NEW-JERSEY FOR THE UNION.

Speech of the Hon. James M. Scovel on the Bill Before the New-Jersey Senate to Imprison Men for Enlisting Colored Soldiers.

MR. PRESIDENT: A year ago I stood in the lower House of this Legislature in opposition to the Peace Resolutions offered and advocated by a majority of the Senators upon this floor.

Those resolutions sought to purchase peace at the price of national honor.

These resolutions, about which the dominant party in the Senate have observed a silence at once ominous and remarkable, united the morality of Dick Turpin, Jonathan Wild, or Louis Napoleon with the language of Machiavelli. They trifled with the conscience of the State as the Rebellion has sought to trifle with the conscience of the nation; for when Chief Justice Taney announced from the highest Court in the land that the everlasting curse of human bondage was the supreme law before which absolute justice must bend and break, then the great popular heart stirred to its depth, and conscience, with so delicate a voice that it is often stifled, spoke in so clear a voice that its accents could neither be mistaken, nor its mandates disobeyed.

Some of us came up slowly to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Mental servitude had become an attribute of the North as much as bodily servitude was the institution of the South, till, with as much wit as truth, a son of New-England said, replying to Daniel Webster, "Yes! there is no North; it is the South all the way up to Canada!"

Soon it permeated the minds of the people that when a Chief Justice said, in the latitude of Washington City, "that a negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect," the true intent and meaning of such language in the atmosphere of Charleston was that "no Northern mudsill has any rights which a Southern gentleman is bound to respect." Then the shotted guns of Sumter opened, while manhood and moral courage took the place, in the mind and heart of the American people, of concession and pusillanimity.

"We have refused allegiance to our principles; we have refused to pay the price of national honor and virtue, and we are sued in the courts of destiny, and the case is this day on trial." And I need not speak of the eagerness with which the eyes of Europe are turned toward America, that land of which a distinguished Englishman (John Bright) says: "Privilege every morning, with blatant breath, begins to curse because it (America) dares to be prosperous and happy without a monarchy, without an aristocracy, and without a priesthood, who are the licensed venders of salvation wrought by love."

Mr. President, I confess the hesitation with which I approach the discussion of this bill which is now before the Senate. My only desire is to proclaim those sentiments of public policy which I believe are intimately connected with the future glory and grandeur of my country. And, Sir, I trust that I belong to that class who believe the greatest glory of a freeman is to be a good citizen. And a good citizen prefers liberty to luxury, and honor to profit. He holds that next to dying for one's country the greatest glory is to live for her interest and her honor. I have no aspirations, no ambitions, which do not go forward in longing for that peace which shall dawn upon the end of this terrible and righteous war, a peace which, in the language of Abraham Lincoln, "I hope may come soon, and when it does come will come to stay and will be worth the keeping for all future time."

Whenever I look upon that flag, sir! with every impulse of my heart, there rises a sentiment of affection or of honor. I know that God has given this country to men who can defend it, and to women who in its service consent to the sacrifice of their husbands, their brothers and their sons. And the man whoever he is, and whatever place he may fill, who will not protect and defend the land that gave him birth, is a dastard and a coward.

The bill before the Senate, Mr. President, is entitled "An Act to regulate the appropriation of moneys raised by the authority of the State for war purposes." I frankly confess that I differ with my honorable friend, the Senator from Union (Mr. Jenkins), in the views he entertains of the causes and of the conduct of the war. General sagacity and upright views cannot contend against the prejudices among which a man is born, and those who advocate the passage of this bill are influenced by prejudices which have grown with their growth, as silent and yet as all-pervading as the air which they breathe. As God has no attribute which sides with the oppressor, so man ennobles himself by becoming the advocate of the oppressed. Bishop Hopkins may thunder, in a small way, to a very select audience, that Slavery is a divine institution, and commissions doctors to bow down to the narrowest interpretation of individual texts. But the heart, relying on the spirit of Scripture, still whispers what every grand thinker the world has ever produced boldly proclaims—that all men everywhere ought to be free.

You cannot make science utter a lie in the face of the universe, and declare that the sun moves round the earth and the earth stands still. The tribunal of the Inquisition are nothing, and Galileo whispers, "E pur si muove." "*It does more than A.*" Ay! And New-Jersey moves. Only a year ago we were threatened with revolution in the North if a single soldier who was not a *white* citizen should enlist to fight against "Slavery in arms"—and now a single township in the County of Warren has paid $10,000 for bounties to colored soldiers, and not less than 3,000 black men have left New-Jersey to avenge their slaughtered brothers at Wagner, at Port Hudson, and at Fredericksburg. Aye! Even New-Jersey moves.

