

The Cost of Education: A Summary of Financial Transactions of Enslavement at the University of Alabama

by Ansel Smith

Content Warning: This paper contains references to documents in which African Americans are bought, sold, and referred to as chattel. The documents were created by enslavers under an institutionalized system through which African Americans were reduced to monetary value and labor value, referred to by names assigned by enslavers. I am including this content to analyze the history of these financial transactions as definitive sources on university spending in its early history. I believe it is important to acknowledge the severe violence and gross violations of basic human dignity within these documents to develop a constructive path towards understanding the impact of this spending over time.

Introduction

African American enslavement has played a fundamental role in the founding, maintenance, and legacy of the University of Alabama. Researchers of *The History of Enslavement at UA* have noted that the first recorded purchase of an enslaved person, Ben, was in 1828, “three years before The University of Alabama opened its doors to students,” and that Basil Manly, the president of the university from 1837 to 1855, stated the university “could not do business for a single day without servants” (*Overview · the History of Enslaved People at UA, 1828-1865 · the History of Enslaved People at UA*, n.d.). James B. Sellers, in his *History of the University of Alabama*, notes that the construction of the President’s Mansion in 1841 for \$18,000, the construction of the university’s observatory, and work done for the original campus, estimated at a cost of \$56,000 between 1828 and 1831, was largely “performed by slaves” (Sellers, 2014, p. 31). Though the contributions of enslaved labor to the university are well-detailed, the financial value of the labor has not been precisely measured. Researchers at the Gorgas House Museum at the university have claimed “the University spent nearly \$9,000 purchasing enslaved people,” but the “\$9,000” is not adjusted for inflation, nor does it account for the value of labor-power for university projects, the monetary amounts spent to feed and house enslaved people, or the profit of enslavers (Gorgas House Museum, 2024). Identifying the monetary amount the university spent on enslaved individuals before the Civil War is important for giving a number to the impact of this history that can quantitatively

describe and track the repercussions of enslavement at the university.

The aim of this project is to collect and digitize financial transactions relating to enslavement at the university into a tidy collection of data that can be analyzed with statistical and data science methods. Because the primary goal was to prepare data for future analysis, the results are merely descriptive and do not answer statistical questions about the dataset. Research into the individual agents mentioned in transactions, including enslaved individuals and payees, is discussed in the *History of Enslaved People at UA* database (*Their Names · the History of Enslaved People at UA, 1828-1865 · the History of Enslaved People at UA*, 2024), and so questions regarding the relationship between trends in data and individuals are discussed minimally.

Procedure

Data for this analysis was collected from physical and digital primary source documents provided by the University of Alabama Hoole Special Collections. These documents can be found as part of the Early University of Alabama Administrative Records, Identifier RG-001, Box 19801776-003:

- Folder 15 (Slave Labor, Financial Records 1820s-1830s)
- Folder 16 (Slave Labor, Financial Records 1840s)
- Folder 18 (Slave Labor, Financial Records 1850s)
- Folder 20 (Slave Labor, Financial Records 1860s)
- Folder 3 (Observatory 1840-1896)

Digital sources were sourced through the University of Alabama Digital Collections by

the author between August and November 2024. Information for each document was sorted and digitized according to 26 categories:

- Link: a link to a digital copy of the document available through the University of Alabama Digital Collections.
- Citation: a formal citation of the document in its physical location at the University of Alabama Hoole Special Collections.
- Date of Transaction: if provided, the date on which a transaction was made.
- Date of Writing: if provided, the date on which the document was written.
- Date of Certification: if provided, the date on which the transaction was certified.
- From: from whom the document was sent.
- To: to whom the document was addressed.
- Enslaved: the enslaved individuals discussed in the document.
- Item: the body text of the document.
- Amount: the monetary amount listed for the transaction occurring in the document.
- Notes: notes associated with the document provided by the researcher.
- Received Of: from whom the transaction amount was received; the payer.
- Payee: to whom the transaction amount was sent.
- Certifier: the person who certified the transaction.
- Date Received: when the transaction amount was received.
- Document Type: if provided, the type of document (Receipt, Bill of Sale, etc.).
- Location: if not Tuscaloosa, AL, the location of the transaction.
- Date: to aggregate documents with respect to time, one date was selected to compare each document. In order of priority: Date Received, Date of Transaction, Date of Writing, Date of Certification. If no day was provided, Day was set to 1. If no month was provided, Month was set to 1.
- Year, Month, Day: the year, month, and day of the Date.
- Amount Today: Amount of the transaction adjusted for inflation. Consumer Price Index data for each year was estimated using data from the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis (*Consumer Price Index, 1800- | Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis*, n.d.) and the formula:

$$\text{Year 2 Amount} = \text{Year 1 Amount} \times \left(\frac{\text{Year 2 CPI}}{\text{Year 1 CPI}} \right)$$

- Purpose: the purpose of the transaction sorted into comparable categories, including Hire (hire of an enslaved person(s) for labor), Purchase (purchase of an enslaved person), Board (payment for the board of an enslaved person(s)), Clothing (purchase of clothing for an enslaved person), and Medical Services (purchase of medical services for an enslaved person/given on behalf of or by an enslaved person).
- Duration: if the Purpose is “Hire”, the number of days for which an enslaved person was hired for work. The term “quarter of a year” was interpreted as 3 months (720 days) and “one month” was interpreted as 30 days.
- Start Date: if provided, the day on which hire began.
- End Date: if provided, the day on which hire ended.
- Decade: the decade in which “Date” occurs.

