

Manufactor Manufactor Andrews Andrews

PRONOUNCED AT WORCESTER,

JULY 4, 1800.

Thy Edward Switzer to way.



WENTYFOUR YEARS, my Fellow Citizens, are completed, and THIS DAY commences the Twenty-fifth, fince our political fathers in Congress made that

important and solemn declaration, which gave to these United States a name among the independent nations of the Earth. We have saluted the early dawn. From all the principal towns throughout these sister States, this day, our pleased fancy seems to hear the joyful sounds meeting in the air, undulating in perfect Harmony. Mirth and song and social feast may with propriety be enjoyed—for joy becomes the day.

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But—the good sense of freemen has always chosen to improve a part in reflections suitable to the great occasion.

If separation from the government of Greatbritain and national independence, were the only things which we could commemorate this day, they would indeed be something to justify our joy: It is no small advantage to be exempt from foreign taxation, and not a little felicity to consider this favored land, as brought out to a place of safety, just before the storm of destruction poured upon Europe.—We can remain, neuter, and behold the conflicting nations from afar. Yet these are comparatively, trifles to the blessings of that freedom, not only from foreign, but domestic domination, which were intended by, and hitherto have been the consequence of, that Independence for which we celebrate the day.

The justice of our cause, the wisdom and magnanimity of our civil leaders, and the patriotic bravery, patience and fortitude of our brethren in arms, are still continued the noble theme of applauding nations. We hope, and we trust that these virtues would again be exhibited should our country be invaded by a foreign foe.

But in our present peaceful circumstances, is it not become more immediately interesting, as well as useful, to consider by what means we may preserve and cause to be perpetuated those liberties, which have already been so successfully vindicated.

Let Poets picture their golden age, and speculative men amuse themselves with discourses on the natural liberty of the primitive race of men, and the rude freedom of savage tribes. The life of the savage is hard—his liberty is danger—his very subsistence is precarious. None of us would be willing to forego our conveniences of civil life, and go back to the unimproved savage state. And, indeed, it is impossible; for the increase of our species upon earth has proclaimed it a plain law of Nature, that no other liberty shall be enjoyed by man, than what he can have the good sense to maintain in civil society. Our civil liberty then is our natural liberty, and the preservation of this is the subject of our present inquiry.

The love of liberty is as universal as the love of life. Not even the beasts can be reconciled to its loss, but by a constant coercion, and long habits of dependence, which debase their nature, and render them incapable of acquiring a sub-sistance by their own powers. There exists not

that man on earth who would not prefer liberty when left to his free natural choice. Are there any advocates for tyranny, (except tyrants themselves) it must be either from a degradation of nature, a mean expectation of serving as upper slave, or a melancholy conviction that mankind are incapable of civil liberty.

WHETHER men are thus incapable, has become an important question strongly disputed. And were it to be tried solely by arguments drawn from past history, the advocates for liberty could have little to say.

For true it is, that from the east of the old world to the west, and from the earliest period to the present times, the picture which history presents, has for its groundwork, one dark and gloomy appearance of tyranny, brightened only with some few and very small traits of liberty which appear for a little while, and soon fade away. The famous states of Greece, altogether covered an extent of territory of about one hundred and eighty miles square, and the years of their best liberty are reckoned one hundred and sifty.—Short period! Limited spot! These are the pride of ancient history and fill a great proportion of its volumes. Rome too—the renowned Rome—with frequent revolutions,

and under various forms of government, enjoyed, for about feven hundred years, a partial, often interrupted, and turbulent liberty at home; and, like modern Paris, imposed a new kind of slavery, under the specious name of alliance, on all her conquered provinces; till slavery was gratified with his usual revenge, corrupting the masters, and thus reducing them to his own unhappy state.

The richest countries, the most fertile plains, have always been the choice abodes of tyranny. For here he could march with his legions and his apparatus of war; and here the enervated inhabitant could sooner be persuaded to part with his freedom, than risque the loss of ease and his beloved property. It has been the frequent fortune of liberty to fly, and be forced to take refuge in the barrens and the mountains. Yet there, such has been the influence of her cheerful songs, soothing labor, that she has made her ragged hills to laugh like the valley, and the barren places to blossom as the rose. How often has the whole earth been overwhelmed with a deluge of tyranny above the summits of the highest mountains! How often has the dove of liberty been sent out, not finding where to rest, or resting for a little

while only, returned with the olive leaf in her mouth!

