of losing his property. He would leave all, he wrote, and flee to a land of liberty rather than be too much oppressed, showing that the old revolutionary tradition still survived. Abishai gives a long and vivid account of the attack, beginning:

“The British came into this River the first in’st. They left a large force at Castine and proseeded up the River with three vessals two of them were armed and the other was a transport, and they had also ten Barges. Their prinsipal object in coming in to the river was to take the Frigate Adams.”

In August, 1816, Nathaniel was living with Abishai, and appeared contented, but the Oakham land could not find a purchaser. Abishai’s sheep were being killed by bears, and on Sept. 6th Abishai lost one from

the yard close to his house. He wrote that he hoped the next night to get the bear as "a substitute" for the sheep. He added as a postscript to the letter: "I did not get the Bear."

Nathaniel's plans were upset by the death of Abishai the same year. He wrote:

On him for aid I did depend
 With him I thought my days to spend
 Till the arrest of Death:
 I never realiz'd that he
 Would be call'd for before me.
 To yield his vital breath.
 * * *

Abishai Oh: my Son: My Son:
 He is cut down; his race is run:
 And sorrow fills my heart.

All deaths made a deep impression on the rural population. Nathaniel had written in September 1815 "a few poetical lines on the death of Lydia Macumber, composed September seventeenth." The poem begins: "Listen ye careless thoughtless ones to me; prepare for Death before it does Surprize."

Nathaniel lived on with Abishai's widow whom he greatly admired, but it was "a melancholy house." He worried over his debts, and dulled his anxieties and grief by too frequent resort to the cup. In this state of mind he wrote 24 stanzas of six lines each, entitled: "Some metrical lines on old age by Nathaniel Bolton composed October, 1816." The fifth stanza reads:

Should God preserve the life of mine;
 I shall arrive at sixty nine:
 December fifteenth: when:
 I shall commence that fatal year:
 Which sounds terrific to the ear:
 The year three score and ten.

- 7 My days have few and evil been:
 I've liv'd in Vanity and sin:
 And still in sin remain:
 But Jesus can exert his power:
 And save at the eleventh hour
 From wo and endless pain.

- 8 But I must first of sin repent
And plead for Mercy: and lament
That I have liv'd in sin:
I must resolve to sin no more:
And saving Grace I must implore
And a new life begin.

Since these are the poems of a schoolmaster it does not seem wise to edit his punctuation. As they stand they throw some light on rural education at this time.

On February 14, 1817 Nathaniel moved to Dover, N. H. (then known as Piscataqua plantation, Number 3, Range 6) to live with his son Oliver. He was in good health, when Oliver wrote, in July, 1817, that Nathaniel was "verry industrece indeed in the things of a temporary nature & I hope that with all he is seeking Salvation for his soul." The poet found Oliver's wife difficult, and Barnum his other son said: "I do not blame him for I could not live with Oliver's wife." When Barnum died at the Marine Hospital in Charlestown two years later the Rev. Enoch Mudge, Methodist minister at Orrington, assured the father that the youth manifested "a seriousness & contrition which will lay the foundation of hope & comfort to you & his friends." He added: "May you cast your feeble helpless soul at the foot of the Cross, & penitently believe in the Lord Jesus Christ for pardon & salvation."

This is not so much a criticism of Nathaniel's way of life as a customary form of correspondence and conversation. In the winter of 1818-19 Nathaniel returned to Oakham. Oliver wrote to him there that they had found "his company better than his room," and Adelaide, a daughter, "often spoke of Grandpa." Nathaniel had written of a religious revival at Oakham, and his son said: "I hope you sir will Beg a share and obtain a share among the rest." A petition from the selectmen of Oakham to the Judge of Probate of Worcester County in August, 1819, recited that the poet was wasting his property and needed a guardian. This action may have prompted

his return to Dover. He had sold his land in November, 1818. His race was almost run, for in March, 1820, dropsy was sapping his vitality. On July 19th Oliver wrote to Mrs. Blake Dean in Oakham, that their father had died July 15th, sitting in his chair as his father before him had died. He had grown very thin and was, said Oliver, "something of a trial." Oliver continues:

"Father was awfully terrified at the thot of Death Judgment & Eternity. I spared no panes in conversing with him. I ast him if he had not a Dieing testimony to relate me But never a word. He sent for me once to come in & pray with him which I did. He wanted an easy exit out of time which I believe he had without a grone.—But a little while before that I ast him if he was a Dieing; he said No. His senses held good to the last moment I think. He was the most unreconciled person I ever saw."

But Nathaniel the poet had his vision at the end. As he lay dying he dreamt that he saw an angel come down from heaven, driving a yoke of oxen. They had come for him! Oliver, no doubt, had faith, but it did not run in this direction. He asked, therefore, how the angel looked. "Crabbed," replied Nathaniel. This was as Oliver would have expected, and he was satisfied. Some of us in this less oppressive age will hope that the angel, though crabbed, had a breadth of sympathy that could include such an one as Nathaniel Bolton of Oakham.