Results

The following graphics explore the relationship between each category of data, followed by tables that aggregate information across the categories. Of particular interest is the financial transaction amount of the documents, the duration of enslaved labor, how these relationships vary by year, and how mentions of common payees and enslaved individuals change over time.

The tables are more comprehensive, and consider the mean (M), standard deviation (SD), maximum (Max), minimum (Min), sums (Sum), and modes (Mode) of applicable categories of data. The Amount Today of each transaction is considered for financial data, though the original listed Amount is provided in the dataset (Smith, 2024).

Missing data is represented with ‘NA’ values. The format of each document within the timeframe was not consistent, and for different types of documents, like letters and notes, not all categories of data are applicable. ‘NA’ denotes an absence of information from a category in the associated document. Of the 188 documents and 239 unique instances within the documents, 11 documents provided no financial amount, 38 provided no mention of enslaved people involved in the transaction, 64 provided no mention of a payer, 25 provided no mention of a payee, 145 provided no mention of a certifier, and if the Purpose of the transaction was Hire, 77 provided no mention of the duration of any enslaved labor (Smith, 2024).

Although a citation for the physical location of each document is provided, 12 of the 188 documents had no corresponding hyperlink to a digital copy at the time of writing. These 12 physical documents were found in the files at the Hoole Special Collections and are in the process of digitization (Smith, 2024).

Figure 1



Figure 2

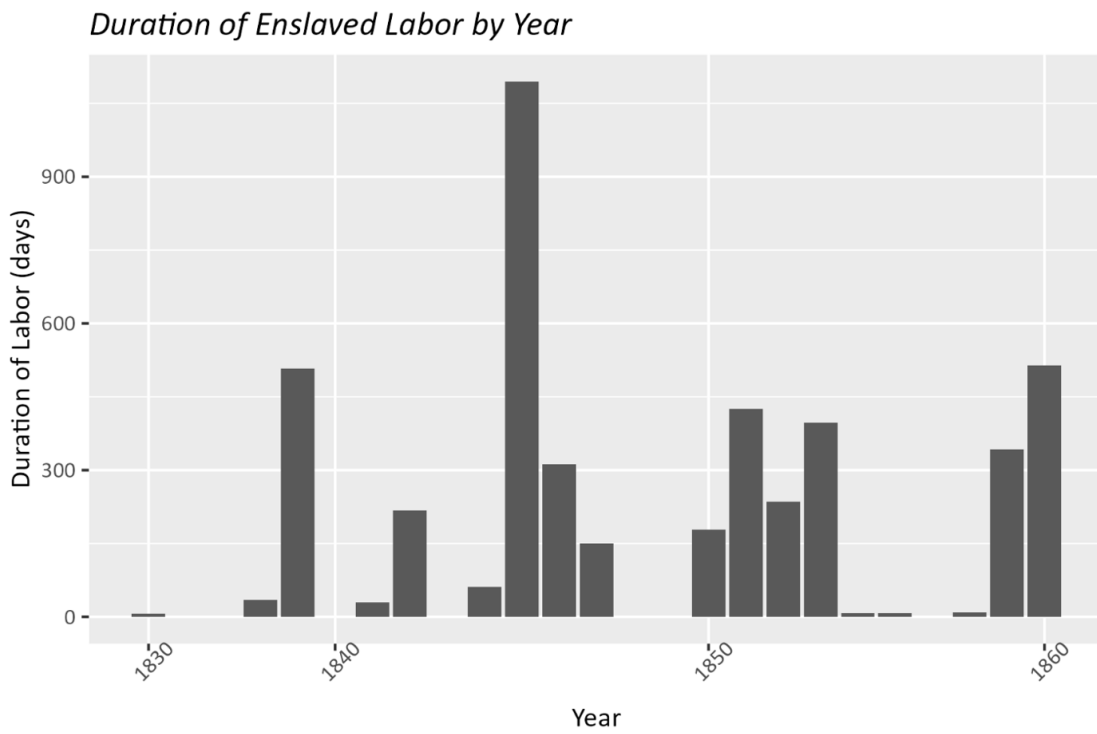
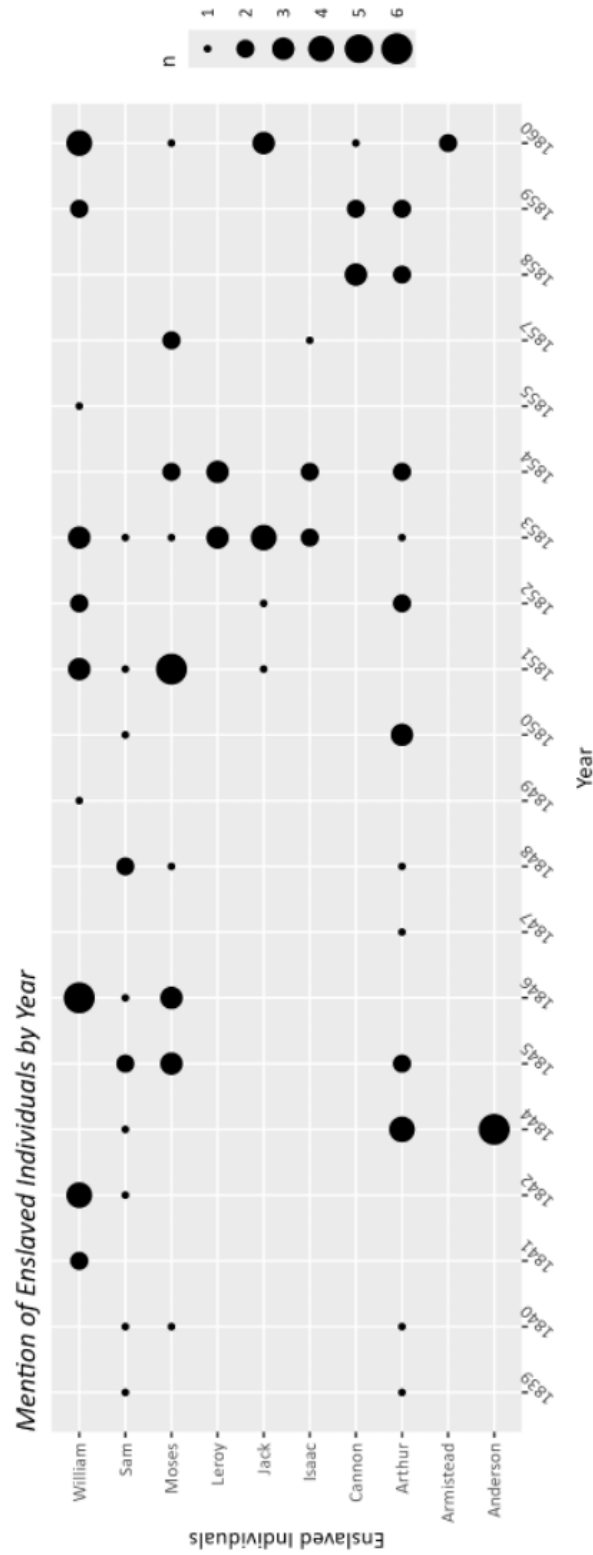


