

To Make Their Own Way  
in the World

*The Enduring Legacy  
of the Zealy Daguerreotypes*

*Edited by*  
Ilisa Barbash  
Molly Rogers  
Deborah Willis

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*With a foreword by*

Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

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# The Life and Times of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty

Gregg Hecimovich

## Planting

On Thursday, May 13, 1847, as part of his “Southern Tour,” the powerful Massachusetts politician Daniel Webster visited Columbia, South Carolina. He was feted at an elegant reception at Millwood, the estate home of Colonel Wade Hampton II (1791–1858), one of the richest men in the country, “whose stately mansion and wide domain,” the *Columbia South Carolinian* reported, “are among the most magnificent to be seen in the South.”<sup>1</sup> On the following Saturday, from the morning until 2 p.m., the local planter Benjamin F. Taylor (1791–1852) led Webster on a tour of the Hampton and Taylor plantations near Columbia. These would have included the Woodlands, Wildwood, and Millwood plantations, and Taylor’s own Grub Field and Edge Hill holdings. There is a good chance that Taylor exhibited many of the same slaves chosen by Robert W. Gibbes (1809–1866) to be photographed three years later: Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty.

The tour began with a basic understanding of geography and soil in the area: “Two rivers, the Saluda and the Broad, coming from the hills, unite just on the upper edge of this sand hill district, and form the Congaree, and just here stands the town of Columbia, where I am now sitting,” Webster carefully observed in his private correspondence. “The Sandhill Region is evidently alluvial, though the basis is not clay and marl, but granite, slate-stone, and other rocks.” He continued, now describing the planting process, “The seed is sown in rows or drills, three feet apart, in common light lands, and four or four and a half in land of richer quality. Each petal or flower leaf comes out white, then turns to scarlet, and then falls. But the owners think the cotton looks best in the autumn, when the pod or ball opens and the wool comes out full.”<sup>2</sup>

In the fields of the more fertile bottomland, Webster would have observed the real prize: rows and rows of established cotton, the green

stalks standing in erect formations, stretching over each furrowed hill. All across these fields, thousands of shoots prepared to consume the long arcs of sunshine and rain common to the South Carolina Sandhills.

The value to be extracted was astounding: “On common lands the crop of raw cotton may be seven hundred to eight hundred pounds to the acre,” Webster enthused. “But more than half the weight is the seed. Two hundred and fifty pounds or three hundred of clean cotton is a fair crop on good common lands.”<sup>3</sup> As a member of Congress, Webster knew the numbers. In 1846, the plantations around Columbia, primarily those of the Hamptons and Taylors, accounted for 20,000 bales of fiber, one twentieth of the entire crop of the United States. And the average receipts for the previous ten years had been 107,000 bales. As an aspiring presidential candidate, Webster conducted his visit to Columbia to demonstrate his attention to the credit side of slavery’s ledger sheet.<sup>4</sup> After Webster’s visit, so the Taylor family has maintained, “Webster ceased to condemn slavery.”<sup>5</sup>

During this tour, Webster almost certainly viewed Taylor’s captives Delia, Renty, Drana, and Jack as part of work gangs tending cotton in the fields of Taylor’s Grub Field plantation. The specificity of Webster’s notes demonstrates direct observation, and Taylor would have used Grub Field, his home plantation, for this kind of instruction. In the busy month of May 1847, when Webster visited, more than 150 workers enslaved by Taylor were responsible for planting and managing nearly 1,200 acres of cotton at Grub Field and for preparing 200 more for corn, among them Delia, Renty, Drana, and Jack.<sup>6</sup> Webster may therefore have directly witnessed these figures back-furrowing cotton rows with a team of mules. Away from the alluvial sediment of Gill Creek, which ran through Taylor’s holdings, these “light fields” would have been drawn “three feet apart,” precisely as Webster noted.

As plows opened up spring channels in the soil, other captives dressed the ridges and water furrows, while still others planted the seed. Perhaps Delia and Drana formed this third group, following behind the plows and the trenchers, responsible for planting the kernels into open earth. Barefoot in the field, they would have pinched the seeds in their canvas slings, dropped one, raked damp dirt over it, and then, with the ball of the foot, settled the kernel. Behind them followed a mule and a harrow with fresh-turned soil to complete the planting. As a “driver,” Drana’s father, Jack, would have led and directed the activity, while the overseer, Robert P. Dunsford, patrolled astride his horse, whip in hand.<sup>7</sup> For most of the waking hours available to them for the next four months, Delia, Jack, Renty, Drana, and the others nurtured these plants, often in temperatures reaching more than one hundred degrees Fahrenheit in direct sunlight.<sup>8</sup>

Probably mimicking the focus of his guide, Taylor, Webster says very little about the enslaved workers that he witnessed. Instead, his notations consistently emphasize soil, planting, and profits, not the experiences of

the enslaved. Only after meticulously analyzing crop management does Webster directly register those working in the fields, and even then they are vaguely noted as “labor,” “hands,” “women,” and, finally, “slaves.” “The land is kept clear of weeds by the plough, and repeated hoeings,” Webster records. “In general, the proportion of labor to land is one hand to six or seven acres, and one mule to three hands. The hoeing being light work, is mostly done by the women. The picking of the cotton is a long business, as the pods on the same plant ripen at different times.” Clearly swept away by Taylor’s proslavery tour, Webster concludes, “On the plantations I have seen, the people do not appear to be overworked. They usually get through their tasks by twelve or one o’clock, and have the rest of the day to themselves.”<sup>9</sup>

The images preserved in Joseph T. Zealy’s photographs reflect a lifetime of hard labor stretched tight over wearied frames; these subjects did not loll about with afternoons and evenings at their disposal. Yet none of this troubled Webster as he put down his pen and paper late that afternoon. For Webster, it was as if plow and hoe moved independently (“land is kept clear of weeds by the plough, and repeated hoeings”); hands and mules sprouted unbidden to accommodate acreage (“one hand to six or seven acres, and one mule to three hands”); and sunshine and fiber formed into bales (“dried in the sun one day, and then ginned” and “packed into bales”).<sup>10</sup> The enslaved men and women who toiled to produce the crop held very little physical presence for Webster; rather, they occupied his field of vision as insubstantial beings, less real than the soil, plants, and profits he so diligently marked. Only in the shadows of his awareness did they linger, dark, exotic, and mostly idle.

It is far easier to trace Webster’s experiences among white enslavers than it is to pick through the fragments and scraps of slave inventories to establish the presence of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Because prominent families were more careful to record and preserve details about their nonhuman property (pleasure gardens, furnishings, upholstery, china, and so forth), we can readily reconstruct the scenes that greeted Webster. To draw out the experiences of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty will take more work.

## Seeds

In 2010, the writer and independent scholar Molly Rogers published her groundbreaking research exploring the identity of the five male and two female captives photographed in 1850 by Zealy of Columbia, South Carolina. Her work brilliantly brings to life the contexts of race, science, and photography that led to these now-famous daguerreotypes produced for the prominent naturalist Louis Agassiz.<sup>11</sup> And yet, despite Rogers’s

work, relatively little is known about the material circumstances and day-to-day lives of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Only by drawing on unexamined letters, inventories, estate files, and fresh interpretations of records already tied to the photographs, can we more firmly situate Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty in their material contexts.

To more fully uncover the circumstances behind the lives of these seven captives, we must first assemble the relevant documents central to understanding their life stories. This, of course, poses a problem because of the inhuman treatment inherent to slavery. The lives of these men and women were obscured by a system that regarded the enslaved as nonpersons, not worthy of distinct record-keeping except regarding their status as property. And even then, as property, the anonymity of these objectified people is distinct. Commerce involving human chattel required no gathering or registering of information about the captives as individuals, while the business of recording the lives of the enslaved within discrete families was similarly incomplete. The only standardized documentation, federal census data, limited a slave's "official" legal existence to age, race, and number, with few other distinguishing identity-markers, including names.

Because of the lack of official records, it is not surprising that so little is known about Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Like the vast majority of those enslaved, they did not have the opportunity to supplement the "official" record by setting down their stories in diaries, in letters to family members, or in official records—marriage banns, birth registers, proved wills—the kinds of documents that allow many white Americans to reconstruct at least some part of their family experiences. If these captive people used African customs practiced in their native communities to transmit and store personal histories, their efforts have gone unrecorded. Forced migration and the estrangement of kinship structures disrupted traditional forms of shared personal history. For these reasons, the enslaved lives behind the images captured by Zealy remain largely invisible. Like the silvery residue washed away to compose each stained pose, the everyday experiences of these unique people have been leached from history.

But, as the scholars in this collection prove, the powerful forms of pseudoscience and disciplinary technology behind the images could not blanch away the lives of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Hidden in the attic of Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, uncovered accidentally by museum staff in 1976, these images return to us ready and open to new life. Beyond the hidden craft of Agassiz and Zealy, another world emerges. Faces speak, and names signify. Layered on the surface and beneath the framing devices of white control radiates a humanity that cannot be expunged by copper fumed with mercury.

To draw out the preserved figures of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty, we must exceed the daguerreotypist's art. Like Zealy, we, too, need to prepare our materials meticulously and gather our sources. There are the photographs themselves, powerful documents whose multilayered presence tells a rich cultural history. To these we will return last. We can only uncover their stories by dismantling the framing devices of white property that kept the lives of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty trapped and out of view. To gain access to these latent figures, we must first unlock the ghosts stalking the vapory trail of enslavers' probate and church records. Only then can we begin to register the lives beyond the pictures.

But which files need to be recovered and exposed? The starting point is the labels affixed to the daguerreotypes written by Gibbes, the physician who procured the images for Agassiz (fig. 2.1). Indeed, these notations provide us with the best identifying markers available for each figure. For instance, the photograph of a naked, middle-aged man standing with his arms to his side is elucidated with the note "Jem Gullah belonging to F. W. Green, Columbia, SC." Then there is Benjamin F. Taylor's will and probate inventory of 1852, cited by Rogers as the primary source for identifying four of the seven daguerreotype subjects, all enslaved members of Taylor's estate in 1850 when Zealy produced their images.<sup>12</sup> Also among the known primary sources is the record of Taylor's slave "Jack," who is identified as a member of the First Baptist Church of Columbia, South Carolina, according to its minute books from 1808 to 1840. "Renty," too, these documents suggest, may have been baptized into the same church in 1838.<sup>13</sup> Finally, an obscure 1850 map of Columbia, the Arthur & Moore map (see figs. 2.4 and 2.10), enumerates the names of Taylor's family members and their property at the time Zealy produced his photographs, inviting opportunities to cross-reference facts disclosed in other documents.<sup>14</sup>

A careful exploration of wills and probate and estate records of those mentioned in the notes uncovers still other traces. The will of the plantation patriarch Thomas Taylor, Sr. (1743–1833) holds clues about how enslaved property was distributed to Benjamin F. Taylor and other members of the Taylor family. Slave schedules and census records help to place plantation activities among the relevant enslavers of the region. "F. W. Green," who is noted as possessing "Jem," appears to live near the Taylor family; indeed, when Benjamin F. Taylor's estate is settled in 1852, "F. W. Green" appears among the names of those purchasing property at the sale.<sup>15</sup> F. W. Green may be an extended family member of Halcot P. Green (1821–1891), one of Benjamin F. Taylor's sons-in-law. As Rogers observes, "Little is known about Jem apart from the information provided on the labels of his daguerreotypes: he was a slave of F. W. Green, and he was 'Gullah.'"<sup>16</sup> The Green family connection invites more study.

Other relevant new documents include an 1863 inventory of Edge Hill, near Columbia—the plantation to which most scholars have traced

Jessie  
Gullah.  
 belonging to F. W. Green  
 Columbia  
 S. C.

Fassena (Carpenter)  
Mandingo.  
 Plantation of  
 Col. Wade Hampton  
 near Columbia S. C.

Delia  
 Country born of  
 African parents -  
 daughter of  
 Renty  
Congo

Drana  
 Country born, daughter  
 of Jack, Guinea  
~~plantation~~  
 Plantation of  
 B. F. Taylor Esq.

Jack (Driver)  
Guinea.  
 Plantation of  
 B. F. Taylor Esq.  
 Columbia S. C.

