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VOTING BY PROXY IN CHARITABLE SOCIETIES.

SPEECH

OF

THE HON. MR. NOODLE.

By John Jay.

VOTING BY PROXY IN CHARITABLE SOCIETIES.

S P E E C H

OF

THE HON. MR. NOODLE

AGAINST

THE ASSEMBLY BILL

EMPOWERING MEMBERS OF BENEVOLENT AND
OTHER SOCIETIES TO VOTE BY PROXY.

By John Jay
WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING THE BILL, THE NEW YORK REMONSTRANCE, OPINIONS
OF THE PRESS, AND NOTICE OF MR. NOODLE.



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ROE LOCKWOOD & SON, 411 BROADWAY.

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INTRODUCTION.



THE following bill was introduced in the Assembly at its present session, on motion by the Hon. Frederick A. Conkling, of New York, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, read twice, and referred to the Committee on Charitable and Religious Societies, by whom it was amended and unanimously reported, when it was committed to the Committee of the Whole.

AN ACT to empower the members and stockholders of benevolent, charitable, scientific and missionary corporations and societies to vote by proxy.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:—

SECTION 1. The members for life, and stockholders of any benevolent, charitable, scientific or missionary corporation or association organized under and by virtue of the provisions of an act entitled "An act for the incorporation of benevolent, charitable, scientific and missionary societies," passed April 12, 1848, and the acts supplementary thereto and amendatory thereof, or under and by virtue of any special act or charter of the people of this State, shall have the right to vote by proxy at the meetings of such associations, and at the annual or other elections of the officers thereof.

§ 2. The right to vote by proxy, given by the preceding section, shall not belong to mere honorary or corresponding members of the corporation therein named, nor to any who have become members of such corporation, otherwise than by the payment of money under the constitution and by-laws thereof, and no proxy given by virtue of this act, shall continue valid for more than one year from the time when the same was given.

§ 3. This act shall take effect immediately.

The following remonstrance against the bill is being circulated by an agent of the American Tract Society, and is said to have been signed "by a large number of our best citizens":—

A REMONSTRANCE

Against the passage by the Legislature of Bill 291, entitled, "An Act to empower the members and stockholders of Benevolent, Charitable, Scientific and Missionary Corporations and Societies to vote by proxy."

Of the effect of such a law upon scientific associations, your remonstrants will not affirm; but against the passage of so much of this bill as relates to benevolent, charitable, and missionary corporations and societies, your remonstrants urge:—

1. We are not aware that the constituency of these societies desire any such change.
2. This bill introduces a new mode of conducting the business of such societies. We are not aware that any benevolent institution in our whole land allows members to vote by proxy.
3. It is liable to great abuse. The business of such societies is conducted in open session, and settled by a vote of those who have heard the discussions. This bill would put it into the power of a few partisans to collect secretly a large number of voters, and overrule the intelligent votes of nine-tenths of those who had taken sufficient interest to attend the meetings.
4. As the whole business of the year in these societies is presented in an annual meeting in facts and statistics, it is impossible for those absent to know how to vote until the facts are presented, and of course they cannot intelligently transfer their votes to other parties.
5. The argument drawn from the practice of commercial institutions is invalid, inasmuch as the cases are not analogous.

OPINIONS OF CERTAIN JOURNALS.

The Journal of Commerce.

“A CAT IN THE MEAL BAG.—A trap has been set at Albany to carry the American Tract Society by stratagem, seeing it cannot be taken by storm. Of course it would not answer to apply for a law for this specific purpose, and so it is made general in its provisions. * * The reasons of the remonstrance are so conclusive, that we cannot believe it possible that either branch of the Legislature will give it their sanction.”

The New York Observer.

“It would enable the directors of the Bible or Tract Society to forestall action by securing beforehand votes enough to re-elect themselves. By the aid of their armies of agents all over the land, they might secure votes to carry out any policy they might mark out for themselves. While we have the highest confidence in the men now in office, and do not believe that they have any agency in the proposed measure, we would not give to them this power, that may be in other hands wielded injudiciously. At any rate, let us have time to look at the question on all sides before so important a step is rushed through the Legislature.”

The New York Times.

“It looks very innocent, but means mischief.”

The Christian Intelligencer.

“We can scarcely conceive it possible that our legislators at Albany would be imprudent enough to interfere in such a manner with the chartered rights and privileges of our great Religious and Benevolent Societies.”