Figure 3



The top 10 most frequently mentioned individuals are listed. The size of each point indicates the relative frequency of the mention of each enslaved individual in transactions.

Figure 4

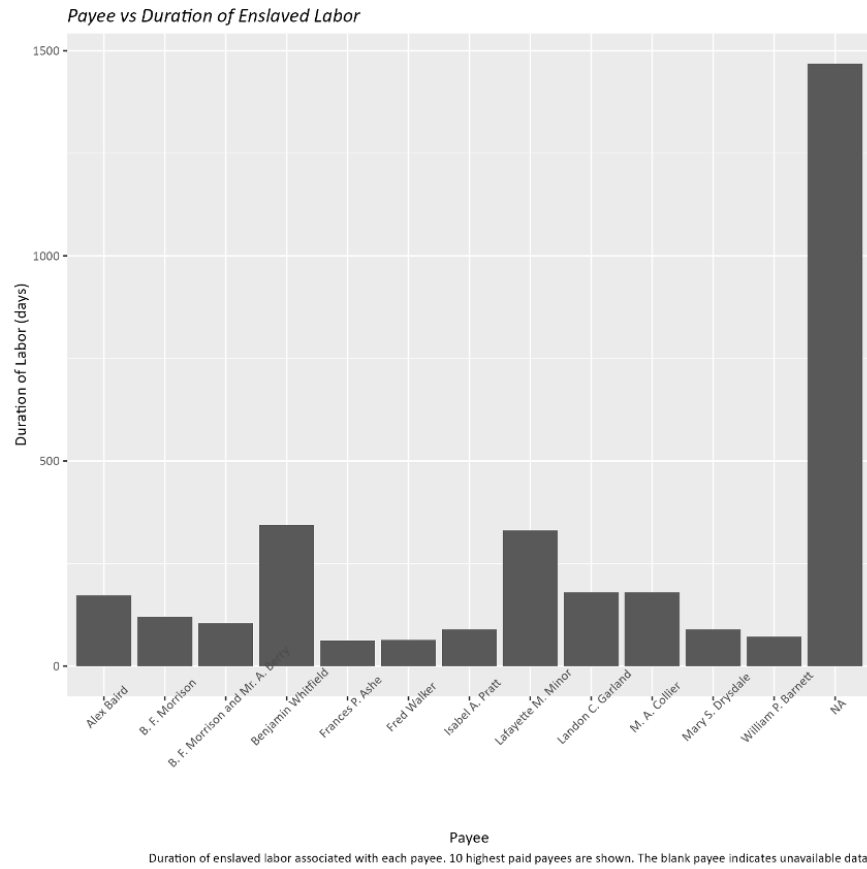
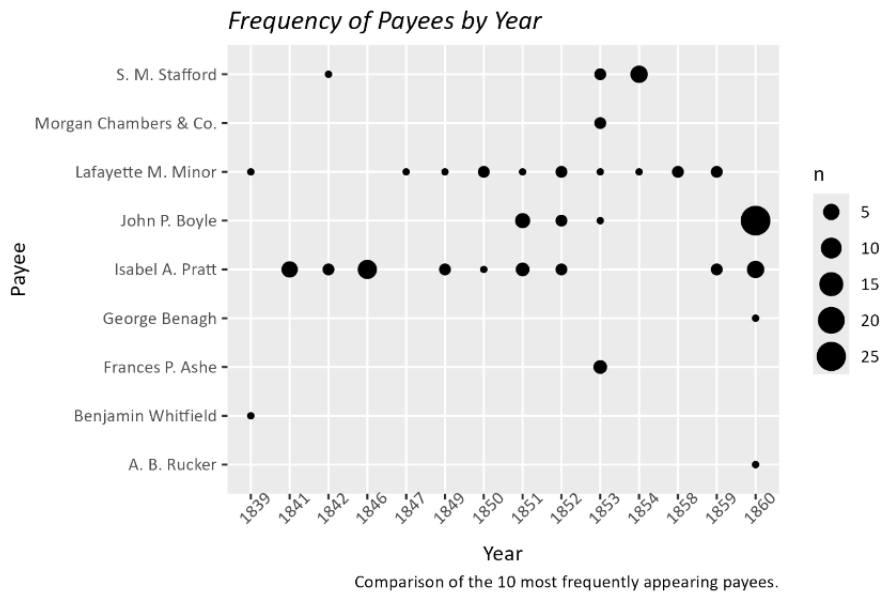


