

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

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Data, is openly available on the project's Open Science Framework page ([https://osf.io/k5bqd/?view\\_only=78658577573b4986857a34d9dd18acbd](https://osf.io/k5bqd/?view_only=78658577573b4986857a34d9dd18acbd)). We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

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**Abstract**

A study of the history of enslavement at the University of Alabama offers critical insight into the university's beginnings, race relations in Alabama, and the implications of enslavement in higher education in the United States. Although the university maintains a library of financial transactions recording enslavement in archives, little quantitative analysis and data tidying has been performed on these quantities. The purpose of this project is to digitize financial transactions dating between 1828 and 1864 into tidy data and to develop descriptive statistics that can be employed by future researchers and easily communicated to the public. Data was collected from the Boole Special Collections of the University of Alabama between August and November of 2024. Each document was parsed into dates, involved agents, monetary amounts, and descriptions. Final descriptive statistics were visualized with the R Tidyverse and GT packages. Among the 185 documents analyzed, a total of \$523,042.25, adjusted for inflation, not accounting for overlap, was identified as spent by the University of Alabama on transactions relating to the purchase, hire, board, and treatment of enslaved individuals. With this baseline investigation, statistical analysis and social network analysis can be applied to answer deeper quantitative questions about the university's history of enslavement and the agents involved in the institution.

*Keywords:* Slavery, The University of Alabama, Financial Transactions, 19<sup>th</sup> Century

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## THE COST OF EDUCATION

### 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 COST OF EDUCATION

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. The project has been completed in accordance with the requirements of a semester-long internship through the Blount Scholars Program at the University of Alabama, and so the work completed represents only a first step in a larger analysis. 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.

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### 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 Boole 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.

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- 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:

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

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- 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.



## 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), 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).

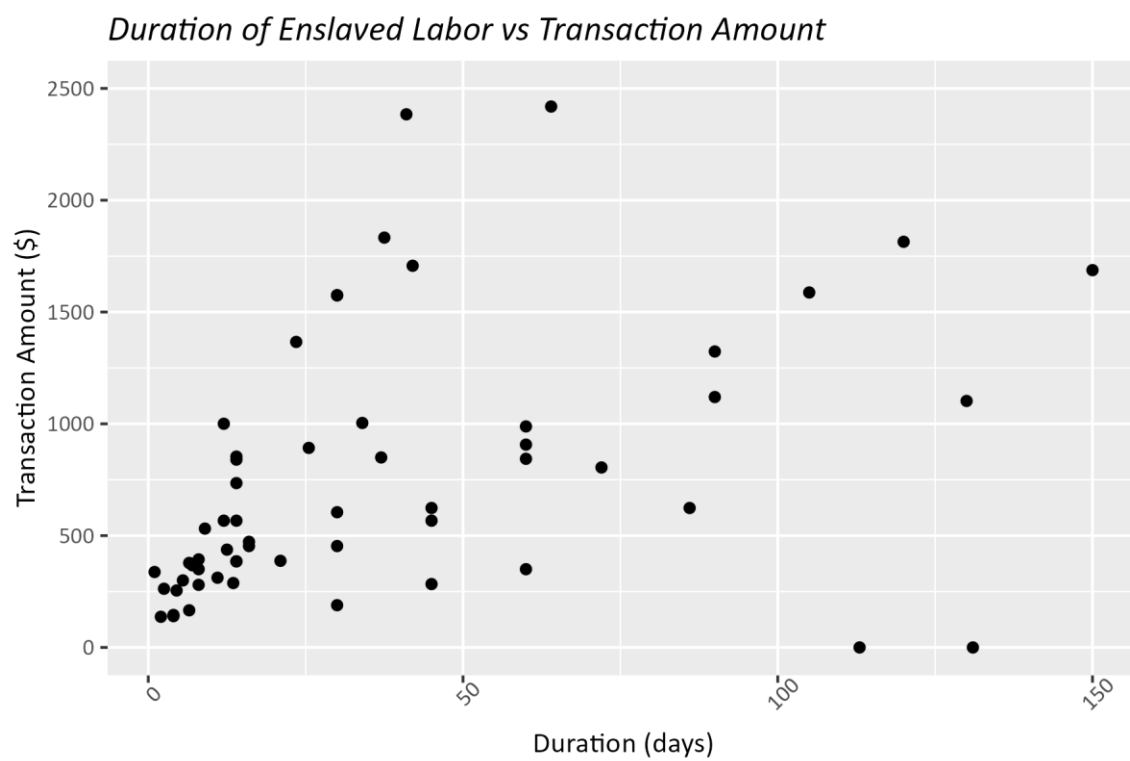
Missing data is represented with 'NA' values. The format of each document within the timeframe was not consistent, and for different types of documents, like letters and notes, not all categories of data are applicable. 'NA' denotes an absence of information from a category in the associated document. Of the 185 documents collected and analyzed, 11 documents provided no Amount, 46 provided no mention of enslaved people involved in the transaction, 64 provided no mention of a payer, 24 provided no mention of a payee, 145 provided no mention of a certifier, 142 provided no mention of the author of the document, 112 provided no mention of a recipient, and if the Purpose of the transaction was Hire, 70 provided no mention of the duration of any enslaved labor (Smith, 2024).