The interest which has been aroused in the public mind in regard to the character and operation of the proposed law, by the strenuous efforts of the Tract Society by its agents and presses to defeat it, renders all apology

unnecessary for the publication of the speech of the Hon. Mr. Noodle against the threatened and dangerous innovation.

Mr. Noodle, it may be proper to add, is an American cousin of the distinguished English Noodle, whose well-known "little oration" was reported by Sidney Smith. His speech on the Proxy question exhibits the same logical force, if not always the same eloquence as marked his celebrated kinsman; and he uses occasionally the very arguments, if not the words, of that eminent orator. Perhaps the last brilliant and effective paragraph in his peroration will be regarded as a plagiarism. It will be recognized, of course, as belonging to the gentlemen in New York who at intervals, and with plentiful parade of patriotism, have appointed themselves a committee to save the Union. It has been delivered, with slight variation, and in solemn tones, on several occasions by the professional Job Trotters, whom (until the trick was discovered) that clever dodge for Southern custom frequently brought before the public. But it is still possible that Noodle was the originator of this immortal passage, and that it was made to the order of some respectable firm, who, when the times demand it, can keep their orator as Lyon the roach-destroyer keeps his poet.

Although Mr. Noodle's argument may not perhaps prevent the passage of the bill, as one based upon broad principles of equal justice, it will doubtless convince the Legislature that the American Tract Society should be specially exempted from its operation, and its present managers protected from impertinent interference by the society at large.

Wishing the managers and their excellent agent, all the success they deserve in their energetic efforts to defeat the bill, we commend the forcible arguments of the American Noodle to the attention of the Country.

New York, April 1st, 1859.

S P E E C H O F
THE HONORABLE MR. NOODLE

IN BEHALF OF THE REMONSTRANTS AND AGAINST THE
BILL.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

My first objection to the bill, as stated by the Remonstrants, is, that "they are not aware that the constituency of these societies desire any such change." How entirely satisfied are the constituency, for instance, of the Tract Society, whose managers are especially anxious to defeat the bill, with their conduct and policy during the past two years, may be seen in the perfect harmony and unity of sentiment that pervade that body throughout the country. The country members especially, whom this bill would enable to vote at the anniversary meetings, are so charmed with the present arrangement, by which the Society is managed wholly in the city of New York, that they have no desire for any change that would enable them to exercise their will in the elections or proceedings. This you will of course believe on the assurance of these intelligent remonstrants, who are among "our best people" in New York.

My next objection is, that to allow voting by proxy in these associations, would be an innovation. What would our ancestors have said to this? Are we to put the wisdom of to-day, when our country is bounded by the Pacific and these societies extend from shore to shore, in competition with the wisdom of the last

century, when these societies had no existence? Is the Republican party, yet in its beardless youth, to show no respect for the decisions of its political progenitors? If the measure is right, would it have escaped the wisdom of our Revolutionary statesmen? would the Whigs and Democrats have passed it over? would the Barn-burners and Hard-shells have let it slip? would not the Soft-shells have picked it up? would the Know-nothings have rejected it? would such a notable discovery have been reserved for these modern and degenerate days? Nor is this a proper time to introduce it. The measure implies a distrust of the present managers of these societies. The characters of these gentlemen are at stake. Is this House prepared to declare them unworthy of confidence? Sir, give your sanction to this measure, and what will the mover of the bill require next—what further partisan scheme is he planning to overthrow these admirable associations?

Surprise has been expressed, and I may add indignation has been felt, in the city of New York, that the Committee on Religious and Charitable Associations should have reported the bill favorably—and without dissent on the part of a single member of that Committee.

What matters it that I am told that the bill was at first viewed doubtfully by that Committee, and that they approved it only after the most careful consideration and scrutiny, and after skilfully guarding it from abuse, by additional provisions incorporated by themselves. What matters it to me that its passage is advocated not in reference to any particular society, but upon broad and general principles of equity and fair dealing, and with equal reference to all charitable, benevolent, scientific and missionary associations—and that on these grounds alone it has been reported. Is that to deter me, or to deter the press, or these remonstrants, or the managers of the Tract Society, from declaring it a sectional, partisan invention, fraught with mischief to those excellent managers, and therefore to be rejected by the Legislature? No, sir. We attach no weight to the approval of the Committee, who, I beg to remind the House, without meaning any disrespect to those venerable and respectable gentlemen, who

I know are not likely to lend any countenance to partisan legislation, that their usually sound judgments have probably been insensibly influenced by the fact that they are themselves from the rural districts, and therefore, perhaps, more prejudiced in favor of equal justice to the country members of these societies than are the managers at New York.