Alfred.  
Foulah.  
 belonging to J. Lomas  
 Columbia  
 S. C.

Renty.  
Congo.  
 B. F. Taylor Esq.  
 Columbia S. C.

Figure 2.1.  
 Robert W. Gibbs's classification notes, 1850

many of the slaves—that is included in the papers of Taylor’s son-in-law, William Mazyck (1821–1901),<sup>17</sup> and an 1825 letter from Taylor to the planter Richard Singleton (1776–1852) seeking the purchase of nineteen of Singleton’s slaves, which suggests a possible source for Taylor’s supply of enslaved people (once we trace Singleton’s sources, too).<sup>18</sup> Then there is the most significant document that I have unearthed: a second, previously unknown slave inventory that definitively lists at least three of the seven Agassiz subjects, proving that they were still alive and in the possession of the Taylor family near Columbia as late as February 1859.<sup>19</sup>

Benjamin F. Taylor’s will and probate records are the best place to start. As Rogers explains, these are the original sources linking most of the daguerreotypes to specific enslaved people in South Carolina: “In Taylor’s will of 1852 Delia is valued at six hundred dollars and listed beneath Sam, the blacksmith. Alongside her name appear ditto marks, suggesting she worked in the forge with Sam. When Taylor died, the slaves listed in his will passed into the possession of his wife, Sally Webb Taylor.”<sup>20</sup> My reading of the will, however, suggests that the dispensation of Taylor’s human property was much more complicated and that the ownership of Delia and Sam, the blacksmith, likely did not pass to Taylor’s widow. Certainly, Taylor’s last will and testament never explicitly left Delia and Sam to Sally W. Taylor (1800–1897). Here is the full clause where Taylor provides for his wife:

Item 5th. To my wife Sally W. Taylor, I give, devise and bequeath in fee Simple for Ever, my residence called Edge Hill, and the four hundred Acres of Land thereunto attached. I also give and bequeath unto my said wife the following Slaves viz: Lewis and Eliza, Sam and Betsey and their Children (except Mariam a negro girl heretofore given to [my daughter Ann]). Also all my household and kitchen furniture and my horses and carriage. I also will that my said wife Sally W. Taylor be amply supported out of my Estate, in the manner and style in which she has been accustomed to live and to have the use of the house servants during the term of her natural life, and I hereby direct my said sons Thomas Taylor and Benjamin Walter Taylor to make ample provision out of my Estate for the support of my said wife and her household during the term of her natural life.<sup>21</sup>

The way the enslaved are organized in the estate inventory suggests that the captives who were meant to devolve to Sally W. Taylor were likely *only* those listed on the seventh page of the probate inventory, beginning with “Lewis, Coachman Appraised at \$600.” Following Lewis in the inventory are the very enslaved people stipulated in Benjamin F. Taylor’s will, “Eliza, Sam and Betsey and their Children.” This suggests that these captives were likely inventoried together and probably included at least one kinship network (“Sam and Betsey and their Children,” from the fifth item

7

Swiss Crachman - Appraised at - - -		
Elija	"	\$ 500.
July	"	\$ 400.
Ed	"	1,000.
William	"	\$ 800.
Thos	"	\$ 500.
Jane	"	\$ 400.
John	"	\$ 300.
Jenny	"	\$ 200.
Jim	"	\$ 600.
Old Peggy	"	\$ 200.
Sam	"	\$ 50.
Betsy	"	\$ 800.
Holland	"	\$ 50.
Fanny	"	\$ 500.
Sadly	"	\$ 600.
Leach	"	\$ 100.
Robert	"	\$ 500.
Jonas	"	\$ 200.
		\$ 100.
		\$ 2.00
25. Mules & Horses - Appraised at -		\$ 2,500.

Figure 2.2.  
 Slave inventory of Benjamin F.  
 Taylor Estate, 1852 (detail)

of the will). Since among this ordering is “Lewis, Coachman,” who would have been a frequent figure in the widow’s daily life, a reasonable deduction places the human property inventoried on the seventh page as those closest to the widow’s household and the most likely to pass into her possession according to the terms of her husband’s will (fig. 2.2).<sup>22</sup> “Holland, Fanny, Dudley, Isaiah, Herbert, and Jonas” invite identification as the children of “Sam and Betsey,” likely joining the others who passed into Sally W. Taylor’s possession.

The ordering of the enslaved assigned to the widow in the will and in the inventory, then, supports the view that Delia, Jack, Renty, and Drana were not transferred to Sally W. Taylor. This seems to be confirmed in the annual accounts kept for the estate. For instance, Delia, Jack, Renty, and Drana were not named among the captives who were hired out for the years while the estate was being settled, whereas Lewis, Sam, and Betsey, bequeathed to Sally W. Taylor, were. This makes sense since the human property that devolved to the widow belonged to the estate and was intended to remain under her ownership “during the term of her natural life.” When the enslaved were hired out of the estate for others’ use, the value of their work would be credited back to the estate, and their rental assignments would duly appear in the yearly ledger accounts. Delia, Jack, Renty, and Drana do not appear in these accounts, providing further evidence that they left the estate shortly after the will was first executed.

Where to turn to locate Delia, Jack, Renty, and Drana? Delia appears on the sixth page of the inventory below “Sam Blacksmith,” and, as Rogers notes in her book, she appears to be working beside Sam, a plantation blacksmith, and perhaps the two share a personal relationship (fig. 2.3). The will does not specifically assign Delia or Sam to a legatee, but it does request that enslaved families be preserved as much as possible and that the captives be distributed in five equal shares to Taylor’s children according to value. There are three “Jacks” in the inventory: “Driver Jack” is valued at \$300 on the first page, “Happy Jack” is appraised at \$800 on the third page, and “Dandy Jack” is similarly assessed at \$800 on the sixth page. Renty appears on page three with a value of \$100. Drana, it should be noted, is not listed in the 1852 slave inventory of Benjamin F. Taylor’s estate, nor have I discovered her name in the many related inventories for local planters and their relatives that I have reviewed; this suggests that either she was sold before 1852 and record of the sale has not been found, or that she perished at one of Taylor’s slave labor camps sometime between May 1850 and August 1852. She may have been buried in an unmarked grave in the slave section of the old Taylor family graveyard near the corner of Richland and Barnwell Streets in present-day Columbia.<sup>23</sup>

So far there is no further sign of Delia, Jack, and Renty. A review of the five other legatees is the next logical place to turn. Unfortunately, a careful audit of all extant property records for these five also yields no

Name	Appraised at
Esther	\$600.
Boze	\$600.
Paul	\$450.
Osby	\$300.
Jim	\$250.
Fred	\$177.
Jam Blacksmith	\$127.
Julia	\$67.
William	\$358.
Rubin	\$200.
L. Milton	\$117.

Figure 2.3.  
Slave inventory of Benjamin F.  
Taylor Estate, 1852 (detail)

helpful results. Only one thing can be known for certain from stalking this vapory trail: there is no direct record marking the presence of Delia, Jack, Renty, and Drana among Benjamin F. Taylor’s heirs.

So where to turn? Were Delia, Jack, and Renty sold in 1852? Taylor appears to have been aware of substantial debts at the time he made his will, noting, “I desire all my debts to be paid. . . . I hereby Empower and direct my Executors (to be hereafter named) to sell at public or private sale as they may deem best.” In his will, Taylor provided his executors, his sons Benjamin W. Taylor (1834–1905) and Thomas Taylor (1826–1903), ample latitude to sell undesignated property to meet obligations and to suit the stipulated divestment of his goods. It would make sense that, if sold, such a sale of a portion of the estate’s slaves would be private, or at least local. Letters among prominent families in the region disclose that planters like the Hamptons, Singletons, and Taylors bought and sold enslaved people to each other. However, I have not been able to discover any letters, bills of sale, or inventory accounts shedding light on a public sale of Delia, Jack, or Renty.

One clue to locating them may appear in the 1850 federal slave schedule for Richland County, South Carolina, where local planters operated their slave labor camps on the Congaree River, just outside of Columbia.<sup>24</sup> Here is where we find that one of the largest planters in the region, Sarah (“Sally”) C. Taylor (1774–1857), held property in immediate proximity to her brother-in-law Benjamin F. Taylor. According to this slave schedule, in 1850, the two Taylor plantations enslaved a comparable number of captives: 205

are recorded as being in the possession of Sarah C. Taylor, and 179 are listed as belonging to Benjamin F. Taylor. This may have to do with the original dispensation of slaves owned by the family patriarch, Thomas Taylor, Sr., whose 1832 will notes, “It is my will and desire that after the death of my wife [who died in 1834] all my negroes not otherwise disposed of in this will shall be equally divided between my sons Thomas, Jesse, and Benjamin and my daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sally Taylor [Sarah C. Taylor], the widow of my late son John Taylor, to each of whom I bequeath one fourth part thereof.”<sup>25</sup> This property was apportioned beginning in 1834.

The 1850 Arthur & Moore map of Columbia helps to illustrate the close tie between Sarah C. Taylor and Benjamin F. Taylor (fig. 2.4). In it, we can see that both held land with rich soil southwest of the city, abutting the Congaree River, where today the Founders Park baseball stadium and Granby Park stand. Significantly, in his will, Benjamin F. Taylor cites precisely this property, which he calls the Grub Field plantation, specifying that it is to be sold by his executors to meet his debt obligations: “That part of the Grub Field plantation (including the Mill and Mill Tract on Rocky Branch, and all the land lying North of the Mill Pond) which lies North of Granby Lane or the Road to Granby Ferry including also all the Town Lots

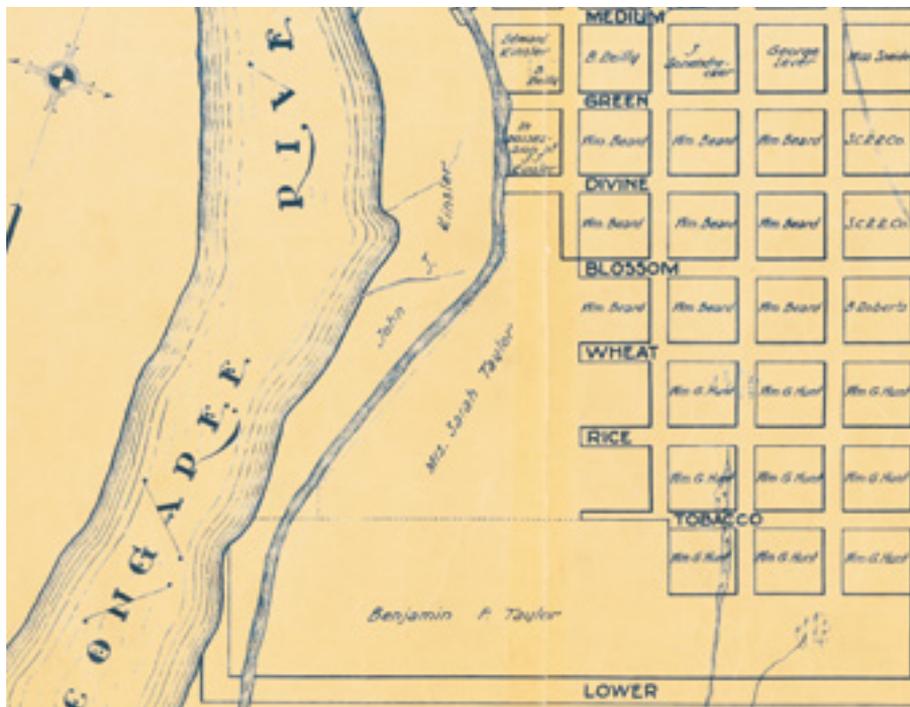


Figure 2.4.  
Map of Columbia, South Carolina, 1850 (detail)

and Street conveyed to me by the Superintendent of Public Works: that is to say up to William G. Hunt[']s farm and the Estate of Mrs. Sarah Taylor[']s Land on the west to the Town of Columbia.”<sup>26</sup> If Delia, Jack, and Renty were enslaved on this Taylor plantation in 1852, instead of on the Edge Hill plantation left to Benjamin F. Taylor’s widow, it would stand to reason that they were sold along with the property as stipulated in his will as a way to cover his debt. Although I have been unable to identify this sale among the account records, there is strong reason to believe that the executors sold these possessions just as they were specifically identified for sale by Benjamin F. Taylor. One wealthy slaveholder with good reason to purchase this adjacent plantation was Sarah C. Taylor. To trace Delia’s, Renty’s, and Jack’s whereabouts after 1852, she is the next best figure to haunt.