Figure 5



The Cost of Education

Table 1

Grand Summary

Spent	Duration of Labor (days)	Enslaved	Payees	Payers	Certifiers
\$535,135.43	4,533.25	62	74	10	31

Sum of transaction amounts, duration of labor of enslaved individuals, count unique agents involved in transactions, count of source documents, types of documents, and purposes of each transaction.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Grand Summary

Recipients	Senders	Unique Instances	Document Types	Purposes of Transaction
45	25	239	13	23

Sum of transaction amounts, duration of labor of enslaved individuals, count unique agents involved in transactions, count of source documents, types of documents, and purposes of each transaction.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 2

Transaction Amounts Spent by the University of Alabama - Adjusted for Inflation

Year	M	SD	Min	Max	Sum
1860s					
1860	\$4,135.27	\$18,347.30	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$223,304.37
1864	\$683.54	NA	\$683.54	\$683.54	\$683.54
sum	—	—	—	—	\$223,987.91
1850s					
1850	\$1,742.16	\$3,322.52	\$0.00	\$9,902.55	\$13,937.27
1851	\$880.25	\$836.18	\$28.35	\$3,314.33	\$14,083.92
1852	\$1,068.11	\$713.57	\$302.37	\$2,384.17	\$8,544.92
1853	\$3,310.08	\$9,855.46	\$37.80	\$49,134.80	\$82,752.07
1854	\$421.90	\$288.02	\$109.36	\$1,049.89	\$3,797.10
1855	\$196.91	\$242.68	\$25.31	\$368.51	\$393.82
1857	\$582.13	\$458.73	\$0.00	\$949.12	\$2,328.50
1858	\$490.85	\$598.59	\$72.68	\$1,453.69	\$3,926.79
1859	\$811.41	\$954.34	\$0.00	\$3,032.78	\$8,925.46
sum	—	—	—	—	\$138,689.86
1840s					
1840	\$4,756.00	\$3,128.67	\$3,191.66	\$9,449.00	\$19,023.99
1841	\$2,741.58	\$3,698.66	\$0.00	\$9,144.19	\$27,415.82
1842	\$1,505.10	\$1,482.88	\$0.00	\$3,970.86	\$15,050.95
1843	\$0.00	NA	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
1844	\$574.99	\$457.94	\$67.49	\$1,687.32	\$7,474.83
1845	\$5,116.80	\$7,520.49	\$1,417.35	\$23,622.50	\$40,934.42

Table 2

Transaction Amounts Spent by the University of Alabama - Adjusted for Inflation

Year	M	SD	Min	Max	Sum
1846	\$787.38	\$787.64	\$122.49	\$3,849.59	\$15,747.63
1847	\$1,687.32	NA	\$1,687.32	\$1,687.32	\$1,687.32
1848	\$1,308.32	\$872.22	\$0.00	\$1,744.43	\$5,233.29
1849	\$1,480.97	\$889.77	\$453.55	\$1,994.68	\$4,442.92
sum	—	—	—	—	\$137,011.18
1820s-1830s					
1828	\$375.10	NA	\$375.10	\$375.10	\$375.10
1830	\$166.10	NA	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10
1831	\$1,124.53	\$1,840.13	\$0.00	\$3,248.09	\$3,373.59
1832	\$2,732.34	NA	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34
1838	\$1,003.96	\$0.00	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$2,007.91
1839	\$2,435.59	\$4,262.40	\$147.64	\$11,811.25	\$26,791.46
sum	—	—	—	—	\$35,446.49
sum	—	—	—	—	\$535,135.43

Mean, Standard Deviation, Minimum Value, Maximum Value, and Sum Total of transaction amounts by year and decade. 'NA' values in Standard Deviation indicate the value is not applicable because only one transaction value occurs for the given year.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 3

