Lincoln Aroused: His Outrage over the Kansas-Nebraska Act

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Presented at the 7th Circuit Bar Association symposium “Abraham Lincoln – His Legal Career and His Vision for America,” held at the Chicago Cultural Center, February 6, 2009. Professor Guelzo is a member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association.

“Sir,” said the honorable senator from Virginia, James M. Mason, before the assembled Senate chamber on March 3, 1854, “the Senate and the country will bear witness that there never came” an item of legislation “in any form, which bore the character of peace and tended to the establishment of peace,” so much as the great organizing bill for the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. “I believe that if this bill passes in the shape in which it is now before the Senate, it will give peace…. I believe agitation will cease.”

The agitation Mason referred to was the national controversy over slavery, and this new bill, Mason prophesied, would resolve the controversy as no other measure had — a view not at all shared by his fellow-senator from Ohio, Benjamin Franklin Wade. Instead, declared the acid-tongued Wade, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was “a declaration of war on the institutions of the North, a deliberate sectional movement by the South for political power, without regard for justice or consequences.” And as the Senate cranked ponderously toward a vote, Wade pointed to a portent of gloom: “Tomorrow, I believe, there is to be an eclipse of the sun”; how appropriate that “the sun in the heavens and the glory of this republic should both go into obscurity and darkness together.”

Even in an age when congressional speech-making leaned heavily toward “delicious cadences,” “magnificent declamation,” and “luxuriant stores of imagery,” the extravagant divergence of these two senators over a single procedural piece of federal territorial legislation is more than a little unusual. But that extravagance does put some otherwise-missing color into the moment which Abraham Lincoln described as the re-launch of his stalled political career and his new-birth as an anti-slavery activist, because the incident which Lincoln himself repeatedly singled out as the catalyst for that re-emergence was the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. As he explained in two short autobiographical sketches prepared in 1859 and 1860, Lincoln had returned from his brief term in Congress to bury his disappointment by practicing “law more assiduously than ever before” and losing interest in politics. But the passage of Kansas-Nebraska “aroused him as he had never been before.”

To the unaided historical eye, Lincoln’s re-awakening over the Kansas-Nebraska bill seems no more logical than the rhetorical stridencies of senators Wade and Mason, and it has left a few commentators wondering aloud whether Lincoln had ever really let go of politics as much as he claimed, and was using Kansas-Nebraska as a convenient device to portray himself as a man dramatically called from his plow to the defence of freedom. Strictly speaking, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, drawn up by Senator Stephen A. Douglas as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, did nothing more than provide for the usual Congressional organization of Kansas and Nebraska as federal territories, prior to an application from them for statehood. But long before Douglas’s bill had been drafted, the vast stretches of Kansas-Nebraska (which originally included all the western land stretching north from modern-day Kansas to the Canadian border) had become the greatest political football in the history of Congress, and after 1854, Abraham Lincoln would gradually emerge as its greatest defensive opponent.

When Thomas Jefferson authorized the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803, he had no idea that the Louisiana Purchase lands would serve as much more than a vast American back-yard of natural resources. He was, of course, wrong, and by 1819, the first territory carved out of the Purchase — Missouri — was ready to apply for statehood. But Missouri applied for admission as a slave state, and that triggered a raucous squaring-off between North and South on the floor of Congress. No one in the free states of the North was eager to see the very first piece of Jefferson’s great Purchase act as a precedent and encouragement for the legalization of slavery everywhere else in the Purchase. But after a year of turmoil, Henry Clay cobbled together what became known as the ‘Missouri Compromise,’ drawing a

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dividing line across the Purchase at the latitude of 36°30', and decreeing that only Purchase territory south of that line could legal-ize slavery. Looked at on the map, this might seem like a meager bargain for the South; but in 1820, most Americans regarded the Great Plains as uninhabitable, so the 36°30' line actually appeared to be a plausible compromise.

