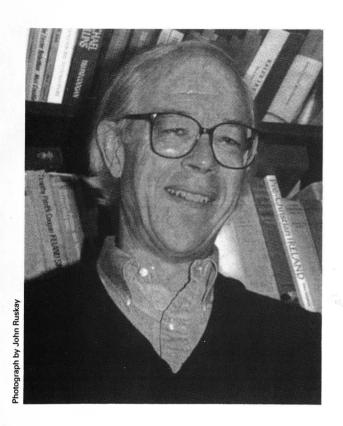
British Association for Irish Studies

ISSUE NO. 17 JANUARY 1999



DON AKENSON

First Beamish Research Professor

of Migration Studies at the

Institute of Irish Studies,

University of Liverpool

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SEAN HUTTON ON HUGH O'NEILL'S GRAVE IN ROME
KEVIN WHELAN ON THE PROCESS OF REMEMORATION
COLIN POWER ON THE IRISH COMMUNITY ARCHIVE
NOTICEBOARD

BAIS NEWSLETTER NO. 17, JANUARY 1999

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EDITORIAL

There was a splendid reception at the Irish Embassy, London on the 18th November 1998 to celebrate the recent appointments of Marianne Eliott as Director and Don Akenson as the first Beamish Research Professor of Migration Studies at the Institute of Irish Studies, the University of Liverpool. On the occasion, Marianne Eliott said, "An important part of the Institute's work is to contribute towards mutual understanding between the peoples of Britain and Ireland. These new appointments will add to the substantial work already done by the Institute of Irish Studies in this area. The appointment of Professor Akenson which has been generously sponsored by Beamish will greatly enhance our growing interest in the Irish Diaspora." Smiddy, Managing Director of Beamish & Crawford, said on the same occasion, "We are delighted to be associated with the Institute of Irish Studies by sponsoring the Beamish Research Professorship in Migration Studies. We are honoured that the first Beamish Research Professor is such a prestigious scholar as Professor Akenson." Don Akenson did not speak at the Irish Embassy reception but shortly afterwards most generously agreed to be the subject of a BAIS Newsletter Focus Interview. That Interview is included in this issue. Also included is a feature by Sean Hutton, BAIS Chair, who reflects on his recent visit to the burial place of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in an article entitled "Wounded Hearts Afresh Would Bleed". Surely O'Neill has to be numbered as one of Ireland's most remarkable migrants?

Another feature in this issue is "The Process of Rememoration" which was written by Kevin Whelan at the end of a year during which he had

spent a lot of time commemorating 1798. At present Kevin is the Michael Smurfit Keough-Notre Dame Centre, Newman House, Dublin. By the way, the University of Notre Dame has just launched the interdisciplinary Irish Seminar International Graduate Programme in Irish Studies which is going to be run at Dublin's Keough-Notre Dame Centre, under the direction of Professors Seamus Deane, Thomas Bartlett and Kevin Whelan. The theme for the inaugural session of the Irish Seminar (29 June - 23 July 1999) is "Memory, History, Fiction: the Creation of Ireland 1500-2000". Kevin's concept of an "Irish Rememoration" process, as set out in his BIAS Newsletter article, seems to me to be suggesting that an Irish Peace Process without an Irish Rememoration Process could well fall short of a genuine and lasting reconciliation of in Ireland. I am hoping that some traditions readers will feel sufficiently stimulated to write letters to the editor on this subject which is being so much discussed among Irish Studies scholars worldwide.

There is an important news item about the foundation of the Irish Community Research Archive which is being set-up at present, having being jointly funded by the Irish Government through the Ireland Fund and St. Mary's University College. Colm Power has written a most informative article about the archive and makes a special appeal to all our readers that deserves support.

Copy and/or discs (Word 6/95) with articles, reports, notices etc. to be included in No. 18 should be sent to Jerry Nolan, 8 Antrobus Road, Chiswick, London, W4 5HY by April 12 1999.

teach historians to be sceptical of what agrees with them. I would want this motto appear above the historian's work-bench: "When evidence seems to suit my thesis, then I must check, double-check and triple-check the evidence". Unfortunately publishers of ethnic/refugee/diaspora studies have a tendency to favour historical accounts which highlight examples of victimisation. What can greatly restrict the scope of research into Irish Migration is the tendency to assume that the terms "Irish" and "victim" are interchangeable.

