## 

SOLICITORS' APPRENTICES'
DEBATING SOCIETY.

1908-1909.

WOMEN'S SUFFR:AGE.

THE
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
BY THE AUDITOR, ENDA B. HEALY.

## DUBLIN:

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## Incorporated Law Society of Ireland.

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## AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN
THE SOLCCITORS' HALL, FOUR COURTS, DUBLIN, at тнв

Opening Ileecting of the Cwenty=Fiitth Session, on

MONDAY EVENING, 30th NOVEMBER, 1908,
by the auditor,
ENDA B. HEALY.

## Incorporated Law Society of Ireland.

## SOLICITORS' APPRENTICES' DEBATING SOCIETY.

OFFICERS FOR THE SESSION, 1908-1909.

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Louis Barron.

## SOLICITORS' APPRENTICES' DEBATING SOCIETY:

The Inaugural Meeting of the Solicitors' Apprentices' Debating Society for the Session 1908-1909 was held on Monday Evening, 30th November, in the Solicitors' Hall, Four Courts, Dublin, when the Auditor, Mr. Enda B. Healy, delivered the Inaugural Address. The chair was occupied by George H . Lyster, Esq., President of the Incorporated Law Society, and there was an extremely large attendance. Amongst those who accepted-the Society's invitation were:-

The Hon. Cecil Atkinson, B.L.; W. M. Anderson, J.P.; J. Blood-Smyth, James Brady, E. Ellard Brady, Mr. Commissioner Bailey, J. Barry Brown, Sir Augustine Baker, John Barkley, B.L.; 'T. S. F. Battersby, K.C.; A. Lloyd Blood, A. Blythe, Charles R. Brady, W. H. Browne, B.L.; W. H. Boyd, B.L.; Richard Best, B.L.; Gerald Byrne, Arthur H. Burue, E. H. Burne, Michael J. Butler, B. J. Brenuan, Mrs. Cousins, Mark B. Cooper, B.L.; John Cusack. B.L.; George-Collins. Dr. J. E. S. Condun, B.L.; F.. 'Tenison Collins, George P. Cussen, Rev. Paul Cullen, James Chambers, K.C.; J. W. Connell, Michael Corrigan, Ernest H. F. Campbeli, J. M. Daly, Charles Dawson, D. S. Doyle, James A. Denning, David Dunne, Robert Doyle, B.L.; Wm. H. Drennan, Henry A. Drennan, Ex-Auditor ; Samuel W. Evans, B.L.; Arthur T. Eilis, Thomas Early, A. R. Foot, Herbert S. Findlater, W. French. Wm. Fry, J. W. Foley, Dr. Flynn, Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, Hanbury C. Geoghegan, B.L.'; Wm. H. Geoghegan, Ex-Auditor ; Norris Goddard, Stephen Gwym, M.P.; M. A. Galvin, W. Harrison, J. Miller Hamilton, James Henry, J. W. Hynes, B.Lr;
R. M. Hennessy, K.C.; James J. Hayden, Ex-Auditor ; Thos. Haslem, Thos. Johnson, J. Jones. Louis Kelly, B.L; Francis Kennedy, K.C.; R. N. Keohler, Ex-Auditor; Patrick Lynch, K.C.; R. W. W. Littledale, K.C.; John P. Lynch, J. MacDaniel, M. C. MacInerney, K.C.; W. Q. Murphy, A. H. Matheson, B.L.; Geo.C. May, A. L. Mooney, A. J. M'Kenna, H. R. Macrory, B.L.; P. J. Masterson, Ex-Auditor; T. R. McCullagh, W. H. McCullagh, Wm. McGrath, B.L.; Dr. Joseph M•Grath, Sec. Royal Univ. ; Charles J. Murray, T. F. Moloney, K.C.; The Hon. T. L. O'Shaughnessy, Recorder of Dublin ; B. M. O'Grady, Kevin E. O'Duffy, L. J. O'Neill; Ex-Auditor; G. N. Oulton, K.C.; Dr. J. R. O'Connell, Ex-Auditor ; Charles P. O'Neill, J. O'Farrell, Count Plunkett, Daniel Purcell, J. R. Peart, Sir Audrew Reed, Right Hon. T. W. Russell, M.P.; Sir George Roche, J. A. Reardon, B.L.; Andrew G. Sloan, Portadown ; W. B. Seddall, Michael Smithwick, B.L., Auditor of the Law Students' Debating Society; Henry Shannon, Ex-Auditor; I. C. 'Tobias, B.L.; Sir Wm. Thompson, Nathaniel Taylor, W. Whelan; Albert E. Wood, W. Grove White, W. M. Whittaker, K.C.; Wm. George Wakely, Secretary of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland ; Dr. R. L. Woolcombe, R. Blair White, W. H. Wright.