And it might have stayed that way, except that in 1846, the United States went to war with Mexico, and as a result, stripped away from Mexico all of the modern American southwest. Just like the Purchase in 1819, another controversy over legalizing slavery burst onto the floor of Congress concerning the Mexican Cession. Once again, the ailing Henry Clay threw himself into the creation of one more Union-saving compromise, the Compromise of 1850. This time, the settlement was not built on drawing a Solomonic division through the Mexican Cession, but on the apparently-neutral doctrine of ‘popular sovereignty.’ Rather than committing Con-gress to untold months of violent wrangling over the future status of the territories to be created from the Mexican Cession, the legal-izing slavery in Cession territories (starting with New Mexico and Utah) would be settled by a popular referendum held by the settlers themselves. Although the real author of ‘popular sovereignty’ was Michigan senator Lewis Cass, its principal Barker was Illinois senator Stephen Douglas, and together with Clay, ‘popular sovereignty’ and the Compro-mise of 1850 carried the day.

What few people discerned at that time was how much ‘popular sovereignty’ represented the triumph of process over prin-ciple. By throwing the decision to legalize slavery into the laps of the settlers in the terri-tories, Douglas was saving Congress the trouble of controversy; but he was also sug-gesting that it was no one’s concern but the inhabitants of those territories whether slavery was legalized within their boundaries or not. If a territory, declared Douglas, “wants a slave-State constitution she has a right to it…. I do not care whether it is voted down or voted up.”

But in 1850, few people wasted much energy over it, either. New Mexico and Utah were desolate stretches of desert which would be unlikely to apply for statehood for another hundred years. And so ‘popular sovereignty’ was allowed to slip into place.

Douglas mistook acquiescence over ‘popular sovereignty’ for approval, and this proved to be his undoing in 1854, when he drafted the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Douglas was eager to see the huge reaches of the upper Missouri formally organized, partly to satisfy his own preaching of coast-to-coast national growth, partly to profit from the dividends to be paid by the railroads which would snake across the newly organized Plains territories. The hitch, however, was that Kansas and Nebraska lay within the old Louisiana Purchase lands, and north of the 36°30’ line. Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, these lands could still only be developed as free territories. However satisfactory that had been to Southerners thirty years before, it was no longer by 1854, and Southerners in Congress routinely buried organizational proposals for Kansas and Nebraska in committee rather than see them organized as free territories. “If we can’t all go there on the string, with all our property of every kind, I say let the Indians have it for-ever,” wrote one Missouri slaveholder, “They are better neighbors than the abolitionists, by a damn sight.”

It seemed to Douglas, however, that there was an easy solution to this logjam: repeal the Missouri Compromise and substi-tute ‘popular sovereignty’ as the organizing principle for the old Purchase lands. ‘Popular sovereignty’ seemed to have made everyone happy since 1850; why not take it to the bank again? And this was exactly what Douglas incorporated into the Kansas-Nebraska Bill when he introduced it in January, 1854: “the true intent and meaning of this act [is] not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way….”

But this time, the response could not have been more different. Lincoln was not exaggerating when he later said that Kansas-Nebraska “took us by surprise – astounded us,” and “raised such an excitement… throughout the country as never before was heard of in this Union.” Mass protest meet-ings were held in Boston’s Faneuil Hall, in New York City, and in Detroit, as well as in Lexington, Ohio, and Marlborough, Massa-chussetts – at least 115 of them, by Mark Neely’s tabulation of the press accounts – and resolutions attacking the Kansas-Nebraska bill were issued by five Northern state legislatures. “We were thunderstruck and stunned,” Lincoln said that fall. “But we rose each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach -- a scythe -- a pitchfork -- a chopping axe, or a butcher’s cleaver.”

The force with which Kansas-Nebraska “stunned” Lincoln can be mea-sured, first by the degree to which he threw himself back into the thick of Illinois politics, and second, by the multiple reasons he gave for the bill’s offense. Nothing survives among the few papers in Lincoln’s hand from the first half of 1854 which concern Kansas-Nebraska; but by July, he was sketching out notes on slavery and government which contained more detail and more of a confronta-tional attitude than anything that Lincoln had previously written. During the next month, we can catch glimpses of him attending a Whig county nominating convention and promoting the re-election of Richard Yates, an anti-slavery Whig, for Congress; and fi-nally, on August 26th, making his first speech against Kansas-Nebraska at Winchester, Illinois.