Behold her on the top of St. Marino, bleffing her little republic of five thousand—hard by her ancient favored Rome, looking around with pity upon the fertile plains of Italy, sunk in vice and slavery!

See her upon the snowy mountains and in the deep valleys of Switzerland, peopling with happy inhabitants those parts, which, in the hands of tyrants, had been looked upon as proper places only for forts and garrisons.

THEN casting her eye upon the low lands, marshy, overwhelmed and neglected, she defeends and becomes strongly entrenched behind the dikes of Holland.

The Great Alfred of England was a king; but it was in times when no other than kingly government was understood. True he was a king; but he was more, for he was a man, a benevolent and intelligent man. He labored to establish the good order of civil society; and, rare for a prince, he loved liberty. More than nine hundred years ago he constituted the trial by jury. From that time his country became the favorite land of liberty. Her struggles there have been many and arduous;

and in terms of the greatest distress, and most gloomy prospects, she has hovered over, as unwilling to forsake it.

OFTEN have we been informed of the circumstances which induced liberty to fly over the Atlantic and plant an assylum in this land: And many times have we been called to remember, especially on these occasional days, the toils and the sufferings which we underwent, as well as our expense of treasure, and of blood, in her late defence. Long, O long! may this be the happy land of her chosen residence!

But what avail our foolish aspirations, if it has been ordered by the wise God of Nature, that man shall have nothing but trouble and discord—oppression and slavery, in this world; and look for all his happiness in that coming state of liberty and peace? The advocates for what they call an efficient government, drawing all their arguments from past history, assirm, that though men individually may pretend to the honor of being rational creatures, they cannot act as such collectively. Self interest, say they, sets them at perpetual war with each other—self interest stronger than reason, and therefore they must be overruled. If those who govern are wifer and better than others—hap-

py for the nations.—But if no wiser, and no better, still the people must be ruled; for there must be some to command the peace. What, demand they, has been the never failing fruit of all attempts at reformation, and pretended establishments of equal rights? Confusion and devastation—distresses more complicated than ever were inflicted on the race of man by tyranny, the most detested. To what have these attempts invariably led, and where has been their infallible end? The oppressions of a Cromwell —the restoration of Royal power. Such, continue they, are the miseries now felt in France, and there also, such will be the final event: And such, though not so soon, will be the end of all the visionary hopes of self deceived America.

An! then ye Sister States, must we consider your fair necks as formed and fated to wear the hard and heavy chains of slavery. Must our enterprising commerce come on shore, and be reduced to dig in the earth to conceal her treasures from the harpy hand of tyranny—Shall agriculture be forced to plod the acres of his privileged lord, and feed on the coarsest, lest the table of the indolent should lack a luxurious supply—Shall this serene sense of security

be succeeded by trembling apprehensions, and this social considence give way to secret informations and dark suspicions?—O God, we acknowledge the imperfections of our natures, the error of our reason, and the madness of our passions!—But, my fellow citizens, though we hope that Heaven has designed us for a more perfect suture state, none can deny that it has also kindly permitted us to make use of that reason, by which we are distinguished, to improve and ameliorate the present. And when we consider the advances which men have already made, we have reason to take courage. If man has been able to draw from the bowels the earth, that mineral by which he can hew down the forest, and plough up the soil—by which he can raise the convenient edifice on land, or even float it on the seas; if the winds, the flowing water and the furious element of fire are made subservient to turn his curious machines; if, by the invention of letters, he has extended the powers of his feeble voice, and can speak at once to the world, and even to posterity; if he can traverse the trackless ocean and compass the earth; if he has found out the wonderful structure of the eye, and learned to imitate in glass, enlarging his powers of sight

and converse with thousands in the peopled water drop, why shall he not be able to learn the nature of the human mind and the regulation of its passions? Were the beavers, the bees and the ants created for peace and good order, and man only for discord and confusion? We see and believe the other arts progressive; and is not the art of government progressive too? When we contemplate the institutions of Solon or Lycurgus, we admire their wisdom. So when we consider the Ptolemaic System, or the philosophy of Descartes, now exploded, we equally admire, though we can plainly discover their errors.

