

Courage, integrity, strength, intelligence, compassion – these are just some of the attributes of Northland's Ngā Wāhine o te Raki (Women of the North).

Rongo Hongi / Hariata Rongo

Described as 'imperious', 'intelligent' and 'exceedingly agreeable', Rongo Hongi was the daughter of Hongi Hika and Turikatuku. Known also as Matenga and Hariata Rongo, she was taught by Martha Clarke at the Kerikeri Mission in the late 1820s after her father died. She married Hōne Heke in 1837 and served as his secretary and personal envoy during the Northern Wars. Rongo Hongi was a forceful character, bringing her own mana to the relationship, and was comfortable in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds.

Rongo Hongi was educated at the Kerikeri Mission Station, and was later baptised Hariata. She supported her husband, Hōne Heke, during the Northern Wars – a time of great upheaval for Māori.

After Heke's death in 1850, Hariata married Arama Karaka Pī from the Hokianga. When her second husband died, Hariata 'scandalised' the Wesleyan missionaries by carrying out a hahunga on his body. This highly tapu traditional funeral practice involved the scraping of his bones two years after his death, which were then placed on a bier for public display and later removed to a hidden cave. Only a woman with

Hariata's mana could pay her second husband such an honour.

Hariata adopted Pākehā practices such as literacy, dress and appearance as it suited her. She lived to old age, attending all the large northern gatherings, 'perfect still in her manners'.

Sources: Angela Middleton. 'Pewhairangi Bay

As part of the commemorations marking the 125th anniversary of New Zealand becoming the first self-governing country to grant women the vote, Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga celebrates some of Northland's women in history who have achieved remarkable things and brought about significant of Islands Missions and Māori 1814 to 1845', published 2014. Freda Rankin Kawharu. 'Heke Pokai, Hōne Wiremu', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



EXPLORE THE STORY OF HARIATA RONGO AT THE KERIKERI MISSION STATION (Kororipo Heritage Park) – a Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.



change – often in challenging circumstances.





HERITAGE NEW ZEALAND Pouhere taonga

A chiefly young couple [Hariata Rongo centre, standing], an older man, a further young couple and a squatting woman ca. 1846. *Image Credit: Merrett, Joseph Jenner, 1815-1854. Ref: A-255-002. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand*.



Charlotte Kemp. Image Credit: Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Charlotte Kemp

Charlotte Kemp was one of the first European women at Kerikeri. Together with her husband James, their Christian belief system led them to the other side of the world - to a Te Ao Māori world. Charlotte lived through the musket wars of the 1820s when Hongi Hika mounted violent raids on southern tribes, leaving from Kororipo Pā adjacent to the mission station. She gave birth to eight children and taught at the girls' and infants' school at Kemp House. Charlotte battled the effects of depression and physical illness throughout her life.

As well as the challenges of living in frontier New Zealand, Charlotte also had to battle the internal workings of the Church Missionary Society – including an attempt to transfer her and James to pioneer a new mission station in Tauranga. The prospect of this led her to suffer mental illness and, although she recovered, she suffered relapses in subsequent years.

During the war in the north (1845-46), Charlotte and James were among the few Europeans who stayed in the Bay of

Islands and later helped tend the wounded from the battles at Okaihau and Ohaeawai. They remained living in their old mission house – Kemp House – in the Kerikeri Basin for the rest of their lives. Charlotte died in June 1860.

Source: Nancy Pickmere. 'Kemp, Charlotte and Kemp, James', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.

EXPLORE THE STORY OF CHARLOTTE KEMP AT KEMP HOUSE (Kororipo Heritage Park) - a Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.



Dame Mira Szaszy

Dame Mira Szaszy [nee Petricevich] was the first Māori woman to graduate with a degree from the University of Auckland, and became one of the first Māori welfare officers in 1945. Dame Mira was devoted to Māori education and promoting the role of Māori women, condemning the lack of speaking rights for women on marae as "a symbol of oppression". In later years she lobbied for the ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi.