On March 17, 1793, Sarah Chesnut—the daughter of a wealthy Kershaw County planter—married John Taylor (1770–1832), the oldest son of Thomas Taylor, Sr., and changed her name to Sarah C. Taylor. John had returned to Columbia after graduating with top honors from Princeton University in 1790. In early 1793, he began work on the construction of a house on the corner of Laurel Hill and Assembly Streets, which was finished in time for his marriage and the start of his legal and political career that same year. The house held a clear vista of the river and the entire town all the way to the State House. Shortly after moving into his new home with his wife, Sarah, he began practicing law and later became the governor of South Carolina from 1826 to 1828. Along with his political career, John managed the plantation provided for him by his wealthy father, Thomas Taylor, Sr., which later devolved to Sarah, southwest of Columbia and near the banks of the Congaree.<sup>27</sup> John died in 1832. In 1852, Sarah seems to have extended these holdings by purchasing Benjamin F. Taylor’s Grub Field plantation. Examination of the probate records filed after her death in 1857 demonstrate that she acquired, in 1852, at least two and probably three of the enslaved individuals who appear in the 1850 Zealy daguerreotypes: Delia, Renty, and Jack (fig. 2.5).<sup>28</sup>

### *Renty and Delia*

Renty and Delia are relatively uncommon names among the enslaved held by members of the Taylor family. Across multiple plantations and generations, the names do not appear in duplicate, except for a few instances beyond the immediate Taylor holdings near Columbia. Since Sarah C. Taylor’s plantation adjoined Benjamin F. Taylor’s Grub Field plantation, it is reasonable to conclude that the Delia and Renty listed in Sarah C. Taylor’s 1857 slave inventory are the same Renty and Delia photographed by Joseph T. Zealy in 1850, identical to the Delia and Renty that are enumerated in Benjamin F. Taylor’s 1852 probate records. That is, Delia and Renty

Henry	400 00
Delia	300 00
Eve	200 00
Anthony	500 00

Sambo	300
Clarissa	250
Renty	500
George	650
Serina & Child	700

Judy & Child	600 00
Waney	275 00
Joe M. Minding	100 00
Dennis	700 00
Thel	600 00

Figure 2.5.  
Slave inventory of Sarah C.  
Taylor, 1857 (details)

almost certainly are the same enslaved individuals who worked on both plantations. With this in mind, we can extend what we know about the lives of those photographed by Zealy. Delia and Renty most likely served as enslaved workers on Benjamin F. Taylor’s Grub Field plantation just southwest of Columbia from at least 1850 to 1852. In 1852, they appear to have been purchased from Taylor’s estate by Benjamin’s sister-in-law, Sarah C. Taylor, to help satisfy outstanding debts owed by Benjamin F. Taylor’s estate. According to further probate records, Delia and Renty were held in bondage on Sarah C. Taylor’s plantation near the Congaree River (quite possibly extended with the purchase of the Grub Field plantation) from 1852 through 1857. They likely stayed on the same land when it passed to A. R. Taylor (1812–1888), one of Sarah’s sons, upon Sarah C. Taylor’s death in 1857 and through the estate settlement in 1859.<sup>29</sup>

With these clues in hand, there may be more to be gathered in family probate records. Some of the enslaved people on Benjamin F. Taylor’s Grub Field plantation and those on Sarah C. Taylor’s plantation may have originated together from the estate of the patriarch, Thomas Taylor, Sr., who

Inventory And Appraisement of the Estate of  
 Lt. Lieut. Col. Thomas Taylor Taken down and  
 appraised on the Thirteenth day of February 1834

To wit. in Families		Polly	2250	Peter Carpenter	1000
Lancho	160	Smart	460	Miguel	700
Joe	350	Miley	450	Liddy	500
John	600	Stephen	100	Elova	100
Harley	500	Doey	250	Big Katy	400
Nancy	350	Bick	300	Joe	100
June	350	Coate	600	Conary	200
Rhynah	250	Arey	350	Scipio	250
Ben	200	Peggy	300	Abby	250
Harriet Jane	100	Phely	300	Yellow Senow	600
Delia	500	Friday	200	Hyly	200
Lick	200	Cork	550	Peter	500
Old Lancho	100	William	550	Bob	350
Renty	300	April	500	Bella	100
Eady	300	Jack	500	Don	450
Witta	600	Fena	250	Pearny	650
Molly	500	Old Lew	600	Japhy	450
Cesar	600	Channy	400	Synda	250
Leha	250	Surry	600	Phably	200
Judy	100	Hoby	250	Ephraim	100
Stepny	600	Sam	500	Joby	500
Clary	200	Lucky	450	Hizthee	500
Isaac	400	Harry	300	Kitt	250
Liauna	350	George	400	Little Jack	400
Judy	150	Peggy	350	Juba	300
Bob (Congo)	400	Massey	450	Lucky	50
Netty	300	Abriet	250	Phasant	400
Betty	400	Frank	500	Jonow	600
Melia	300	Billy Jane	600	Abby	100
Anasaw	200	Sim	350	Joe	350
	10050	Judy	250	Tom	350
			12300	Harry	600
				Little Capone	1000
					11750

Figure 2.6.  
 "To Wit. in Families," slave inventory of  
 Thomas Taylor, Sr., February 13, 1834 (detail)

A handwritten list on aged paper showing the names of enslaved individuals and their corresponding values. The names are written in cursive, and the values are in numerals. Each name is followed by a horizontal line and then the value.

Renty	300
Eady	300
Hector	600
Molly	500
Caesar	600
Delia	250
July	100

Figure 2.7.  
“Renty and Delia’s Family,” slave  
inventory of Thomas Taylor, Sr.,  
February 13, 1834 (detail)

apportioned his property equally to Benjamin and Sarah. We can learn more about Delia’s, Renty’s, and Jack’s origins if we examine the property of the Taylor family patriarch. Indeed, the 1833 probate records for Thomas Taylor, Sr., include a slave inventory from February 13, 1834, after the patriarch’s death, that confirms that Delia and Renty began their service as slaves on the plantation of Thomas Taylor, Sr., and that they were father and daughter (fig. 2.6).

This very important record includes further information that bears heavily on the Zealy daguerreotypes, especially because the inventory was organized according to captive “families” as explicitly noted in the document. Renty was married at the time, or at least serving as the head of an enslaved household that paired him with a captive woman named Eady. According to the inventory, their daughter, Delia, was a young girl in 1834, helping place her age at the time of her photograph as mostly likely being in her early twenties. Delia had two older brothers, Hector and “Caesar” (Caesar), an older sister named Molly, and a younger sibling named July (fig. 2.7). Their enslaver sought to keep captive families intact when possible, and, in 1834, the family passed together into the estate of Benjamin F. Taylor. By the time they reappeared in the probate records as part of the 1852 inventory of Benjamin’s estate, Delia’s mother, Eady, had either died or been sold away from the family. The rest of the family remained intact between 1833 and 1852, most likely on Taylor’s Grub Field plantation. Then they became the property of Sarah C. Taylor. By the time Delia and Renty passed into the possession of Sarah C. Taylor in 1852, only Delia, Renty, and Molly remained from their nuclear family. Eady, Hector, Caesar, and July had all parted the scene due to death, forced separation, or, less likely, escape.

*Jack and Drana*

What about the captive identified as “Jack (driver)” in the daguerreotypes? There is a Jack listed in Thomas Taylor, Sr.’s 1834 slave inventory, but he appears to have been a member of an American-born slave family consisting of parents and siblings “Friday, Cork, William, April, and Lena.” With an established value of \$500 even as a child, this Jack seems to be a native of South Carolina. The Jack and Drana father-daughter pair from the Zealy daguerreotypes do not appear to descend from the estate of Thomas Taylor, Sr., as Delia and Renty did.

But there remains a strong possibility that the man identified as “Jack (driver)” in the Zealy daguerreotypes is the Jack later listed in Sarah C. Taylor’s slave inventory of 1857, suggesting that he passed into the estate, alongside Delia and Renty, from Benjamin F. Taylor’s holdings. Like Delia and Renty, no subsequent inventory among Taylor’s legatees turns up a Jack that is noted to be of direct African descent. The “Happy” Jack and the “Dandy” Jack that were so highly valued among Benjamin F. Taylor’s inventory were sold to other enslavers, leaving the “Jack—Mindingo [*sic*],” cited in Sarah C. Taylor’s inventory, as a compelling candidate for the “Driver Jack” who was appraised at \$300 in the Taylor inventory five years earlier (fig. 2.8).

If the Jack identified as both “Jack (driver)” in the daguerreotypes from 1850 and “Driver Jack” in Benjamin F. Taylor’s inventory from 1852 are one and the same as the “Jack—Mindingo” in Sarah C. Taylor’s inventory from 1857, it is powerfully ironic that the classification of his “origin” changed from “Guinea” in 1850 to “Mandingo” in 1857. There is a possible explanation for this: We know that Louis Agassiz was likely challenged by either Jack, Drana, or Fassena during his Columbia interviews that accompanied the daguerreotype sessions. In July 1850, Agassiz notes of his Columbia experience, “The writer has of late devoted special attention to

Name	Appraised at
Swim Jack	\$300.
Liddy	\$200.
Tom	\$800.
Jacob	\$400.
Peter	\$200.
Lucky	\$200.
Edward	\$500.

Figure 2.8.  
Slave inventory of Benjamin F. Taylor  
Estate, August 6, 1852 (detail)

[discerning African types], and has examined closely many native Africans belonging to different tribes, and has learned readily to distinguish their nations, without being told whence they came; and when they attempted to deceive him, he could determine their origin from their physical features.”<sup>30</sup> It could well be that Jack contradicted Agassiz’s “scientific” assessment that he was “Guinea” and that Jack instead attributed his origins to the Mandinka tribe in present-day Mali—or “Mandingo” in the enslavers’ terms. The 1857 inventory may be correct. The lie behind Agassiz’s science echoes back even among the controlling property records of whites.<sup>31</sup>

## *Jem*

Using Gibbes’s notation on Jem’s daguerreotype (“Jem Gullah belonging to F. W. Green, Esq.”), Rogers traced Jem to Frederick W. Green (1800–1881), whom she describes as “a mechanic from Massachusetts who lived in Columbia and seems to have owned the Red Bank Cotton Factory in Lexington, South Carolina.”<sup>32</sup> From this biographical notation, Rogers suggests that Jem lived in the city and worked as an enslaved mechanic or artisan, perhaps serving, at times, thirteen miles away at the Red Bank Cotton Factory in Lexington. A closer examination of the historical records confirms some of Rogers’s conjectures, while correcting others.