Ancient politicans laid the foundation of republican governments chiefly in moral infititutions, calculated to inspire the heart with virtue and patriotism. They knew nothing of the regular distribution of powers, or representative legislation;—above all, they perplexed themselves, not knowing where to trust that tremendous power, the Judicial.—They had not learnt by jury, as with an electric rod, to draw it down and spread it harmless among the people, yet preserving all its force. When we consider a whole nation assembled at the passing

of every law, a whole people fitting in judgment on the trial of a cause, we are assonished and scarcely can conceive how their governments could last so long. To avoid the inconveniencies of such assemblies, how many expedients were tried in various ways to class the people; or sometimes commit the management of assarished as selection of the wifest; but this was arished as or oligarchy; and oligarchy and arished as a selection of the tyrannies, more intollerable than that of a single person.

Ler us not be ashamed to own that it is from the English we have drawn our origin; that from them we have taken the plan of committing the executive power, which often needs promptness and secrecy, to a single person. From them we derived that representative legislation on which we have made so great improvements, as well as that judicial system so perfect that we scarcely think it needs improvement. The most important discoveries in natural philosophy were made by accident, single at first, and have been brought into system afterwards. Doubtless the same may take place in politics. We liken the English Constitution to an aged tree engrafted. The king, the clergy and the nobility, are branches of the

old stock; but the representative and judicial parts, bearing valuable fruit, are from the scions—and we were seedlings from these very scions. If with such a mixture of good and bad in their constitution, they could preserve a high degree of liberty so long, may we not humbly hope to enjoy the blessing more pure: And when we consider the happy circumstances under which our constitutions were framed, may we not, without the imputation of enthusiasm, indulge an expectation that the sloods have abated and liberty may go abroad upon the earth to return no more.

We were free from all hereditary claims—free also from the fangs of superstition—that cruel bird of night that slees before our rising sun. Knowledge was never so universally diffused; the means of learning were never so common; public schools were never before in any country enjoined upon the people by law. Let us hope then, but let us hope with diffusence; and let us remember that though the elements are the copious gift of heaven, all else, that men account valuable, must be acquired by labor, and preserved with care. The eyes of philosophers throughout the world are fixed on America: And may we not consider the be-

nevolent angels above, as our beholders, still invoking and chanting and praying for peace upon earth and good will towards men.

An imperfect consideration of the previous question, whether men are capable of civil liberty, has already involved the mention of all the means by which at present we hope to preserve it. We know not what future discoveries and improvements may be made. The greatest geniuses among mankind are still exerted upon this important subject. We have no reason to pronounce visionary, the hope and faith of pious men who pray for a millennial state. New discoveries so frequently made in our age, ought to convince us that all the arts are in a condition far below the perfection to which mankind are capable of carrying them; and the art of civil government is perhaps in its infancy. Yet what American will pretend to deny that high degrees of liberty, precious and abundantly worth the cultivation, have been, and now are enjoyed. Then let us consider a little more particularly the several means of preserving liberty.

WE reckon first, an ardent love of liberty. The love of liberty, true, is natural; but the real value and relish of this, as of other bless-

ings, is known and felt by seeing or feeling the deprivation. Then since our own country has been so blessed of heaven as never to have undergone one single day of slavery, go with me to Europe and to Asia.

In Europe we are presented with their pyramid of government. The pealantry and the artizans at the base, some wealthy men form the next step; and then on these are placed in regular grades, the clergy, the nobility, the court or ministry, and, for the top stone, a king. This king is hereditary, and at the time of his accession a child or a man—a man of sense or a simpleton—a person of a good or bad heart, just as in the common course of nature it may happen. Nature pays no regard to the palace or the cottage in which she produces her man. Known from infancy as heir apparent, a king is usually not educated, but brought up feeding upon flattery. Compare to this an elected President, who from his age, his tried abilities and approved faithfulness, may at least be supposed one of the fitest men in the nation. But it is answered, if the king is not a man of capacity his prime minister often is, and he in fact rules the nation. Granting this to be true, then the king, with all his expensive court, is