Document Type

Document Type	n	Sum	Mode Payee	Mode Enslaved	Mode Payer	Mode Recipient	Mode Sender
Receipt	173	\$191,480.93	John P. Boyle	NA	Basil Manly	NA	NA
Invoice	31	\$123,210.28	Mr. Tuomey	Moses	NA	Henry A. Snow	Mr. Tuomey
Letter	4	\$105,215.66	NA	NA	NA	Henry A. Snow	Robert Lumpkin
Order for Appropriation	15	\$62,257.95	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Bill of Sale	1	\$23,622.50	John E. Rial	Moses	Trustees of the University of Alabama	NA	John E. Rial
Order of Appropriation	3	\$9,921.45	NA	Moses	NA	NA	NA
Resolution	3	\$9,449.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Statement of Expenses	2	\$5,980.43	M. Tarver	NA	NA	M. Tarver	NA
Note	2	\$3,997.23	Leo B. Neal	Cesar	Chairman of the Board of Trustees	H. R. Field	Leo B. Neal
Account Record	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	Norwood
Order for Refund	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Report	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Time Table	2	\$0.00	NA	William	NA	NA	NA

Count of types of unique instances contained within documents.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

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Table 4

Duration of Enslaved Labor in Days

Enslaved	Sum	M	SD	Min	Max
Arthur	842.00	168.40	120.09	60.00	365.00
Moses	827.50	137.92	121.25	45.00	365.00
NA	776.50	55.46	93.49	1.00	345.00
William	597.00	39.80	32.65	7.00	131.00
Sam	451.00	225.50	197.28	86.00	365.00
Cannon	180.00	180.00	NA	180.00	180.00
Claiborne	113.00	113.00	NA	113.00	113.00
Jack	111.00	37.00	13.86	21.00	45.00
Edward	106.00	26.50	7.00	16.00	30.00
Peter	90.00	90.00	NA	90.00	90.00
Toby	75.00	37.50	37.48	11.00	64.00
Francis	62.00	62.00	NA	62.00	62.00
Willis	60.00	60.00	NA	60.00	60.00
Spencer	57.00	57.00	NA	57.00	57.00
Dick	34.00	34.00	NA	34.00	34.00
Patrick	33.50	16.75	12.37	8.00	25.50
Fred	30.00	30.00	NA	30.00	30.00
Jim	13.50	13.50	NA	13.50	13.50
George	12.50	12.50	NA	12.50	12.50
James	12.00	12.00	NA	12.00	12.00
[]	12.00	12.00	NA	12.00	12.00
Andrew	9.00	9.00	NA	9.00	9.00

Table 4

Duration of Enslaved Labor in Days

Enslaved	Sum	M	SD	Min	Max
Leroy	8.00	8.00	NA	8.00	8.00
Ben	6.50	6.50	NA	6.50	6.50
Sandy	4.50	4.50	NA	4.50	4.50
Isaiah	4.00	4.00	NA	4.00	4.00
Ned Berry	2.75	2.75	NA	2.75	2.75
Dudley	1.00	1.00	NA	1.00	1.00
Andy	0.75	0.75	NA	0.75	0.75
Schoder Pierce	0.75	0.75	NA	0.75	0.75
Jake	0.50	0.50	NA	0.50	0.50
sum	4,533.25	—	—	—	—
mean	146.23	—	—	—	—

Sum, mean, standard deviation (if more than one transaction), minimum, and maximum number of days worked by each enslaved individual.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 5

Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals

Enslaved	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Payee Mode	n	Payee Mode
NA	40	\$6,318.40	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$252,736.18	NA	10	
Isaac	5	\$12,475.93	\$349.96	\$49,134.80	\$62,379.66	Morgan Chambers & Co.	2	
Moses	18	\$2,218.70	\$37.80	\$23,622.50	\$39,936.52	John P. Boyle	3	
William	27	\$1,028.88	\$0.00	\$3,515.03	\$27,779.70	Isabel A. Pratt	16	
Arthur	20	\$1,310.68	\$174.98	\$3,307.15	\$26,213.62	Lafayette M. Minor	12	
Sam	10	\$614.96	\$0.00	\$3,307.15	\$6,149.59	NA	4	
Edward	6	\$932.98	\$453.55	\$1,994.68	\$5,597.90	Isabel A. Pratt	5	
Cannon	6	\$720.67	\$61.24	\$3,797.10	\$4,324.03	Glascock and McMath	2	
Francis	1	\$4,287.96	\$4,287.96	\$4,287.96	\$4,287.96	Frances P. Ashe	1	
Edmond	1	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	Arabella T. Prince	1	
Anderson	6	\$562.44	\$337.46	\$1,687.32	\$3,374.64	Eliza C. Perkins	6	
Jack	9	\$359.97	\$27.30	\$1,133.88	\$3,239.69	John P. Boyle	3	
Spencer	1	\$3,231.56	\$3,231.56	\$3,231.56	\$3,231.56	Frances P. Ashe	1	
Toby	2	\$1,365.38	\$311.82	\$2,418.94	\$2,730.76	Fred Walker	1	

