[The following letter from Hon. J. K. Paulding, former Secretary of the Navy, sound views it contains, but also on ac- States.

HYDE PARK, Duchess Co., N. Y.) September 6, 1851

GENTLEMEN: Your letter directed to me at New York, conveying an invitation to address a meeting of the citizens of Charleston district, to be held in Charleston, South Carolina, on the 17th inst., has just reached me at this place, where I now

For the compliment thus tendered, and the language in which it is conveyed, I beg you to accept my acknowledgments, accompanied by regrets that I cannot comply with your wishes. Distance and space, the burden of years I should bear with me, and, more than all, my incapacity for public speaking, compel me to decline a task for which I am totally unfitted. What I have to say, I therefore hope you will permit me to address to you, through a medium to which I am more accustomed.

As it appears from the tenor of your letter that you are already sufficiently aware of the opinion I entertain with regard to what is whimsically called the Compromise, I will only trouble you with a brief recapitulation. In my view, it was a gross and palpable violation of that great fundamental principle of State equality, which pervades every provision of the Constitution, and forms the basis of this Confederation; a most unjustifiable attack on the rights, interests, safety and happiness of one half the States composing it, accompanied by insult and obloquy; a pretended concession, wrested by mere force of numbers from a minority; and that, in its consequences, it will prove more fatal to the repose, prosperity and happiness, if not the very existence, be resorted to in attempting to obtain redress for the past, or security for the fu-

Such being my views of the subject, I am, and always have been, of opinion, that the stand originally taken by South Carolina, and most of the Southern States, in opposition to the principles embodied brought about by violence and bloody energetic, can be held together except by understood by the people. It has been a never can exceed so long as that process in that social a few contracts of the principles embodied brought about by violence and bloody energetic, can be held together except by in that series of measures, was not only justifiable, but demanded by a proper regard for their rights and their honor; and they must resort to the right of the of the universe, and it is, only, by the bethat an abandonment of the position they strongest, and fight it out. then assumed, and an acquiescence in measures they repeatedly declared they would resist, "at all hazards and to the last extremity," unless accompanied by a to all great political changes; and heca- the end, fare like the rash fool who asfrank acknowledgment of having, beer tombs must be offered up on the altar of pired to direct the chariot of the sun. wrong in the first instance, would, in the liberty, before she can become a legitimate language of the printed resolutions ap- goddess. The establishment of this prinpended to your letter, be "what they ciple conceding the right of revolution. could not submit to without dishonor." If such an abandonment of all previous its application to the case now under con- Charleston, South Carolina. pledges and declarations were the result sideration, leave no resource to any memgreatly erred in making them, it would be intolerable oppression, but civil, war, with honorable and magnanimous. But such appears not to be the case; since even the advocates of acquiescence still contin- justice and humanity; the right of the ue to assert the principles on which these strongest is the right divine; and dissenpledges and declarations were based, as sions among a confederation of Christian Union, under so many circumstances of well as the wrongs which first called States, can only be adjusted, like those of irregularity, and of disregard to the inter-

second resolution-declaring its belief the almost invariable practice of man- compared with those fearful calamities, that the co-operation of any of the South- kind in every age and country; but nevorn States with South Carolina, either in er till now do I recollect seeing it asserted tion of a Black Republican administraresistance or secession, is at least improb- that it was the only justifiable mode of tion, and which will overwhelm the South, able, so long as the influence and patron- settling controversies among States and when that hostile party shall take possesage of the General Government are ar- nations; and it is with no little regret I sion of the government, and consummate rayed against State rights. Nor do I see see this doctrine sanctioned by one whose any reason for believing that any proba- opinions are of such high authority among ble change of administration will produce a large portion of the American people. a change of measures; since, as you will I have dwelt more emphatically on this perceive, from their repeated declarations, topic, because I consider the right of seall parties in the North unite in denoun- cession as by far the most important of cing slavery, and maintaining the Consti- all the questions involved in the present tutional right of Congress, as well as its controversy; and the attack on it as one inflexible duty, to prohibit its extension of the most insidious, as well as dangerous to any State that may hereafter be admit- blows, ever levelled at the rights of the ted into the Union. From all present ap- State, all of whom are deeply interested pearances, the principles embodied in the in the issue; since those who are now the Compromise will continue to be the basis aggressors, may one day be placed in a of the future policy of the Government. position where it will be their only refuge It seems also probable, that the States from the uncontrolled despotism of a mawhich have submitted to past, will be jority. equally quiescent under future wrongs.