supported only to be an elector of the prime minister. But it is again answered, this is the only way to avoid the bloodshed and confusion of Elections. We have had none of that bloodshed and confusion; and by the blessing of God on our care to preserve the principles of our Constitution we never shall. What would an American christian say to an hierarchical Clergy; placed and privileged without the choice or concurrence of the people, wallowing in wealth and pride. These are the successors of those ancient prophets and apostles who wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, and labored with their hands—the pretended followers of that Son of Man whose kingdom was not of this world, and who had not where to lay is head. And how would it suit the independent feelings of an American, to see around him a highheaded nobility, ranking and holding themselves as superior beings, because perhaps some distant ancestor possessed some merit; or some favor at court; or performed some important action; which ought rather to shame the present race for their own insignificance. Among so many privilega ed orders, a few fortunate merchants, and a few men of genius, by extraordinary exertion; and a little lucky court favor, may chauce to be

fomething; but the great body of the people had much better be savages. Neither is their pyramid formed to endure. Experience is now teaching, that it is built on a mistaken foundation. There is a latent fire in the base, which, heavily compressed, new lay smothered for a while; but on communication of the least spark or glimmer of light will certainly explode, and rising, tumble all the other orders in confusion, and the top spire detruncated on the ground. Yet let it be allowed there have been degrees of liberty in Europe, exalting many of the inhabitants far above those of Asia. Herè we behold a king shut up in his seraglio, more ignorant than his most ignorant slave; a prime minister with all the knowledge of a Westindia planter; a people who have the same right to their little huts and surrounding land, as our cattle to the barns and pastures in which we permit them to feed; the same right to their implements as these to the yoke and the plough, and the same security of their lives as tame beasts, till they are fatted and proper for the master's store.

"Cambyses, king of Persia, asked his favorite Praxaspes, one day, what was said of him in private conversation. Your great qualities are much admired, said the favorite, but they alledge you love wine too much. They undoubtedly suppose, said the king, that wine impairs my faculties; you shall see, presently. He immediately began drinking to excess; and then ordering the son of Praxaspes to stand at the end of the apartment with his left hand upon his head, he took a bow, and having bent it, said he would shoot the young man through the heart, which he accordingly did, adding exultingly to the father—Have I a steady hand? To which the contemptible slatterer, as if uneffected with the murder of his son, replied, Apollo could not have aimed better!"\*

But we dwell too long on these disagreeable subjects. Our liberties we do appreciate—our liberties we will defend. It shall be the appropriate business of these anniversary days to fan the pure slame, that, like the vestal sire of old, it may burn perpetually on thousands of altars—the heart of every American.

But the love of liberty alone is not sufficient.
Why has civil government been so often followed by tyranny? Because tyranny is simple,
easily practised and requires no knowledge.
In republican governments, the Citizens at large

<sup>\*</sup> Millot, Vol. 1, p. 101.

ought to possess a degree of political knowledge, It is not indeed necessary that every individual should have the knowledge and abilities of the statesman. We are supposed to delegate our most intelligent men to manage our public affairs; and we ought generally to repose a confidence in them, as better informed than ourselves. But without some degree of knowledge in the elector, how shall he estimate the knowledge or conduct of his delegate? How shall he be able to distinguish between the real errors of government pointed out with rational freedom by the man of principle, and the meer inveighings of disappointed seekers after office. Ignorance is subject to a thousand jealousies—Ignorance is often excited to insurrection against the very best measures of government: And when made to feel the consequences of its unreasonable conduct, Ignorance can take the opposite extreme, and bear with every unconstitutional, every oppressive measure. Ignorance is a beast of burden, restive at times, equally liable to kick against the hand that would free him from his harness, as against that which attempts to bind him faster. Under the absolute governments of the east, learning is discouraged. It is dangerous for a man to possess and un-

happy too, for it can only give him a prospect of the miserable situation of his country. In Europe colleges and academics are instituted for the benefit of the wealthy, and the learning there given is intended chiefly for the individual, to enable him to make his fortune and shine in life; but instruction here is a matter of state, and the main design is to educate every individual in such moral habits, and to give him so much understanding as shall qualify him to act well in the honorable place of a free citizen. The nature of civil government should compose a part of the education in our public schools. A sew good political maxims planted in the early spring would be sure to flourish through all the after seasons of life.