“I have ever been opposed to slavery,” Lincoln claimed, although that had never been translated into serious political action because “I rested in the hope and belief that it was in course of ultimate extinction,” and “had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.” But with the
Kansas-Nebraska bill’s rollback of the Compromise, “I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, or the institution was being placed on a new basis...for making it perpetual, national and universal.” Not that anyone would see it that way at first; it took the genius of Stephen A. Douglas to use the mantra of ‘popular sovereignty’ to “tranquilize the whole country,” promising that “there would be no more slavery agitation in or out of Congress, and the vexed question would be left entirely to the people of the territories.”

What particularly galled Lincoln, however, was that the bill managed to trample on, not just one, but many Northern sensibilities. In the first place, it represented a reneging by the slave states on a contract they had agreed to in good faith in 1820. After “the South had got all they claimed, and all the territory south of the compromise line had been appropriated to slavery,” the South turned its eyes on the lands reserved for freedom and attempted to “snatch that away,” too. Douglas might claim that he was doing nothing more than submitting a troublesome political question to its best political arbiters, the people of the territories. But Lincoln suspected otherwise. “This declared indifference” is a “covert real zeal for the spread of slavery,” Lincoln said in an election rally in Peoria in October, and that amounted to conspiracy to commit fraud.

What made this “covert real zeal” even more destructive was the way it soiled the reputation of American democracy before the world. “I hate [slavery] because of the monstrous injustice of slavery,” Lincoln said, but even more, “I hate it because it...enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites.” How could Americans embrace the Declaration of Independence and Kansas-Nebraska with the same arms? The Declaration declared that all men are created equal; Kansas-Nebraska repudiates that, and declares that some men may now be kept as unequals anywhere a majority decides to approve it. Lincoln could not have produced “one man that ever uttered the belief that the Declaration did not apply to negroes, before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise!” But if slavery is good enough to be sanctioned, then blacks cannot be good enough to be men; hence, Kansas-Nebraska has “deliberately taken negroes from the class of men and put them in the class of brutes.”

It gained no ground with Lincoln to be told that Kansas-Nebraska would at least have the benefit of ridding the halls of Congress of controversy. “The exact opposite has happened: the slavery controversy has ‘blazed higher and raged more furiously than ever before, and the agitation has not rested since.” Kansas-Nebraska was conceived “not as a law, but as violence from the beginning...because the destruction of the Missouri Compromise, under the circumstances, was nothing less than violence.”

This is not the voice of a politician with an eye for the main chance, an electoral has-been looking for a fresh mount to ride to victory. This is the authentic voice of a man convinced of national peril.

Lincoln’s initial solution to the threat of Kansas-Nebraska was simply to turn back the clock. “The Missouri Compromise ought to be restored,” he said at Peoria in October, and then “the Union would again be safe and the people happy.” As late as 1858, and the close of the Lincoln-Douglas senatorial campaign, Lincoln insisted that if “the Missouri restriction be restored...I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in, an office, so long as we both or either, live.”

But by 1860, Lincoln had lost any hope that even restoration of the Missouri Compromise would have any effect on the rampaging demands of slavery. “I probably think either the Missouri line extended, or...Pop. Sov. would lose us every thing we gained by the election; that filibustering for...slave states...would follow in spite of us, under either plan.” The fact was that “the day of compromise has passed.” Slavery and freedom “have been kept apart only by the most artful means,” he told William Herndon, “Some day these deadly antagonists will one or the other break their bonds, and then the question will be settled.”

In the long view, though, Kansas-Nebraska “aroused” Lincoln not because it was a piece of wrong-headed legislation – there had been plenty of that before 1854, without any comparable reaction from Lincoln or others. Instead, Kansas-Nebraska embodied for Lincoln the sacrifice of political integrity to expediency, the subsuming of principle to pragmatism, the perversion of democracy into mere majoritarianism. Those were the ultimate stakes Lincoln saw in Kansas-Nebraska, stakes as high as the “vast future” of popular government itself. It “aroused him as he had never been before,” and so should it always do for us today.
Michael Burlingame has accepted an appointment as the Naomi B. Lynn Distinguished Chair in Lincoln Studies at the University of Illinois at Springfield pending approval by the Board of Trustees. The appointment will be tenured at the rank of professor.