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The Minutes of the last Meeting of the Society were read by Mr. Chas. B. W. Boyle, Hon. Secretary, and signed.

The President then 'distributed the Medals, Certificates and Prizes to the successful Candidates, as follows:-

Oratory-Law Society's Gold Medal, Enda B. Healy ; Special Certificates, J. J. Molly and P. S. M'Donnell ; MacSheehy Prizes-For members of more than one year's standing, Louis Barron; for members of only one year's standing, M. J. Moore. Legal Debate-William S. Hayes Gold Medal and

Special Certificate, Charles B. W. Boyle; Cussen Silver Medal, P. S.M'Donnell. Impromptu SpeechesCussen Gold Medal and Special Certificate, J. J. Molloy; Sir George Roche Prize and Silver Medal, Charles B. W. Boyle. Composition-Law Society's Gold Medal, Charles B. W. Boyle ; Falls Prize and SpecialCertificate, D. J. M‘Grath; Special Certificate, P. S. M'Donnell ; Gerald Byrne Prize, D. J. MGrath; Fry Prize, P. J. Neilan.

The Chairman then called on the Auditor to deliver his Address on
"WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE."

Michael MacInerney, Esq., K.C., moved, and Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe seconded :-
"That the best thanks of the Society be given to the Auditor for his Address, and that it be printed at the expense of the Society."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.
T. W. Russell, Esq., M.P., proposed, and Mrs. Cousins seconded:-
"That the Solicitors' Apprentices' Debating Society is worthy of the support of the Solicitors' Apprentices of Ireland, the Council of the Incorporated Law Society, and the Solicitors' profession."

Passed unanimously.

## PREFACE.

Before plunging into my theme I would like to explain how I came to address you this evening.
The Auditor originally elected by our Society for this year was Mr. Edward Kelly-the most accomplished and amiable of our members, whose active work in our ranks stands to the benefit of the Society and the credit of himself. Unfortunately, however, he has fallen ill, and is not able to be with us.

This evolution of accidents has brought about what Darwin would call a "survival of the unfittest." I have to thank the Society for calling on me to fill Mr. Kelly's important place ; but I can assure you that it is to me-as it must be to you-a matter of regret that the Society did not make a more natural selection.
The special thanks of the Society are due to those gentlemen who, as donors of prizes, have done so much for our Society.

To Messrs. Wakely and Evans we owe, as in previous years, our continuing gratitude for their practical help and sympathy on all possible occasions. Mr. Hayden in undertaking, with Mr. Evans, the troublesome task of scrutinising the ballot returns has also earned our thanks.

The past Session of the Society, financially and otherwise, has been eminently successful.

The Debates have been well sustained, and the attendance showed that the subjects dealt with reached a high standard of interest.

A word is due in explanation of some recent events, unique, I am glad to say, in the Society's history. The Inaugural function has suffered two postponements, with the result that many members of the public and friends of the Society experienced disappointment. Further, the subject originally announced for the Address has been set aside. These changes have, I am aware, caused perplexity and inconvenience in many directions, notably in the Press, where very considerate arrangements are usually made for reporting our inaugural proceedings. The changes, however, became imperative owing to developments in other quarters, and as a personal explanation I' am justified in saying that the circumstances were beyond my control.

## "WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE."

ASSUMING that my audience snatches even a weekly glance at the placards of the evening papers, there is no need to introduce my subject. Starting, therefore, with the ground cleared, I propose to examine in a blunt, common-sense fashion a few of the dominant fallacies that lie at the back of the epathy and opposition towards the Women's Suffrage movement. To begin with, there is the old objection that it would shift the legislative centre of gravity from the intellect to the emotions. Now here it is necessary to shatter a belief that has its root in humbug. Under the present system of male suffrage we have not, even in the remotest sense, a rule of intellect. Men, in the vast majority, are much more emotional than reasonable. In a General Election they are swayed far more by sentiment than by knowledge of the issues involved. The leaders of the great political parties quite recognise the fact; and after every change of benches you find the Opposition taunting the party in power with having gained office on the strength of some catch-phrase that deceived the electorate. Thus, one side is accused of having climbed to power by picturing imaginary persecutions endured by British subjects in the Transvaal. The accusing party becomes the accused as soon as there is a change of Government; in their turn the first accusers are taunted with obtaining the reins of Government by simply shrieking "Chinese Slavery!" at the hustings. I have no desire to intervene in this contest of charges and counter-charges; I simply wish to press
home the truth that, whatever party is in power, it is eternally assailed by the same charge of having played on the hysterical tendencies of the electoral majority. The permanence of the charge proves that it is really substantial.