But in the opinion of some, our greatest danger at present consists in our depending too much on the perfection of our constitution and resolution to maintain our liberty, to the neglect of those institutions, calculated to inspire the republican virtues and form good citizens, on which the ancients seemed chiefly to rely. But in what nation was there an institution superior to the Christian Sabbath—O! may it never pass into general neglect—Poor and inefficacious are the laws unaccompanied by the

lovely virtues. We know that the best laws cease to be executed and grow obsolete, as soon as they contradict the general manners, sentiments and habits of the times; for the people are the fountain from which all the waters flow. Corruption of national manners is a disease—a blotch upon the tree by some pronounced incurable; but when the present limbs shall be fallen off, new shoots may possibly arise more free—Happy for us, there is no difference between the moral dictates of our religion and the political virtues and manners which our government requires. We have no need, as in Europe, on coming into life, to unlearn all the morality we have hitherto been taught, and substitute the whimsical laws of honor, and fashionable vices of the world. Yet too many remains of our former connexion, and too many humble imitations of European manners are seen to prevail in some circles among us. Americans, dare to assert the republican dignity of man; regardless of the sneering courtiers, dare to advocate the virtues of the freeman and the christian.

Three things then are necessary—love of liberty, political knowledge, republican virtues. One or two of these many be possessed by a na-

tion, and cause among them certain degrees of liberty: But to preserve it in its highest perfection, all three must combine.

For a great nation to be free, say some of the French orators, nothing more is necessary than that she will to be free. Will is but one faculty of the human mind. Let an individual possels the resolution of Mars and the strength of Hercules, without steady principle and without discretion, his own frantic passions will make him a slave: Let him proclaim his liberty ever so loudly, all others behold him bound in chains. It is not the demolition of the Bastile, not the beheading of a king, not the promulgation of a new constitution, not the destruction of the Brissatine party, nor of Robespierre, nor the power successively to destroy their own conititutions and adopt new ones—no, nor even the invincible force of their arms that will establish the great nation free. But with republican information and republican virtues, it is not necessairy to say a great nation; but for any nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it. Ah! Switzerland, was it the opinion of thy WILL-TAM TELL that none but a great nation could surely vindicate their liberty? How long have thy small cantons maintained their freedom,

closely surrounded by powerful despots? And hadst thou preserved thy principles and thy union uncontaminated, still hadst thou remained the happy hive, and no hornets had chosen to pillage or molest thee.

Bur let not a free republican say, the French are not fit for a republican government—and therefore it is to be regretted they ever attempted their emancipation—for if they were not fit for a republican government, they were equally unfitted to continue any longer under their old arbitrary one. The diffusion of general light had glimmered on their minds. They could discern, and were captivated by the charms of liberty; though it must be owned they have not yet learned how to treat her with propriety. They have the love of liberty, but the other two requisites are greatly wanting. Every good mind must be shocked at the enormities they have committed; and none but a blind partizan could ever think of justifying them. Our government has done right to resist their injustice. We defend ourselves against the wild rage of a lunatic; but we think it unbecoming our own sobricty to lay up resentment against him Let us consider then their condiafterwards. We may draw it to our present tion fairly.

purpose. It will learn us to detest tyranny, to prize our constitutions, and set a value on our religion and morality. What was it that rendered them so unfit for the freedom after which they aspire? What but the arbitrary power under which they have suffered for want of education. We lament that they have attempted to banish the christian religion: But we ought to consider that this was the christian religion only in name. It had became so interwoven with the old order of government and prostituted thereto, that perhaps it was next to impossible to detach and purify it. So congenial to republican governments are the pure moral doctrines, and the primitive simplicity of this religion, that we may safely calculate upon its return to France, should this government there finally be established. If we compare too the circumstances actending our revolution to those that accompanied theirs, we shall find reason to thank heaven and the spirit and wisdom of our ancestors, rather than indulge a high censorious spirit, or plume ourselves upon any supposed superiority of nature. We resisted the first attempt—we never had been slaves—with little alteration, we pursued the same form of government, and the same laws, to which we had been