Never again will an insolent majority on bended knees supplicate for peace, and herald to all the world that this war for Law, for Liberty, and for Humanity is "emaseled in its origin and dangerous to the liberties of the people." Never again will men offer upon the floor of this Senate to join any of the sister States of the Union to carry into practical effect a war upon the Federal Government.

The utter change of front in regard to Slavery did not take place till after the year 1856.

But so wide-spread and so thorough became the delusion about Slavery in the remnant of the Democratic party, that they unconsciously became the apologists and defenders of human bondage and all its villainies.

We find the present Executive of this State declaring in his inaugural address (page 14, 1863): "We are told that Slavery is the cause of the war, and that the war can never cease and the life of the nation be preserved until Slavery be abolished. This has led to a departure from the original purpose of the war. *This is the radical error of the Emancipationists. Slavery is no more the cause of the war than gold is the cause of robbery and murder.*"

Compare this with the avowal of Alexander H. Stephens, the associate of Jefferson Davis, in a speech delivered at Savannah on the 21st of March, 1861. He says: "The new Constitution has put to rest *forever* all agitating questions relation to our peculiar institutions. *African* Slavery *as it exists among us* is the proper status of *the negro in our form of civilization.* THIS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE LATE RUPTURE AND PRESENT REVOLUTION."

Between such eminent advocates of Slavery as the Governor of New-Jersey and the Vice-President of a *moribund* Confederacy, who shall decide?

Outside of this State, excepting Jeff. Davis's majority in the City of New-York, I do not know where it is seriously contended that "Abolitionism and Secessionism" were the causes of the war. Yet such was the opinion deliberately expressed by Joel Parker in his inaugural address in 1863, and boldly avowed in his annual message of Jan. 12, 1863.

He thinks that if the policy of Emancipation had not been inaugurated the mass of the people in some of the Southern States would have "supplicated their rulers and returned to their allegiance." A greater fallacy was never uttered. Let Maryland and Missouri and Arkansas answer. There you cannot find any fugitive slaves, but fugitive masters abound. There, where wisdom has been born of this terrible contest, they hold that Slavery, like Achan's wedge of gold, is an accursed thing, and they gladly tear down the Rebel banner and run up "our beautiful flag."

But in Kentucky, where neutrality prevailed—and neutrality in a struggle between freedom and barbarism is a monstrosity—where neutrality prevailed, we now find Gov. Bramlette threatening to resist the enlistment of negroes as soldiers. Kentucky answers New-Jersey, while South Carolina applauds.

And I venture the assertion that outside the Rebel lines there is no Legislature that dares to defy the Federal Government by passing so iniquitous a measure as the one under consideration, unless it be the Legislature of New-Jersey. No man whose heart is with his country can read this bill without condemning it. It provides, "That from and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for any part of the moneys now raised, or which may be hereafter raised, for war purposes, to be used for the employment of negroes as soldiers; and any one offending against the provisions of this act shall, upon conviction, be subject to a fine of not less than *five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for a term of not less than five years.*"

And I would be glad to know whether this bill meets the approval of the Governor of New-Jersey. When such a measure was proposed for the County of Union, I said that the policy of negro enlistment under the laws of the United States had met the sanction of the Executive of this State. I was glad to credit him with sustaining the Government after his own fashion. I appreciate the social virtues of Joel Parker, but I am not bound to admire that easy political virtue which writes a sympathizing letter to a Vallandigham meeting, declares against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and says, in the face of a popular majority of nearly two hundred thousand, that the Proclamation of Emancipation is a mistake, intimates that it is unconstitutional, and ends by declaring it an "obstacle in the way of peace."

Sir! we have had too much of this style of *supporting* the Government.

New-Jersey, to-day, is full of Union men with Confederate principles. Like the Cavaliers in the days of the Pretender, they hold their wine-glasses to their lips and drink "to the King—OVER THE WATER." They say (these half-hearted Union men):

"God bless the King, God bless the faith's defender,
The devil take the Pope and the Pretender;
But who the *Pretender* is and who the King,
God bless us all, is quite another thing."

I charge now, as I have charged before, that the Governor of New-Jersey was elected in the interest of Slavery, and that Democracy, as officered and manned in New-Jersey, is in sympathy with Treason and Rebellion.

If you decorate your Senate Chamber with an American flag, a State flag must be elevated beside it.