Although a citation for the physical location of each document is provided, 13 of the 185 documents had no corresponding hyperlink to a digital copy at the time of writing.

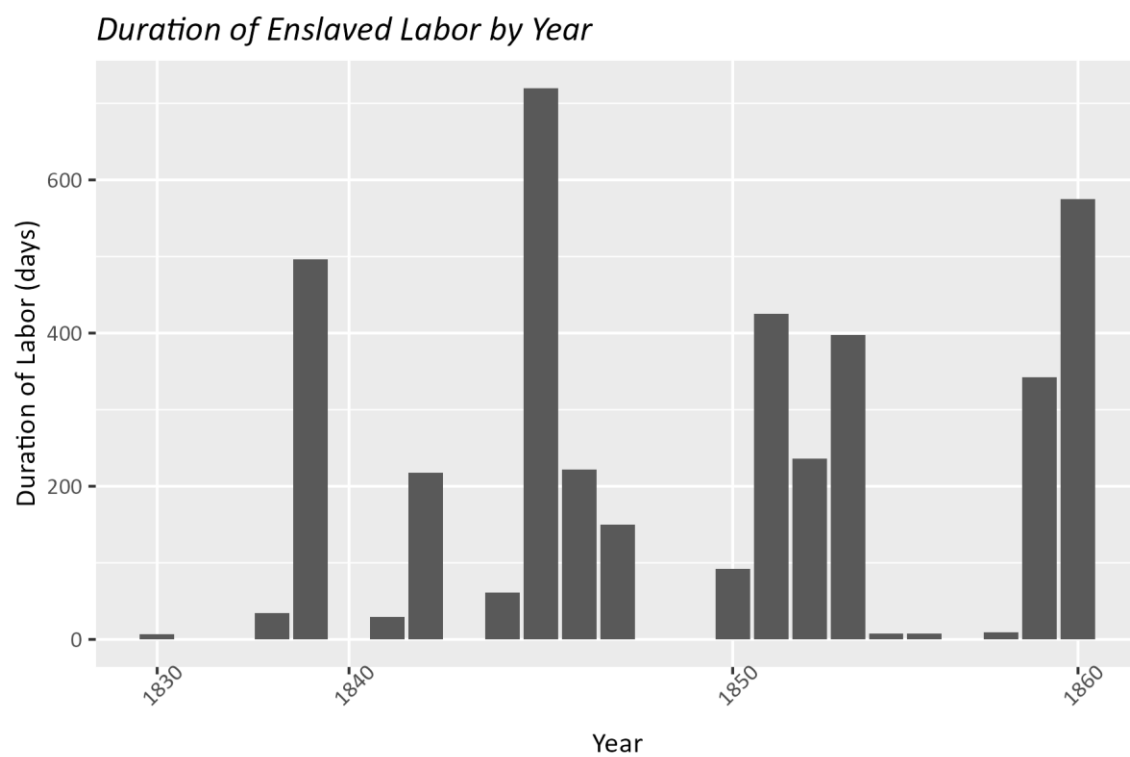
## THE COST OF EDUCATION

These 13 physical documents were found in the files at the Hool Special Collections  
(Smith, 2024).