Table 5

Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals

Enslaved	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Payee Mode	n	Payee Mode
Albert	2	\$1,209.47	\$37.80	\$2,381.15	\$2,418.94	Dr. Morrison	1	
Leroy	6	\$365.48	\$109.36	\$713.05	\$2,192.87	Mr. Tuomey	4	
Major	6	\$259.56	\$61.24	\$419.96	\$1,557.34	John L. S. Foster	4	
Dick	2	\$728.75	\$453.55	\$1,003.96	\$1,457.51	Thomas Owen	1	
Erasmus	4	\$356.52	\$236.22	\$419.96	\$1,426.10	John L. S. Foster	4	
Patrick	2	\$586.19	\$279.97	\$892.41	\$1,172.38	G. W. Marshal	1	
Peter	1	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	Isabel A. Pratt	1	
Richard	1	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	Thomas Owen	1	
Speers	1	\$988.65	\$988.65	\$988.65	\$988.65	John P. Boyle	1	
Armistead	2	\$413.31	\$367.46	\$459.15	\$826.61	A. P. Owen	2	
Carpenter William	1	\$787.42	\$787.42	\$787.42	\$787.42	Isabel A. Pratt	1	
Ned	1	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	Washington Moody	1	
Schoder Pierce	3	\$238.67	\$122.49	\$328.09	\$716.02	John P. Boyle	2	
Lewis	1	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	Mrs. Somerville	1	

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Table 5
Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals

Enslaved	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Payee Mode	n Payee Mode
Jim	3	\$210.83	\$27.30	\$317.15	\$632.49	John P. Boyle	2
James	2	\$307.25	\$114.30	\$500.21	\$614.51	H. S. Pratt	1
Ford	1	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	John P. Boyle	1
Fred	1	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	John P. Boyle	1
Andy	2	\$296.77	\$265.45	\$328.09	\$593.54	George Boyle	1
Andrew	1	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	James M. Murphrey	1
[]	1	\$500.21	\$500.21	\$500.21	\$500.21	H. S. Pratt	1
Samson	1	\$489.95	\$489.95	\$489.95	\$489.95	John P. Boyle	1
John Speen	1	\$481.20	\$481.20	\$481.20	\$481.20	John P. Boyle	1
Ned Berry	1	\$481.20	\$481.20	\$481.20	\$481.20	John P. Boyle	1
Miles	2	\$236.14	\$39.20	\$433.08	\$472.28	John P. Boyle	2
George	1	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	J. J. Hutchinsonson	1
Quillen	1	\$402.46	\$402.46	\$402.46	\$402.46	John P. Boyle	1
Samuel	1	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	B. F. Morrison and Mr. A. Berry	1
Willis	1	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	William P. Barnett	1
Ben	2	\$145.80	\$125.49	\$166.10	\$291.59	S. G. Frierson	1

Table 5
Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals

Enslaved	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Payee Mode	n Payee Mode
Swindle	1	\$275.42	\$275.42	\$275.42	\$275.42	John P. Boyle	1
Sandy	1	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	Mrs. Owen	1
Henderson Quillen	1	\$227.48	\$227.48	\$227.48	\$227.48	John P. Boyle	1
Paul	1	\$218.05	\$218.05	\$218.05	\$218.05	Charles M. Foster	1
John Johnson	1	\$201.23	\$201.23	\$201.23	\$201.23	John P. Boyle	1
Jordan	1	\$192.48	\$192.48	\$192.48	\$192.48	John P. Boyle	1
Cesar	1	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	Leo B. Neal	1
Isaiah	1	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	M. J. Neilson	1
Old Man Jerry	1	\$123.89	\$123.89	\$123.89	\$123.89	John P. Boyle	1
Daniel	1	\$122.49	\$122.49	\$122.49	\$122.49	John P. Boyle	1
Robert	1	\$69.99	\$69.99	\$69.99	\$69.99	John P. Boyle	1
Edinboro	1	\$45.36	\$45.36	\$45.36	\$45.36	Mr. Tuomey	1
Jake	1	\$28.00	\$28.00	\$28.00	\$28.00	Landon C. Garland	1
Dudley	1	\$25.31	\$25.31	\$25.31	\$25.31	J. W. Mallett	1
Jupiter	1	\$17.50	\$17.50	\$17.50	\$17.50	John P. Boyle	1
Claiborne	1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	NA	1

Table 5
Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals

Enslaved	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Payee Mode	n Payee Mode
John	1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	NA	1

Count, mean, minimum, maximum, sum, most frequently associated payee, and the count of occurrences of the payee for the transaction amounts spent on the labor, purchase, board, and other costs for enslaved individuals.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 6
Purpose of Transactions

Purpose	n	Sum	Sum Duration	Payee Mode	Enslave d Mode	Payer Mode	Recipien t Mode	Sender Mode
Purchase	8	\$276,832.74	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hire	12	\$149,109.40	2,336.50	Isabel A. Pratt	William	Basil Manly	NA	NA
Board	24	\$50,106.54	1,717.00	NA	Moses	NA	NA	NA
Hire (buildings)	40	\$16,284.10	314.75	John P. Boyle	William	George Benagh	NA	NA
Board; Food; Hire	1	\$9,902.55	0.00	NA	NA	Henry A. Snow	NA	NA
Hire (President)	2	\$9,144.19	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Clothing; Insurance	1	\$7,041.95	0.00	George Benagh	NA	NA	George Benagh	Landon C. Garland
Clothing	19	\$4,035.18	0.00	Charles M. Foster	Cannon	Basil Manly	NA	NA
Medical Services	6	\$2,946.87	0.00	Reuben Searcy	Moses	NA	NA	NA
Attorney	1	\$2,732.34	0.00	M. Tarver	NA	NA	M. Tarver	NA