The doctrine of State rights, a political falsehood and a delusion, is boldly proclaimed as part of the new gospel of peace. Three weeks since the Senator from Bergen (Mr. Holsman) declared himself in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and I congratulated the Senate that since he was in favor, now, of a war with white men, in the next year he would be eloquent for carrying the war into Africa *with Africans.* But, Sir, the Peace Committee met at the New-York Hotel on the 22d day of February, desecrating the anniversary day that gave birth to George Washington, and since then the Senator from Bergen, in almost the identical language of the pronunciamento of the Rebel Congress, declares that he is now, and has been since the firing upon Fort Sumter, against the war and for peace. My accusation against "Democracy as it is" hath this extent. Democracy in New-Jersey is without honest purpose or principle. If Democracy pretend to be for war in Pennsylvania it is for peace in New-Jersey. And when Gen. Lee was marching through the beautiful and fertile valley of the Cumberland, up to Harrisburg, the Democratic party was joyously assembling in the State Capitol of Pennsylvania to nominate George W. Woodward, who said "it was a sin to think against Slavery," and that the time must come when the South could fall back upon her natural rights, and use all the means she possessed or could command in defense of her slave property.

No wonder that Gen. Lee hastened to ratify a nomination so opportunely made! No wonder a single voice was not raised on behalf of an imperiled country in that Convention, which abandoned the latitude of Harrisburg as too suggestive of shot and shell. And it is not singular that a retired Major-General of the U. S. Army, who would make a "capital engineer for a stationary power," wrote his distinguished considerations, on the eve of a most significant election, to Mr. Woodward, who believed that "Slavery was a blessing!"

And while this subject is in my memory, let me say that the saddest sight that my eyes ever beheld was the sight of the weary thousands who thronged the bridge across the Susquehanna on the 19th day of June, in the year of grace 1863. Old men, tender women and helpless children, for the first time aliens to their hearths and homesteads, had gathered together their household gods and sought shelter from the Goths and Vandals of barbarism—sought shelter and protection on the peaceful banks of the Juniata. The recollection of these scenes will never be effaced, and till they have passed from my mind, let no man ask me to pause in my efforts to point out to my countrymen the perils which threaten the Republic. One of the finest passages in Roman history tell us that after the battle of Cannæ, after disaster and defeat had followed the Roman General, the Senate went beyond the walls of the imperial city to thank their General *that he had not despaired of the Republic!*

To that man who would stop the victorious banners of the armies of the Union by cavilling at the Proclamation of Emancipation, I would answer that it was six months after the Head of the Nation had invoked the "considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God" on that proclamation before, standing by the unnumbered graves of our dead in the nation's cemetery, we could say: "Of the two great efforts to enslave the English race, in body and mind, the first met its grave at Marston Moor, the second at Gettysburg."

But to return to the political decline and fall of New-Jersey. In 1849, both Houses of this Legislature by joint resolution declared Slavery to be an evil and instructed our Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote against the extension of human bondage in the Territories. (Pamp. Laws, p. 334, 1849.)

But soon the leading politicians, who represented the dominant power, became by social ties, or by the powerful influence of interest, in favor of extending Slavery into the Territories. New-Jersey became Pro-Slavery in sentiment, or at least, the dominant party were for Slavery with the Union, or, if need be, without the Union. In all events they were for Slavery.

It sent Senators to Congress who defended the Institution. It sent members to the lower house who worshiped the shrine of Jefferson Davis, then, as now, the leading spirit of Southern aggression.

A monster monopoly, which subsidized newspapers and treated the consciences of legislators as a merchantable article, a corrupt corporation, which may yet learn that "corruption wins not more than honesty," aided or abetted this spirit of Pro-Slavery fanaticism. A man who was for Liberty and against the despotism of the men who called themselves the "master race," was ostracised in private and in public life.

It was then that James Buchanan made Lecompton a text. He and his viceroys made power tyranny, and they made tyranny contemptible. I then felt, as I now feel, that obedience to such behests was a crime.

I declared, in 1856, that if the creed of Buchanan on the Kansas question became the policy for New-Jersey and the country, the Democratic party would become a political and moral abomination.

The money power and the Slave power triumphed, and controlled Democracy in the District in which I resided. The Kansas candidate who believed in Buchanan was nominated and defeated.

I said in *The Philadelphia Press*, Oct. 19, 1858: "The man who is chosen to bear the Democratic standard this Fall must bend to the Anti-Lecompton sentiment; the *principle* will not bend to him, and no shifting or truckling on *that* question will satisfy the people or subdue the voters of the First District, and woe be to the candidate for Congressional honors who has already pledged himself against the double-dealing of a treacherous Administration and has then turned back."

From that day to this, I have been in undying hostility to that sort of democracy which hates liberty, loves slavery, and would rather celebrate the funeral rites of Constitutional liberty amid the incantations and orgies of Secession and Rebellion, than see the triumphant assertion of civilization which strikes the shackles from the slave and tells the oppressed to go free.