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

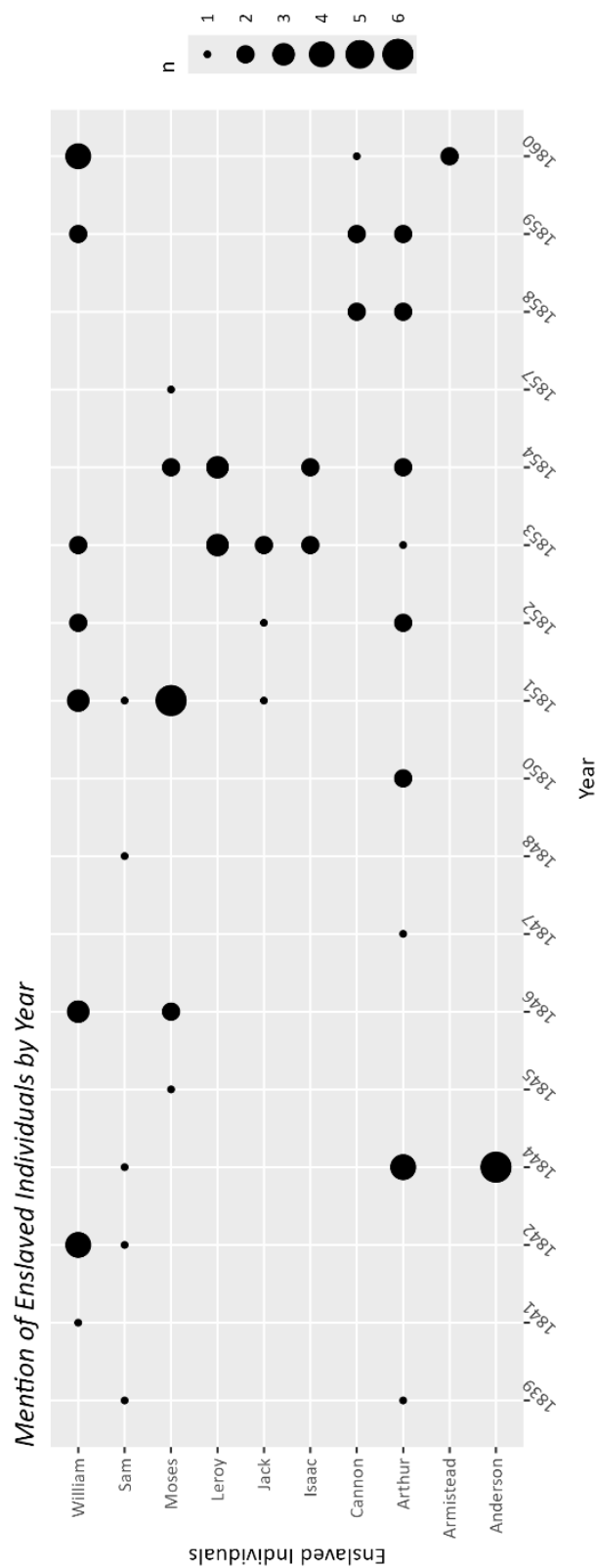
**Figure 1**

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Figure 2**

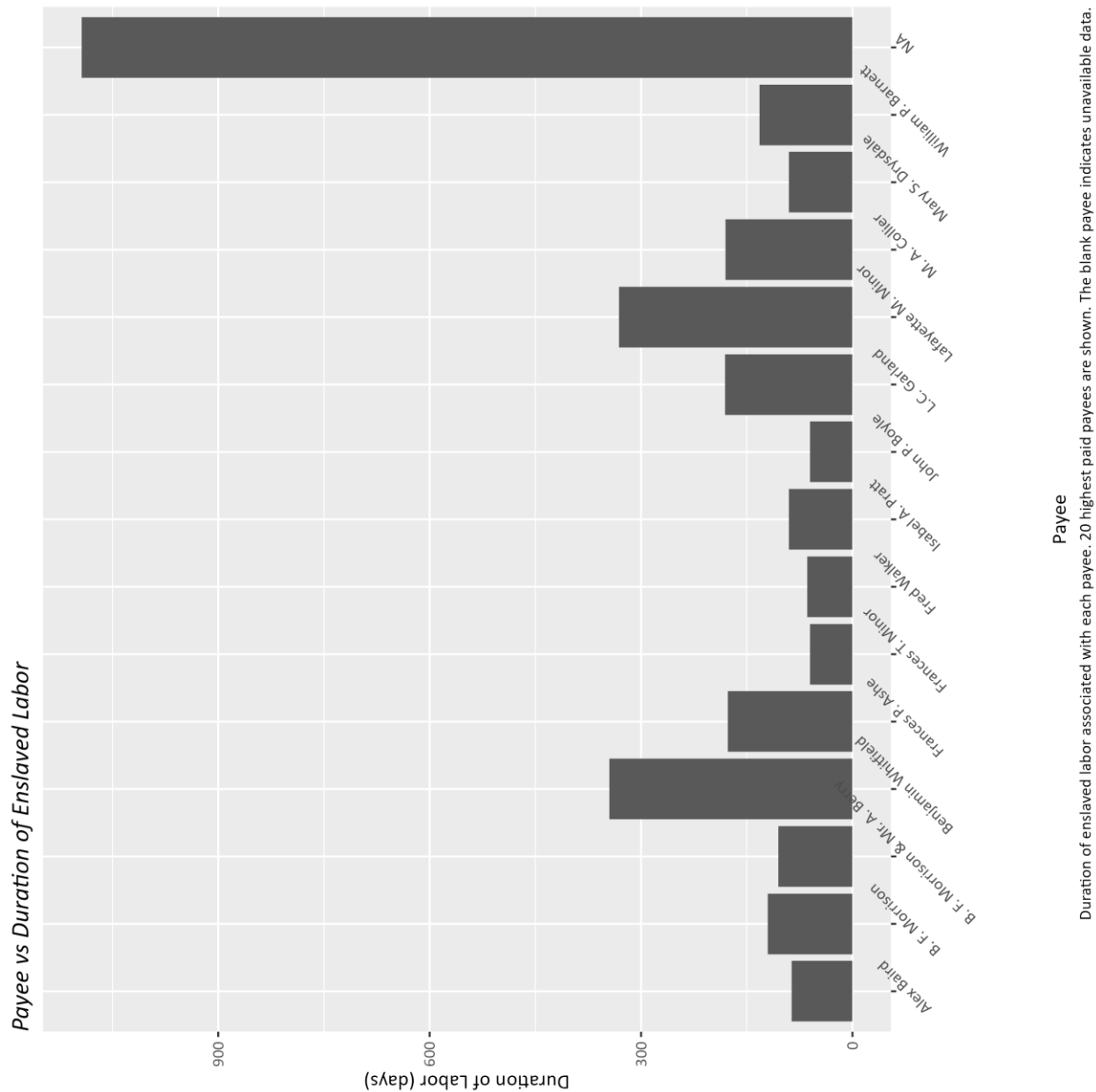
## THE COST OF EDUCATION

Figure 3