Burlingame, a member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association, is the author or editor of a number of books about Lincoln, including Lincoln Observed: Civil War Dispatches of Noah Brooks and The Inner World of Abraham Lincoln. His newly published two-volume biography, Abraham Lincoln: A Life, has received most favorable reviews. Time magazine said this, “Burlingame is a towering figure in Lincoln scholarship... [he] may know more about Lincoln and his era than anyone in the world... Abraham Lincoln comes as close to being the definitive biography as anything the world has seen in decades.”

In 2000, the chair was endowed by a $1.25 million gift to the UIS by the Dr. Richard E. Vaden Family, as a tribute to their long-time friendship with then UIS Chancellor Naomi B. Lynn and her husband, Robert. It is the first endowed chair at UIS and was first held by Dr. Phillip Paludan until his death in 2007.

Naomi Burgos Lynn was the first Hispanic woman president of an American public university. She served as President of Sangamon State University in Springfield, Illinois, beginning in 1991 and through its entrance into the University of Illinois system as the University of Illinois at Springfield. She retired as Chancellor of UIS in April 2001.

Mike Marty’s New Book: Communities of Frank Lloyd Wright

It is always a cause for celebration when an ALA Board Member completes and publishes a new book. Frequently ALA Board Members have happily nurtured their fellow Board Members during the long and lonely research and writing process. Such is the case with Board Member Mike Marty. In Mike’s case, however, the book is not about Abraham Lincoln, but about renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Even though the book is not a Lincoln book, we, nevertheless, take editorial prerogative to celebrate and tell you about fellow Board Member Mike’s new book — Communities of Frank Lloyd Wright — Taliesin and Beyond.

For those not familiar with Myron A. Marty, he is the coauthor, with Shirley Marty, of Frank Lloyd Wright’s Taliesin Fellowship. A former member of the Board of Trustees of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation as well as the Board of Taliesin Preservation, Inc., Marty is the Ann G. and Sigurd E. Anderson University Professor Emeritus and Dean of Arts and Sciences Emeritus at Drake University. He is also a valued member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association.

Despite the numerous studies of Frank Lloyd Wright’s life and architecture, little has been published about his life in relation to the communities that dominated his life. Wright, a fervent believer in individualism and an ardent advocate of democracy, worked in communities throughout his career of more than six decades. These communities, which he led with unquestioned authority, made possible his extraordinary productivity. They also helped sustain his genius, provided him with crucial social outlets, and made it possible for him to remain a creative force outside the mainstream of American architecture until his death at age 91.

Marty’s groundbreaking work is neither a biography of Wright nor a study of his architecture. Rather, it is the story of his life in communities, particularly the Taliesin Fellowship. This study will be of interest to Wright scholars and enthusiasts, architects, architecture historians, and architecture students. You can order the book from Amazon.com.
**ALA Sponsors Lincoln Lecture at Chicago History Museum**

On April 21, 2009 the Abraham Lincoln Association joined the Chicago History Museum for an excellent presentation given by Chief Historian Russell Lewis titled *Wet with Blood.* Dr. Lewis examined the evidence, myths and facts surrounding the cloak worn by Mary Todd Lincoln at Ford’s Theater on the night of the assassination.

In 1999 the Chicago History Museum partnered with several universities and laboratories to determine the authenticity of their Lincoln collection. Their research findings can be found on Wet with Blood website at www.chicagohistory.org/wetwithblood/.

The original goal was to authenticate the beautiful cloak, one of the most interesting items in the museum’s collection. One of Mary’s friends described the cloak as “wet with blood,” and the stains remain to this day. In order to do the DNA testing, some of the fabric would have to be destroyed. The blood stains are thought to be from both President Lincoln and Henry Rathbone so precisely where to take the sample was not clear.

Dr. Lewis discussed the Museum’s Lincoln collection, the science of DNA, and the concerns of historians. Since the DNA tests would entail destroying part of the fabric of the cloak, the testing has been put off until the technology advances further. The cloak represents the collective fascination with tangible relics of Lincoln’s life and death.

**ALA Sponsors Lincoln Press Conference at Wabash County Historical Museum**

The Abraham Lincoln Association joined with the Wabash County Historical Museum in Wabash, Indiana on April 3rd and 4th for a Presidential Press Conference featuring the nationally known Lincoln presenter George Buss and ALA Board Member Bob Lenz as his press secretary.