Since 1860, the history of New-Jersey has been written so that all the world may read it. I yield to no Senator on this floor in regard for the honor of New-Jersey—dearer to me than life itself. For her I have made sacrifices which it does not become me here to narrate, and for her future destiny I shall do battle with my latest breath, hoping, aye! and praying that she may yet be free. But, Sir, and I say it with shame, the political history of this State for three years is one of which no patriot can be proud, save as its darker lines are made glorious and lustrous by the deathless courage of New-Jersey soldiers. They have made crimson, on every battle-field from Roanoke to Gettysburg, with their blood, the banner of victory.

Mr. President, I may be charged with being political rather than argumentative. But, Sir, this is a political question. It is a capital cause we are now trying. The nation is on trial for its life. The Democratic party has already been tried and condemned. Has it anything to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against it? I pause for reply. Who are its advocates?

Is it the sage of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian when Virginia was the "Mother of Presidents," and not the grave of Northern patriots? No.

Who is it, then, who cometh with dyed garments to defend "Democracy as it is"? Ah! Now I behold the melancholy procession. At its head I do not find the sage of Monticello, or the "War-Horse of the Hermitage," but I behold Chauncey Burr, the Senator from Bergen (Mr. Holsman), and David Narr!

And now, Sir, a few words upon this measure, which I understand has the sanction of the Democratic caucus, and I have done.

I oppose the bill because

First: It contravenes the laws of Congress.

Second: Because it is against public policy and against the rights of mankind.

The laws of Congress passed in and since the year 1862 authorize the President to enroll, arm, equip, and receive into the land and naval service of the United States such number of volunteers of African descent as he may deem useful to suppress the present Rebellion, for such term of service as he may prescribe.

Under and by virtue of these several acts of Congress, as I am informed by the Chairman of the Military Committee of the United States, 80,000 colored men, many of whom were once slaves and are now freedmen, are enlisted in the armies of the Union. At least 30,000 more of these despised Africans, about whom the majority of the Senate talk so much and care so little, are employed by the Government, though they do not wear a soldier's uniform. These black men carry a flag which is the symbol of nationality, of power, and of liberty, and they have never disgraced it. It is, then, the settled policy of the United States Government to employ black soldiers. The experiment has been made according to law. It has succeeded.

And now I suppose the Legislature of New-Jersey sends greeting to the War Department, with instructions to desist from enlisting, under a penalty (for citizens of this State) of "a fine not less than $500, and imprisonment for a term of not less than five years." I am pleased to be able to state that Democracy with Edwin M. Stanton does not mean "strategy and peace," but means "Fidelity to one's country." The prospect, therefore, of impressing the peculiar views of a majority of this house in that quarter is quite slender.

The object of this bill is either to deceive the people, or to embarrass the Government. If to deceive the people, it is not a new game which is now played for the first time. If to embarrass the Government, it is only a new foe with an old face, for the election of Horatio Seymour on a war platform was soon made the occasion for organizing an armed mob who *declared for peace* in the city of New-York with torch and sword!

Let there be sincerity between us. The South began this war in the interest of Slavery. They wage it in the interest of Slavery. We began the War for the Union. We carry it on for the Union, and we will and it by subduing the Rebellion and by subjugating the "fugitive masters" in the South. The war for us is necessarily and justly in the interest of Freedom, for Slavery is the lion in the way. God binds up the nation's wounds with Emancipation. The Constitution was meant to "*secure Liberty,*" not to protect Slavery.

No principle of law is plainer than the one which denies to a state the power to pass laws in conflict with the laws of the United States. And this bill practically raises the banner of resistance because it resists the law of the Federal Government, and I am glad that the Senator from Union (Mr. Jenkins) abjures the political heresy of State Rights. Perhaps we can meet on friendly ground (as I learn he was once a Whig) when I quote the language of Henry Clay: "If Kentucky unfurl to-morrow the banner of resistance, *I will not fight under that flag.* I owe allegiance to my native State, but I owe a paramount allegiance to the United States Government."

If it were required, Sir, I could produce volumes of testimony to the bravery and efficiency of our colored soldiers. Gen. Hunter, in speaking of the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, said:

"I am glad to be in the midst of you—glad to have seen so fine an exhibition of proficiency as you have shown this day. I only wish I had a hundred thousand of you to fight for the freedom of the Union."

Commodore Du Pont wrote from Port Royal his gratitude to the contrabands who had rallied around him, and his declaration is: "They serve us with zeal, make no bargains for their remuneration, go under fire without the slightest hesitation, and, indeed, in our cause are as 'inseusible to fear' as Gov. Pickens. Some of them are very intelligent."