JN: While you tend to emphasise the positive side of the Irish Diaspora achievement, you don't ignore reported dysfunctions among Irish migrants. Why does this question of the dysfunctional Irish continue to divide scholars in their analysis of the causes of the dysfunction?

DA: Irish migrational dysfunction has to be seen as part of the world-wide debate about the question of migration as, that it is very hard for historians to say what hospitalisation in mental institutions really meant in (say) 1888, 1918, 1948. On the specific question of the problem of interpretation of the frequency of hospitalised Irish migrants in the various countries, who can say finally what the statistics should mean for the historian? It may have little to do with being Irish and everything to do with being a migrant. There is a similar debate about ethnic dysfunction among American Italians, especially during the 1920s. Where you find young migrant males between the ages of eighteen and thirty who lack close family relationships and a fixed address, then you can expect trouble in 1899 or 1999. My hunch is that dysfunction has little to do with nationality and a great deal to do with the genetic code of human evolution.

JN: You often refer to the gaps in sources as a problem for a comprehensive history of Irish migration. You claim that the stage of Irish women's history, in the Homeland and throughout the Diaspora(1815-1920), is at the stage that working class history was circa 1960. How do you regard the conviction among some Irish women historians who argue that women are required for this task?

DA: Women's history is not just an Irish issue but an Irish articulation of a worldwide approach. The crux here is the appropriateness of

voice issue. Can whites write the history of coloured peoples? Can men write the history of women? Or vice versa? In Canada the debate is not just between women historians and others but between women historians themselves. Can a Canadian woman of Irish descent write the history of Canadian women of African descent? Et cetera! Isn't the central question this — can anyone write anything about what one isn't? I must answer "yes" to that one because the vast majority of those about whom I've written as a historian are well and truly DEAD!

JN: You cite many glaring gaps in primary sources of information confronting those who may attempt to write representative history of the Irish in Britain. Can these gaps ever be plugged?

Nobody should ever attempt to write representative history, only representative histories as a sub-set of an entire historical experience which can then be placed in the broader context. The great problem for historiography in the USA and Britain is the poor state of demographic and religious data that means probably the worst records in the English-speaking world! In the USA the 1969-1970 Census was the very first to ask questions about the ethnicity of the respondents and there has never been information gathered on the religious affiliations of specific individuals. In the whole of North America, the proportion of Catholic and Protestant migrants is probably about 40% Catholic to about 60% Protestant. That is not the picture usually assumed. We know that about 20-30% of Irish migrants in Britain have an Irish Protestant background that fact needs to be written back into Irish migrant history in Britain, even if the Protestant migrants resist being rediscovered. What Irish Studies in Britain needs most of all at this stage is a group of scholars, along the lines of the National Opinion Research Council (NORC) in the USA, to front a major piece of survey research into the records of the wide range of British communities in which Irish migrants have played a significant part.

JN: Quite recently you have suggested in your provocative study of Ireland's tiny neo-feudal empire on Montserrat in the West Indies(1630-1730) that the Irish there showed that they could be very effective colonial imperialists. How relevant is such a discovery?

DA: There have been all kinds of Irish scattered across the globe. Why should we miss out the soldiers of fortune, the colonial administrators, the Christian missionaries in the British Empire? Neither should we miss out the role of Irish migrants in the American empire. Recall just two examples of two notable Irish Americans in the twentieth century. One was a senator whose name has become synonymous with modern political witch-hunting. The other was the first Roman Catholic Irish American President who backed many assassination attempts, in the early 1960s, on the life of a very popular leader on a Spanish-speaking Caribbean island.

JN: You have shown great enthusiasm for local history in your study of Islandmagee, County Antrim (1796-1920). Why is local history so

important to you and is it going to be a top priority in Liverpool's Institute of Irish Studies?

DA: The newly appointed Head of the Institute of Irish Studies, Professor Marianne Eliott, is doing a brilliant job of leadership. I know that the Institute includes strong and significant researchers in the social sciences and maintains strong lines of communications with local historians. What most concerns me is that researchers into Irish Migration should concern themselves with testable generalisations, as distinct from the accumulation of graphic examples as so often tends to happen in what is vaguely termed "cultural studies". I am very glad to be playing a small part in the whole scholarly enterprise dedicated to marching beyond the old historical methods and hatreds of Ireland.