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Table 6

Purpose of Transactions

Purpose	n	Sum	Sum Duration	Payee Mode	Enslaved Mode	Payer Mode	Recipient Mode	Sender Mode
hire	2	\$1,868.80	0.00	Lafayette M. Minor	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	NA
Hire (buildings); Board	2	\$1,171.68	75.00	Samuel M. Stafford	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	Samuel M. Stafford
Hire; Materials	2	\$1,000.41	24.00	H. S. Pratt	James	NA	H. S. Pratt	NA
Hire (furniture)	1	\$849.65	37.00	Mary S. Drysdale	William	Basil Manly	Mary Drysdale	NA
Advertisement	1	\$683.54	0.00	James F. Warren	NA	NA	James F. Warren	The State of Alabama
Hire (laboratory)	2	\$393.82	8.00	J. W. Mallett	William	NA	John W. Pratt	J. W. Mallett
Hire; Board	1	\$387.41	21.00	S. M. Stafford	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	NA
Board; Clothing	1	\$349.96	0.00	S. M. Stafford	Isaac	NA	Henry A. Snow	S. M. Stafford
Injury	1	\$226.78	0.00	NA	Sam	NA	NA	F. A. P. Barnard
Tools	1	\$67.49	0.00	GW C[opy]	NA	Basil Manly	John E. Rial	NA

Table 6

Purpose of Transactions

Purpose	n	Sum	Sum Duration	Payee Mode	Enslaved Mode	Payer Mode	Recipient Mode	Sender Mode
Debt	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hire; Board; Clothing	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	John	NA	NA	NA
Sale	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	Sam	NA	NA	NA

The count, transaction amount sum, sum of duration of enslaved labor, and most common payee, enslaved individual, payer, recipient of payment, and transaction sender grouped by the purpose of each document.

NA value denotes missing, unavailable, or non-applicable information

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 7

Payers of Financial Transactions

Payer	n	M	Min	Max	Sum
NA	77	\$4,290.51	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$330,369.18
Basil Manly	80	\$1,457.20	\$28.35	\$49,134.80	\$116,575.96
George Benagh	62	\$501.66	\$17.50	\$3,797.10	\$31,102.81
Henry A. Snow	11	\$2,627.24	\$262.47	\$9,902.55	\$28,899.64
Trustees of the University of Alabama	1	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50
Agent of Mr. Tuomey	1	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94
Mr. Tuomey	4	\$335.44	\$75.59	\$623.63	\$1,341.76
Benjamin Whitfield	1	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51
Chairman of the Board of Trustees	1	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64
James V. Davenport	1	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49

Mean transaction amount, minimum and maximum transaction amount, sum of transaction amounts, and count of transactions associated with payers of transaction amounts.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Table 8

Documents by Year

Year	n	n Enslaved	n Payee	Sum Duration
1828	1	1	1	0.00
1830	1	1	1	6.50
1831	3	2	3	0.00
1832	1	1	1	0.00
1838	2	2	1	34.00
1839	11	8	9	508.00
1840	4	4	1	0.00
1841	10	4	4	29.50
1842	10	4	7	217.50
1843	1	1	1	0.00
1844	13	4	5	61.00
1845	8	4	2	1,095.00
1846	20	9	7	312.00
1847	1	1	1	150.00
1848	4	3	1	0.00
1849	3	3	2	0.00
1850	8	5	5	178.50
1851	16	7	10	425.50
1852	8	6	5	236.00
1853	25	15	13	397.50

Table 8

Documents by Year

Year	n	n Enslaved	n Payee	Sum Duration
1854	9	4	4	8.00
1855	2	2	1	8.00
1857	4	3	3	0.00
1858	8	5	5	9.50
1859	11	7	9	342.50
1860	54	26	11	514.25
1864	1	1	1	0.00
sum	239	—	—	4533.25

Count of unique instances within documents, count of unique enslaved individuals and payees, and sum of duration of enslaved labor grouped by year.

Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

Discussion

The aggregations in Table 1 represent the total unique instances and sums found in the documents, but do not account for overlap. Of note is the \$535,135.43 transaction amount sum and the sums of agents. It is unknown whether the transaction amounts listed for Orders of Appropriation were allocated for the Receipts and Invoices in the dataset. Although Table 3 distinguishes amounts between these Document Types, the grand sum of transaction amounts should be interpreted as the sum of all listed amounts found in the documents, with the assumption of no overlap.

Similarly, the count of 62 unique Enslaved Individuals, 10 unique Payers, 74 unique Payees, and 31 unique Certifiers in Table 1 does not represent the number of unique individuals across all categories. The count of unique agents should be interpreted as the sum of unique occurrences of individuals within a category.

From Table 2, it is clear from the available sources that the transaction amounts increased by decade, which may be due to the availability of newer documents over older documents, changes in the cost of goods, and the limited number of transactions considered.

The payers of transactions (Table 7) include many faculty members and trustees of the university. Basil Manly, the most frequently occurring and known payer of transactions, was the President of the University of Alabama from 1837 to 1855, and Landon C. Garland was the President from 1855 to 1865 (*Presidents of the University of Alabama – the University of Alabama Libraries*, n.d.). George Benagh was a professor of Modern Languages (*Invoice from L. C. Garland, The University of Alabama to George Benagh, September 26, 1860*, n.d.) and Michael Tuomey, for which Tuomey Hall is named, was an instructor of geological sciences (*Founder’s Wall – Geological Sciences*, 2024).