Jem was, indeed, enslaved by Frederick W. Green, and he resided in Columbia in 1850. Of the twenty-two unnamed but enumerated captives in the 1850 slave schedule (fig. 2.9), Jem was most likely the one listed as being sixty years old, an age fitting to the late-middle-aged man who appears in Zealy’s 1850 photograph. As noted on the document, the slave schedule was produced in “The Town of Columbia” on October 24, 1850, roughly four months after the sitting at Zealy’s studio, so it is reasonable to conclude that Jem was still enslaved by Green. The next closest-aged male in the listing was thirty-six years old. It is safe to assume that the sixty-year-old slave listed in the schedule is the man identified as “Jem” in the 1850 daguerreotype.<sup>33</sup>

Further information can be traced to help bring Jem into clearer view. Frederick W. Green was indeed from Massachusetts, and he settled in Columbia sometime before 1826, when he married Sarah Briggs (1811–1874), the daughter of the engineer and bridge-builder William Briggs (1791–1828). There is a very good chance that bridge-building is what brought the young mechanic to the South before 1826, where Frederick W. Green may have assisted his future father-in-law in the construction of the Congaree and Saluda River bridges. Green married Sarah Briggs on July 31, 1828, in Columbia, shortly before the untimely death of his father-in-law, William Briggs, on November 9, 1828.<sup>34</sup> Like Green, William Briggs owned captives whom he must have employed as laborers and mechanics on his building projects. Briggs did not leave a will, but his probate records show the sale of

1	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	2	DESCRIPTION.			6	7	8
			3	4	5			
		Number of Slaves.	Age.	Sex.	Colour.	Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf & dumb, blind, insane or idiotic.
1	Frederick W. Green	1	16	F	W			
2		1	13	F	W			
3		1	11	F	W			
4		1	9	M	W			
5		1	7	M	W			
6		1	4	M	W			
7		1	2	M	W			
8		1	38	F	B			
9	20	1	12	F	B			
10		1	60	M	B			
11		1	21	M	B			
12		1	36	M	B			
13		1	32	M	B			
14		1	31	M	B			

Figure 2.9. "Town of Columbia, District of Richland County, South Carolina," slave schedule for Frederick W. Green, 1850 (detail)

his property, including the purchase by Green of an enslaved man named John for \$450, along with tools and household items. Interestingly enough, “J. Lomas,” the enslaver of Alfred, discussed below, also bought tools at the sale.<sup>35</sup>

Names included in both the 1850 Town of Columbia federal census and the 1850 slave schedule closely matched the 1850 Arthur & Moore map of Columbia noted earlier. These records suggest that Frederick W. Green’s human property, including Jem, lived close to the family residence, probably in slave cabins built near the property. Although Green was listed in the 1850 census as “Mechanic,” a term typical for engineers during this period, at some point he must have transitioned to working as a physician and an apothecary. The local memoirist Edwin J. Scott supports this assumption in the eighth chapter of his *Random Recollections of a Long Life*: “At the corner across Lady street was then, or soon after, a drug store owned by Dr. Sam Green and kept by Dr. F. W. Green, recently deceased, and still later by Dr. Samuel Percival. Dr. F. W. Green’s wife was a daughter of Wm. Briggs, the builder of the Columbia Bridge.”<sup>36</sup> Whether by 1850 Frederick W. Green was a practicing mechanic or a physician and apothecary, he would have known Robert W. Gibbes well, since Gibbes’s home was three blocks north on Sumter, and his office was two blocks southeast on Pendleton Street (fig. 2.10). Gibbes would have had cause to walk by Frederick W. Green’s house daily on his way to work.

Rogers’s conjecture that Frederick W. Green owned the Red Bank Cotton Factory in Lexington and that Jem may have worked there is a misreading of the primary documents. The source for this confusion has to do with the loose language used by Scott, who wrote, “Dr. Green built the Red Bank Cotton Factory in Lexington, which is in successful operation and gives employment to forty or fifty hands.” This misinterpretation has to do with the fact that Scott writes simultaneously in that paragraph about two Dr. Greens: according to this account, “Dr. Sam Green” owned the drugstore that “Dr. Frederick W. Green” kept in Columbia.<sup>37</sup> In fact, records for the Red Bank Manufacturing Company demonstrate that the factory in Lexington was not erected until 1873 and that Dr. Sam Green served as its first superintendent upon the factory’s construction.<sup>38</sup>

If Jem did not work as a cotton factory hand, he almost certainly did serve as a mechanic and an artisan. Evidence traceable to his enslavers suggests that around the time of his photograph in 1850, Jem served as a mechanic on one of the many building projects initiated in that busy decade of construction for the relatively new capital of South Carolina.<sup>39</sup> It is reasonable to believe that Jem, who was living in the city’s slave quarters and was enslaved by a man engaged in the building trade, served as part of Green’s work gang. He was sixty years old, well experienced, and likely an important, if unacknowledged, part of the city’s growth from its very inception. From the bridges spanning the Congaree and Saluda Rivers to the



racetracks raised by horse enthusiasts like Wade Hampton II and Benjamin F. Taylor, from the rising churches of varying denominations to the expanding public works of government and education and various canal projects, enslaved and talented laborers like Jem built Columbia.

### *Alfred and Fassena*

“Alfred. Foulah. Belonging to J. [I.?] Lomas, Columbia S.C.” is the note Gibbes appended to the daguerreotypes depicting another middle-aged enslaved man, this time considered to be Fulani. The Fulani people resided in a broad region of West Africa inhabited by pastoral and nomadic tribes who kept separate from other ethnic groups. No scholarship has been conducted yet uncovering more about this particular photographed man. As Rogers notes, “Alfred was a slave of I. (or J.) Lomas, about whom little is known.”<sup>40</sup>

There is a record in the 1850 census of the English-born “engineer” John Lomas (1800–ca. 1905), who lived near Columbia in Richland County. No listing appears for Lomas in the 1850 slave schedules for Richland County or Columbia. The 1830 United States federal census does record Lomas in Columbia with nine captives, including two enslaved males between the ages of twenty-four and thirty-five, and two males between the ages of thirty-six and fifty-four. One of these noted figures could reasonably be Alfred from the daguerreotype.

Lomas does not appear among the names of property owners dwelling in Columbia in the 1850 Arthur & Moore map of Columbia (see figs. 2.4 and 2.10), although he appears among the account records of Benjamin F. Taylor’s estate during the 1850s. An 1850 non-population schedule shows that on October 1, 1850, Lomas was farming at least 150 acres of “improved” land, where he harvested mostly corn, near Wade Hampton II’s property. Of his holdings, Lomas held an impressive amount of “unimproved” land, 1,350 acres, that was probably not cultivated for crops but that represents significant ownership. His livestock included one horse, seven mules, three “milch” cows, fifteen cattle, and eight pigs, demonstrating the moderate size of his operations.<sup>41</sup> A probable case is that Lomas, lightly traced in all these documents, was the enslaver of Alfred and that he came to the attention of Robert W. Gibbes through the agency of his neighbor Wade Hampton II.

Unlike Alfred, Fassena can be closely traced in his enslaver’s records. Identified by Gibbes as “Fassena (carpenter) Mandingo, Plantation of Col. Wade Hampton,” Fassena can be traced back to the portion of the Woodlands plantation Wade Hampton II received as his slice of Wade Hampton I’s property, which he inherited in 1835. When Wade Hampton II died and his estate was divided among his heirs in 1858, he provided his youngest son, C. Frank Hampton (1829–1863), with 625 acres of the Woodlands plantation and a large portion of his human property, including

Fassena. Fassena made his last appearance in the records of his enslavers when he was listed in C. Frank Hampton's 1863 probate records as part of an extensive slave inventory produced on August 7, 1863, in which his name was spelled "Facina" by the recorder (fig. 2.11).<sup>42</sup>

Listed as being seventy years old in 1863, Fassena's birth date can be confidently placed in or near 1793, which means he was approximately fifty-seven years old when Zealy took his daguerreotype in 1850. Valued at "\$000" in the 1863 assessment, it seems reasonable to consider him close to the end of his life, or at least not active any longer as a practicing carpenter on the plantation. Later records suggest that Fassena lived beyond his seventy-second year at the Woodlands plantation until it was burned in 1865. If he did, his liberation would have come at the hands of General William Tecumseh Sherman, who burned down the Woodlands plantation house, as well as Wade Hampton II's splendid Millwood mansion, on which Fassena must have worked extensively during its construction in the 1830s.

	Age	Value
1. Cyrus (Cyrus)	30 hand defective	1200
2. Judy	18	1500
3. Sarah	7	750
4. Isaac	5	500
5. Prims	40	700
6. Maria	70	000
7. Gynen	27	2500
8. Matilda	22	2000
9. Kate	45	100
10. Sylvia	70	000
11. Judy	40	300
12. Affy	10	1500
13. Rachal	17	2000
14. Dennis	7 months	
15. Randal	11	1200
16. Facina	70	000
17. Henry	40	100
18. Labe	17 cartunk	3000

Figure 2.11.  
Slave inventory of C. Frank Hampton,  
August 7, 1863 (detail)



Figure 2.12.  
Millwood plantation ruins, 1970

The family legend holds that Sherman personally made sure of these two arsons. His friend General Philip H. Sheridan, whose cavalry had been badly defeated by Wade Hampton III (1818–1902) and his troops at Trevilian Station near Richmond, requested the destruction: “When you get to Columbia,” Sheridan pleaded, “be sure to burn that damn Hampton’s house.”<sup>43</sup>

If Fassena was liberated on that day, it is heartbreaking to think that much of his most gifted work went up in flames, with him as a possible audience for its destruction (fig. 2.12). What a mixed experience of joy and horror the sight would have held for the seventy-two-year-old carpenter on the verge of his freedom from earthly toil.

## Cultivation

I spent many months poring over documents in the South Caroliniana Library in Columbia to develop the factual material behind the first and second sections of this essay. Like others exploring the history of prominent Columbia-area planters, I, too, walked past the monument to Preston S. Brooks built into the wall leading to the staircase to the main reading room. I took it as a warning. The monument reads, “A Tribute of Tenderness to the memory of Preston S. Brooks,” who “Gallantly has bourne himself in the Council Chambers of the Nation and won the applause of his constituents.”

On May 22, 1856, Brooks nearly beat to death Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, a champion of abolitionism. “I struck him with my cane and gave him about 30 first rate stripes with a gutta-percha cane,” Brooks explained in a letter carefully preserved among his papers not far from the memorial. “Every lick went where I intended,” he observed. Surprised by the first few blows, Sumner was unable to slide out from his chair and desk, bolted to the floor of the United States Senate. Pinned in place, he was helpless. “For about the first five of six licks he offered to make fight but I plied him so rapidly that he did not touch me. Towards the last he bellowed like a calf.”<sup>44</sup> For this violence, Brooks became a hero in the South.<sup>45</sup>

Every day I passed Brooks’s memorial, I felt inspired to recover the stories of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. I wanted to counter the violence of men like Brooks. In one of his few recorded speeches to Congress (also carefully preserved among his papers), the South Carolina representative reprised the doctrine that the “African” was incapable of self-government and that slavery “has been the greatest blessing to the country,” for it had acted as a conservative check against fanatical movements, like abolitionism, that threatened to convulse the nation in a “social explosion.” “Half-bred” people would be the beginning of not only the destruction of slavery, but of all private property, government, religion, and family.<sup>46</sup>

The arguments that resounded then still resonated in the life I experienced beyond the archive. Brooks would have gloried in it: hate speech leveled at forced migrants, racially incendiary “news” programming, and the bitter oratory of policymakers seeking to advance xenophobic laws that Brooks, too, would have championed. On June 17, 2015, six women and three men at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, were murdered by a white supremacist who hoped to instigate a racial war.<sup>47</sup> And, of course, the gestation of this chapter in the years from 2014 to 2018 saw the police executions of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Walter Scott, Sandra Bland, Tamir Rice, Alton Sterling, and Philando Castile, among others. When I found myself walking past the Brooks monument only to run into the same dead end of history, I knew that I had to keep digging. In the face of the violent legacy of this stone, I felt compelled to dislodge at least a part of the story of white supremacy that helped to set the stone in place.

In a folder housed just above the Brooks monument, and in a file kept in a box not far from Brooks’s papers, I found an important lever that I could use to unsettle some of this history. I wanted to tell more of the biographical experiences of those photographed by Zealy, but to do so I needed access to precisely what enslavers had suppressed: the physical conditions and personal stories of those compelled to suffer. I had gathered as many of the recoverable facts as possible about the seven subjects behind the daguerreotypes; and still—except for a glimpse between the lines of Webster’s letters—I could not reconstruct their daily experience.

Or could I? I was aware of three important slave narratives detailing slave experiences in the region: Charles Ball's *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man* (1837) and *Fifty Years in Chains; or, the Life of an American Slave* (1859), and Jacob Stroyer's *My Life in the South* (1885). Both men escaped from slavery in Columbia's Sandhill district and wrote narratives about their experiences. What remains uncertain is how closely the experiences that Ball and Stroyer recorded connect to Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Scholars have written extensively on Ball and Stroyer, but they do little to precisely locate their activities. This was partly by design. As Ball noted, "I have been advised, by those whom I believe to be my friends, not to disclose the true names of any of those families in which I was a slave, in Carolina or Georgia, lest this narrative should meet their eyes, and in some way lead them to a discovery of my retreat."<sup>48</sup> In his tour-de-force account of Ball's life, the historian Edward E. Baptist remains circumspect about geography, noting only that Ball worked on Hampton I's "Congaree" plantation "near the Congaree River."<sup>49</sup> In fact, Ball served on Wade Hampton I's Woodlands plantation roughly eight miles southwest of Columbia.<sup>50</sup> And the literary historian Susanna Ashton follows Stroyer's own words placing Stroyer at an unnamed Singleton plantation "twenty-eight miles southeast of Columbia."<sup>51</sup> The difficulty in using Ball and Stroyer's narratives, then, hinges on the uncertainty about how directly their experiences reflect those of the Zealy subjects. But the more I uncovered about the lives of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty, the more these narratives seemed to converge with the daguerreotypes. After all, Fassena worked as a carpenter on the same Woodlands plantation where Ball was enslaved.