At Wagner, when the gallant Shaw of the 54th Massachusetts fell with his feet to the foe and his back to the field, a black sergeant, wounded and bleeding, dragged himself forward when the color-bearer fell, and wrapping the flag about his body crawled back amid a deadly rain of artillery, and when he whispered to the white soldiers in the hospital "I saved the flag," three cheers went up for the black sergeant of the 54th.

Let me assure the other side of the chamber that the reign of force is ended, and even Chivalry begins to understand that *ideas rule the world*—Civilization wrestles with prejudice, as the angel of old wrestled with the patriarch, and prejudice will be smitten to the death.

I oppose this bill because it is against the rights of mankind. The nation has outgrown the Dred Scott decision, and the conscience of the nation at last is satisfied that God's lesson for America is that absolute justice to the African is mental and moral emancipation to the white man.

I beg leave to refer to George Bancroft's views upon the effort to betray the rights of man at the command of passion and prejudice. He says: "That ill-starred disquisition is the starting point of this Rebellion, which for a quarter of a century had been vainly preparing to raise its head. 'When courts of justice fail, war begins.' The so-called opinion of Taney, who I trust did not intend to hang out the flag of disunion, that rash offense to the conscious memory of the millions, upheaved our country with the excitement which swept over those of us who validly hoped to preserve a strong and sufficient though narrow isthmus that might stand between the conflicting floods. No nation can adopt that judgment as its rule, and live; the judgment has in it no element of political vitality. I will not say it is an invocation of the dead past; there never was a past that accepted such opinions. If we want the opinions received in the days when our Constitution was framed, we will not take them second-hand from our Chief Justice. We will let the men of that day speak for themselves. How will our American magistrate sink when arraigned as he will be before the tribunal of humanity! How terrible will be the verdict against him, when he is put in comparison with Washington's political teacher, the great Montesquieu, the enlightened magistrate of France, in what are esteemed the worst days of her Monarchy!

"The argument from the difference of race which Taney thrusts forward with passionate confidence as a proof of complete disqualification, is brought forward by Montesquieu as a scathing satire on all the brood of despots who were supposed to uphold Slavery as tolerable in itself. *The* RIGHTS OF MANKIND—that precious word which had no equivalent in the language of Hindostan, or Judea, or Greece, or Rome, or any Anti-Christian tongue—found their supporter in Washington and Hamilton, in Franklin and Livingston, in Otis, George Mason and Gadsden, in all the greatest men of our early history.

"The one rule from which the makers of our first Confederacy, and then of our National Constitution, never swerved, is this: To fix no constitutional disability in any one. Whatever might stand in the way of any man, from opinion, ancestry, weakness of mind, inferiority or inconvenience of any kind, was itself not formed into a permanent disfranchisement.

"The Constitution of the United States was made under the recognized influence of the eternal rule of order 'and right,' so that, as far as its jurisdiction extends, it raised at once the numerous class who had been chattels into the condition of *persons*; it neither originates nor perpetuates inequality."

If the Constitution does not perpetuate inequality, shall we?

Thomas Jefferson said: "The opinion that they (the colored race) are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence." (Jefferson's Works, vol. 8, p. 366.) He said afterward: "I expressed these views therefore with great hesitation; but, *whatever be their degree* of talent, it is no measure of *their right.* Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person and property of others."

We are now paying the price of our national vices as well as virtues. If this nation had been without virtues, we would, possibly, have been at peace, but it would have been the peace which follows dissolution and death.

The monument at Bunker Hill stands for Prescott and Putnam and Warren, and it also stands for Salem, the colored man who shot the gallant Pitcairn, as he mounted the parapet.

Red Bank in the Revolution, and Bladensburg at a later day, attest the valor of the colored soldiers.

Our unfriendly legislation will not stay the eternal laws of order and right. Let us rather hasten the advance of that day when we may "realize truth without suffering, and follow the triumphant road of justice without watering it with tears." The revolution through which we are passing is a necessary one, and if we are true to ourselves, it will be one fortunate for all the world. Let us endeavor to elevate a race which for centuries has been despised, and in doing this we elevate ourselves.

The struggle will soon be over. The right never fails in the eternal years of God. And this country will become what Garibaldi and Cavour dreamed that Italy might be. Privilege will no longer stalk in our streets while justice speaks with "bated breath and whispering humblness." And as we look over this assemblage, we may well hope that before the next four years that, "Under such an Administration as that of Abraham Lincoln this nation will become what it ought to be, and what I believe its its Divine Author intended it to be—not a vast plantation for the bleeding of human beings for the purposes of lust and bondage, but a new valley of Jehoshaphat, in which the nations of the earth, acknowledging and worshiping a common God, will assemble and celebrate the resurrection of human freedom."