Having thus briefly stated my views State of South Carolina exercising this considered too slothful and cowardly to with regard to your first and second, I right of secession, either now or at any defend her rights, or adopt any efficient will now revert to your last and most im- future period, it would, I conceive, be measures, to beat back the aggressor, and portant resolution, namely, "that failing presumptuous in one so far removed from establish her safety, upon the sure founin a reasonable time to obtain the co-ope- the scene of action to offer his opinion, dation of a friendly government of her ration of other Southern States, South or intrude his advice. In such a crisis, own.] Carolina should alone withdraw from the South Carolina must act for herself, and re-Union."

count of the latitude from which it

modern authorities on the law of nature | would pursue them. and nations; and, if such were not the in opposition to all authorities. It is true on your time or patience. that none of the writers who assert or concede the right of resistance, have at feelings of my heart, I am a better friend tempted to define the precise line where to the Union than many of those who, right of a State to secede from the Union, litical vassalage. not susceptible of definition. It is a mat- steadily pursuing a course of policy that on the part of the federal government to ter of feeling, and can neither be an- has already alienated a considerable por- force such a State back into the Union. alvzed or defined.

revolution and secession; in other words, on the basis of perfect equality; nor do I the sovereignty of the States. Its real the right to resist, and the right of reti- believe it possible to preserve or perpetu- enemies are those who, from behind it, as ring out of the reach of the necessity of ate this Confederation by any attempts resorting to resistance. His position, if I to extend the powers of the General Gov- tive artillery against its strongest outrightly comprehend him, is, that though ernment beyond the limits prescribed by posts, by counselling submission to aga people or State may have a right to re- the Constitution, strictly construed, agreesist by force in certain contingencies, they ably to its letter and spirit. The first at- like "a welf in sheep's clothing," they of the Union, than any measure that may have none to retire peaceably beyond the tempt to coerce any one of its members reach of injury and oppression. It seems | will be the handwriting on the wall, prethey have no alternative; they must ei- dicting the speedy and certain fate of the ther peaceably submit, or forcibly resist, Union. It is not to be presumed that in the pending campaign—the right of a is, perhaps, nothing more beautiful in our for they cannot get out of the way. It great States, many of them equal in exfollows that all radical changes in the po- tent to powerful kingdoms, and inhabited litical relations of a State with a Confed- by increasing millions of freemen, jealous enter into an argument in favor of the eration of States, must necessarily be of their rights, brave, high-spirited, and affirmative of this issue. I believe it is contentions. Those who cannot live to- a voluntary cohesion. This Confedera- cardinal tenet of the Republican creed gether in peace, must not part in peace; tion may be likened to the great system from 1798 down to the present day, main-

and denying that of secession, would, in W. H. Peronneau-Committee, &c., &c. quent conviction of having ber of this confederation, under the most all its aggravations. It leaves open no appeal to the great tribunal of reason, the wild beasts of the forest, by a death The Association is, I believe, right in its struggle. I am aware that this has been dwarfed into absolute insignificance, when

ly on herself alone. I would only observe, It seems rather late in the day to be that in taking a step so decisive as that and pressing invitation to a barbecue, to called on to combat the old exploded doc- of withdrawing from the Union, unanim- be given to Col. Robert McMillen, the trine of passive obedience, and non-resis- ity among her citizens, or something Southern Rights candidate for Congress tance, the assertion of which cost one mon- nearly approaching it, seems indispensa- in the 8th district, on the first Tuesday in arch his head, and sent another into per- ble. It appears, however, that many dis- September next; but official engagements manent minority in our Federal Legislapetual exile. Yet, as that doctrine has tinguished men among you, whose repu- forbid me the pleasure of its acceptance. lately been revived by some of the high- tation is national, whose opinions are en- Morgan court will be in session at the abates not in its frenzy and insolence. It est names of the Republic, it calls for a titled to great weight, and who have here- same time. passing notice in connection with the sub- tofore taken the lead in opposing the ject of this letter. It seems strange, too, Compromise, believe that the time for McMillen is limited, but I know him by that this long-buried monster, which re- secession is not yet come; that the co-op- reputation as a gentleman of high moral ceived its death wounds in the two revo- eration of at least a majority of the worth, brilliant talents, and sound republutions of England and America, should have been dug up and resuscitated by distinguished Demogratic Republican states is absolutely necessary lican principles. Such men I am pleased to the successful issue of such a measure; but I have been dug up and resuscitated by distinguished Demogratic Republican states. The states is absolutely necessary lican principles. Such men I am pleased to the successful issue of such a measure; but I have been dug up and resuscitated by distinguished Demogratic Republican states. tinguished Democratic Republican states, that it is best to wait for further injuries, cause whose banner he bears by the unimen. From all but the darkest regions or at least to see whether they will be at- ted voice of the Southern Rights party of appeals to the reason of our Northern epof the civilized world, this portentous attempted, and if so, whether they will his district, may be triumphant.