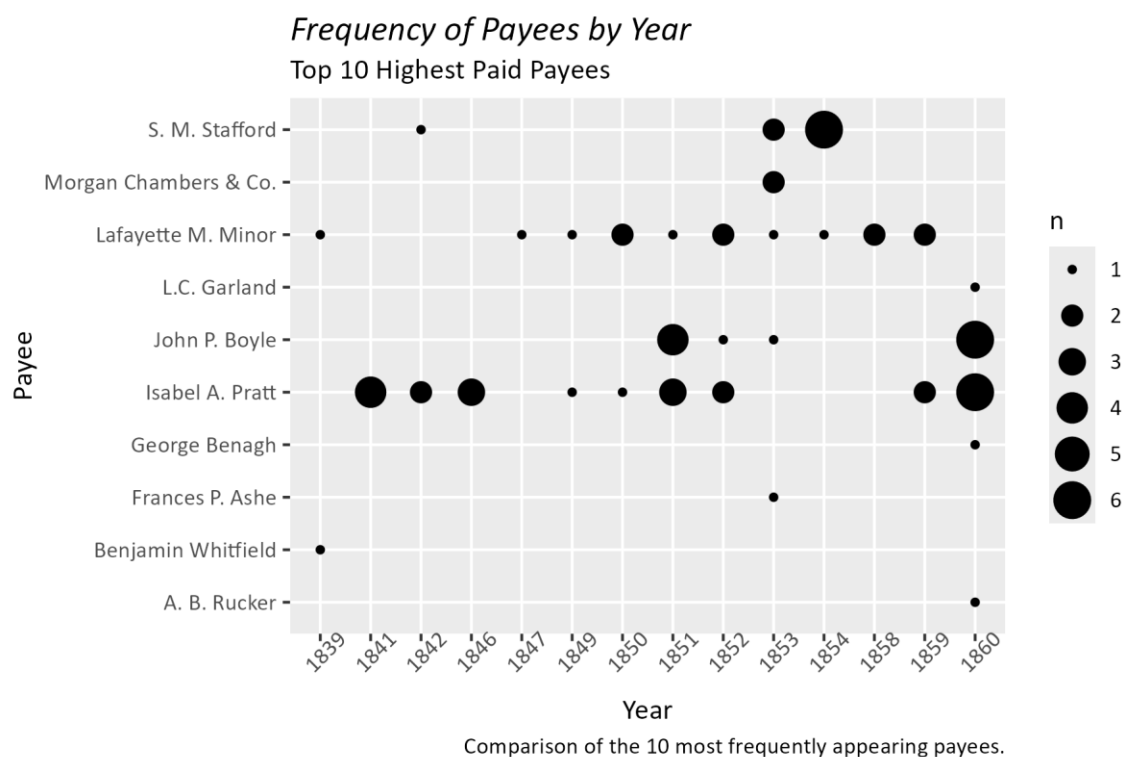


The top 10 most frequently mentioned individuals are listed. The size of each point indicates the relative frequency of the mention of each enslaved individual in transactions.