COMMERCIAL MATTERS.

Sales at the Stock Exchange—MARCH 17.

13,000 U. S. 6s' 81 Coup...	112	40 Hudson River R. R...	156
10,000 U. S. 6s 5-20s Cou...	109½	50 do...	156
3,000 U. S. 6s 1yr Cert...	99	200 do...	30.156
12,000 U. S. 6s 5-20s Reg...	109½	200 do...	156
2,000 Tenn. 6s '90...	61	1000 do...	156
5,000 Missouri State 6s...	72	50 do...	30.157
1,000 Miss. 6s iss to Il. & St. Jos. RR...	88	100 do...	30.157
290,000 Ohio & Miss. Cert.	50	300 do...	b10.157
25,000 do...	b30. 50½	100 do...	157
20,000 O. & Miss. Pref. Cert.	32	100 Harlem Railroad...	145
5,000 Erie 3d Mortgage...	115	400 do...	b18.146
1,000 Hudson 1st Mort...	110	1000 do...	146
6,000 do...	110½	100 Reading Railroad...	137
2,000 Tol. & Wab. 2d Mt.	91	1000 do...	137
10,000 H. & St. Jos. Conv.	90	100 do...	138
2,000 Pitts. F. W. & Ch. 1st...	111½	1500 do...	137
500 do...	112	400 do...	s10.137
15,000 Miss. & Mo. 1st Gt...	70	100 Mich. Centra R. R...	141
5,000 Clev. & Pitts. 4th M...	89	100 Mich. So. & N. I. R. R.	108
1,000 Pitts. F. W. & Ch. 3d m	100	500 do...	108½
5,000 Quicksilver 1st M...	95	400 do...	109
2,000 McGregor W. 1st M.	85	100 do...	109½
3 American Ex. Bank...	115	1000 Mich. So. & N. I. Guar.	148
20 Fourth National Bank	102	10 Panama Railroad...	227
10,000 American Gold...	161½	150 Alton & T. Haute Pref.	96
10,000 do...	b7. 161½	200 do...	97
17,000 do...	s.161	100 Ill. Cen. Full Stock...	128
200 Canton Co...	s60 63½	400 Ill. Cen. RR. Sc...	137
50 Del. & Hud. C. Co...	219	600 do...	138½
100 Penn. Coal Co...	264	200 do...	b10.137
600 Central Coal Co...	94	500 do...	b15.137
100 do...	94½	50 Cl. & P. RR...	124½
100 Cumb. Coal Pref...	62½	100 do...	124
600 do...	s10. 62	1100 do...	123½
300 do...	62	400 do...	b15.123½
100 do...	s59 59	600 do...	b30.124
300 American Coal Co...	68	200 do...	s30.123½
100 Quicksilver Min. Co...	67½	1000 do...	s60.122
1000 do...	62½	50 do...	125
100 do...	s.63 62½	1000 Gal. & Ch. RR...	100
505 Minnesota Mining Co.	50	400 do...	120½
100 do...	54	200 Cl. & Tol. RR...	146
50 Cen. Am. Transit Co...	5½	450 Ch. & R. I. RR...	123½
100 do...	52	300 do...	123½
100 Copake Iron Mines...	13½	100 do...	b30.123½
200 do...	13½	200 do...	s10.123
200 Canada Copper Co...	10	200 do...	123
500 do...	9	50 Ch., Bur. & Q. RR...	143
700 Maryland Copper Co...	18	200 M. & P. Du C. RR...	73
200 Mariposa Mining Co...	30	100 do...	73½
200 Rutland Marble Co...	22	100 M. & P. Du C. 2d Pr...	86½
100 do...	21½	30 Del., L. & W. RR...	225
100 Quartz Hill M. Co...	20	700 Tol. & W. RR...	65
220 Pacific M. S. Co...	2.34	1000 do...	64½
50 do...	234½	200 Tol. & Wab. Pref...	82
200 do...	235	200 do...	83
50 N. Y. Cen. RR...	b30.137	300 P., Ft. W. & Chi...	130
200 do...	s10.137½	100 do...	129½
100 do...	b10.136½	900 do...	129½
200 Erie Railway...	s30.122½	8 do...	126
1150 do...	122½	600 do...	129½
300 do...	122½	100 do...	b30.130½
100 do...	s30.122½	200 do...	b10.130
700 do...	122½	200 do...	129½
100 do...	b30.123	200 do...	s10.128½
300 do...	b5.122½	200 Alt. & T. H. RR...	79
300 Erie Railway Pref...	106½	250 Chi. & N. W. RR...	63
400 do...	106½	500 do...	62½
600 Mar. & Cin. 1st Pref...	81	100 do...	63½
400 do...	81½	100 Chi. & N. W. Pref...	89
600 Mar. & Cin. 2d Pref...	62	200 do...	89½
38 do...	61	100 Chi. & Mil. RR...	73
100 H. & St. Jo. RR...	84½	100 H. & St. Jo. R. R. Pr...	58

SECOND BOARD.