If the Irish Ran the World

Montserrat, 1630-1730

DONALD HARMAN AKENSON

Being the Joanne Goodman Lectures of the University of Western Ontario, 1997

Liverpool University Press

In this book which began as the Joanne Goodman Lectures at the University of Western Ontario (1997) and which has been recently published by Liverpool University Press, Don Akenson examines the record of "Irish Imperialism" on the Island of Monserrat, 1630-1730, when the Island, although part of England's Emipire, was settled largely by the Irish

WOUNDED HEARTS AFRESH WOULD BLEED

In his autobiography, Saol Corrach (1945), the writer Seamus Ó Grianna ('Maire') describes a visit to the burial place of Aodh Ó Neill/ Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in Rome in a chapter entitled 'An Croc'nar Crochadh Peader' (the hill of Peter's execution) — a reference to the Janiculum, the supposed site of St.Peter's martydom.

The visit to Rome took place in the mid-1920s, when he and his wife 'Connie' McDonnell were on their honeymoon. On their first attempt to find the grave of O'Neill in the church of S Pietro in Montorio they failed to do so, but enjoyed a panoramic view of Rome from the noted viewing point of the Janiculum. The author records himself as rhapsodising as he looks out across the city, in a heightened passage akin to those "prose poems" which George Thomson identified in the writing of the Blasket Islanders — a passage which well indicated the thrust of his nationalism:

Is iomí athrach a tháining ar an tsoal ón lá a tháining Peader chun na cathrach seo. D'éirigh ríiochtái agus impireachtaí. D'fhabhair siad agus d'fhás siad. D'fheoigh siad agus d'eág siad ina dhiaidh sin. Act tá an Eaglais beo ar fad. Agus beidh nuair nach mbíonn lá iomráidh ar na ríochtaí na ar na himpireachtaí is neartmhaire dá maireann anois...Beidh sí ann nuair a bheas taistealaí as New Zealand ina sheasamh ar shúil bhriste de Dhroichead Londain ag déanamh pioctúir de bhallóig Theamphall Phóil!

(Many are the changes that have occurred since Peter arrived in the city. Kingdoms and empires arose. They developed and grew. Then they decayed and died. But the Church still thrives. And will continue to do so when the strongest empires that now exist are quite forgotten...The day will come when a traveller from New Zealand will stand upon a broken arch of London Bridge sketching the ruins of St Paul's Cathedral!)

As they are about to return to their hotel, they notice a priest whom they had previously observed in a café and whom they assumed to be an American. He is coming out of the church of S Pietro in Montorio. Ó Grianna asks him, in French (not wishing to speak English), if he can guide them to the tomb of O'Neill. The priest leads them through the church and with a "Voilá, madame et monsieur" indicated the inscribed stone which marks the place of O'Neill's internment.

It was my memory of Ó Grianna's account of this visit which prompted me to search out O'Neill's burial place when I was in Rome last summer. An Italian friend drove me, complaining bitterly about the extensive disruption of the one-way system due to renovations under way in preparation for the millennium. It appeared, at first sight, that the church of S Pietro in Montorio was also closed for renovation, but although there was a hoarding before the façade it was possible to enter. Paint was peeling from the wall in places and the grime of ages had darkened the paintings in the chapels lining the nave of this church built for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain between 1481 and 1500.

Having peered at the memorials on either side of the nave without success, we were, ourselves, almost ready to abandon the search, when I noticed the simple memorial in the floor of the nave, close to the altar, inscribed only with O'Neill's name and title. Close to it, bearing the arms of O'Neill and O'Donnell, were two large engraved memorials to the Irish nobles. They were partly obscured by church furniture and the dust cloths protecting them during the work of restoration, which we hesitated to disturb any more than was necessary to get a reasonable view of the two flags.