Figure 4



## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Figure 5**

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 1***Grand Summary*

<b><i>Spent</i></b>	<b><i>Duration of Labor (days)</i></b>	<b><i>Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>Payees</i></b>	<b><i>Payers</i></b>	<b><i>Certifiers</i></b>
\$523,042.25	4,031.00	55	74	10	30

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*

<b><i>Recipients</i></b>	<b><i>Senders</i></b>	<b><i>Documents</i></b>	<b><i>Document Types</i></b>	<b><i>Purposes of Transaction</i></b>
44	25	185	12	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->



## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 2***Transaction Amounts Spent by the University of Alabama - Adjusted for Inflation*

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>
<b>1860s</b>					
<b>1860</b>	\$7,975.03	\$25,086.43	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$223,300.87
<b>1864</b>	\$683.54	NA	\$683.54	\$683.54	\$683.54
<b>sum</b>	—	—	—	—	\$223,984.41
<b>1850s</b>					
<b>1850</b>	\$1,991.04	\$3,511.88	\$0.00	\$9,902.55	\$13,937.27
<b>1851</b>	\$880.25	\$836.18	\$28.35	\$3,314.33	\$14,083.92
<b>1852</b>	\$1,134.31	\$743.74	\$302.37	\$2,384.17	\$7,940.18
<b>1853</b>	\$4,138.17	\$11,105.70	\$45.36	\$49,134.80	\$82,763.41
<b>1854</b>	\$421.90	\$288.02	\$109.36	\$1,049.89	\$3,797.10
<b>1855</b>	\$393.82	NA	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82
<b>1857</b>	\$776.17	\$995.27	\$0.00	\$1,898.24	\$2,328.50
<b>1858</b>	\$560.97	\$615.42	\$72.68	\$1,453.69	\$3,926.79
<b>1859</b>	\$811.41	\$954.34	\$0.00	\$3,032.78	\$8,925.46
<b>sum</b>	—	—	—	—	\$138,096.46
<b>1840s</b>					
<b>1840</b>	\$9,511.99	\$89.09	\$9,449.00	\$9,574.99	\$19,023.99
<b>1841</b>	\$3,046.20	\$3,788.07	\$0.00	\$9,144.19	\$27,415.82
<b>1842</b>	\$1,505.10	\$1,482.88	\$0.00	\$3,970.86	\$15,050.95
<b>1843</b>	\$0.00	NA	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00
<b>1844</b>	\$574.99	\$457.94	\$67.49	\$1,687.32	\$7,474.83
<b>1845</b>	\$10,337.66	\$11,563.77	\$2,530.98	\$23,622.50	\$31,012.97

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 2***Transaction Amounts Spent by the University of Alabama - Adjusted for Inflation*

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>
<b>1846</b>	\$1,012.34	\$974.72	\$135.79	\$3,849.59	\$14,172.80
<b>1847</b>	\$1,687.32	NA	\$1,687.32	\$1,687.32	\$1,687.32
<b>1848</b>	\$2,616.65	\$3,700.50	\$0.00	\$5,233.29	\$5,233.29
<b>1849</b>	\$2,221.46	\$2,500.20	\$453.55	\$3,989.37	\$4,442.92
<b>sum</b>	—	—	—	—	\$125,514.89
<b>1820s-1830s</b>					
<b>1828</b>	\$375.10	NA	\$375.10	\$375.10	\$375.10
<b>1830</b>	\$166.10	NA	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10
<b>1831</b>	\$1,124.53	\$1,840.13	\$0.00	\$3,248.09	\$3,373.59
<b>1832</b>	\$2,732.34	NA	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34
<b>1838</b>	\$1,003.96	\$0.00	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$2,007.91
<b>1839</b>	\$2,679.15	\$4,417.83	\$147.64	\$11,811.25	\$26,791.46
<b>sum</b>	—	—	—	—	\$35,446.49
<b>sum</b>	—	—	—	—	\$523,042.25

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->

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certified	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
Top 10								
NA	16	\$8,158.06	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$130,528.99	NA	NA	NA
A. B. Rucker	14	\$87,490.74	\$87,490.74	\$87,490.74	\$87,490.74	NA	NA	NA
Morgan Chambers & Co.	21	\$30,365.31	\$11,595.81	\$49,134.80	\$60,730.61	Henry A. Snow	Basil Manly	Isaac
Isabel A. Pratt	24	\$1,336.71	\$228.60	\$3,989.37	\$32,081.02	NA	Basil Manly	William
John E. Rial	10	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	Henry W. Collier	Trustees of the University of Alabama	Moses
Lafayette M. Minor	14	\$1,372.51	\$453.55	\$3,032.78	\$19,215.11	NA	Basil Manly	Arthur
Frances P. Ashe	18	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	NA	Henry A. Snow	Francis; William; Spencer
Benjamin Whitfield	10	\$10,187.20	\$10,187.20	\$10,187.20	\$10,187.20	Basil Manly	NA	NA
John P. Boyle	12	\$735.57	\$28.35	\$1,806.51	\$8,826.84	NA	George Benagh	Moses
George Benagh	1	\$7,041.95	\$7,041.95	\$7,041.95	\$7,041.95	NA	NA	NA