I do not for a moment urge that the hysteria is always in the wrong: when, for instance, all England was roused to wild denunciation of the unspeakable Turk, with the result that the Government had to adopt a very stern attitude towards the systematic murder of Armenians, the hysteria rose to a form of noble rage, and its results were infinitely greater and infinitely more punctual than those of cold logic. But the point I emphasise is, that this hysterical element is always there in the male electorate; that it is always, and rather easily, appealed to; and that it is frequently the deciding force in making and unmaking Governments. The contention that male legislation rests on the icy foundations of unbiassed intellect is, therefore, sufficiently exploded. To give a fair view of this-perhaps the most important-branch of opposition, I must, howèver, touch for one moment on what is almost a sexual aspect of the subject-woman's passion for the humane. Movements of humane interest find their strongest supporters in women: they are in the van of every crusade that has a kindly object. For this very reason it has been anticipated that their sympathy might, if they wielded the Franchise, develop into a legislative vice. Dominated by this dread, the Vivisectionists, as the whole world is aware, abhor the thought of "Votes for Women." But would their humane zeal really outrun their human prudence? The fear seems based on a
misconception. Women being excluded from legislative control are, at present, seen only as agitators of one kind or another, and their agitational earnestness is apt to be misread as indicating no capacity for compromise. The responsibilities of power would, however, moderate their attitude when they would come to deal practically with those matters which, as yet, they are merely permitted to keep red hot; for, as Burke declares, "aspiration sees but one side of a question, while possession sees many." The strike organiser of yesterday becomes the Cabinet Minister of to-day, without evincing any pronounced desire to make hay of the Constitution. And in like manner a woman endowed with political rights is pretty certain to be steadied by the sense of public obligation.

Come we to another stumbling-block-Are women "prepared" for the Franchise? In other words, is the education and training which the average woman receives to-day fairly calculated to make her a desirable voter?

I will say nothing of the very upper classes; their political opinionsarehanded downlike heirlooms. They do not make them; they succeed to them. These beings have been born that way. So, having paid them our admiration, we will pass to the consideration of those classes whose opinions are not cast-iron-who think out new ideas, who must adjust themselves to altering circumstances, and who, in a word, constitute the great engines of perpetual change in the world of politics. I speak of the middle and the industrial classes. I state a commonplace too axiomatic for dispute when I say that the women of the middle classes constitute the best
educated unit in the length and breadth of European society. They have vast advantages over their men-folk; their school period is longer, and they have in after-life much more leisure for self-improvement. while in what is called "knowledge of the world" more than half of them have the benefit of business training in some shape or form. The efficiency of the middle-class woman is, therefore, not to be questioned,-unless we previously establish the hopeless incapacity of her counterpart, the middleclass man. The case of the woman of the working community is somewhat less favourable. She, as a rule, begins to work for her living a little earlier than the man of her own station. Her urgent needs and her increasing numbers are her strongest claim to a voice in legislation. Her educational diploma is of a practical and tragic character. She has first-hand knowledge of one terrific social plague spot-sweating; she, in fact, is the sweated party. She has been the most neglected entity in latter-day programmes of social reform. Given the voting power, she would erect herself into a social force. Suitors for her political support would be quick to discover that sweating is not a necessary accompaniment of industrial success; and her presence on the register would soon compel the legislation to define the minimum standard of competition.

Therefore, reviewing the moral and mental forces of the women of the middle and industrial classes; I can report (as Lord Bacon would put it) no deficiency in these departments. The general competence of the female mind is further vindicated by achievement. Mrs. Ayrton's intellectual triumphs have won her the Royal Society's Medal. Caroline Herschel, a model housekeeper, was also the discoverer of eight
comets. Mary Somerville's wonderful work in science is known everywhere; her last book, a summary of the latter-day advances in-chemistry and physics, was published in her 89th year! Lady Huggins continues to be the valuable co-worker of her astronomical husband. Radium, the greatest discovery of later times, was given to the world by $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{me} .}$ Curie.
To avoid mental confusion in thinking out the subject it. is needful to remember that there is no elemental war between the sexes. Man and woman are not natural enemies; they are the counterparts of each other-the complements of the human unit. Accordingly, laws for the betterment of humanity must be founded on full intimacy with the conditions of both sexes; and this is precisely where "manmade laws "fall short.