Sir, this act would open the door to great abuse. No intelligent vote can be given in these societies by proxy.

This is the great point on which we chiefly rely to defeat the bill. An intelligent vote cannot be given by a member who does not attend in person, and take part in the discussions, and hear the facts and statistics of the last year, which of course the managers would never print in advance for the advisement of the country members. Voting by proxy is a thing never heard of in any country—I except, of course, the British House of Lords, where every Peer may so vote in legislating for the kingdom, by intrusting his vote to another Peer, in whose views he coincides, and in whose judgment he has confidence ; because the British Parliament was organized in the darkness of past ages, and its usage can afford no example to the enlightened citizens of the model Republic. I except also the various cases where a vote by proxy is exercised in other than charitable corporations, for, as I shall presently show, there is no analogy between the two cases. But looking at it in a practical way, I wish to convince you that however reasonable and practicable and proper it may be in the ordinary concerns of life, for a man who has business to transact at a distance, where he cannot attend to it in person, to authorize an agent, an attorney or a proxy, call him what you will, to transact that business, by the aid of private or public instructions, and of the intelligence of the attorney or proxy, it cannot and ought not to be done, in the case of the Bible and Tract and Missionary Societies. Look at the Bible Society. That body for years was agitated by the question, shall the established version of King James be revised and corrected ? Sir, is it possible that a member residing at a distance from New York, after reading all that was published on both sides of that question, could give an intelligent vote by proxy, without advising

with the managers in person, and knowing what Wall street thought upon that subject? Look at the Missionary Societies, whose operations extend over half the globe. If a new mission is suggested,—to Siam for instance,—is there not the same difficulty? May it not bear remotely upon the Union and the price of stocks? or look at the Tract Society, and take a case now actually pending.

At the last anniversary of that Society a Resolution was offered in these words :

Resolved, That nothing published by this Society shall countenance the idea that the Scriptures sanction the lawfulness of the system of slavery.

That resolution was laid upon the table, and may be taken up for future action. Now, sir, I ask this House, candidly, can a member of the Society residing at Boston, or at Cincinnati, or St. Louis, vote intelligently upon that question by proxy? I say, no, sir, he cannot; and I will tell you why. It is because the great question involved in that resolution, and all the great questions of policy and principle that now agitate and divide and separate our charitable and religious bodies, upon the decision of which hang their policy and plan of operation, and upon which depends the direction of their large power and influence, cannot be at all appreciated or understood excepting in the city of New York, where these Associations from convenience and necessity have their head-quarters. That city, sir, is the commercial centre of the Union, and there alone can a member be made to feel that every election, every vote, must have a chief regard to the commercial interests of that metropolis and the perennial saving of this glorious Union that is forever being dissolved. The rural districts cannot understand this; their views of duty and principle seem to lie in another direction, and however large may be their aggregate number of country members, as compared with that of the few who reside in New York, are those country members, on this account, I ask it with emphasis, to be allowed to interfere with our chartered rights and privileges? Sir, are the gentlemen from the country to be permitted to dictate to our boards of managers? Admit, if you please, that they have assisted to build up our religious societies, that they have contribu-

ted their time, their money, and their influence to create these mighty corporations, which have spread themselves over the country and become powers in the land, can they not be content with the glory they have thus earned? Is it reasonable for them to demand a voice in the management of those corporations? Is it consistent with that modesty and deference which should characterize the dwellers in the rural districts, men that handle the goad and drive oxen, and whose talk is of bullocks? Are they not enjoined by Holy Writ to refrain from sitting in the seat of judgment? Are they to question the fidelity and the wisdom of those more fortunate members whose lives are spent in the purlieus of Wall street, and who, when duty calls, speak to the world from Tammany and Castle Garden? Will this House, by giving to country members a vote by proxy, put them on a par with the citizen of New York? I hope not. I think, sir, you will hardly venture upon that step. Besides, sir, has the country member any right to complain as it is? May he not vote now, if he chooses to attend the anniversary meetings, and may he not be present as certainly in the month of May, as if he lived on the Island of Manhattan? Is not our continent threaded with lines of travel, with broad rivers, and railroads and telegraphs? Has it not an ocean shore, and scores of coasting vessels, so that he need never be at a loss for a conveyance? If he resides at St. Louis, has he not the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Lakes and the Hudson; or if at San Francisco, may he not come by Panama, or Nicaragua, or Tehuantepec, or more directly by the mail wagon through the Indian wilderness? I may be told, indeed, of the time and expense necessary for this, but if he is so anxious to cast his vote in accordance with his own judgment, on any of the great questions that yearly agitate these societies, and are discussed in newspapers and pamphlets and public meetings all over the country, ought he to shrink from the sacrifice—may he not satisfy himself with the reflection that the distance and the expense are only his misfortune, and not his fault. It is true, that in the more important concerns of this life, in those corporations that concern money, and involve the “almighty dollar,” the policy of the law is different. If our friend living at St. Louis, owns stock in a New York Bank or Insurance Company, he can