(just north of Houhora)

Miraka Petricevich was born in Waihopo in the Far North in 1921. Of Ngāti Kuri, Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri descent, Mira worked closely with Dame Whina Cooper in the newly formed Māori Women's Welfare League in the 1950s.

Mira's teaching career began in Kaikohe in 1946 and she was later appointed lecturer in Māori studies at the Auckland Secondary Teachers Training College. Mira urged Māori women everywhere to stand for public office, and also criticised "job discrimination" against Māori in Government departments.

In later years she described herself as a "geriatric radical". Mira married Auckland accountant Albert Szaszy in 1956, and was made a Dame Commander of the British Empire in 1990. Dame Mira passed away in 2001.

Sources: NZ Herald, Obituary. Mira Szaszy, 21 December 2001. www.nzherald.co.nz. University of Auckland, Business School. 'About Dame Mira Szaszy'. www.business.auckland.ac.nz. Wikipedia. Miraka Szaszy. www.wikipedia.org



Dame Mira Szaszy. Image Credit: University of Auckland School of Business.





Dame Whina Cooper

Whina Cooper in Hamilton during the Māori Land March. Image Credit: Photograph by Chris Heinegg. Ref: PA7-15-18. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Born in northern Hokianga in 1895, Whina Cooper was a pan-tribal Māori leader and foundation president of the Māori Women's Welfare League. Whina is perhaps best known for leading the 1975 land march, involving 5000 marchers, from Te Hāpua (in the Far North) to Parliament in Wellington. Whina Cooper was made a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1991 and became the 20th appointee to the Order of New Zealand.

As a girl, Whina attended Whakarapa Native School, initially walking the six miles between Te Karaka and Whakarapa village. In 1907, with financial help from her father's friend, Native Minister James Carroll, she attended St Joseph's Māori Girls' College in Napier for secondary education.

In 1932 Whina Cooper played an active role, with Apirana Ngata, in setting up 11 Māori land development schemes in the Hokianga.

When her second husband Bill Cooper died in 1949, Whina moved to Auckland and co-founded the Māori Women's Welfare League, which improved living conditions for Māori who had moved to the cities and faced discrimination in housing and employment.

Whina Cooper led the 1975 land march, which was organised and supported by Māori groups opposed to further loss of their land. When Whina arrived at Parliament in October 1975 she presented a petition signed by 60,000 people to the Prime Minister, Bill Rowling. The Waitangi Tribunal was established that same year.

Dame Whina Cooper continued in public life and died at Hokianga in 1994, aged 98.

Source: Michael King. 'Cooper, Whina', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.

Takurua, Te Mārama, Ana Hamu and Ereonora

Thirteen Māori women have so far been identified as signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi – four of them from Northland. These were Te Mārama and Ereonora (Kaitaia signing) and Takurua and Ana Hamu (Waitangi signing).

In Britain at the time, women did not vote or have any say in important issues. Many Māori women were very important as rangatira or ariki in their own right, however, and the fact that these women

were signatories to the Treaty is a reflection of the mana they held as significant rangatira in their own right.

Guide Sophia Hinerangi

Known internationally as the principal tourist guide of the Pink and White Terraces before the eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886, Guide Sophia Hinerangi interpreted and presented Māori culture to thousands of visitors from New Zealand and around the world. She was known for her role as 'guide, philosopher and friend', and for her extraordinary courage in the face of the Tarawera eruption when she sheltered 62 people in her whare [house], saving their lives.

Sophia Hinerangi has strong links to the North. Born in Kororāreka (Russell) sometime between 1830 and 1834, she was the daughter of Alexander Gray and Kotiro Hinerangi. Kotiro was probably of Ngāti Ruanui from Taranaki, and had been captured by a Ngāpuhi raid and taken to the Bay of Islands. where she continued her guiding career,
which included hosting a number of
royal parties. Sophia became president
of the Whakarewarewa branch of the
New Zealand Women's Christian
Temperance Union in 1896, and died in
1911. Some of her many descendants still
live at Whakarewarewa, and Sophia Street
in Rotorua is named after her.