Hiram Morgan describes O'Neill as "an adept politician and a gifted soldier who made the most of limited resources in a period of rapid change" and the documents covering the period following the 'Flight of the Earls' show him to have been an archetype of the political exile. It was, indeed, a moving experience to stand at the burial place of that early-modern practitioner of *realpolitik* and history maker — contributor, directly and indirectly, to the evolution of Irish identities. In O Grianna's account, as they stand by O'Neill's memorial the priest begins to recite, 'A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart' (O woman left lonely at the grave), by Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird. This poem is addressed to Nuala, 'Nualaidh dhuaslíonmhar dóigh cáich' (Nuala, plentiful-giver-of-gifts), O'Neill's sister-in-law and the sister of Aodh Ruadh, Rudhraighe and Cathbharr O Domhnaill — the two latter of whom are buried there beside O'Neill and O'Neill's son Aodh/Hugh, Baron Dungannon. Rudhraighe, as the successor to Aodh Ruadh as Earl of Tyrconnel, is the second of the two earls who left Ireland in 1607, with the intention of seeking the help of Philip 11 of Spain to restore their position in Ireland, who are buried in S Pietro in Montorio.

Mac an Bhaird's poem, which envisages the addressee standing by the tomb of her brothers and nephew – Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was still alive when it was written – is one of two poems, the setting of which is the graves of the Ulster Earls in Rome. The other is 'An Síogaí Rómhánach' (the Roman Vision), an early example of the political aisling or vision poem, written during the war of the Catholic Confederates *Pro Deo, Rege et Patria*. It is in part a lament for the Confederate commander Owen Roe O'Neill, Hugh's nephew, who died in 1649; and, attributing the reverses of the Irish to their lack of unity, it calls for that unity which will bring victory. It is a poem also into specific concepts of God, Country and People, born of late-16th and 17th century politics and the particular success of the Counter-Reformation, have been integrated:

Créad nac feanntar clann Luitéarus is clann Chriost dá gclaoi go n-éaghaid? ...Óir o tháinig Pádraig naomhta leis an gcreideamh go hInis Éilge, níor bhain traochadh, goath ná éclips, fóirneart eachtrann ná leatrom dá gheiré creideamh Chriost as croidhe na nGaol so.

(Why are not the people of Luther flayed/when the people of Christ are fatally oppressed? ... Given that since saintly Patrick brought/ the faith to Ireland/ neither subjugation, calamity or eclipse,/ violence of foreigners or extreme oppression/could wrest the faith of Christ from the hearts of these Gaels.)

This conception of politics was one which had continued significance into the nineteenth century, although it began to be challenged from the late eighteenth century by secular political ideologies. It is interesting in this context to note ways in which Ó Grianna offers an illustration of the relativity and uneven development of modernisation and modernism. Although secular ideologies of nationalism and republicanism were central to Ó Grianna's intellectual formation and one of his best handled themes, in a variable literary output extending from 1921 to 1968, was that of political and social modernisation, elements of the older ideology are articulated in *Saol Corrach* and his output, in general, is affected by the legacy of nineteenth-century populist romanticism.

Sean Hutton



At the grave of O'Neill, Sean Hutton remembered James Clarence Mangan's version of Mac an Bhaird poem: 'Ah! Could the men of Ireland read/ The names those noteless burial-stones/display to view,/Their wounded hearts afresh would bleed,/Their tears gush forth again, their groans/Resound anew!'

THE PROCESS OF REMEMORATION

The United Irishmen remain intellectually vibrant, because they never flinched from facing the real question of politics – the creation of a society fit to live in, a human home for ourselves but more crucially for our children. The 1790s was an extraordinary decade in Irish history, when the opportunity presented itself to transcend the age-old sectarian, ethnic and political divisions of the island. The United Irish movement had, as its central aim, the demolition of a political system rooted in sectarian privilege and its replacement with a secular democratic politics, founded on universal ideas of equality and justice. Their project of creating a secular republic, recasting political participation on inclusive lines, was deliberately blacked by the British state, using the weapons of sectarianism, military terror in 1798 and the suppression of the Irish parliament. We are still living with the consequences of that defeat. Two centuries later, after the loss of the one realistic opportunity Ireland has had to benefit from the advances of the European Enlightenment, the sectarian alternative forced upon it in the crucial decade of the 1790s still survives, as a distorting feature of British-Irish and internal relations. Witness the last four years of Drumcree – archaic images broadcast to a world at once horrified and fascinated by them.