cast his vote by proxy at the expense of a three cent stamp ; but in these concerns of religious, benevolent and scientific societies, if he wishes to vote for a particular set of officers, or for a distinctive course of policy, let him come in person. Why should the Legislature trouble itself about such trifling matters ? Besides, sir, think of the dignity and solemnity that attaches to the meetings of such associations as those to be affected by this bill, dealing as they do in great moral questions, in the diffusion of religious and scientific truth, and bearing upon the happiness and welfare of mankind at large. Are you ready to degrade these noble societies, by placing them on a level with Banks and Insurance Companies, and all the various corporations where voting by proxy is allowed ? Is the Bible Society, or the Tract Society, to be assimilated to a Board of Brokers ? Again, sir, I say, no ; and I repeat it, no.

Sir, there can be no argument in favor of this bill from the practice of moneyed institutions, for the cases are not analogous.

In the case of Banks and Insurance and Railroad corporations, where dividends of money are paid or expected to be paid, it is right that the holder for ever so short a time of a hundred or a thousand shares, should have a vote by proxy for every share wherever he may be, for his soul will be in the work and he will do what is right and proper.

But in Benevolent and Religious Societies, where the sole object is to do good, where no member has a vote unless he is a member for life, and where no member has more than one vote however deep his devotion, or however large his contributions to the cause, what dangers may we not anticipate if he is allowed a vote by proxy ? what great abuses, what fearful corruptions, what secret combinations and treasons will not be resorted to by such motives ? I will not enlarge upon the painful prospect.

I may be reminded by my opponents that in the Bible and Tract Society there is also a moneyed capital to be cared for, and investments to be made, and salaried agents to be appointed, and enormous funds to be disbursed. Sir, I know the fact, and I rely upon it as the strongest argument against the bill. Look at the treasury of these institutions, annually increased by legacies,

devises and bequests—look at their vast manufacturing establishments in the city, and their “army of agents”—I quote the words of one of their journals “scattered through the land.” Are the members of the rural districts capable of rightly appreciating and guiding such wealth and such machinery? It is one thing to vote by proxy for the officers of a petty Bank or Insurance Company, but when societies are in question whose mere income is counted by hundreds of thousands, country gentlemen had better forego their right, and trust to the more skilful management of metropolitan members and financiers of Wall street.

I would not indulge in unmerited eulogy of the present managers of these institutions, whose modest merit shrinks from the scrutinizing gaze to which year by year this bill will subject them, but I cannot forbear to remark, that if any proof were required of the keen vigilance of the New York managers and their friends, to guard the management from being interfered with by the Society at large—if any evidence were wanting of their disinterested attachment to the onerous duties of their office in wielding the power and disbursing the funds of these societies, you may find it in the “remonstrance signed by a large number of our best citizens,” and the activity of their agents in sounding the alarm through the public press. The Journal of Commerce, that high-minded expounder of commercial Christianity, announces that there is “a cat in the meal bag.” They frankly acknowledge their craft is in danger from this “mischievous bill” granting to the society a vote by proxy. “It looks very innocent, they say, but it means mischief,” and they promptly exert themselves to demand protection from the mischief which they justly fear will be done them, if the bill shall empower the Society at large to exercise the power now monopolized by the city of New York. This bill would summon the managers year by year to the bar of the Society in its national capacity. To that bar they do not wish to be brought. They prefer a select jury of the vicinage, whom they may select and summon at a moment’s warning, and whose verdict they feel assured will never do them mischief.