Sophia is believed to have been brought up by missionary Charlotte Kemp at Kemp House in the 1830s.

After the Tarawera eruption – and the destruction of the Pink and White Terraces – Sophia moved to Whakarewarewa

Source: Jenifer Curnow. 'Hinerangi, Sophia', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1993, updated July, 2015. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



EXPLORE THE STORY OF SOPHIA HINERANGI AT THE KERIKERI MISSION STATION (Kororipo Heritage Park) – a Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

Te Paea Hinerangi (Guide Sophia). Image Credit: Gottfried Lindauer, Te Paea Hinerangi (Guide Sophia), 1896, oil on canvas. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of Mr H E Partridge, 1915 (1915/2/34).



Martha Clarke

Enduring difficult frontier conditions, Martha Clarke worked with Charlotte Kemp at a small school for Māori girls established in Kemp House at the Kerikeri Misison Station where students learned reading, writing and needlework. The school was one of New Zealand's earliest educational initiatives. Martha Clarke also helped establish the Te Waimate Mission Station at

■ George Clarke, his wife Martha, and their 13 children. *Image Credit: Nga Kupu Korero: Photographs of Europeans Associated with the Treaty of Waitangi. Ref: PAColl-6081-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.*



EXPLORE THE STORY OF MARTHA CLARKE AT THE KERIKERI MISSION STATION AND TE WAIMATE MISSION – both Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

Waimate North.

Martha Clarke arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1824 with her husband George and their eldest son George Junior, where they began working at the Kerikeri Mission Station. Later, in 1830-31, Martha helped establish the Te Waimate Mission Station at Waimate North along with George and other missionaries. She also supported her husband when he reluctantly took up the post of Chief Protector of Aborigines in 1840.

Martha gave birth to 15 children throughout her life. On her death bed she requested that her funeral service be held in Māori by a Māori clergyman because, in her words: "I left my home for the good of the natives: I have spent my life among them; let them bury me." Martha died in December 1882.

Sources: Clarke Family website. www.clarke.org.nz. Ray Grover. 'Clarke, George', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Angela Middleton. 'Pewhairangi Bay of Islands Missions and Māori 1814 to 1845', published 2014.

Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia

Born near Panguru in the Hokianga in 1868, Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia was an advocate for Māori women having the right to vote. She made history by being the first woman to address the House of Paremata Māori and challenging the assembled leaders:



"I beseech you ... that the chair and honourable members formulate a law in this house that gives mana to women to allow them to elect their member to the Paremata Māori Parliament."

Meri Mangakāhia remained involved in Māori politics and welfare issues until her death in 1920.

Meri Te Tai married Hamiora Mangakāhia, who was at the meeting that established Te Kotahitanga – the Māori Parliament movement – in 1889.

Meri attended the May 1893 session, and formed a committee with other wives of the movement's leaders as a forum for debate. She was asked to present a petition on their behalf to the Speaker of the Lower House regarding their inclusion in proceedings.

Meri didn't stop there. She also requested that Māori women be eligible to sit in the Māori Parliament – a step further than her Pākehā sisters in the suffrage movement. She also made the point that many Māori women owned and administered their own lands, either because they had no male relatives or because the women were more competent.

Her efforts towards Māori women gaining the right to vote represented a strong interest by Māori women in having a political voice and organising collectively. By the 1890s Māori women were active participants in the Women's Christian Temperance Union as well as Ngā Komiti Wāhine. About 4000 Māori women voted in the first elections under universal suffrage in 1893.