Of all the sources I have used to pinpoint the Taylor and Hampton families' holdings, Virginia Gurley Meynard's monograph *The Venturers: The Hampton, Harrison, and Earle Families of Virginia, South Carolina, and Texas* (1981) proved the most useful. On one of my many visits to the South Caroliniana Library, I became aware that Meynard's papers were also housed in the collection and that not only were her working notes gathered here, but there were also "twenty-six county maps" used to delineate the Hampton, Harrison, and Earle properties. I hoped that when I passed Brooks's monument this time, I would come a little closer to Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty.

The first folder I opened confirmed my sleuthing: a giant, hand-drawn land survey conducted on March 22, 1845, showed Benjamin F. Taylor's Grub Field plantation and Sarah C. Taylor's plantation abutting Hampton's Woodlands and Millwood properties (figs. 2.13 and 2.14).<sup>52</sup> Also bordering Benjamin F. Taylor's property is the plantation of John C. Singleton, the older brother of Matthew R. Singleton, Jacob Stroyer's enslaver. In his slave narrative, Stroyer writes at length about visiting his



Figure 2.13.  
Survey of Wade Hampton II's  
12,173-acre property, 1845



**Figure 2.14.**  
 Survey showing Benjamin F. Taylor's  
 Grub Field plantation and Mrs. Sarah C.  
 Taylor's plantation abutting Wade  
 Hampton II's Woodlands and  
 Millwood properties, 1845 (detail)

sisters at John C. Singleton's plantation that stood on the border of Grub Field. The 1845 survey clearly meets its purpose—it delineates Colonel Wade Hampton II's holdings near Columbia (12,173 acres that year). But it does so much more, too. Commissioned by James S. Guignard, the same man who recorded the names and assessed the value of Delia, Renty, Drana, and Jack for Taylor's 1852 slave inventory, this map provides a detailed drawing of the physical environment where Taylor's and Hampton's slaves toiled. The map also brings into immediate proximity the life stories of Charles Ball and Jacob Stroyer, inviting their direct use for reconstructing the life and times of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty.<sup>53</sup>

Other papers collected by Virginia Gurley Meynard unlock further important details. Among the unpublished papers collected in Meynard's file are private essays written by Wade Hampton II's grandson, Harry R. E. Hampton, such as "Hampton Houses," "The Haskell Place," "About the General," and "The Second Wade." Here I found not only information clarifying the location and physical description of the Hampton properties of Millwood and Woodlands, but also details pinpointing the site of the Grub Field plantation and discussions of the Edge Hill plantation, the Taylor property mistakenly associated with the Zealy daguerreotypes. Meynard's file also included extensive research and sources about Hampton's stables and the portraits he had commissioned of his horses, which he prominently displayed in the main hall at Millwood. These

details furnish much of the narrative that I reconstruct for the closing sections of this chapter.

The key point is this: The Zealy subjects inhabited an immediate environment that was recorded by other captives—namely, Charles Ball and, later, Jacob Stroyer—that they, or their families, would have encountered. What is more, Ball and Stroyer left extensive narratives relating their experiences of forced migration and work in the fields that would have been familiar to Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. This means that, besides the Zealy daguerreotypes and the factual data collected in the “Seeds” section of this essay, we also hold first-person accounts of enslaved service in the same neighborhood that engaged the energies and passions of those photographed by Zealy. In the first and second sections, I took apart the framing devices that silenced the Zealy subjects. With the help of Ball and Stroyer, we can now reconstruct these materials to more firmly draw out the figures behind the portraits. Additional archival work, paired with the narratives of Ball and Stroyer, casts new light on the lives and times of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty.

## Settlements

In his narrative, Ball details, at length, the “negro quarters” where he and Fassena lived, and which would have been the central locus of African American life for others living in this neighborhood, including Alfred, Delia, Drana, Jack, and Renty. About a quarter of a mile from the two-story brick Woodlands mansion, there stood the huts, or cabins, of the plantation captives, or field hands, “standing in rows; much like the Indian villages which I have seen in the country of the Cherokees.” Ball notes, “these cabins were thirty-eight in number; generally about fifteen or sixteen feet square; built of hewn logs; covered with shingles, and provided with floors of pine boards.” Two hundred and fifty people, “of all ages, sexes, and sizes,” occupied thirty-eight cabins.<sup>54</sup>

One hundred yards away from the cabins stood the house of the overseer, “a small two story log building, with a yard and garden attached to it.”<sup>55</sup> The settlement, or quarters, that housed Benjamin F. Taylor’s Grub Field workers would have been a similar affair, if smaller. Webster glimpsed both quarters in 1847, noting, “The ‘settlement’ or ‘negro quarter,’ or huts in which the negroes live, are better or worse according to the ability or pleasure of the proprietor. Sometimes they are miserable straggling log hovels. On the larger and better conducted estates, they are tolerably decent boarded houses, standing along in a row. These are near the plantations, but not always near the mansion of the owner.”<sup>56</sup>

Robert Mills’s 1825 map of the region shows these same settlements twenty years before Webster noted them (fig. 2.15). As five different sources



environment, duly noted in the descriptions of the Hampton settlements. Although we do not have the same abundance of records to assist us for Benjamin F. Taylor's Grub Field plantation where four of the seven Zealy subjects lived (Delia, Drana, Jack, and Renty), it is safe to assume that their material environment is likewise reflected in what has been preserved for the Hampton holdings.

As the 1845 survey demonstrates, Taylor's Grub Field plantation stood right across from the Mill Pond and the primary settlements of those enslaved at Woodlands and Millwood. An 1850 tax record demonstrates that Taylor ran a water-propelled grist mill on nearby Mill Pond, just like Hampton, although the value (in 1850) was only one tenth of Hampton's, demonstrating that it was a much smaller operation.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, it should be noted that the Zealy subjects residing on the settlement at Grub Field may have suffered even more degraded circumstances, if Webster's observations in this neighborhood are applicable to Taylor. In the first section of this essay, we glimpsed the labor that was conducted in these fields as reflected through the eyes of Daniel Webster. Charles Ball's description of his first day serving on the same fields adjacent to the Grub Field plantation provides a more intimate sense of the life and times of most of the Zealy subjects—this time written from the perspective of the enslaved.

## Labor

"The next morning I was waked, at the break of day, by the sound of a horn, which was blown very loudly," Ball observes. He stumbled out of the hut to which he had been assigned and came toward the entrance gate, where the overseer stood, sounding the alarm. "As it was now light enough for me distinctly to see such objects as were about me," Ball notes, "I at once perceived the nature of the servitude to which I was, in future, to be subject."<sup>59</sup> Benjamin F. Taylor's overseer, Robert P. Dunsford, likely practiced a similar morning routine just across the Mill Pond at Taylor's Grub Field plantation.

In the just-visible light, nearly 170 enslaved men and women miserably assembled. The long line of mostly naked men, women, and children trudged nearly a mile behind the overseer, past already tended cotton fields, to the "place of our intended day's labour."<sup>60</sup> They were almost certainly traveling through the 2,400-acre Woodlands cotton and corn fields south of Bluff Road that Webster witnessed in 1847—by then intersected by the South Carolina Railroad—that were also duly noted in the 1845 survey of the property. Even today, this land is rich and prosperously cultivated, although it presents nothing like the cleared vista of open cotton fields Ball would have observed in 1806 (fig. 2.16).

Ball provides a glimpse of how the Zealy photographic subjects must have passed the majority of their days: Each person had to chop all the

weeds in their row without damaging the cotton plants. After they arrived in the field, the workers were reminded not to fall behind the “driver,” a role that Jack, who worked in the nearby fields of Benjamin F. Taylor, also held. “Each of the men and women had to take one row; and two, and in some cases where they were very small, three of the children had one.” For Ball’s unit, the driver’s name was Simon, “a stout, strong man, apparently about thirty-five years of age.” Ball understood that “the overseer had nothing to do but to keep Simon hard at work, and he was certain that all the others must work equally hard.” As he observed, “The overseer with his whip in his hand, walked about the field after us, to see that our work was well done.”<sup>61</sup> Ball kept his hoe moving, learning to increase his speed. Jack and his overseer, Dunsford, would have followed a similar system in Taylor’s nearby fields.

The women, Ball noted, carried their young children in their arms to the field and then set them at the “side of the fence, or under the shade of the cotton plants” while they worked. One young woman did not leave her infant like the others, Ball noted, but instead had contrived “a sort of rude knapsack, made of a piece of coarse linen cloth, in which she fastened her child, which was very young, upon her back.”<sup>62</sup> She carried the child all day in this way, performing her tasks with the hoe like the others. Delia and Drana could well have experienced motherhood in a similar fashion. In 1850,



**Figure 2.16.**  
Gregg Hecimovich, Site of 1,600-  
acre cotton field where Charles Ball  
described tending cotton, 2016

the year they were photographed, both young women were at an age when enslaved women were expected and sometimes compelled to bear children.

By degrees the shadows lengthened from the trees on the western border of the field, then light began to drain from the sky, and still the enslaved men and women worked, long after Ball anticipated the call to cease. “We worked in the evening as long as we could distinguish the weeds from the cotton plants.” Finally, in near darkness, the overseer called a halt.<sup>63</sup>



There were other duties besides fieldwork required of the figures captured in the Zealy daguerreotypes. For instance, in the 1852 inventory of Benjamin F. Taylor’s estate, as I noted, Delia is listed under the slave Sam, who is cited as a “blacksmith.” The quotation marks next to Delia’s name invite the speculation that Delia, too, worked in the smithy. The 1850 Non-Slave Census Schedule record for Richland County cites all taxable mechanical works that operated for a profit in the region. It does not list anything beyond a grist mill under Benjamin F. Taylor, or the other Taylor family members mentioned in the census. The case was different for Jacob Stroyer’s enslaver, Matthew R. Singleton (1834–1854), who did record external profit from a smithy that he operated outside of Columbia, which was probably attached to his brother’s plantation southwest of the Woodlands and Grub Field plantations.<sup>64</sup> But we will return to the Singleton-Stroyer connection later on.