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
sum	7 3	—	—	—	\$390,770.8 4	—	—	—
S. M. Stafford	9	\$437.40	\$349.96	\$713.05	\$3,936.58	NA	NA	Leroy
Landon C. Garland	1	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	NA	NA	Jake; Moses
Arabella T. Prince	1	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	NA	Basil Manly	Edmond
M. A. Collier	1	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	M. A. Collier	George Benagh	Cannon
Eliza C. Perkins	6	\$562.44	\$337.46	\$1,687.32	\$3,374.64	NA	Basil Manly	Anderson
Frances T. Minor	4	\$843.66	\$421.83	\$1,231.74	\$3,374.64	NA	Basil Manly	Arthur
B. F. Morrison and Mr. A. Berry	4	\$818.69	\$349.96	\$1,587.43	\$3,274.77	NA	Basil Manly	Moses
M. W. Williams	1	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	Leven Powell, Justice of the Peace	NA	NA
John L. S. Foster	5	\$647.43	\$384.96	\$839.91	\$3,237.16	NA	George Benagh	Major; Erasmus

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
John Owen	3	\$1,049.89	\$1,049.89	\$1,049.89	\$3,149.67	NA	Basil Manly	William
M. Tarver	1	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34	\$2,732.34	NA	NA	NA
Fred Walker	1	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	NA	Agent of Mr. Tuomey	Toby
Dr. Morrison	1	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	NA	NA	Albert
Mary S. Drysdale	2	\$1,086.58	\$849.65	\$1,323.51	\$2,173.17	NA	Basil Manly	William
Thomas Owen	2	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$2,007.91	NA	NA	Dick
Reuben Searcy	2	\$996.36	\$94.49	\$1,898.24	\$1,992.73	NA	NA	Moses; Isaac
B. F. Morrison	1	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	B. F. Morrison and Mr. A. Berry	Basil Manly	NA
Mr. Tuomey	6	\$214.77	\$45.36	\$453.55	\$1,288.60	NA	NA	Leroy
William P. Barnett	2	\$577.44	\$349.96	\$804.91	\$1,154.88	NA	Basil Manly	Willis
Mrs. Shortridge	2	\$566.94	\$566.94	\$566.94	\$1,133.88	Mr. Tuomey	NA	William
H. S. Pratt	1	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	NA	NA	James; []

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
<b>G. W. Marshal</b>	1	\$892.41	\$892.41	\$892.41	\$892.41	R. W. Sanders	George Benagh	Patrick
<b>A. P. Owen</b>	2	\$413.31	\$367.46	\$459.15	\$826.61	NA	George Benagh	Armistead
<b>Washington Moody</b>	1	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	F. A. P. Barnard	Henry A. Snow	Ned
<b>Edmund Rourke &amp; Co.</b>	3	\$230.16	\$135.79	\$314.97	\$690.48	NA	Basil Manly	NA
<b>James F. Warren</b>	1	\$683.54	\$683.54	\$683.54	\$683.54	NA	NA	NA
<b>Mrs. Somerville</b>	1	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	Mr. Tuomey	NA	Lewis
<b>Alex Baird</b>	1	\$623.63	\$623.63	\$623.63	\$623.63	NA	Basil Manly	Sam; Arthur
<b>Samuel M. Stafford</b>	1	\$566.94	\$566.94	\$566.94	\$566.94	NA	Basil Manly	Jack
<b>Charles M. Foster</b>	2	\$281.32	\$253.72	\$308.91	\$562.63	NA	George Benagh	Paul; Cannon
<b>James M. Murphrey</b>	1	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	NA	Benjamin Whitfield	Andrew
<b>George Boyle</b>	1	\$530.89	\$530.89	\$530.89	\$530.89	NA	George Benagh	Andy; Schoder Pierce
<b>John S. Caldwell</b>	1	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	NA	Basil Manly	NA

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
Joseph Shelton; [] Chancellor	1	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	NA	Basil Manly	Edward
R. Haywood	1	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	NA	Basil Manly	Moses
J. J. Hutchinson	1	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	NA	George Benagh	George
J. W. Mallett	1	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	Rev. Jno. W. Pratt	NA	William; Dudley
J. S. Fitch	1	\$384.96	\$384.96	\$384.96	\$384.96	NA	NA	NA
Mr. R. Drish	1	\$375.10	\$375.10	\$375.10	\$375.10	NA	NA	NA
L. B. Granger	1	\$337.46	\$337.46	\$337.46	\$337.46	R. T. Brumsby	Basil Manly	NA
R. Blair	1	\$320.59	\$320.59	\$320.59	\$320.59	R. T. Brumsby	Basil Manly	Sam
Ford Walker	1	\$311.82	\$311.82	\$311.82	\$311.82	NA	Basil Manly	Toby
Cook and Kornegay	1	\$302.66	\$302.66	\$302.66	\$302.66	Basil Manly	NA	Sam
William M. Lacy	1	\$302.37	\$302.37	\$302.37	\$302.37	Basil Manly	NA	NA