Sources: The Suffrage Trail, published 1993. Angela Ballara. 'Mangakāhia, Meri Te Tai', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia. Image Credit: Mason, Frederick W., photographer. [Copy of Portrait of Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia.] Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira. PH-NEG-C5101.



Suzanne Aubert of the Sisters of Compassion with her pupils ca 1870s-1880s. Peata is at left. *Image Credit: Re Leaf Photograph, Canterbury Museum (Ref:19xx.2.3874)*.



EXPLORE THE STORY OF PEATA AT POMPALIER MISSION IN RUSSELL – a Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

Peata

Hoki – a niece of the rangatira Rewa – became the first Māori nun, and was baptised Peata (from Beata, meaning Blessed). At the age of 24 years old, and following the destruction of Kororāreka (Russell) in 1845, Peata – singlehandedly and unarmed – intervened to halt a raiding party from attacking Bishop Pompallier's Marist Mission.

Peata was highly thought of by Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier, who recorded the story of Peata's courageous intervention above. Following the destruction of Kororāreka, only about fifteen houses, the Catholic mission establishment, and the house and church of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) remained standing following the fire that consumed most of the town.

When raiding canoes returned to avenge the chiefs who had been killed, 24-year-old Peata began striding up and down along the water's edge defying the men, who halted their canoes some 45 metres away to discuss her challenge. According to Pompallier, she was 'vaunting her mana, with its clear implication of reprisal, to stall their advance'.

The waka turned away and landed further along the bay. The threatened assault ended peacefully thanks to Peata's spirited intervention.

Sources: HeritageTrails App. Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga. Kate Martin and Brad Mercer (Editors). 'The French Place in the Bay of Islands Essays From Pompallier's Printery', published 2011.

Ngawini 'Annie' Yates

Ngawini (Annie) Murray married merchant Samuel Yates in 1880, and together purchased and leased Māori tracts of land in the Far North totalling 150,000 acres. After Samuel's death, Ngawini took over the running of the station and general store, keeping records and accounts and overseeing the local kaurigum trade which was central to the Far North economy. Capable, generous, intelligent and very able in business affairs Ngawini was described in newspaper obituaries as the 'Queen of the North' and 'a vast property holder'.



Ngawini Yates was descended from Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri. She took an active role in managing the large station even when her husband was alive. A skilled horsewoman, she took part in cattle and sheep musters, and found time to raise and educate her eight children.

In September 1900, sensing that his death was near, Samuel – a Jew – headed to Auckland so he could be interred in the Jewish cemetery in Karangahape Road. He died just as his ship was leaving Pārengarenga Harbour, though Ngawini ensured his last wish was carried out. Ngawini died at Pārengarenga on 29 July 1910. On her headstone she is described as 'Beloved of both Pākehā and Māori'.

Sources: David A. Armstrong. 'Yates, Ngawini and Yates, Samuel', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



Ngawini Yates. Image Credit: Te Ahu Museum and Archives.

René Mary Shadbolt

René Shadboltwas a civilian and military nurse who cared for wounded International Brigade soldiers in primitive front-line conditions during the Spanish Civil War. Although not a member of any political party, she was treated with suspicion when she returned home because the International Brigade was supported by Soviet Russia. René eventually found work as matron of Hokianga Hospital in Rawene where her long years of service were recognised with an MBE in 1969.



At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War René was among the first to volunteer for a contingent of New Zealand nurses coordinated by the Spanish Medical Aid Committee (SMAC). René was appointed leader of three New Zealand volunteer nurses.

Their first posting was to a large makeshift International Brigade hospital in Huete, central Spain. When the hospital was evacuated to Barcelona they stayed and continued to care for wounded soldiers until November 1938.

While in Spain, René married one of her patients, Willi Remmel, a German member of the International Brigade. Although she made numerous appeals on his behalf to the New Zealand government and other agencies, Remmel was denied entry into New Zealand and the two never met again.