How far women are "misunderstood" by men is a theme more suited to cheap novelists than to a paper like this; yet the fact must be faced, that women themselves are the best judges of what is necessary for the well-being of female existence. It is a very old truth-too old, one would think, for re-statement. The Greek philosopher put it in a nutshell thousands of years ago when he said"Woman is woman's natural ally." But, old as it is, it has not, so far, been grasped by those who askwhy do women want votes? They want votes because they are the bulk of humanity. They outnumber us in the world's population; and as they have the best understanding of their own requirements, it is not straining the deduction to say that they must be allowed a voice in the legislation, if the laws are to result in "the greater happiness of the greater number."

Let me not ignore the enemy's glib, triumphant retort-that the majority of women have no wish to exercise the franchise. Well, we will hear more on that point presently. Centuries of denial has made them indifferent: that I quite admit. But already the lethargy is being shaken off. The pioneer women are calling for votes. Must the answer be"No! you can't have them till every woman in the community comes forward with the request." That attitude of postponing wise reforms usually ends in revolutions. In this case, however, it has not even the semblance of ingenuity. Publicists all the world over recognise the principle that the bestowal of rights inculcates a desire to exercise them. At present women take no interest in politics, because they are allowed no part in politics. When that vast domain is thrown wide to them the haze of indifference will disappear, and the.world will witness a tremendous stimulation of womanly intelligence.

A point to be borne well in mind is this:At present women merely seek the Parliamentary Franchise: the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections. That does not, as too many people imagine, involve their admission to all the executive branches of government. Hence there is no relevancy in the objection that women are not the best instruments for the execution of the laws. There is a considerable difference between framing laws and enforcing them. The Suffragists do not demand the power to enforce them. For the present they merely ask a hand in the selection of the law-framers. Let us look human nature in the face. Till the crack of doom there will be certain spheres suited
exclusively to men or to women. That was what Mark Twain meant when he declared women matchless as wives and mothers. As long as the human race is composed of two sexes, you cannot get rid of these water-tight compartments. But you: can get rid of the close boroughs-the fields in which man has assumed absolute possession, by virtue solely of conventional usage.

I cannot side with those who hold that woman should be permanently shut out from the executive branch of the administration. But I thoroughly agree that their entrance should be delayed till they can come in on a rational basis. The day will come, I am convinced, when women barristers will plead to women judges and juries in the cause of certain classes of women offenders whose cases can best be weighed by sisterly insight. But, in the present state of things, a female advocate appealing to a male jury would be likely (quite unwittingly, of course,) to exert undue influence; while, on the other hand, a lady judge might be overborne by the sheer lung power and ferocity of male counsel. These, however, are waggons on the side track; so the good people who dread a disaster to female simplicity may keep calm. Women merely ask the right to vote at Parliamentary Elections, where they may prove themselves wise as serpents and innocent as doves. And which amongst us is prepared to state that "Woman is an Outlander by predestination?"
LIST OF OFFICERS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY

LIST OF MEDALLISTS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY－continued．

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LIST OF MEDALLISTS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY－continued．