The most likely scenario for Delia is that she assisted Sam at the on-site smithy that served only the direct needs of the Taylor plantation. This would have included the maintenance and repair of plowshares; the grinding and sharpening of ax heads; and the forging and fitting of shoes, chains, and metal implements for the plantation’s horses and mules. The Hampton plantation, too, did not operate a smithy for profit beyond producing metalworks for the holding. For Sam and Delia, then, specifically, their blacksmithing would have included making mechanical works for seventeen horses, nineteen mules, and \$750 worth of plows and plates that required continual maintenance for nearly ceaseless duty. In addition, their smithy would have been responsible for repairing equipment associated with the cotton gin and grist mill used to prepare cotton for sale and to grind the corn for the plantation.<sup>65</sup>

But even if Delia’s work included the provisional duties of smithy work in support of the plantation’s farming implements, grist mill, and cotton gin, her primary labor would have been devoted to the grueling cotton harvest. Non-Slave Census Schedules record the specific yield for Taylor’s 1,400-acre plantation for the same year as the Zealy daguerreotypes. In 1850, Delia, Drana, Jack, Jem, and Renty toiled to help assemble 1,500 bales

of clean ginned and packaged cotton ready for export. With each bale weighing at least 400 pounds, that is an astounding 600,000 pounds of market-ready cotton in one year.<sup>66</sup>

The presence of a cotton gin, listed among the items in Taylor's inventory, suggests that the slaves probably also maintained Taylor's ginning operation, just as the nearby Hampton plantation did. "At a short distance beyond the garden of the overseer stood a large building," Ball notes of the Hampton gin, "constituting the principal feature in the landscape of every great cotton plantation. This was the house, containing the cotton-gin; and the sheds to contain the cotton when brought from the field in the seed; and also the bales, after being pressed and prepared for market."<sup>67</sup> If Taylor's captives operated such a gin, as the record of cotton production suggests, Ball provides a glimpse of what its operation would entail: "[The gin consisted] of a wooden cylinder, about six or eight feet in length, surrounded at very short intervals, with small circular saws in such a manner that as the cylinder is turned rapidly round, by a leather strap on the end, similar to a turner's lathe, the teeth of the saws, in turning over, continually cut downwards in front of the cylinder, which is placed close to a long hopper, extending the whole length of the cylinder, and so close to it that the seeds of the cotton cannot pass between them."<sup>68</sup>

Enslaved carpenters, like Fassena, must have labored part of their time in operating the gin (Fassena almost certainly used the very same machine that Ball describes, in fact). Ball continues detailing the procedure: "The cylinder revolves with almost inconceivable rapidity" with one end of the cylinder and the hopper slightly elevated so that the seeds would be stripped from the wool, and after being "as perfectly divested of the cotton as they could be by the most careful picking with the fingers," gradually the seeds would move toward the lower end and "drop down into a heap." Cogs and wheels, powered by the current captured from Gill Creek, created the revolving motion of the cylinders, just as they did for the nearby Taylor and Hampton grist mills. The dangers of tending such machinery was great: "It is necessary to be very careful in working about a cotton-gin," Ball notes, especially when removing the seeds from the saws. If one of the saws "but touch the hand the injury is very great." He continues, "I knew a black man who had all the sinews of the inner part of his right hand torn out—some of them measuring more than a foot in length—and the flesh of his palm cut into tatters, by carelessly putting his hand too near the saws, when they were in motion, for the idle purpose of feeling the strength of the current of air created by the motions of the cylinder." The value of such a ginning operation was readily apparent to those who worked these machines. Ball observes, "A good gin will clean several thousand pounds of cotton, in the seed, in a day."<sup>69</sup> Those thousands and thousands of pounds of cotton were the fulcrum upon which the rest of the plantation operation leveraged the lives of the enslaved.

## Separation

If Ball's narrative brings to light some of the labor practiced by Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty, Jacob Stroyer's memoir provides a glimpse into the personal loss they most likely experienced, including the disappearance of Delia's siblings, Hector, Caesar, and July. In Stroyer's memoir, published in 1885, he recounts the circumstances that led to his separation from his sisters, Violet and Priscilla Stroyer: "John Singleton had a place about twenty miles from master's, and master used to send him slaves to pick cotton. At one time my master, Col. M[atthew] R. Singleton, sent my two sisters, Violet and Priscilla, to his brother John, and while they were there they married two of the men on his place. By mutual consent master allowed them to remain on his brother's place."<sup>70</sup> As the 1845 land survey shows, Stroyer and his sisters would have resided directly next door to Benjamin F. Taylor's holdings. Based on this fact, it is reasonable to conjecture that, since they were near the same age, Delia and her siblings may have known Stroyer's sisters, Violet and Priscilla (fig. 2.17).

However, as Stroyer recounts, after his sisters' permanent installation at the Singleton plantation, the area experienced a flood, "as is often the case in the South at the time of the May freshets," or what is "known in the North as high tides."<sup>71</sup> He records that one of these freshets swept away the slave settlement on Singleton's property and greatly damaged his crop. "Since he owed a great deal of money his slaves had to be sold." Stroyer recounts that his sisters were purchased by a Mr. Manning, known as one of "the greatest slave traders in the South." J. L. Manning, the former governor of South Carolina, purchased Stroyer's sisters and then sought to move them south to Louisiana for sale in the most profitable market for enslaved labor, the deep Southwest. Louisiana, as Stroyer observes, was "considered by the slaves a place of slaughter, so those who were going did not expect to see their friends again."<sup>72</sup>

Stroyer describes the experience of watching his sisters and the others on the day of their departure, compelled by Manning's overseer. When the day came for them to leave, some refused and were "handcuffed together and guarded on their way to the cars by white men." Stroyer describes how his sisters and other "women and children were driven to the [train] depot . . . like so many cattle," and the sight of them caused "great excitement" among the other enslaved people in the region. "Imagine a mass of uneducated people shedding tears and yelling at the top of their voices in anguish."<sup>73</sup> One can envision a similar scene for the loss of Delia's siblings, Hector, Caesar, and July. We know Taylor experienced financial hardship on his Grub Field plantation, and it could well be that the "freshets" that swept away the slave settlement on Singleton's property also forced the separation of Delia's siblings, who disappeared from area census and probate records around the same time as the sale of Stroyer's sisters.

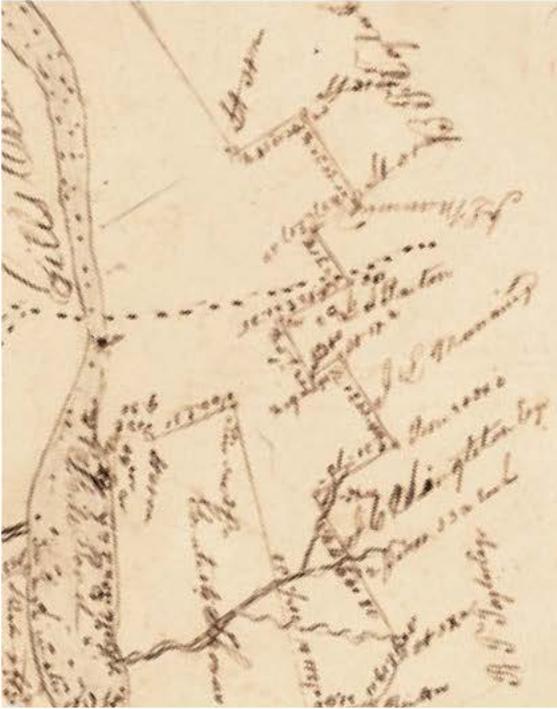


Figure 2.17.  
Survey showing the proximity of  
John C. Singleton and J. L. Manning  
plantations to Benjamin F. Taylor's  
Grub Field plantation, 1845 (detail)

As Stroyer notes, “The victims were to take the cars at a station called Clarkson turnout. . . . The excitement was so great that the overseer and driver could not control the relatives and friends of those that were going away, as a large crowd of both old and young went down to the depot to see them off.”<sup>74</sup> Stroyer records that while they were passing along “many of the negroes left their masters’ fields and joined us as we marched to the cars; some were yelling and wringing their hands, while others were singing little hymns.”<sup>75</sup> The hymns, Stroyer observes, were those the enslaved had been “accustomed” to singing to console those that were going away, such as:

When we all meet in heaven,  
There is no parting there;  
When we all meet in heaven,  
There is parting no more.<sup>76</sup>

Stroyer concludes, “As the cars moved away we heard the weeping and wailing from the slaves as far as human voice could be heard; and from that time to the present I have neither seen nor heard from my two sisters, nor any of those who left Clarkson depot on that memorable day.”<sup>77</sup> It is almost certain that Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty suffered similar separations from their loved ones.

## Portraiture

In late March 1850, following in the footsteps of Daniel Webster, the celebrated naturalist Louis Agassiz visited Columbia, lodging not at the Hampton-Preston House, as Webster did, but instead with Robert W. Gibbes at his large mansion occupying the corner of Hampton Street and Sumter Street, near South Carolina College. This location was convenient for Agassiz when he lectured at South Carolina College during his stay. What interested Agassiz most was the opportunity to physically examine African slaves and their African American offspring, specimens Gibbes could procure as a physician to the major planters near the city, including Benjamin F. Taylor, Wade Hampton II, and others. It just so happened that these slaveholders possessed such specimens: Taylor held Delia, Renty, Drana, and Jack; John Lomas enslaved Alfred; F. W. Green “owned” Jem; and Hampton controlled Fassena. Gibbes reported these visits in a letter written on March 31, shortly after Agassiz’s departure from Columbia.<sup>78</sup>

During his eight-day stay, probably on Sunday, March 24, Agassiz would have climbed the wide steps that led to Hampton’s Millwood mansion.<sup>79</sup> Built in the 1830s, the very steps that bore his weight may have been the work of Fassena, whom Agassiz likely examined at some point during his trip to Millwood. When Agassiz passed into the great hall, several equine portraits would have dominated his attention, depicting Argyle, Pocahontas, Monarch, Bay Maria, Fannie, Sovereign, Maria West, American Eclipse, and Trifle.<sup>80</sup> The portraits of all nine thoroughbred horses stood sentinel in the front hall of the plantation house, a testament to the pedigree of Millwood’s revived stables.<sup>81</sup>

An ornate staircase on the north end of the hall drew natural light to the paintings. “Lighted from above by richly stained glass,” the stairwell was flooded with cascading sunlight to create a startling effect.<sup>82</sup> At times, the portraits must have appeared to stir in the dramatic light. The effect was precisely calculated for Hampton, a celebrated raconteur, to dilate on the unique attributes and good breeding of his prized animals. Hampton may have told the story of his favorite racer that year, Millwood, sired by Monarch with Fannie. Millwood, like her dam, had a peculiar trait of switching her tail when running in the lead. Indeed, Fannie’s portrait (which Hampton would have signaled to his guests) prominently featured her elegant tail (fig. 2.18). Just as Fannie had done before her, Millwood, too, “hung out her banner” when entering “on the outward wall,” switching her tail to those behind as she raced to the line.<sup>83</sup> The lighting was specially designed for Hampton to tell such stories.<sup>84</sup> Agassiz probably listened politely, but he may also have been forming the idea to replicate something of this presentation for the specimens he was then collecting. Indeed, the purpose of his stay in Columbia was to undertake an ethnological display not unlike the one Hampton demonstrated so vividly.<sup>85</sup> Shortly after the reception at Hampton’s



Figure 2.18.  
Edward Troye, *Fannie*, Hampton-  
Preston House, Columbia, South  
Carolina, 1840. Oil on canvas

Millwood mansion, Agassiz's host, Gibbes, arranged to have seven men and women of African descent photographed, posed in the nude, so that their anatomical features were distinctly displayed for the exhibition of his findings. Agassiz may have instructed Gibbes to have the images include profile views to help them determine the individuals' tribal affiliations.

The goal was to discover in the selected subjects their innate physicality, to turn them into teachable types of racial classes. In some ways, it replicated the purpose behind Hampton's horse paintings. Equine portraiture usually excluded all forms of stable-dressing (saddles, harnesses, bits, etc.) in order to more fully display perceived physical marks of racing capacity and heredity. The aim for both was to portray the innate attributes of the subject. What Zealy's daguerreotypes recorded more vividly was the deeply held private myths and fantasies that he and many enslavers held about the racial and social order.

In April or May 1850, Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty were brought in from Taylor's fields, from Hampton's slave quarters, from Lomas's property nearby, and from the Columbia city shacks where Jem resided at the corner of Hampton and Sumter Streets. The captives shuffled into the incongruous environment of Zealy's gallery in Columbia



Figure 2.19.  
 Left: Joseph T. Zealy, *Jack*, frontal view,  
 1850; right: Joseph T. Zealy, *Jack*, profile,  
 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotypes

for their photographs. A contemporary described Zealy's gallery as "handsomely furnished," containing a piano as well as an "ante-room, for the proper adjustment of toilette."<sup>86</sup> To preserve the interior amenities, the enslaved subjects were likely required to wait outside until directed into the primary chamber, where an opening in the roof flooded the studio with light. In this foreign environment, these seven enslaved men and women found themselves placed before Zealy's camera. It is impossible to know the order in which the photographs were taken.<sup>87</sup>

## The Daguerreotypes

Brightness falls just as it was orchestrated to do. The facial features reflect back light and shadow. Whatever limited power Jack experienced on Taylor's plantation dissipates in the glare. He is compelled to be still while the aperture receives his body. Zealy's plate registers the chiseled features, the deeply furrowed brow, the carefully kept beard. In the profile-view image, the plate records ritual scars on Jack's temple, indicating his origin in a different culture. The biceps, shoulders, and chest betoken a "driver" whose work includes more than passive supervision. The body belies a face



Figure 2.20.  
 Left: Joseph T. Zealy, *Delia*, frontal view,  
 1850; right: Joseph T. Zealy, *Delia*, profile,  
 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotypes

worn with care (fig. 2.19). (“Jack [driver], Guinea. Plantation of B. F. Taylor Esq. Columbia, S.C.,” Gibbes recorded later.)