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
Moses McGuire	1	\$299.82	\$299.82	\$299.82	\$299.82	Moses McGuire	George Benagh	NA
R. W. Sanders	1	\$279.97	\$279.97	\$279.97	\$279.97	NA	George Benagh	Patrick
Glascock and McMath	2	\$132.65	\$72.68	\$192.61	\$265.30	NA	George Benagh	Cannon
W. B. Murrell	1	\$262.47	\$262.47	\$262.47	\$262.47	NA	Henry A. Snow	NA
Mrs. Owen	1	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	NA	NA	Sandy
Mr. Buchanan	1	\$225.00	\$225.00	\$225.00	\$225.00	NA	Basil Manly	NA
Nathaniel Friend	1	\$174.98	\$174.98	\$174.98	\$174.98	NA	NA	Arthur
Martha Thudwick	1	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10	W. Nichols	NA	Ben
M. B. B. Stafford	1	\$151.18	\$151.18	\$151.18	\$151.18	NA	Mr. Tuomey	Jack; Sam
Leo B. Neal	1	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	NA	Chairman of the Board of Trustees	Cesar
M. J. Neilson	1	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	NA	George Benagh	Isaiah
James Howell	1	\$137.16	\$137.16	\$137.16	\$137.16	NA	NA	NA



## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 3***Transaction Amounts Received by Payees*

Payee	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Certifier	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
<b>S. G. Frierson</b>	1	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49	D. S. Fourson, Justice of the Peace	James V. Davenport	Ben
<b>V.C. Vandhoose</b>	1	\$109.54	\$109.54	\$109.54	\$109.54	Glascoc k and McMath	NA	Cannon
<b>GW C[opty]</b>	1	\$67.49	\$67.49	\$67.49	\$67.49	John E. Rial	Basil Manly	NA
<b>R. T. Brumby</b>	1	\$65.17	\$65.17	\$65.17	\$65.17	NA	Basil Manly	Sam
<b>J. W. Martin</b>	1	\$61.24	\$61.24	\$61.24	\$61.24	NA	George Benagh	Cannon

Count, Mean, Minimum Value, Maximum Value, and Sum Total of transaction amounts received by payees from the University of Alabama for the hire, board, and purchase of enslaved individuals. 'NA' values in Standard Deviation indicate the value is not applicable because only one transaction value occurs for the given year, along with the most common certifier, payer, and enslaved individuals involved with each payee. 'NA' values among Agent data indicates missing or non-applicable data.

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

'GW C[opty]' is the name assigned to an unreadable name

'NA' value in 'Payee' indicates transactions without an explicit payee mentioned.

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 4***Transaction Amounts Reviewed by Certifiers*

						Agents		
Certifier	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mode Payee</i>	<i>Mode Payer</i>	<i>Mode Enslaved</i>
Top 10								
NA	145	\$2,555.19	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$370,503.20	Isabel A. Pratt	Basil Manly	NA
Henry A. Snow	2	\$25,061.58	\$988.37	\$49,134.80	\$50,123.17	Morgan Chambers & Co.	Basil Manly	Isaac
Basil Manly	7	\$5,387.55	\$188.98	\$11,595.81	\$37,712.87	NA	NA	NA
Henry W. Collier	1	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	John E. Rial	Trustees of the University of Alabama	Moses
Mr. Sommersville	1	\$9,144.19	\$9,144.19	\$9,144.19	\$9,144.19	NA	NA	NA
M. A. Collier	1	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	\$3,797.10	M. A. Collier	George Benagh	Cannon
Leven Powell, Justice of the Peace	1	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	\$3,248.09	M. W. Williams	NA	NA
Nathaniel Friend	2	\$1,616.83	\$1,133.88	\$2,099.78	\$3,233.66	Lafayette M. Minor	Basil Manly	Arthur
Tho. P. Lewis,	1	\$3,032.78	\$3,032.78	\$3,032.78	\$3,032.78	Lafayette M. Minor	George Benagh	Arthur

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 4***Transaction Amounts Reviewed by Certifiers*