Of the 164 enslaved people hired, boarded, and purchased by the University of Alabama Board of Trustees and faculty enumerated by the *History of Enslaved People at UA* research task force (*Their Names · the History of Enslaved People at UA, 1828-1865 · the History of Enslaved People at UA*, 2024), 62 unique enslaved individuals are recorded between 1828 and 1864.

The duration of labor grouped by year in Figure 2 varies widely, and likely clusters around ongoing projects of the time. For example, *History of the University of Alabama* by James B. Sellers confirms that construction of the observatory, a project heavily relying on William, began in 1838 (Sellers, 2014).

Regarding Figure 3, which highlights the frequency of mention of enslaved individuals in the documents by year, Arthur was mentioned in the greatest span of years, from 1839 to 1860, and William was the most frequently mentioned. William is largely associated with the payee Isabel Pratt.

Figure 4, comparing the duration of enslaved labor associated with each payee, points to the drastic discrepancy in known and unknown data for each document, largely due to the absence of details on the payee of transactions. The payees that are mentioned occur frequently, particularly Lafayette M. Minor, who received many of their transactions through intermediary agents.

Regardless of the amounts allocated by the Orders for Appropriations, Receipts compose the largest transaction amount when the sources are grouped by Document Type in Table 3. The Document Types are as follows:

- Receipts represent records of transactions,
- Invoices are requests for transactions,
- Letters are longer correspondences between individuals,
- Bills of Sale are receipts for the purchase of enslaved people,
- Resolutions are commands and decisions of the Board of Trustees,
- Notes are shorter correspondences between individuals,
- Account Records are orders by the Board of Trustees regarding an account,
- Timetables are lists of when people worked, which helped determine the duration of labor of certain enslaved individuals like William.

The remaining Document Types are designated by the title of the document in Digital Collections.

The points in Figure 1 and the data in Table 4 are based on available data: documents where the duration of the enslaved labor, or start date and end date of labor, if applicable to the transaction, are provided, ranging from days to months.

Similarly, the Purpose of Transactions (Table 6) was determined according to the description of the document. The Purchase of enslaved individuals composed the largest proportion of transaction amounts, and the Hire of enslaved individuals composed the largest proportion of documents. When possible, the purpose of the hire was specified, such as for Hire (buildings), which indicates hire for maintenance on buildings in Tuscaloosa and at the university. A unique occurrence was Insurance, which refers to a single document regarding the coverage of an enslaved person (*Invoice from L. C. Garland, The University of Alabama to George Benagh, September 26, 1860, n.d.*). Laboratory refers to enslaved people attending to classroom labs, and Advertisement refers to the university being charged for an advertisement for hire in 1864, the latest occurrence of a document (*Receipt for payment from State of Alabama to James F. Warren, February 1, 1864, n.d.*). Injury and Sale are both affiliated with Sam, who was claimed to have injured someone and was later sold (*Letter from F. A. P. Barnard to Board of Trustees, University of Alabama, July 15, 1851, n.d.*; *Resolution to authorize sale of slave, The University of Alabama, July 14, 1848, n.d.*).

Table 8 indicates the variation of unique instances of involved agents by year. Particularly, 55 of the instances are dated to the 1860s and 25 documents are dated to 1853, exceeding all other years in the number of transactions. However, 1,095 days of enslaved labor were recorded for 1845 under Sum Duration, suggesting a discrepancy between the duration of enslaved labor and the frequency of transactions.

As mentioned in Results, 12 physical documents were found in the files at the Hoole Special Collections that had not been catalogued digitally, among these being a correspondence between Henry A. Snow and George Benagh regarding the purchase of 7 enslaved individuals from Lynchburg, Virginia for \$7,000, but only \$5,500 of this sum is accounted for in transaction amounts, or approximately \$192,479.63 today, which makes up 36.8% of the total amount spent by the university and the largest transaction amount among the documents (The University of Alabama Libraries W. S. Hoole Special Collections). The reason that \$1,500 is unaccounted for is unknown, but likely is that many documents of interest with financial data are not included in the selected Hoole Special

Collections files. Similarly, files can be found online through the Hoole Special Collections that were not found in the physical files. Many documents have also been discovered and made available by the *History of Enslaved People at UA* Research Task Force (*Items · the History of Enslaved People at UA, 1828-1865 · the History of Enslaved People at UA*, 2023), which have not been included in the data. Future developments for this project will focus on including any unconsidered data from these sources.

Moving forward, research will focus on acquiring and including these unconsidered documents. Other topics of interest will include the relationships between agents in the transaction. Since the frequency of occurrences of enslaved individuals, payees, and University of Alabama faculty are available, performing a social network analysis of these figures could make the agents of the slave trade and the network of the supply chain available. A deeper analysis of the financial information and duration of enslaved labor is also of interest, particularly a linear regression analysis to approximate contemporary rates of labor and board, and financial amounts corresponding to known projects occurring at the University of Alabama, particularly the construction of the President's Mansion and the observatory.

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