REGISTER OF POEMS BY NATHANIEL BOLTON

1779

A Poem on the Surrender of Gen. Burgoyne &c., composed by Nathaniel Bolton of Oakham, the week after that glorious Conquest obtained by General Gates.

Advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy*, April 8, 1779.

The next week the poem is advertised as "Just published."

The notice appears in the issues of April 22 and 29. No copy has been found. See Wright's "Soldiers of Oakham," p. 49. Printed probably by Isaiah Thomas.

1792

An acrostic on James Tomlinson lately Deceased, 14 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Just on life's stage I did appear: three years I drew my breath." He died Aug. 9, 1792 (Grave-stone).

An Epitaph on the above [J. T.] mentioned Deceased, 8 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Not parents pray'rs nor the physicians skill." Note: "The within acrostic and epitaph were composed the week after the Death of James Tomlinson by an unworthy Poetaster Viz N. B."

1792-1803

Several stones in the churchyard at Oakham bear verses probably written by Mr. Bolton.¹

On Lucinda Allen, 1792

On Mary Brown, 1795

On Capt. Nehemiah Allen, 1799

On Artemas Howe, Esq. 1800

On Jephthah Ripley, 1803

1793

Acrostic on Miss Sarah Washburn of Bridgewater Composed September 1793, 26 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Some are ordain'd to live a Single life." Signed "Oakham March 10 1796 Nath^{el} Bolton."

1801

An/Elegiac Poem/Occasioned by the Death of/Doc. Stephen [i.e. Spencer] Field, Esq. of Oakham/Composed by Nathaniel Bolton of said town, the week after his decease/adapted to the tune of Polly Gould. Broadside of 33 stanzas.

First line: "Prepare for death ye living men." A copy is framed in the Fobes Memorial Library, Oakham. Printed probably by Isaiah Thomas.

Verses cut on the monument to Dr. Spencer Field, 1801

Stop passengers
Behold this fatal rock.

¹A copy of these graveyard inscriptions will be found in the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Here from the wound
 The crimson blood did flow
 Here Dr Field rec'd his fatal shock
 That hastened death
 And proved his overthrow.

1805

*A Poem on the present New Year 1805/Composed January 18th—
 Nathaniel Bolton, 11 stanzas of six lines each.*

In manuscript. First line: "Farewel eighteen hundred and four."

1808

*A/Poem/on/Infidelity/By Nathaniel Bolton/. . . John Howe,
 Printer/Greenwich February, 1808. 16 pp., 4¼ x 2¾ inches.*
 First line: "Tom Paines there are." Copies in the Boston
 Public Library and the American Antiquarian Society.

1811

*Acrostic on Oliver Bolton, Composed March 12th, 1811 by
 Nath^l Bolton.*

In manuscript. First line: "O Lord in early life and youth-
 ful days; thou didst to me thy saving Grace impart."

*Reflections on the Mortality with Which we were Visited the year
 past.*

Stanzas numbered 7 to 18, 6 lines each (1 to 6 missing).
 Stanza seven immediately follows the heading, above which
 are 8 coffins.

In manuscript. First line: "Within the Course of this New
 Year."

1815

*Acrostic on Lydia Macumber who departed this life September 11th
 1815, 14 lines.*

In manuscript. First line: "Listen ye careless thoughtless
 ones to Me; prepare for Death before it does surprize." On
 back: "A few poetical lines on the Death of Lydia Macumber
 Composed September seventeenth."

1816

*Some Metrical lines on old age by Nathaniel Bolton Composed
 October 1816, 24 stanzas of six lines each.*

In manuscript. First line: "Old age is Certain and a few."

UNDATED

An Acrostic on the Death of Mrs. Hannah Foster

In manuscript? "Owned by Miss Laura G. Burt" (Wright's "Soldiers of Oakham," p. 49). Mrs. Ebenezer Foster (Hannah Parlin) d. 1808. Mrs. Skelton Foster (Hannah Hinds of Rutland) d. —. This poem has not been found.

Decline of Science, 22 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Athens, the region once much famed for lore."

Lines composed by John Carroll, [Nathaniel Bolton?] on account [of] my unjust imprisonment—and I call God to witness my innocence. 16 four-line stanzas.

In manuscript. First line: "Terror and death excite the lays."

Lines on the death of Mrs. Jemimah Moulton, 16 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "And must we, must we die?"

Politeness, 8 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Ospring of pure good nature, generous art!"

Power of Sympathy, 4 lines.

In manuscript. First line: "Sweet sympathy diffuses tears."

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