With the blockage of the United Irish project, Irish politics split into two fragments — nationalism and unionism — which still dominate the political landscape two centuries later. Like the United Irishmen, we face the task today of negotiating an agreed political structure, capable of representing Irish people in all their inherited complexities. While at one level 1798 is about history, at another it is equally about the present, having never truly passed out of politics and into history. The United Irishmen's ideas did not die with the events of 1798, but are still potent, valid and unrealised. In the sense that they faced the same problems which bedevil modern Ireland, the United Irishmen are very much our contemporaries. It is their political vision and moral choices that we reclaim, not the physical defeat of the revolution on the bloody battlefields of '98.

As Milan Kundera has noted, "the struggle for power is the struggle of memory against forgetting". In the case of 1798 it is not what we remember that is the problem, but what we have forgotten. The power of political memory, which links past and present dynamically, needs to be a central interpretive focus in any understanding of 1798. Almost as they were happening, the events of 1798 were being recast in terms of memory. As with politics, the memory split into fragments. In the Unionist one, 1798 was figured as a sectarian blood bath, yet another chapter in the Protestant Book of Martyrs. In the Catholic Nationalist one, 1798 became a struggle for faith and fatherland, in which the United Irishmen and Presbyterians were airbrushed out of a picture increasingly dominated by the clerical collar of 'Father Murphy'. This partisan confiscation of the memory of 1798 by the Catholics erased a distinguished moment in the history of Ulster

Presbyterianism. Today the global image of Ulster Protestants is dominated by apocalyptic footage from places like Drumcree and they are often presented as reactionaries, lost in the mists of time.

Yet in the 1890s, Belfast was the birthplace of Irish separatism and the cradle of the United Irishmen. The Ulster Presbyterians were at the cutting edge of the emerging radical movement and provided many of its most talented leaders. Their generosity of spirit, political vision, imaginative inclusiveness and commitment to the principles of justice remain to this day an adornment to the tradition from which they sprang, even though this momentous period in their evolution does not figure prominently in their current self-image. Flickering hesitantly behind the obscuring smoke of the Twelfth, there is another, mind-expanding history of Ulster Presbyterianism, of which they are aware, but wary.

While the past cannot be restored, memory can. We need a process of rememoration — a retrieving of memory which has been suppressed. Restoring this enabling memory can help release the blockage: the endless calendrical cycle of Protestant memory — the mythic circle of repetition can be directed into historical and linear time, in which the possibility of progress finally becomes available. By elevating politics out of the sectarian rut, political buoyancy can be restored. The 1798 rebellion has been buried under the weight of misrepresentation. The Catholic Nationalist version dominated the centenary and the 1938 and 1948 commemorations and has created the version of 1798 which most people regard as the true one. In 1998, the Presbyterian dimension has been explored, as part of the history of Presbyterianism, in the face of past partisan historiography and a marked degree of communal amnesia. An accurate understanding of 1798 is not just of scholarly interest, but has serious implications for current political and cultural thinking. The importance of the historian in such acts of rememoration was well understood by Walter Benjamin when he wrote: "Only the historian will have the gift of fanning the spark in the past who is firmly convinced that even the dead will not be safe from the enemy if he wins and this enemy has not ceased to be victorous."

Kevin Whelan

THE IRISH COMMUNITY ARCHIVE

This article attempts to explain the origin, scope, possible uses and current development of a major research project to create a comprehensive material library and full-text internet Web site archive of welfare documents relevant to Irish communities living in Britain. The project is currently in progress at the Centre for Irish Studies, Strawberry Hill. The Irish Community Archive is being funded by the Irish government through the Ireland Fund and by St. Mary's University College. The support and possible assistance of BAIS members in furthering the project would be very much welcomed.

The main objectives of the research project are as follows:

- (a) To develop a database of Irish community groups in Britain and a bibliography of associated literature concerned with all aspects of welfare need and provision in the various communities throughout Britain.
- (b) To collect and collate all printed material (produced in the last fifteen years), including published or unpublished reports, promotional and information material, surveys and studies, undertaken within the remit of Irish community welfare concerns, activities and developments throughout The archive already includes material on educational, cultural, health, migration, political, criminal justice, and economic issues pertinent to the Irish commnity in Britain. The community archive will be located within the library Special Collections section at St. Mary's University College, with research access available to all interested parties.
- (c) To broaden the accessibility and use of this resource to those unable to visit St. Mary's, it is intended that all works submitted to the archive (where the author's permission is granted and copyright waived) will be placed in a full-text archive on the St.