| Year． | Oratory Medals and Prizes． | Composition Medals and Prizes． | Legal Debate Medals． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1899－1900 | P．J．Masterson，Gold Medal <br> J．J．Horgan，1st Cert． <br> W．Kelly，2nd C＇ert． <br> F．T．Walsh，1st JfacSheely Prize <br> T．Sloan Potter， 2 nd MacShechy Prize <br> J．J．Horgan，Wray Prize | ```E. Fitzgerald, Gold Medal J. J. Horgan, Cert. P. J. Masterson, FitzHenry Gold Medal J. C. Edwards, Fry Prize P. J. Masterson, Byrne Prize J. J. Horgan, Falls Prize .``` | W．Kelly，Keating Clay Gold Medal |
| 1900－1901 | J．J．Horgan，Gold Medal <br> H．A．Drennan， 7 st Cert． <br> E．A．Ryan， $2 n d$ Cert． <br> E．A．Ryan，1st Mac Sheehy Prize | J．J．Horgan，Gold Medal <br> F．L．Hughes，Cert． <br> W．Kelly，Solr．，FilzHeiry Gold Medal <br> H．A．Drennan，President＇s L＇rize <br> W．J．Gleeson，Fry Prize <br> E．M．Lloyd．B．A．，Dix 7 rize <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，and \} Byrne Prize, <br> ${ }^{\text {F．}}$ F．T．Walsh， <br> F．L．Hughes，Falls Prize <br> Special | E．A．Ryan，Keating Clay Gold Medal |
| 1901－1902 | James O＇Brien，Gold Medal <br> E．M．Lloyd．B．A．，and $\quad$ Special <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，Ist Mactilitachy Prize <br> Laurence J．O＇Neill，2nd MacSheehy Prize | J．W．Wardell，Gold Meedal <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，Cert． <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，FitzHenry Gold <br> Meral and Special Certifate <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，Fry Prize <br> Patrick O＇Rorke，Byrne Prize <br> E．M．Lloyd，B．A．，Falls Prize | Laurence J．O＇Neill，Keating Clay <br> Gold M／eial and Special Certificate E．M．Lloyd，B．A．Suplemental Keating Clany．Gold Medal |

LIST OF MEDALLISTS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY－continued．

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| Year： | Oratory Medals and Prizes． | Composition Medals and Prizes． | Legal Debate Medms． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\text { - } 1904-1905$ |  <br> Impromptu Speeches． <br> James J．Heyden，ciussen Gold Medal P．R．Buggy，Sir George Roche Prize | D．B．Sullivan，Gold Medal <br> T．F．O＇Brien，Cert． <br> F．E．Bermingham，Fry Prize <br> Priz <br> T．F．O＇Brien，Byme Prize | Henry Sbannon，Keating Clay Gold <br> C．C：Stronge，Cussen Silver Medal <br> Me edal．and Didecial Certiticate |
| 1905－1906 | Henry Shannon，Gold Medal <br> J．C．B．Proctor，Special Cert． <br> D．B．Sullivan，Special Cort． <br> J．Barry Brown，1st MarSheely Prize <br> P．S．McDonnell，2nd MacSheehy Prize <br> Impromptu Speeches． <br> P．R．Buggy，Cussen Gold Medal and <br> Special Certificate Prize <br> J．C．B．Proctor，Sir George Roche | F．E．Bermingham，Gold Meaial James C．Geoghegan，Fry Prize <br> F．E．Bermingham，Byyne | Medal and Special Certifcate <br> P．R．Buggy，J．A．Denning Gold <br> J．C．B．Proctor，Cussen Silver Medal |


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LIST OF SOME PAST AUDITORS AND INAUGURAL ADDRESSES:

| Year. | Name of Auditor. | SUBJECT. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1888-89 | John R. O'Connell | Plea for a Peasant Proprietary |
| 1889-90 | W. A. FitzHenry, M.A., LL.B. | The Education of the Lawyer |
| 1890-91 | W. H. Geoghegan | Law and Ethics |
| 1891-92 | J. J. Dudley | : - - |
| 1892-93 | J. H. Walsh | Land Transfer in Ireland |
| 1893-94 | P. L. Macardle | The Material Resources of Ireland |
| 1894-95 | James Tench |  |
| 1895-96 | E. P. O'Flanagan | House of Lords |
| 1896-97 | E. N. Edwards, LL.B., Solicitor | Some Aspects of the Labour Question |
| 1897-98 | W. Ireland Good, Mod., LL.B. | The State and Irish Educational Systems |
| 1898-99 | R. N. Keohler, Solicitor | The Decline of Party Government |
| 1899-1900 | J. J. M'Donald, B.A. | Some Civil Disabilities under Representative Government |
| 1900-1901 | P. J. Masterson | Imperialism |
| 1901-1902 | H. A. Drennan | Land Transfer and Land Purchase in Ireland |
| 1902-1903 | James O'Brien | Cecil Rhodes |
| 1903-1904 | Patrick Donnelly | England's Commercial Policy |
| 190+-1905 | Laurence J. O'Neill | Devolution |
| 1905-1906 | J. J. Hayden | Nationalisation of Irish Railways |
| 1906-1907 | J. C. B. Proctor | The Industrial Rosources of Ireland |
| 1907-1908 | Henry Shannon | The House of Lords |