25,000 U.S. 6s, 5-20s, Coup.	109½	400 Reading R. R...	140
100,000 do...	109½	100 do...	140½
2,000 Treas. Notes, 7 3-10, Oct. & April...	111½	200 do...	141½
4,000 Am. Gold...	161½	1000 do...	142
100 Canton Company...	64	1000 do...	142½
200 Comb'd Coal Prf...	83	500 M. So. & N. I. RR...	109
100 do...	s10. 83	500 Ill. Cen. RR. Scrip...	137½
500 do...	83½	200 Cleve. & Tol. R.R...	146
400 Quicksilver M. Co...	62½	1000 Cleve. & Pitts. R.R...	125
100 Pacific Mail...	234½	800 do...	124½
300 do...	235	500 do...	b10.125
150 do...	b10.135	1000 do...	124½
100 do...	234½	500 Galena & Chi. RR...	122
500 N. Y. Cen. RR...	137	200 do...	121½
550 Erie Railway...	122½	100 Chi. & R. I. R.R...	123½
100 do...	b30.122½	1000 do...	124
200 do...	123½	100 Chic. Bur. & Q. RR...	144
150 Erie Pref...	109	100 Tol. & Wabash RR. Prf.	84½
100 Hud. River RR...	157½	200 Mil. & P. Du Ch. R.R...	73
100 do...	157½	100 Pitts. F. W. & C. RR.	s30.131
200 do...	158	500 do...	132
1000 do...	159	500 do...	132½
200 Harlem R. R...	147	100 do...	132½
400 do...	146½	400 Chic. N. W. RR...	63
100 Mich. Cent. RR...	141½	400 do...	63½

THURSDAY, March 17—P. M.

Gold opened at 160, sold up to 161½, and closed at 160½ at noon. In the afternoon the market advanced to 162, and so closed at 4 p. m. The Chamber of Commerce took important action in regard to gold for duties, as will be seen by reference to their proceedings elsewhere. Stocks were unsettled upon the street, and quite low prices were made. Erie sold at 122½@122¾, and Harlem at 144. At the Stock Exchange Government securities were firm. Coupons of 1881, 112, and Registered, 111½ bid. April 7.30's, 111½@112; Currency Certificates, 99½@99¾; Tennessee 6s, 61@62; Missouri 6s, 72; California 7s, 130@130½; Canton Co., 64@64½; Delaware and Hudson, 218@219; Pennsylvania Coal, 233½@235; Central Coal, 94@94½; Cumberland Coal, 81½@82; Quicksilver Mining Co., 62½@62¾; Pacific Mail, 235; Central Transit Co., 51½@52; New-York Central, 136½@136¾; Erie Railway, 122½@122¾; Hudson River, 157½@157¾; Harlem, 146@146½; Reading, 137½@137¾; Michigan Central, 140½@141½; Michigan Southern, 108½@108¾; do. Guaranteed, 147½@148. Stocks were dull and irregular in the early part of the day, under rumors of new loans and the suspension of the sales of five per cent notes. Upon this theory a dear money market was predicted confidently, and speculation halted for a short time. After the adjournment of the Stock Exchange a fresh demand sprung up, and the desire to buy was equal to anything yet seen. As the season wears on it will be discovered that it is the continued large payments of the Government which stimulate speculation, and send prices up. Just now its expenses are $1,750,000 per day over all the taxes and customs duties, and it must further demoralize and inflate prices. Government Securities continue in demand, and are offered in small parcels only. In Railway Mortgages a small business. Coal Stocks are firm, and several new mines are soon to be brought out. Copper Stocks strong, Minnesota selling at 86@86½, and Canada at 9@10. Gold Stocks are in demand, especially Shares in new companies. Quartz Hill 20 and scarce. Erie was a leading favorite, and closed at 12. Galena was active at 12. Chicago and North-Western Preferred, 80@80½, and Marietta First at 81½. Fort Wayne was firm at 129½@130, and closed 1. The rest of the Western shares were strong, and in good request, with no great inclination to sell them at current rates. At the Second Board 5-20s were in great demand and rose to 109¾. Hudson River sold up to 160; Erie, 121½, and Reading, 143. For Ohio and Mississippi Certificates there was an active demand at 58, closing at 56. The closing prices were: Gold, 161½; Ohio and Mississippi Certificates, 57; New-York Central, 137½; Erie, 122½; Hudson, 159; Harlem, 146½; Reading, 141½; Michigan Central, 141½; Michigan Southern, 107½; Illinois Central, 137½; Cleveland and Pittsburgh, 124½; Galena, 121½; Toledo, 144½; Rock Island, 134½; Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien, 73½; Cumberland, 83½; Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne, 131½; Quartz Hill Gold Mining Company, 20; Canton, 65½; Quicksilver, 63½; Toledo and Wabash, 64½.