accustomed—new habits and new laws we had not to learn and assume—our religion and our clergy were all on our side. The very principle of toryism made it necessary for every tory to be open and avowed. Knowing our enemies, and that they were but few in number, we could deal with them more generously; but a knowlledge that a nation has internal and secret enemies, subjects it to the most cruel suspicions. The French had a body of 200,000 ecclesiastics, whose unjust privileges depended on the ancient system—a numerous nobility interested in the same manner--Such a clergy must have at their disposal many bigotted devotees—Such a nobility, many minions.—We resisted the claims of a distant nation—The French attempt a revo-' lution at home, closely surrounded by coalesced and inimical powers. We cannot but weep for poor human nature when we view the tragical scenes of Europe. The eye of the politician observes all the nations there as in a fermenting state, and conjecture rather than calculation fixes the period of their troubles. Perhaps they must wander in the wilderness yet these forty years, until the present race are dead, before their children can go in and possess the promised land. Happy would it be if Kings knew how to yield gradually to the changing fentiments of the times—Happy if the people could be more steady and temperate. A new scene of human affairs we believe is approaching—Stormy and tempestuous has been the night, its darkness intermitted only by short slashes and gleams, and some transient breakings away of the clouds. But the day has dawned, the mountain tops begin to shine—The sun advances—and though in the European hemisphere the storm is still prevailing—Happy America! Serene is your morning—beautiful and bright are your skies!

And the continuance of our happy state we trust is in our own management—Then let us keep alive the facred slame—cherish the republican—cherish the moral virtues—continue to foster schools of learning—hold fast that religion which free in its nature, never existed under an arbitrary government, without extreme corruption or extreme persecution; and without which, in the opinion of our wisest men, our republican government cannot long continue.

O SPIRIT of SUMNER! May thy mild republican virtues be sent down from heaven among us; and may Memory the messenger be faithful to imprint them lastingly on our minds,

and fink them deep in our hearts. Of no party; yet not wavering without an opinion—Referenced by all parties, because they knew the impartial goodness of thy heart, and the clearness of thy understanding that could discover the errors of all.

How dare I speak of WASHINGTON-Eurogy has exerted her utmost—Imagination has soared his highest flights in attempt to equal his praise. Ah! were they anxious lest his name and example should be lost. Vain attempts! Groundless anxiety! Our little performances exist but for a day; and the most brilliant among them shine only as insects. These leaves shall soon lay among the rubish. Eulogies, statutes and monuments do honor to our nation, for they express her sensibility and gratitude. But when the marble itself by the power of corroding air shall crumble to dust, the name, fame and instructive example of Washington shall shine with undiminished lustreand should it please the Grand Architecr to continue this earth and solar system for ages double to those they have yet seen, astronomy might as soon forget her brightest planet, as history, her Washington. No-to attempt—his eulogy is not my object; but in discoursing, con-

cerning the means of perpetuating liberty, how could we pass by the example of this man? Pray let us not compare him to the Cesars and Alexanders of past ages. Is not the rational benevolent being superior to the proud fighting animal? Let us reslect on the virtues of that mind, that could forget all the advantages of private wealth, difdain every offer of personal preferment, forego his ease, and endure a long series of labors, hazard his life, and even his fame in a dubious contest; only because he perceived that the interest not only of America, but of England, of humanity in general, of liberty herself was concerned in the cause. And when fortune had found his patience, his prudence and fortitude invincible, and was forced to yield them fuccess; to complete the hero, and realise whatever romance had imagined, see him temperate, steadily adhering to first principles, modest, noteven imposing the weight of his opinion to control in the disputes of Freemen. We cannot all be generals, we do not all possess the talents of the statesman; but like him, we possess moral minds. It is by the virtues of these only that republican governments can be supported. It was the practice of these virtues that distinguished our Washington, and set him above all the great men that went before him. For these, and not for the abilities of the general and statesman, is he now fixed a new and bright star in the heavens to guide our political course.

O ye historians! dwell not so long on your descriptions of battles and military exploits, calculated only to inspire young readers with unprincipled military ardor; but pain. Washington in his virtues and let it be seen that military ardor without them is but brutal and savage serocity.

Genius of rifing America, fain would I make this small voice be heard from the Atlantic to the Missisppi, and from the lakes to the Mexican gulph! But stop.—A more powerful and more beloved voice has spoken; and the salutory advice is still sounding in your ears. O! let it be engraved at the foot of his beloved portrait, and become the most honorable ornament of your dwellings. Make of it a tablet to be carried in your bosoms, and wear it nearest your hearts; nay deem it no facrilege to bind it in the volume of your bibles.—It is your political creed—Form institutions in memory of your Washington—Follow him in the political course; and forget not that he was a follower also in the Christian.

FINIS.