For *Delia*, too, the skylight brings down harsh light. A coarse calico shift is gathered at her waist, exposing her breasts. She may fear some kind of medical procedure. As directed, she stares into the machine. There, a tiny inverted image of herself would have been reflected back. Next she is forced to turn to the side. With no machine to center her gaze, she instead focuses into middle space. At this point, Zealy must have switched out the plate for the camera, transferring to the slot a new tile, polished and prepared with iodine and bromine. After carefully preserving the first plate in a light-proof holder, the second tile would have been put in place. *Delia*, a “mechanic” familiar with smithy work, may have passed the time speculating on the physical properties of the yellow-rose tiles that feed the machine (fig. 2.20). (“*Delia*, country born of African parents, daughter of Renty, Congo,” Gibbes labeled the photograph.)

For *Fassena*, the able carpenter, something of anguish and contempt is captured in the light. A man quick to apprehend design and function, he probably understood that his image was being stolen. Further, the machine before him likely violated the tenets of Islam and animism that he would have carried with him from his native West Africa.<sup>88</sup> He may even have



Figure 2.21.  
 Left: Joseph T. Zealy, *Fassena*, frontal view,  
 1850; right: Joseph T. Zealy, *Fassena*, profile,  
 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotypes

feared that the white man was conspiring to damage his spirit. Indeed, the image that survives severs his forearms and hands. This talented craftsman, responsible for at least some of the carpentry celebrated at Millwood, found himself once more party to the violence of his own enslavement. Suffering, separation, and displacement disfigure him more surely than any weapon, including Zealy's camera (fig. 2.21). ("Fassena [carpenter], Mandingo. Plantation of Col. Wade Hampton, near Columbia, S.C.," the note reads.)

Jem probably held some familiarity with Zealy's studio, since he likely lived only a few blocks away in the slave shacks of Frederick W. Green. At sixty years old and still evincing ample strength in his solid form, he probably served as an experienced worker on one of Green's slave-labor gangs. Surely, Jem felt degradation at being forced to undress and stand fully nude before the recording device. Likely a builder of bridges, roads, even horse-racing tracks, he was then compelled to stand before the calculating gaze of the machine and its operator. In the strong light, he must have felt it: body transformed into object, the dark eye of the camera another white overseer (fig. 2.22). ("Jem, Gullah belonging to F. W. Green Esq. Columbia, S.C.," reads the photograph's label.)

After each subject experienced their uncomfortable exposure, they were returned to their labor, most of them swallowed up into Taylor's



Figure 2.22.  
Left: Joseph T. Zealy, *Jem*, frontal view,  
1850; right: Joseph T. Zealy, *Jem*, profile,  
1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotypes

cotton fields, where they would remain all but invisible to men like Daniel Webster, Robert W. Gibbes, and Wade Hampton II, and where they would toil anonymously beyond the glance of most historians until 1976, when their likenesses were unearthed among Agassiz's discarded ephemera in the attic of Harvard's Peabody Museum.

## Freedom

"They were not without some perceptions of the reality of an existence beyond the grave, but these were only such as were derived from reflection on the seeming injustice of various earthly allotments." So spoke Reverend Peter Shand at the funeral of Benjamin F. Taylor in Columbia on May 16, 1852. Delia, Jack, Renty, and others featured in the daguerreotypes likely stood in Trinity Episcopal that day, compelled to crowd the colored balcony as a sign of respect to Taylor. While Reverend Shand praised their enslaver ("a good judgment, an untiring industry, and what may be regarded as the crowning excellence of the Planter, a humane consideration for the comfort and kind treatment of his slaves"), other words likely captured their attention: "Inspiration had taught that 'the earth shall cast out the dead,' that

‘many that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.’”<sup>89</sup>

A similar oratory and response echoed upon the death of Wade Hampton II in 1858: “If the Bible view of this patriarchal relation of master to servants as exhibited by Col. Hampton, was more often given to the world,” the *Southern Christian Advocate* avowed, “how differently would, in course of time, be looked upon and commented on, this much maligned institution of our Southern States.” The *Southern Christian Advocate* further intoned, “His humane and considerate treatment of his poor dependents, in such beautiful harmony with his care for their immortal interests, held up to the most sordid and obtuse a pattern which often captivated or constrained to imitation.” Of course, the “poor dependents” who stood in the colored balcony at Hampton’s funeral knew better than anyone else what it meant to be “captivated or constrained to imitation.” Generations had learned to pick cotton by repetition—the only “immortal interest” Hampton probably practiced with the “beautiful harmony” of “his care.”<sup>90</sup>

Although no record remains detailing the Zealy subjects’ response to Taylor’s and Hampton’s deaths, Stroyer left an account of the demise of his captor, Matthew R. Singleton, a personal friend of Taylor’s and Hampton’s, who died during the same six-year stretch. Stroyer provides a glimpse into a situation that would have been familiar to Delia, Fassena, Jack, and Renty: “After all the slaves who cared to do so had seen his face, they gathered in groups around mistress to comfort her; they shed false tears, saying, ‘Never mind, misses, massa gone home to heaven.’” Stroyer notes, “While some were saying this, others said, ‘Thank God, massa gone home to hell.’ Of course the most of them were glad that he was dead.”<sup>91</sup>

By February 17, 1865, it wouldn’t matter. “At last came freedom,” Stroyer noted. In the Year of Jubilee, after General Sherman captured Columbia and its area plantations, the Emancipation Proclamation finally took effect there. Alfred, Delia, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty still lived. By that point, Wade Hampton II, John C. Singleton, Matthew R. Singleton, Richard Singleton, Benjamin F. Taylor, and Daniel Webster were all dead.<sup>92</sup> Robert W. Gibbes and Joseph T. Zealy persisted, even as their homes went up in flames during the great conflagration that claimed much of the main business district. Jacob Stroyer, too, survived, managing to return after the bombardment of Fort Sumter as part of his impressment serving in a Confederate unit guarding the fort. At the time of his emancipation, Stroyer resided on the Singleton family plantation near Grub Field.

Stroyer tells the story of area slaves pouring out from “the different plantations” and gathering “on a high place just outside the city of Columbia,” while the rebel troops fled. As the city burned and Union troops took control, the formerly enslaved celebrated. They saw the American flag being hoisted over the incomplete new State House, as the old South Carolina State House smoldered. Stroyer observed, “And what joy it brought!

I am now standing, in imagination, on [that] high place . . . in the spring of 1865. The stars and stripes float in the air. The sun is just making its appearance from behind the hills, and throwing its beautiful light upon green bush and tree.” “Beneath the flag of liberty,” he continued, “there is congregated a perfect network of the emancipated slaves from the different plantations, their swarthy faces, from a distance, looking like the smooth water of a black sea. Their voices, like distant thunder, rend the air . . . praising God for deliverance.”<sup>93</sup> Among that chorus of voices intoned the joyful cries of most of those photographed and silently exposed in the Zealy daguerreotypes. The fervent joy and pleasure of each unique voice still rings out, unconstrained, despite the enslaving arts of their captors.

For Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty, there would be a second emancipation. In a hot and stuffy attic, littered with assorted objects—African spears, taxidermy rodents, fossilized remnants, discarded furnishings—their likenesses waited. In the bicentennial year of 1976, a marker honoring Colonel Thomas Taylor, Sr.—the original enslaver of Renty, Eady, Hector, Molly, Caesar, Delia, and July—was erected in a ceremony in Columbia, placed not far from where Jack’s daughter, Drana, and at least some of Renty’s family were likely buried in the Taylors’ slave cemetery.<sup>94</sup> A month later, Peabody staff discovered fifteen objects carefully nestled in a wooden drawer. After removing the daguerreotypes from the cabinet, they unhooked the small metal clasps and gently separated the frames. Inside, the enslaved figures lay flat, mostly undressed, their eyes open and unblinking. “There was a real air of excitement about what we had found,” recalled Peabody staff member Lorna Condon. “We recognized the images as being something very special.”<sup>95</sup>

The animating spirit that moves just below the surface of the Zealy daguerreotypes also courses beneath the surface of our historical records. Obscured from view behind stones, like the one celebrating Preston S. Brooks in the South Caroliniana Library, or the relegated margins of Harvard’s Peabody Museum, the lives of the enslaved continue to stir and speak. A gutta-percha cane and the forced march of broken families could not silence them, nor could more than a century of scholarly neglect, nor the disregard of powerful statesmen like Daniel Webster. Their histories continue to unsettle our own. In these pages, like a daguerreotypist, I have prepared and arranged materials to make visible the lives of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. Yes, you can still visit the lush gardens of the Hampton-Preston House, still view the carefully maintained furnishings, china, and paintings preserved there, but the real history whispers from the margins: It speaks in the brilliant narratives carried out of bondage, like those by Charles Ball and Jacob Stroyer. It can still be touched in the lines that trace the eloquent bodies of the Zealy subjects. The real story peers back at you when you open the tomb-like cases that hold the silvery images of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty.

## Notes

I wish to thank Ilisa Barbash for reaching out to include me in this project. And a special note of gratitude goes to Molly Rogers, who carefully edited a lengthy draft of this chapter to make the piece more concise for this collection.

1. Daniel Webster to Harriet Paige, May 13, 1847, and May 15, 1847, in *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, vol. 18, Edward Everett and William Everett, eds. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1903), pp. 250, 252. Because the widower Wade Hampton II was in Louisiana conducting business, his friend Benjamin F. Taylor served as host along with Hampton's daughters, Harriet, Catherine, Ann, and Caroline. That night, Webster wrote, "We have been entertained very handsomely. [Hampton's] establishment is magnificent and his family well educated and agreeable."
2. Webster to Paige, May 13, 1847, p. 250, and May 15, 1847, p. 252.
3. Webster to Paige, May 15, 1847, p. 252.
4. R. L. Allen, "Letters from the South—No. 2," *American Agriculturist*, November 26, 1846, p. 21. A transcription of this article appears in Meynard Papers, Box 1, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
5. B. F. Taylor, "John Taylor and His Taylor Descendants," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 8 (July 1916), p. 102.
6. Benjamin F. Taylor, 1850 Non-Population Schedule, Richland County, South Carolina, United States Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
7. Extant account records for Benjamin F. Taylor's Grub Field plantation show payment to "Robert P. Dunsford" as overseer. And earlier records suggest that Dunsford migrated from Virginia to South Carolina with Taylor's father, Thomas Taylor, Sr. My description of Delia and Drana planting cottonseed draws from Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), p. 216.
8. Webster to Paige, May 12, 1847, p. 252.
9. Webster to Paige, May 15, 1847, p. 252.
10. Ibid.
11. Molly Rogers, *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010).
12. Richland County Court, South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799–1955, Estate Papers, Box 59, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C.
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14. Map of Columbia from a survey by Messrs. Arthur & Moore [1850], drawn by John B. Jackson, 1924, South Caroliniana Map Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
15. Benjamin F. Taylor, Account Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 59, 1799–1955, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
16. Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, p. 301.
17. William Mazyck, Account Papers, Charleston District, South Carolina Estate Inventories and Selected Bills of Sale, 1732–1872; Inventories of Estates, vol. F, 1860–64; Records of Charleston District, Court of Ordinary, Inventories, Appraisements, and Sales Books, pp. 504–5, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
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20. Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, p. 295.
21. Benjamin F. Taylor, Will Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 59, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
22. Benjamin F. Taylor, Inventory Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 59, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
23. Benjamin F. Taylor, Will Papers. Benjamin F. Taylor's 1852 will specifically notes and prohibits the sale of "two Acres on which the old House Stands where my father the late Col. Thomas Taylor resided in his life time . . . and two acres more around the family and Negro burying ground." If Drana preceded Taylor in death, this is where she most likely was buried.
24. Slave schedules were population schedules used in two U.S. Federal Censuses: the 1850 U.S. Federal Census and the 1860 U.S. Federal Census. Captives were usually not named; they were enumerated separately and usually only numbered under the enslaver's name.
25. Thomas Taylor, Sr., Will Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799–1955, Estate Papers, Box 309, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
26. Benjamin F. Taylor, Will Papers.
27. John Chesnut, Will Papers, Estate Record Book A1, p. 477, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia. The will of John Chesnut, Sarah C. Taylor's father, shows that Sarah did not inherit the Richland County plantation from her father; rather, the plantation noted on the 1850

Arthur & Moore map of Columbia came into Sarah C. Taylor's possession from her husband, John Taylor, via Thomas Taylor, Sr.