professes to be the most free and enlight- ted by your Association, on the other holding States, are engaged, is one of vi- restrain an irresponsible and fanatical maened. There is not a European writer, hand, believe that immediate secession, or tal importance. It involves the destiny jority. What, then, are we to do? I say, remains to be seen; and until that is de- Rights party maintains the affirmative, It never, never can be true, that our fore- gust 7, 1783. A thorough discussion of this doctrine cided, I shall content myself with assert and the candidate of the submission party fathers, in the struggle of '76, fought only federation of States, would require more result. Should it be found that a very the reserved sovereignty of the State and under the British crown. But they strug- pockets; an old pair of stockings; space than is proper for me to occupy, considerable minority is not only opposed, the nature of the Confederacy; and the gled for more-for colonial sovereigntyand more time than you can spare on this but will resist a resort to this remedy for other, that it exists only as a right of rev- and they won it. occasion; nor do I deem it necessary. their grievances, I conceive its immediate olution. The right of resistance by force, as re- adoption would be hazardous in the exspects States and communities, is only an treme. But when great interests are at extension of the individual right of self- stake, much should be risked in their defence, which is a law of nature, antece- preservation. For myself, I will only dent and paramount to all laws and all say, that were I a citizen of South Caroconstitutions, which cannot be alienated lina, or any other Southern State, I trust or surrendered by the adoption of any I should not be found among those, who, system of social organization. This doc- after placing themselves in front of the trine is established beyond controversy, battle, and leading their followers into a he would not obey a requisition by the of the South. Let us maintain it with by the unanswered and unanswerable ar- position where they could not retreat federal government made upon him as the unanimity, and we can hold in check the guments of Sydney and Locke; by the without dishonor, retired from the field, Executive of Georgia for troops to force spirit of abolition and consolidation. But assent of all the great ancient as well as only, it would seem, to see if the enemy her back into the Union; and the other if we yield it, the whole theory of our

A few words more, Gentlemen, in order case, it has always been, and always will that I may not be misunderstood or misbe, acted upon when the occasion arises, represented, and I will no longer trespass

If I know myself, and the innermost nign and gentle influence of attraction, Thus the extermination of a portion of that the bright stars of our constellation our fellow-creatures, perhaps our coun- can be kept in their orbits. Those who bridle or spur them, will in

> I am, gentlemen, your obd't serv't, J. K. PAULDING. To F. D. Richardson, H. H. Raymond,

Letter from Hon. Herschel V. Johnson.

[This admirable letter was written by Gov. Johnson, upon the occasion of the wrong which was done to the South, upon the admission of California into the ests of the South; a wrong, which is which are rapidly approaching in the electheir openly avowed purpose of emancipating the slaves.

The letter, throughout, breathes the true spirit of a manly Southern heart, sensitive to the wrongs of his country, and determined not to submit to them. If sentiments like these, were resolutely carried out into manly action, the South would no longer be aggressed upon; nor would her jast remaing refuge, against oppression and insult, de denied her-of withdrawing herself from the control of her avowed enemies and oppressors. She has been, heretofore, insulted and trampled upon, and she is now doomed by the Black Republican party, to degra-With regard to the expediency of the dation and ruin, simply because she is

"MILLEDGEVILLE, Ga., Aug. 30, 1851. Gentlemen: I thank you for your kind

My personal acquaintance with Col.