Sir, I would say to the rural districts and to the country at large, that these managers know their own business, and want

no outside interference. Let the country understand that this bill would work a revolution, that if it passes the management will be governed no longer by the city members, but by the Society at large. That the country members and the city members would stand on an equal footing, and have an equal vote. Sir, I ask again, is the country prepared to assume this responsibility? Will the rural districts pretend to understand the great religious, and I may say the great national questions, to some of which I have alluded, that have arisen in these bodies? I would not be disrespectful to country gentlemen; but, sir, they cannot understand them—they will be imposed upon. The managers of these societies, as the Christian Intelligencer has declared, will take advantage of their position, and in an underhand way. I do not speak, sir, of the present managers, who are all model men, and would never countenance nor permit proxies to be collected by their friends to elect them to office or to sustain their policy, and in whom I assure the country members they may repose the very completest and most inexhaustible confidence; but some future managers, such as will be elected when the vote is cast by the Society at large, and not by the New Yorkers, will deceive the rural districts and humbug the country members, and procure proxies for the most improper purposes. Sir, I call upon you to protect these societies, to protect the country members, from being thus imposed upon. Save them from the sad consequences of allowing them their rights as members. Save them from the danger of being permitted to reflect, and determine, and act for themselves!

Sir, it will be said, and I feel that the argument under other circumstances might have great weight, that this bill, in the case of the societies that are now national in name but local in their character and management, will make them national in fact as well as in name, will give to every life member throughout our Union, far and near, the same direct personal interest in them, as is now felt by the managing majority in the city of New York, and that this step will give to them new life, and pour into their treasury gifts from that class of our citizens who, from their pres-

ent exclusion, are averse to giving money where they cannot control or influence its destination.

Sir, I conceive that argument should have no weight here, for the reason that some of the national societies having their headquarters in New York, have so judiciously invested in real estate, in substantial and profitable edifices, and in stereotype plates, presses, and machinery, the large sums they have received by subscription, donation, and bequest, that they are, or will soon be self-supporting institutions, with a sufficiently large income from rent, investments, and sales of publications, to dispense with outside assistance and to defy outside interference. The managers, in anticipation of this early independence, have regarded all opposition from the country members as the idle wind, when suddenly this ill-omened and mischievous bill has appeared to give force and efficacy and power to the country life-memberships which have been hitherto a mere name. You cannot fail, I think, to see, sir, that the rights of country members having had practically no existence, or if they ever had any reality, having lapsed by *non-user*, for thousands of the country members have never voted in their lives, it would be a great infringement of the rights of the New York members, who have always voted when called upon by the managers to vote, leaving their counting-rooms and wasting the best part of a business day for the performance of this conservative duty—it would, I say, be a great infringement on their rights to allow these country members to vote by proxy. Looking at it in this light, as I trust you will, and regarding the New York members as in fact constituting these societies, as they now virtually do—the only privilege of the country members being to contribute money for the New York managers to expend—you will see clearly that to endue the country members with the privilege of voting by proxy—for in the nature of things that is the *only way* in which they can vote—you will see and say that this would, as the Christian Intelligencer logically remarks, “interfere with the rights and privileges of our great religious and benevolent societies.”

So plain is it that by enfranchising the members you would take away their rights, and that if you would preserve intact their char-

tered privileges, you must allow them no privileges at all. I fear this may seem paradoxical : but it will no longer be so, when you remember that the word "Society" sometimes indicates the members at large, and sometimes the board of management ; and then the paradox is a paradox no longer. The proposition of the "Intelligencer" is simply this : Give "the Society," that is, the mass of the members, the right to vote, and the rights and privileges of "the Society," that is, the present board of managers, are gone forever.

Such an interference would be unconstitutional. If you perpetrate it, the Supreme Court of the United States, (for to that pure tribunal, alike untainted and unsuspected, the managers will, of course, go for protection,) will so declare it. The principle laid down by the venerable Chief Justice of that Court, in regard to niggers, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to regard, is directly in point, and exactly indicates the claim which life-members residing in the country, have upon managers living in New York.

This bill, sir, I admit, looks well in theory ; but it won't do in practice. Those who believe in the virtue and intelligence of the rural districts, may vote for it. I rely with confidence on that high-toned purity which marks the population of the Empire City, the proud capital of the Empire State ; and should you give a vote by proxy to country members, you may rely upon it they will be bamboozled, and hoodwinked, and led by the nose, by the designing managers of the metropolis.

If, notwithstanding all my arguments to the contrary, this House shall still think this bill to be based upon a broad, universal principle of right, in harmony with our institutions, and in consonance with the character of our Union ; that it properly disregards sectional divisions and geographical boundaries, and places the North, the South, the East, and the West upon the same footing of fair representation and equal influence ; if they shall overlook the rustic and unformed intelligence of the rural classes, and hold that our system of universal education, a free press, and constant intercourse, will enable the country members to vote by proxy and vote intelligently ; and that, if any

error should be made by them, the proxy being limited to one year, it may be safely corrected the next ; and if this House are prepared to ingraft this bill upon our legislation, as one demanded by our enlarged boundaries, and by the increasing intelligence and activity of the age, let me appeal to them not to adopt it under existing circumstances.