28. Sarah C. Taylor, Inventory Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 59, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

29. The will of Sarah C. Taylor bequeaths to her son A. R. Taylor the “Hill” home at the corner of Laurel and Assembly Streets, along with the Richland County plantation and properties she credits her son with managing during his adulthood. See Sarah C. Taylor, Will Papers, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 59, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia. Of the enslaved people named in the will, those associated with the daguerreotypes go unnamed. This is not surprising considering Sarah C. Taylor owned 179 slaves in 1850, according to the Richland County slave schedule for that year. It is reasonable to believe that Renty, Delia, and Jack, noted in Sarah C. Taylor's 1857 slave inventory, remained enslaved on the family's Richland County labor camp after it passed into A. R. Taylor's hands. Because A. R. Taylor served as the executor of the estate until the execution of the will was completed in 1859, and since he possessed Sarah C. Taylor's Richland County property, it is also reasonable to conjecture that Renty, Delia, and Jack remained enslaved on this property up until the moment of emancipation, when Union forces freed area slaves on February 17, 1865. (See the section “Freedom,” pp. 111–13, this chapter.)

30. Louis Agassiz, “The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races,” *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 49 (July 1850), p. 125.

31. See Molly Rogers, “This Intricate Question: The ‘American School’ of Ethnology and the Zealy Daguerreotypes,” chap. 1, this vol.

32. Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, p. xvi.

33. Frederick W. Green, 1850 Slave Schedule, Slave Schedule of the 1850 United States Federal Census, Seventh Census of the United States, M432, 1,009 rolls, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

34. Brent Howard Holcomb, *Records of Death in Columbia, South Carolina and Elsewhere as Recorded by John Glass, 1859–1877* (Columbia, S.C.: SCMAR, 1986), p. 164.

35. William Briggs, Estate Inventory, Richland County, South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1980, Estate Papers, Box 3, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

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37. Ibid.

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40. Rogers, *Delia's Tears*, p. xiii.

41. John Lomas, 1850 Agricultural Schedule, Richland County Non-Population Schedule, Census Place: Richland County, South Carolina, Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–80, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

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43. Quoted in Harry R. E. Hampton, “Remembrances of Columbia,” *Sandlapper: The Magazine of South Carolina*, April 1979, p. 43.

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45. See David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 291; and Daniel Lawrence Slusser, “In Defense of Southern Honor: Preston Brooks and the Attack on Charles Sumner,” *The Forum: Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (2010), pp. 100–101.

46. Congressional Globe, Thirty-Third Congress, First Session, Appendix 374, quoted in Sinha, “The Caning of Charles Sumner,” pp. 244–45.

47. See Harlan Greene, “‘Nowhere Else’: South Carolina's Role in a Continuing Tragedy,” chap. 9, this vol.

48. Charles Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains; or, the Life of an American Slave* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 110.

49. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, p. 113.

50. Details of Charles Ball's narrative, matched with Robert Mills's 1825 atlas of Richland County, South Carolina, definitively place Ball in one of the Hampton slave hamlets detailed in Mills's map.

51. Jacob Stroyer, *My Life in the South* (1885), in *I Belong to South Carolina: South Carolina Slave Narratives*, ed. Susanna Ashton (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), p. 128.

52. “Wade Hampton II plat for 12,173 acres in Richland District, 22 Mar. 1845,” Oversize Folder, Virginia G. Meynard Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. The original document, reproduced for this chapter, resides in the South Carolina State Archives (State Plate Book [Columbia Series], S213192, vol. 54, p. 221).

53. Ibid.

54. Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man* (New York: John S. Taylor, 1837), p. 139.

55. *Ibid.*
56. Webster to Paige, May 15, 1847, p. 253.
57. Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, p. 138.
58. Benjamin F. Taylor and Wade Hampton II, 1850 Industry Schedule, Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina, Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
59. Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, p. 145.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 145–48. See also Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, pp. 111–19.
62. Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains*, pp. 121–22.
63. *Ibid.* See Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, p. 118.
64. Matthew R. Singleton, 1850 Industry Schedule, Non-Population Schedule, Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina, Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
65. *Ibid.*, Benjamin F. Taylor, 1850 Industry Schedule.
66. Benjamin F. Taylor, 1850 Agriculture Schedule, Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina, Non-Population Schedule, Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
67. Ball, *Slavery in the United States*, p. 140.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–41.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Stroyer, *My Life in the South*, p. 39.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–44.
78. Robert W. Gibbes to Samuel George Morton, March 31, 1850, Samuel George Morton Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia. Gibbes writes, “I took [Agassiz] to several plantations where he saw Ebo, Foulah, Gullah, Guinea, Coromantee, Mandringo [*sic*] and Congo negros.” Such visits are confirmed in Agassiz’s letter written from Columbia on March 22, when Agassiz notes visiting the Hampton, Taylor, and Preston properties. Agassiz to Harriott Holbrook, March 22, 1850, Louis Agassiz Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
79. Louis Agassiz’s lecture schedule (noted in his letter from March 22, 1850) suggests that his visit to the Taylor and Hampton plantations most likely occurred on Sunday, March 24, 1850, when the enslaved men and women were not required to labor in the fields. Such details are further signaled in Robert W. Gibbes’s letter to Augustus Addison Gould, March 31, 1850, Augustus Addison Gould Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
80. Twelve years earlier, Wade Hampton II purchased the thoroughbred Pocahontas from his friend Colonel Richard Singleton and Argyle from Colonel Pierce Butler. In 1836, he commissioned the famous equine portraitist Edward Troye (1809–1874) to paint Pocahontas and Argyle. In 1840, Hampton again commissioned Troye, who visited Millwood and produced additional portraits of Monarch, Bay Maria, Fannie, Sovereign, and Maria West. Around this time, Hampton also acquired the Troye portraits of American Eclipse and Trifle, earlier sires to the current stock in his stable.
81. Virginia G. Meynard Papers, Box 1. The details provided draw especially from Meynard’s original resource notes in the folders “Horses: Portraits Commissioned by Wade Hampton II,” n.d.; “Wade Hampton II’s Patronage of Edward Troye,” n.d.; and “Hampton, Wade II,” n.d.
82. *Ibid.*, “Horses.”
83. *Ibid.*
84. “Hampton, Wade II.”
85. Louis Agassiz to John Fries Frazer, March 27, 1850, quoted in Rogers, *Delia’s Tears*, p. 217.
86. The description of Joseph T. Zealy’s studio comes from a period after the 1850 session and is quoted in Brian Wallis’s “Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes,” *American Art*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1995), p. 60, n. 13. Still, the description is consistent with other daguerreotype studios in South Carolina from the time when Zealy captured the likenesses of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty. See Harvey S. Teal, *Partners with the Sun: South Carolina Photographers, 1840–1940* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 28–32. Also see (Columbia) *Daily South Carolinian*, December 22, 1848, and February 9, 1849; (Columbia) *Daily Telegraph*, November 1849, pp. 7, 10, 26; and (Columbia) *Daily South Carolinian*, July 4, 1951, and December 1, 1851.
87. Christoph Irmscher, *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), pp. 231–32.
88. The Mandingo, or Mandinka, people are descendants of the Mali Empire, whose belief system is preserved through an oral tradition of praise songs. The religion of those living in the region at the end of the eighteenth century (when Fassena was born) would have been a combination of Islam and animism. See Rogers, *Delia’s Tears*, p. 306.
89. “Sermon on the Death of Mr. Benjamin F. Taylor, Preached in Trinity Church, Columbia, May 16, 1852,” *Charleston Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register*, September 1852, pp. 1, 5.
90. “Col. Wade Hampton,” *Southern Christian Advocate*, February 13, 1858, Box 3, Hampton Family

Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

91. Stroyer, *My Life in the South*, p. 147.

92. Joseph T. Zealy, a victim of alcoholism, had become bankrupt and was in declining health. See John Stauffer, “‘Not Suitable for Public Notice’: Agassiz’s Evidence,” chap. 10, this vol.

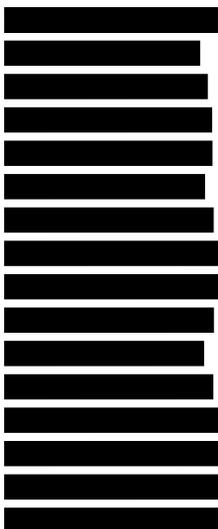
93. Stroyer, *My Life in the South*, p. 166.

94. “Colonel Thomas Taylor,” Historical Marker Project, [http://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HMYJF\\_colonel-thomas-taylor\\_Columbia-SC.html](http://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HMYJF_colonel-thomas-taylor_Columbia-SC.html).

95. Lorna Condon quoted in Melissa Banta, *A Curious and Ingenious Art: Reflections on Daguerreotypes at Harvard* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), p. 43. See the corrected account of the daguerreotypes’ discovery established in Ilisa Barbash, “Exposing Latent Images: Daguerreotypes in the Museum and Beyond,” chap. 13, this vol.

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## Chapter 2

**Figure 2.1A:** PM 35-5-10/53045 (detail); **B:** PM 35-5-10/53051 (detail); **C:** PM 35-5-10/53040 (detail); **D:** PM 35-5-10/53041 (detail); **E:** PM 35-5-10/53043 (detail); **F:** PM 35-5-10/53049 (detail); **G:** PM 35-5-10/53038 (detail)

**Figure 2.2.** Benjamin Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 59, Package 1475, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.3.** Benjamin Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 59, Package 1475, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.4.** The South Caroliniana Map Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

**Figure 2.5.** Sarah Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 59, Package 1474, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.6.** Thomas Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 30, Package 738, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.7.** Thomas Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 30, Package 738, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.8.** Benjamin Taylor, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 59, Package 1475, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

**Figure 2.9.** County Court, Richland, South Carolina, "Town of Columbia, District of Richland County, South Carolina, United States of America Bureau of the Census. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Figure 2.10. The South Caroliniana Map Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Figure 2.11. Frank Hampton, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 47, Package 1157, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

Figure 2.12. Historic American Buildings Survey, Columbia, Richland County, S.C., 1960. Photograph retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sc0096/>

Figure 2.13. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S213192, Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, State Plats (Columbia Series), vol. 54, p. 221

Figure 2.14. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S213192, Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, State Plats (Columbia Series), vol. 54, p. 221

Figure 2.15. Robert Mills and Marmaduke Coates. Richland District, South Carolina. Map [1820]. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007627903/>

Figure 2.16. Gregg Hecimovich, April 14, 2016

Figure 2.17. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S213192, Secretary of State, Recorded Instruments, State Plats (Columbia Series), vol. 54, p. 221

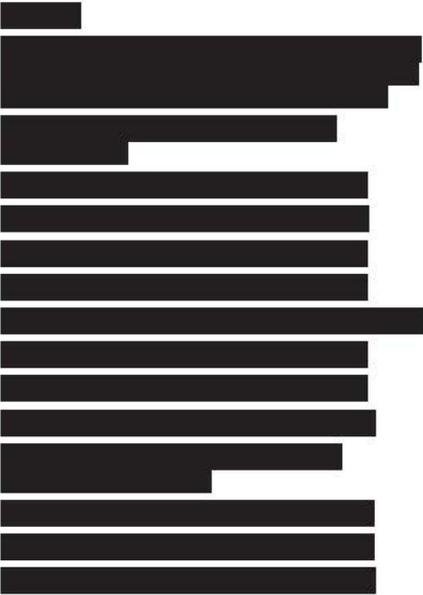
Figure 2.18. Historic Columbia Collection, Columbia S.C.; HCF 1972.105.1

Figure 2.19A: PM 35-5-10/53043; B: PM 35-5-10/53044

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Figure 2.22A: PM 35-5-10/53046; B: PM 35-5-10/53047



*To Make Their Own Way in the World*  
*The Enduring Legacy of the Zealy Daguerreotypes*

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