Because of her service in the Spanish Civil War, Shadbolt was unfairly marked as 'dangerously



■ New Zealand nurses sent to Spain during the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, shows Nurse Dodds, Sister Shadbolt, and Nurse Sharples. *Image Credit: Ref: 1/2-C-016123-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand*.

political' and initially found it difficult to find work. In 1949, however, she became matron of Hokianga Hospital, where she remained until 1967.

Following representations of the people of Hokianga she was made an MBE in 1969,

and was widely mourned when she died in 1977.

Source: Maurice Shadbolt. 'Shadbolt, René Mary', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



Sophia Louisa Taylor

Sophia Louisa Taylor. *Image Credit: Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga*.

Born in Kaitaia in 1847, Sophia Davis married wealthy widower Allan Kerr Taylor in 1865. An active Auckland socialite, Sophia found herself widowed and in financial difficulty after her husband died in 1890. She continued taking a lead in public life, however, and Sophia Louisa Taylor became a member of the first committee of the Auckland branch of the Women's Franchise League in 1892, moving resolutions and making forceful and witty speeches in favour of franchise. She also supported the Auckland Tailoresses' Union.

Following the death of her husband in 1890, Sophia discovered there was a £4000 mortgage on the property, which also attracted heavy death duties. Sophia survived through selling land and investments, and continued to take part in the social life of Auckland's elite.

One of the reasons Sophia supported the franchise movement was the practical reason that she believed women had to obey laws and pay taxes as men did. Sophia wrote on various topics, even opposing the introduction of possums 'to provide sport for lazy townspeople when they take their holiday in the country'. She regarded herself as a farmer, and died at Alberton – her home of 65 years – at the age of 83.

Source: Jan Harris. 'Taylor, Sophia Louisa', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, published in 1996, updated January, 2015. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.



EXPLORE THE STORY OF SOPHIA LOUISA TAYLOR AT ALBERTON – a historic property in Auckland cared for by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.



Jane Clendon

Jane Clendon was the second wife of James Reddy Clendon – trader, magistrate and New Zealand's first US Consul. She was also almost 40 years his junior. In 1872, James Clendon died leaving Jane and their family in debt. She managed to negotiate terms of settlement, however, and in time managed to pay off what was owed. With her significant blood lines, it is clear that Jane valued her Māori background, and instilled these values in her children.

Jane Clendon. *Image Credit: Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga*.

Jane was the daughter of Dennis Cochrane and his wife Takotowi from the Hokianga. In 1861 Governor Grey decided that the Resident Magistrate should reside at Rawene, and appointed James Reddy Clendon into the role. The Clendons established themselves at Rawene and built Clendon House.

A few weeks after the death of her husband – and the realization that she had been left with significant debts – Jane set off for Auckland to face her creditors, leaving the children at home in the care of her eldest boy. She managed to arrange terms of settlement, and in time the debt was paid off.

As a result of her courage, hard work and determination, the house remained within the family until 1972 when it was purchased by the then New Zealand Historic Places Trust.

Source: Heritage Trails app. Heritage New Zealand.



EXPLORE THE STORY OF JANE CLENDON AT CLENDON HOUSE IN RAWENE – a Tohu Whenua cared for by Heritage

New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.





RONGO HONGI WAS A FORCEFUL CHARACTER, BRINGING HER OWN MANA TO THE RELATIONSHIP, AND WAS COMFORTABLE IN BOTH THE MĀORI AND PĀKEHĀ WORLDS.

AS WELL AS THE CHALLENGES OF LIVING IN FRONTIER NEW ZEALAND, **CHARLOTTE KEMP** ALSO HAD TO BATTLE THE INTERNAL WORKINGS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — INCLUDING AN ATTEMPT TO TRANSFER HER AND JAMES TO PIONEER A NEW MISSION STATION IN TAURANGA. THE PROSPECT OF THIS LED HER TO SUFFER MENTAL ILLNESS AND, ALTHOUGH SHE RECOVERED, SHE SUFFERED RELAPSES IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS.