On April 3rd there were two presentations: one for grade school and one for junior and senior high school students. Tracy Stewart, the Executive Director of the museum said “I wish you could have seen the heads bobbing in agreement with Mr. Lincoln, laughing at his jokes, faces lighting up when he mentioned some fact about the Civil War that they knew. Bob did such a great job of asking everyone to set aside what they knew about April 15, 1865, and to just pretend they were at the President’s House in Washington City.”

On April 4 there was a presentation for the general public. This was also a great success with a large enthusiastic crowd. It was part of the Museum’s Lincoln speaker series, which will continue throughout the year. Currently the Museum has a special exhibit entitled “Portraits of Lincoln: The Lang Collection,” an important collection of paintings and sculptures of Abraham Lincoln.

The Wabash County Historical Museum is at 36 E. Market Street, downtown Wabash, Indiana. Open 10 am to 4 pm Tuesday through Saturday. Admission is $5 for adults, $3 for seniors and children under 12. Visit their website at www.wabashmuseum.org.
John E. Daly  
1934-2009


John was educated at the University of Illinois and completed his studies with a doctorate in history from the University of Pennsylvania. He joined the staff of the Philadelphia City Archives in 1963 and held the post of Assistant City Archivist for several years. In 1974 he was appointed to the position of Director of the Illinois State Archives, from which he retired in 2004.

John was a former member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association, the Society of American Archivists (Fellow), the Illinois State Genealogical Society, the Sangamon County Historical Society and the adjunct faculty of the Department of History at the University of Illinois Springfield.

John is survived by his wife, George Anne Porter Daly.

John Hope Franklin  
1915-2009

John Hope Franklin died on March 25, 2009 in Durham, North Carolina at age 94. John Hope was a Distinguished Director of The Abraham Lincoln Association. He spoke at the ALA’s banquet on February 12, 1985, on The Use and Misuse of the Lincoln Legacy. The full text of the speech may be read at http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jala/7/franklin.html. He opened his speech with the following words:

I cannot use the hallowed phrase, “Here I have lived,” but I can say that I am happy to be back in the Land of Lincoln, where I spent sixteen of the best years of my life. My ties to this state continue to be strong, and it is a source of great pleasure to be back among friends of many years. It is a great honor to be present on this occasion sponsored jointly by the Abraham Lincoln Association and the Illinois State Historical Society. It is a hallowed occasion, made so not only because of the giant whose birthday we celebrate, but also because of the manner in which, through the years, it has been celebrated here.

John Hope played a critical role in my career, and I still don’t know why. In 1990, I noticed that Harlan Davidson’s “The American History Series” had no volume on the American Civil War. I wanted badly to be a part of that series, but when you looked at the names of some of the authors, it seemed obvious that I, as a fresh PhD, had no business thinking myself worthy of writing such a book at such an early point in my career. Andrew Davidson said that I could prepare a proposal, but (as I later knew) it would be up to the series co-editors as to what would happen. For some reason John Hope knew who I was, and vouched for my ability. You simply can’t buy that sort of break in the profession. Now I’m working on a revised edition of the book, and the news of his passing saddens me in a way I can’t quite describe, although it will doubtless spur me to do as good a job as I can to ensure that he will never have cause to regret his confidence in me.

I knew John Hope as a generous man who would tell stories, offer advice, and treat me as a colleague. It’s an honor to be associated with him in some small way. We will miss him. Thanks, John Hope, for everything. Godspeed.
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<td><strong>Lincoln in Illinois</strong></td>
<td>Through September 30, 2009</td>
<td>Photographs of all Abraham Lincoln statues in Illinois. Atrium of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. The exhibit is free and open to the public.</td>
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<td><strong>June 5, 2009 6:00</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Lincoln Meeting The Press. Dan Weinberg’s Abraham Lincoln Bookshop in Chicago. George Buss, Lincoln impersonator, fields questions from Chicago journalists, Eric Zorn, Patrick Reardon, John Patterson, and Kane Farabaugh. Submit your questions by computer. Moderator, Bob Lenz, requires that questions be as of April 14, 1865. Watch live online at <a href="http://www.VirtualBookSigning.net">www.VirtualBookSigning.net</a></td>
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<td><strong>Various Dates, 2009</strong></td>
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