Freights are very dull and somewhat heavy, though not quotably lower. To Liverpool, the engagements are: 22,000 bush. Wheat at 4d. in bulk; 1,600 bbls. Flour, part, if not all, to fill up, at 1s. 9d.; per neutral vessel, 300 bales Cotton on private terms, and per steamer, 500 bales Cotton at ¼d. ⅌ lb. To London: 2,500 bbls. Flour at 1s. 8d.; 100 tcs. Beef at 4s. 3d. To Glasgow: 100 boxes Bacon at 22s. 6d. In charters, we only learn of a Swiss bark, with 2,000 bbls. Petroleum, to a direct port in Europe, at 6d. ⅌ bbl. The carrying rates were: To Liverpool, per American flag—Flour, 1s. 7½d.@1s. 9d.; Wheat, 4@4½d.; Heavy Goods, 17s. 6d. Per foreign flag—Flour, 2s.; Heavy Goods, 20s.@22s. 6d. To London, per American flag—Flour, 1s. 9d.; Wheat, 6d.; Heavy Goods, 17s. 6d.@18s. 6d. Per foreign flag—Flour, 2s.; Wheat, 7d.; Heavy Goods, 22s. 6d.

The business of the Sub-Treasury was: Receipts, $811,119 11—for Customs, 236,000; Payments, $1,296,409 80; Balance, $41,116,170 13.

Sterling Bills closed at 175½, and 174½@174¾ for Commercial Bills.

Money is quoted 6 per cent on call among stock houses, and at the same rate for Commercial paper. Stocks are much scarcer than money, including Erie common, Rock Island, and Hudson River. The holders of these shares can get money at 3@4 ⅌ cent easily, and in many cases loan them in large amounts without interest.

A meeting of the Clearing-House took place to-day to consider the application of the Second and Fourth National Banks for membership. The matter was referred to a Committee, after discussion. The Committee in such cases usually report in one week.

The Banks of the three principal cities report the following aggregates:

	Loans.	Deposits.	Specie.	Circulat'n.
N. York, Mar. 15..	$189,137,748	159,044,977	29,759,485	5,912,057
Boston, Mar. 15..	72,105,000	30,781,100	7,052,700	2,419,000
Phila., Mar. 15..	35,906,658	32,511,465	4,099,067	2,368,290
Total...	$297,149,324	222,337,542	31,792,252	17,677,057
Last week...	270,776,038	220,788,067	31,856,125	17,619,850

The receipts of the Eastern Division of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad for February, 1864, were $122,000, and for February, 1863, $108,457 27, showing an increase of $13,542 73. For the year ending 31st December, 1863, the earnings were $1,043,702 41 against $1,122,530 27 in 1862.

The following official notice has been received by the National Banks:

TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, Tuesday, March 14, 1864.

Subscriptions having been received for the total amount of Two-Year Five ⅌ cent Treasury notes with coupons attached, which it is proposed to issue, you will please receive notice of the deposits on account of such notes after the receipt of this notice.
F. E. SPINNER, Treasurer.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad report of earnings for the week ending March 7:

1864.....$39,966 61 | 1863.....$12,022 85
Increase.....27,775 76

The Hamilton Mining Company held their annual meeting yesterday, and elected Directors for the year. A movement is on foot to consolidate a portion of this property with the Norwich, the very promising vein of that Company running through the Hamilton, and it being desirable that one company should work the whole. The Hamilton property consists of three thousand acres of land, crossed by many of the best copper-bearing veins of the Ontonagon district of Lake Superior, and after making a division of the land, if terms can be agreed upon between the two companies, the Hamilton will still retain a very large and valuable property. On this it is designed to commence work at once, and the old Ohio trap rock vein, which gave excellent promise when operations were suspended, will be developed. It has always been the opinion of mining men that the Minnesota vein would be found upon the Hamilton.

The Chicago and North-Western Railway commences the month of March by nearly doubling its receipts in the first week. The Preferred stock is thus assured of regular 7 ⅌ cent dividends, and the prospects of incre