Government has no right to coerce a se- the power of an elective consolidation? ceding State; and the latter that such a Never, never. Those who maintain such seceding State must depend for the main- positions, falsify all the history of our revtenance of its position, "upon the stout olution, and bring dishonor upon the mashearts and strong arms of a free people." | ter spirits of its thrilling and eventful The one unhesitatingly and boldly avows scenes. The right of secession must be that if a Southern State were to secede, maintained. It is the last, the only hope declares he "would convene the Legisla- federative system is changed, and we are that one of my toes or fingers may be cut ture of the State, and command them to in the power of those whose mercy is like off to secure a certainty of my being dead. call a convention of the people," to in- that of the wolf to the lamb. If we yield I also make this further request to my struct him in an emergency in which the it, we not only proclaim in advance, that dear wife, that as she has been troubled impulses of a true Southern heart should we still submit to asurpation and aggres-

be a sufficient guide. resistance becomes justifiable, because it is while loudly professing their devotion, are and the correlative absence of any right tion of its citizens, and will assuredly It cannot be evaded by the senseless An eminent American statesman, high bring about its dissolution. It is under clamor of Union! this glorious Union! in office, and a candidate for still higher the influence of this attachment, that I The integrity of the Union is not assailed honors, whose opinions I wish to treat have lent my feeble aid in opposition to by the Southern Rights party in Georgia. with all due respect, has lately attempted that policy. Neither force nor coercion Its true friends are those who insist upto establish a broad distinction between can preserve a Union voluntarily formed on maintaining the rights resulting from a "masked battery," level their destrucgression, injustice and robbery, because, come under the hypocritical guise of com- rains would continually destroy the harpromise. Then let a vigilant people look vest, and fruits and flowers, and subwell to the true and only issue involved vertthe whole economy of nature. There

State peaceably to secede from the Union. I would not, if time and space justified. tained by Jefferson, and Madison, and wherever it is lighter than the atmosphere; Macon, Lowndes and Troup, and all the condensed, it falls upon the earth in water; distinguished statesmen of that school, who properly understood the theory of our and replenishes the conduits with which, government, and whose hearts beat responsively to the great American sentiment which is at once the parent and the soul of constitutional liberty. Argument is not needed to elucidate and enforce it. If the people, shaking off the trammels of be considerable diminished, the Amazon Triparty, as I sparning the timid counsels of temporal age submissionists and selfish the western world, would become incontradesmen in the great mart of political siderable brooks; the brooks would wholbartering, will obey the honest impulses ly disappear; the atmosphere would be do-

Constitution. issue in public estimation, it is insisted wither away like the sickly grass at his that it is a mere abstraction-that it will | feet. be time enough for Georgia to determine it when she shall be called upon to exercise the right of secession. This is but one of the hundred subterfuges of those who man the "masked battery." The issue is vital. It has not been made by the State of Georgia, nor by the Southern but rather deny yourself the satisfaction States. It has been forced upon us by federal aggressions. It has been been distinctly tendered by high authority. It was tendered by Henry Clay in his great speech upon "the compromise bills."

any State, or by the people of any State, in the support of the common authority good will revere her for, and what is, in of this government." Through Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, it has been Be assured, a woman's power, as well as tendered by the rotten dynasty of the Fillmore Administration; for he has distinctly proclaimed the policy of the Cabinet to be coercion, if any State should attempt secession. The issue, then, is upon us. Shall we meet it? Shall we ingloriously shrink from its decision? It is true, that to past aggressions Georgia has determined to offer no resistance. But the right to resist, and to resist peaceably, without the terror of federal bayonets, she cannot yield; and now she is called upon to make the decision. Let her meet it with firmness and unanimity.

Whosoever observes the signs of the times cannot fail to see that the right of secession will probably, at no distant day, assume the form and magnitude of practical in portance. The South is in a perture. The tone of Northern fanaticism presses on rapidly to the consummation of its diabolical designs.

progress? Have we any under the established rules of parliamentary law? Can pressors? Can we obtain shelter under phantom has been banished, as it would produce such co-operation. Those whose The contest in which the people of the broad shield of the Constitution? No! appear, only to find refuge in that which views coincide with the resolutions adop- Georgia, in common with her sister slave- All these are impotent as pack-thread to I hate him awfully-I am sure I do. Adieu."

Did they turn around immediately and desire may be decently interred." The former insists that the General surrender all they had battled for into sion, but we do worse, we admit that we The great issue, then, I repeat, is the have no right to resist. And that is po-

With sentiments of high regard, I am, gentlemen, your ob't serv't, HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON. To Messrs. Robt. A. White, Turner Clanton, T. W. Fleming, Committee.

THE SEA .- The mean depth of the sea is, according to La Place, from three to five miles. If the existing waters were increased by one-fourth, it would drown the earth, with the exception of some high mountains. If the volume of the ocean were augmented by only one eighth, considerable portions of the contiments would be changed all over the globe. Evaporation would be so much extended, that whole system than the process by which our fields are irrigated from the skies, the rivers fed from the mountains, and the continues on the present scale. The vaor attracted to the mountains, dissolves, externally or internally, they are all fursurface of the earth, and to the springs from the family circle. which lie deep in its bosom, destined to Daily, per annum, of true Southern sentiment, they will re- prived of its due proportion of humidity; or Obituaries, be attended to, unless the side of truth, their hearth-stones, and the Constitution. wing, the lower animals would persh on constitution.