Mary's University Web site. Both the internet Webb site and the physical library archive will be updated every six months with details and/or full-text versions of the latest documents collected. An 'E-mail' facility on the archive Web site will provide an interactive element between users and the researcher.

Brief Background to the project:

The original physical archive project was envisaged by Jim O'Hara and begun with the help of Pat Ryce in 1994, but discontinued due to lack of funding after a few months. The project was re-activated with the vital additional concept of an internet web site in the Summer of 1997 when Jim was successful in obtaining funds from the Irish government, and I agreed to carry out the research. Dr. Jane Longmore (Head of the History, Social, and Cultural Studies Department at St. Mary's) has provided invaluable practical, financial, institutional, and moral support during this project - as have all the staff at St. Mary's and the Centre for Irish Studies. An official launch for the full-text Web site and the physical library archive is provisionally planned for the Easter period in 1999 – though this date depends on the success of a current financial funding application required to conclude essential scanning operations and associated research duties.

Progress to date:

During the development period of the project most dedicated Irish welfare organisations in Britain have been identified and contacted apropos the donation of pertinent printed material to the archive. Local councils, government and general welfare agencies, individuals and academic institutions have also donated material. A good number of personal visits have been conducted by the researcher to key Irish welfare organisations in order to explain the purpose of the archive, and to access disorganised) substantial (though usually collections of appropriate unpublished and published material. Available originals have been collected, or in some case where these have not been available, photocopies have been made for inclusion in the archive.

So far this collection process has amassed a large and eclectic collection of books, reports, articles, surveys, and information leaflets produced by voluntary, statutory, and governmental agencies, and also individual authors, relating to various welfare aspects of the Irish community in Britain back over the last fifteen years. The collection now numbers over 450 individual items, with further relevant material being added continually (the large number of newspaper articles collected are not included in this count). This is set to be the most comprehensive and accessible collection of its kind anywhere in Britain.

A full (and partly annotated) bibliography of the collection to date has been produced. physical archive of the collection has been partly catalogued. The preparation of the full-text internet Web site is time consuming, expensive, and labour intensive. The copyright ownership or legal status of approximately 60% of the collected material has been traced and ascertained to date. The legal waiver forms have been sent to all of the identified authors or copyright owners. The prototype design and layout work on the Web site has been completed. Approximately 25% of the massive scanning operation has also been finished. Scanning of the 75% of collected material is now central to the successful completion of the vital Web site element in the project. Cataloguing and storage of the scanned material can then completed by the library staff. Similarly, the St. Mary's Web manager's task of building a working Web site and transferring the scanned documents to the internet archive has still to be accomplished.

Web-site Model

The provisional main welfare categories are as follows: The Aged – Women – Young People – Irish Travellers – Housing and Homelessness – Health – Social Welfare Provision – Education, Training, Employment, Migration – Criminal Justice. A search engine facility will enhance the accuracy of specific explorations. This will be supplemented by a comprehensive bibliography of all material available in the physical library archive. A Directory of Welfare groups with contact numbers will be included. There will be an 'E-mail Contact Page' inviting users to submit material, while also soliciting comments, questions and suggestions from users.

Conclusion

This project has received much support so far. Many contributors and potential users have stressed the magnitude of the task. However the multifarious benefits that such an accessible, free and comprehensive archive would bring to the Irish community in Britain has been recognised. The Irish Community Archive should provide a valuable centralised research resource for a growing number of researchers and students in the field. The archive will advertise and promote an appreciation and increased knowledge of the unique and multifaceted welfare needs of the Irish community. These developments should impact positively on the quality of welfare services provided to Irish communities. It might well aid comparative research into the needs of other ethnic minorities in Britain and beyond. The archive will display comprehensively what are often submerged minority knowledge bases. The archive's Web

site will be able to communicate with researchers, practitioners and all interested parties throughout the world.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any queries, can donate material and help with the archive's development, or can put me in touch with people/organisations that might wish to be of assistance. A prototype of the Web site can be viewed at this internet address: http://www.smuc.ac.uk/scg/ica/index.htm Slán go fóill.

Colin Power

10 Egerton Street, Liverpool, L8 7LY Tel: 0151-708-6370
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Or c/o The Irish Studies Secretary, SMUC, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, TW1 4SX Tel: 0181-240416

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