DAME MIRA WAS DEVOTED

TO MĀORI EDUCATION AND PROMOTING THE ROLE OF MĀORI WOMEN, CONDEMNING THE LACK OF SPEAKING RIGHTS FOR WOMEN ON MARAE AS "A SYMBOL OF OPPRESSION".

DAME WHINA COOPER IS PERHAPS BEST KNOWN FOR LEADING THE 1975 LAND MARCH, INVOLVING 5000 MARCHERS, FROM TE HĀPUA (IN THE FAR NORTH) TO PARLIAMENT IN WELLINGTON.

THIRTEEN MĀORI WOMEN HAVE SO FAR BEEN IDENTIFIED AS SIGNATORIES OF THE TREATY OF WAITANGI — FOUR OF THEM FROM NORTHLAND. THESE WERE **TE MĀRAMA** AND **EREONORA**

(KAITAIA SIGNING) AND **TAKURUA** AND **ANA HAMU** (WAITANGI SIGNING).





GUIDE SOPHIA HINERANGI WAS KNOWN FOR HER ROLE AS 'GUIDE, PHILOSOPHER AND FRIEND', AND FOR HER EXTRAORDINARY COURAGE IN THE FACE OF THE TARAWERA ERUPTION WHEN SHE SHELTERED 62 PEOPLE IN HER WHARE [HOUSE], SAVING THEIR LIVES.

ENDURING DIFFICULT FRONTIER CONDITIONS, **MARTHA CLARKE** WORKED WITH CHARLOTTE KEMP AT A SMALL SCHOOL FOR MÃORI GIRLS ESTABLISHED IN KEMP HOUSE AT THE KERIKERI MISISON STATION WHERE STUDENTS LEARNED READING, WRITING AND NEEDLEWORK.

"I BESEECH YOU ... THAT THE CHAIR AND HONOURABLE MEMBERS FORMULATE A LAW IN THIS HOUSE THAT GIVES MANA TO WOMEN TO ALLOW THEM TO ELECT THEIR

MEMBER TO THE PAREMATA MAORI PARLIAMENT."

~ MERITETAI MANGAKĀHIA



CAPABLE, GENEROUS, INTELLIGENT AND VERY ABLE IN BUSINESS AFFAIRS **NGAWINI 'ANNIE' YATES** WAS DESCRIBED IN NEWSPAPER OBITUARIES AS THE 'QUEEN OF THE NORTH' AND 'A VAST PROPERTY HOLDER'.



RENÉ SHADBOLT WAS A CIVILIAN AND MILITARY NURSE WHO CARED FOR WOUNDED INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE SOLDIERS IN PRIMITIVE FRONT-LINE CONDITIONS DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.

WITH HER SIGNIFICANT BLOOD LINES, IT IS CLEAR THAT **JANE CLENDON** VALUED HER

MAORI BACKGROUND, AND INSTILLED THESE

VALUES IN HER CHILDREN.



suffrage 125 Whakatū Wāhine

WHEN RAIDING CANOES RETURNED TO AVENGE THE CHIEFS WHO HAD BEEN KILLED, 24-YEAR-OLD **PEATA** BEGAN STRIDING UP AND DOWN ALONG THE WATER'S EDGE DEFYING THE MEN, WHO HALTED THEIR CANOES SOME 45 METRES AWAY TO DISCUSS HER CHALLENGE. ACCORDING TO POMPALLIER, SHE WAS 'VAUNTING HER MANA, WITH ITS CLEAR IMPLICATION OF REPRISAL, TO STALL THEIR ADVANCE'.

SOPHIA LOUISA TAYLOR BECAME A MEMBER OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE AUCKLAND BRANCH OF THE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE IN 1892, MOVING RESOLUTIONS AND MAKING FORCEFUL AND WITTY SPEECHES IN FAVOUR OF FRANCHISE.