Wing, the lower animals would persh on the importance of the barren soil, and man himself would may retain tweathy per cent of the pre-payments for their trouble.

In the State, Mr. Samuel E. Burgess is our regals agent to make collections and procure new business.

GOLDEN RULES FOR WIVES .- Resolve every morning to be cheerful that day; and should anything occur to break your resolution, suffer it not to put you out of temper with your husband. Dispute not with him, be the subject what it may of having your own will, or gaining the better of argument, than risk a quarrel or He said "if rsistance is attempted by ful to both, but implicit submission in a wife to the just will of her husband, is he will lift his voice, his heart and his arm what she promises at the altar, what the fact, the greatest honor she can receive. her happiness, has no other foundation than her husband's esteem and love, which it is her interest, by all possible means, to preserve and increase; share and soothe his cares, and with the utmost assiduity, conceal his errors.

> FASHIONBBLE CALL.—Enter Miss Lucy nearly out of breath, with the exertion of walking from her papa's carriage in the street, to the door of her friend.

Lucy .- "Oh, Marie! how do you do?

How delighted I am to see you! How have you been since you were at the ball, last Thursday evening? Oh, wasn't the appearance of that tall girl in pink, perfectly frightful? Is this your shawl on the piano? Beautiful shawl! Father says be is going to say a s he is going to send to Paris to get me a | each of the l shawl, in the spring. I can't bear homemade shawls! How do you like Monsieur ! Esprey? Beautiful man, ain'the? Nov don't laugh, Marie, for I'm sur I don't care anything about nim! Oh, my! I must be going! It's a beautiful day, isn't And what check has the South upon its it? Marie, when are you coming up to see me? Oh, dear what a beautiful pin! That pin was given to you; now I know it was, Marie; don't deny it. Harry is dear, it's very warm. Good morning, Marie! Don't speak of Harry in connection with my name, to any one; for I am C. H., S. C. sure it will never amount to anything, but

CURIOUS WILLS .- One of our correspondents, who has a taste for such mator statesman, or theologist, of any estab- secession after "waiting a reasonable time" of the South, and the federative character let us bear to the last point of endurance, ters, has collected and sent us for publica-Lefter from Hon. J. K. Paulding. lished reputation, that would now venture for the co-operation of other States, is of our system of government. It is but let us never proclaim, through the ballion in the Ledger, the following curious to proclaim the slavisht principles which indispensable to the safety and honor of waged upon the right of a State peaceably lot box, that we have no right to secede, extracts from still more curious wills. The have been asserted by Republican lenders the State of South Carolina. Which of to secede from the Union. The Guberna- and that if we do secede we are to be re- first is from the will of George Applebee, is worthy of attention, not only for the in the Halls of Congress of Republican these parties will eventually predominate torial candidate of the Southern States garded as insurgents and revolutionists. Rector of St. Bride's, London, proved Au-

"My body, after being dressed in aftanof passive ebedience and non-resistance ing the right of secession, leaving the expe- the negative of this great question—the to achieve that which is the right of serfs, nel waistcot, instead of a shirt, an old suron the part of equal members of a Con- diency of its exercise to be decided by the one, that the right necessary results from the right of revolution. They had that tout coat, and breeches without links or shall want none (having done walking). and a worsted wig, if one can be got, I

> The second is from the will of Stephen Swaine, of St. Olive's, Southwark, proved February 5, 1770.

"I give and bequeath unto John Abl ont and Mary, his wife, the sum of six and apiece, to buy each of them a halfer in the the Sheriffs should not be provided

The third is from the will of William Shackell, Esq., Governor of Plymouth, proved October 12, 1782.

"I desire that my body may be kept as long as it may not be offensive, and with one old fool, she will not think of marrying another."

The following is from the will of Philip Thicknesse, Esq., of London, but subsequently of Boulogne, in France, deceased, proved January 24,1793.

"I leave my right hand, to be cut off after my death, to my son, Lord Audley, and I desire it may be sent to him, in hopes that such a sight may remind him of his duty to God, after having so long abandoned the duty he owed to a father who once affectionately loved him."

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their sceurity.

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