However broad and catholic the principle, it is suspected of emanating from gentlemen who believe the right it confers will be exercised by members of the Bible and Tract Societies, and exercised in opposition to the present management of those bodies. That alone is a sufficient objection to me. Again, sir, the bill was reported to this House by a distinguished leader of the Republican party, and one, too, hailing from that great city whose local influence in these Societies this bill will so much impair. I do not like the party with which that honorable gentleman acts. However pure may be his motives, they cannot but suffer contamination from those with whom he is politically associated. This bill may be a boon to the Constitution and the country, but I wish no favor to my countrymen from such hands.

If the House, still unconvinced, are decided to pass the bill, I ask but one thing on behalf of the managers of these associations, who are before you with their agents, their prayers, and their protests : Delay your action ; do not expose them suddenly to be taken by storm by the mass of life members, who live beyond their own neighborhood. Give them time for preparation before their measures and names are presented for approval : until, by the aid of their army of agents, they can consult with their distant friends, and gather proxies for the next anniversary.

By this delay, too, you may enable them to organize such an opposition to the measure, in the next Legislative session, that, what with clever management, it may, perhaps, occur that the life members of these Societies in the rural districts may remain voiceless and voteless at the city anniversaries, for half a century to come.

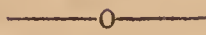
In conclusion, I beseech the House to pause and consider the precipice on which they stand. What are the rights of country

members—what are truth, and justice, and all the blessings that belong to freemen—compared with the preservation of this glorious Union? Pass this bill, and that Union may be shivered into atoms! A fearful threat was made at the last anniversary of the Tract Society by a reverend brother from the South, that made the commercial gentlemen tremble and quake. Be wise in time. Listen to the remonstrants; and if you will pass the bill, except the Tract Society from its operation. That will pacify the rising wrath of our sensitive and impulsive countrymen, by whose favor alone our nation exists, and whose gracious approval you should ever seek. Then gentlemen may sleep in peace, hopeful that they have escaped the fate that inevitably awaits the country if this bill shall pass.

Never, sir, was the republic in such fearful danger. All the crises of the past are now concentrated into one. I shrink from a contemplation of the future. I forbear to harrow up your souls with the gloomy view that I behold. I will only quietly remark, that, if you give a vote by proxy to the country members of the Tract Society, this glorious Union, the pride of the Universe, will be immediately shattered into fragments, while the terrified sun in the heavens, with his blood-stained eye, shall gaze in horror upon each separate particle saturated with fraternal gore!*

* This speech has called forth a new Remonstrance against the bill, much more full and logical than the one already quoted, and which will be found in the Appendix on the next page.

A P P E N D I X .



A N O T H E R R E M O N S T R A N C E

Against the bill is proposed. The grounds on which the Legislature are asked to defeat it have been already touched upon in Mr. Noodle's speech. They are ten in number, and are as follows :—

1. If the country life members wish to vote they can come to town. They don't come : therefore they don't wish to vote.

2. They never have voted by proxy : therefore, they never should vote by proxy.

3. Country members cannot vote intelligently on the great questions that agitate the societies, because they do not know how those questions are regarded in Wall street, and how they will bear upon the saving of the Union and the price of stocks.

4. Country members cannot vote intelligently on any questions, or at any election, for the reason that the managers will take advantage of them, and, by their army of agents, will carry out any policy they may think expedient.

5. There is no analogy between these Societies and commercial institutions, for those concern money, and these are solely for doing good, and have nothing to do with money.

6. The enormous capital and increasing income of the Bible and Tract Societies are altogether beyond the comprehension of country members, and can only be appreciated by New Yorkers,

who require no assistance in disbursing the funds, and arranging the salaries.

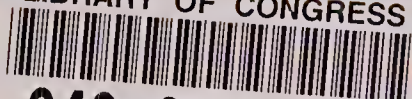
7. If the Society (meaning the members of the Society,) are allowed to vote, the rights and privileges of the Society (meaning the New York managers) are destroyed forever.

8. To interfere with those chartered rights and privileges would be unconstitutional, as shown by the Dred Scott decision, and the managers will appeal to Chief Justice Taney.

9. If the bill is passed, the Tract Society should be excepted, because the country members of that Society are so peculiarly well satisfied with the management in New York.

10. Give to the rural districts a vote by proxy, and our Southern brethren will dissolve the Union.

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