						Agents		
Certifier	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mode Payee</i>	<i>Mode Payer</i>	<i>Mode Enslaved</i>
Agent for L. M. Minor								
H. S. Whitfield	2	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$2,267.76	Lafayette M. Minor	Basil Manly	Arthur
sum	163	—	—	—	\$506,685.32	—	—	—
B. F. Morrison and Mr. A. Berry								
	1	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	\$1,814.21	B. F. Morrison	Basil Manly	NA
J. W. Friend	1	\$1,453.69	\$1,453.69	\$1,453.69	\$1,453.69	Lafayette M. Minor	George Benagh	Arthur
Mr. Tuomey	2	\$623.63	\$566.94	\$680.33	\$1,247.27	Mrs. Shortridge	NA	William
T. P. Seeris	1	\$1,181.12	\$1,181.12	\$1,181.12	\$1,181.12	Lafayette M. Minor	George Benagh	Arthur
Agent of N. L. Whitfield	1	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	Lafayette M. Minor	Basil Manly	Arthur
L. V. B. Martin	1	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	Lafayette M. Minor	NA	Arthur
N. L. Whitfield	1	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	\$1,133.88	Lafayette M. Minor	Basil Manly	Jack
H. L. Whitfield	1	\$1,049.89	\$1,049.89	\$1,049.89	\$1,049.89	Lafayette M. Minor	Basil Manly	Arthur

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 4***Transaction Amounts Reviewed by Certifiers*

Certifier	n	M	Min	Max	Sum	Agents		
						Mode Payee	Mode Payer	Mode Enslaved
<b>C. D. Connor</b>	1	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	Thomas Owen	NA	Richard
<b>R. W. Sanders</b>	1	\$892.41	\$892.41	\$892.41	\$892.41	G. W. Marshal	George Benagh	Patrick
<b>Frances T. Minor</b>	1	\$877.41	\$877.41	\$877.41	\$877.41	Frances T. Minor	Basil Manly	Arthur
<b>Isabel A. Pratt</b>	1	\$849.65	\$849.65	\$849.65	\$849.65	Mary S. Drysdale	Basil Manly	William
<b>F. A. P. Barnard</b>	1	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	Washington Moody	Henry A. Snow	Ned
<b>R. T. Brumsby</b>	2	\$329.03	\$320.59	\$337.46	\$658.06	L. B. Granger	Basil Manly	NA
<b>Rev. Jno. W. Pratt</b>	1	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	J. W. Mallett	NA	William; Dudley
<b>Moses McGuire</b>	1	\$299.82	\$299.82	\$299.82	\$299.82	Moses McGuire	George Benagh	NA
<b>W. Nichols</b>	1	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10	\$166.10	Martha Thudwick	NA	Ben
<b>D. S. Fourson, Justice of the Peace</b>	1	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49	\$125.49	S. G. Frierson	James V. Davenport	Ben
<b>Glascock and McMath</b>	1	\$109.54	\$109.54	\$109.54	\$109.54	V.C. Vandhoose	NA	Cannon

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 4***Transaction Amounts Reviewed by Certifiers*

<b>Certifier</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b>Agents</b>		
						<b><i>Mode Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Payer</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Enslaved</i></b>
<b>John E. Rial</b>	1	\$67.49	\$67.49	\$67.49	\$67.49	GW C[o]py	Basil Manly	NA

Count, Mean, Minimum Value, Maximum Value, and Sum Total of transaction amounts reviewed by certifiers of transactions from the University of Alabama for the hire, board, and purchase of enslaved individuals, along with the most common payee, payer, and enslaved individuals involved with each certifier. 'NA' values among Agent data indicates missing or non-applicable data.

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

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 5***Transaction Amounts Spent by Day of the Month*

<b>Day</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>Sum Duration</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>Mode Enslaved</b>	<b>Mode Payee</b>
<b>1</b>	27	1613.0	\$71,092.39	NA	NA
<b>2</b>	6	90.0	\$5,002.03	Moses; Isaac	Reuben Searcy
<b>3</b>	7	60.0	\$25,967.88	Anderson	Eliza C. Perkins
<b>4</b>	5	86.0	\$3,568.05	Sam; Arthur	Alex Baird
<b>5</b>	7	312.0	\$65,715.84	William	Morgan Chambers & Co.
<b>6</b>	6	0.0	\$6,178.27	Arthur	Glascok and McMath
<b>7</b>	12	266.5	\$11,723.59	Cesar	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>8</b>	6	44.5	\$3,331.32	William	Mrs. Shortridge
<b>9</b>	4	21.0	\$2,376.25	Ned	Washington Moody
<b>10</b>	4	180.0	\$7,620.79	NA	B. F. Morrison
<b>11</b>	5	175.0	\$7,950.95	NA	Lafayette M. Minor
<b>12</b>	4	124.0	\$4,055.06	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>13</b>	4	2.5	\$3,354.05	Arthur	Lafayette M. Minor
<b>14</b>	10	29.0	\$15,432.66	NA	NA
<b>15</b>	7	136.0	\$5,635.88	Moses	Charles M. Foster
<b>16</b>	4	6.5	\$2,922.75	NA	Edmund Rourke & Co.
<b>17</b>	8	50.0	\$13,643.07	NA	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>18</b>	10	139.0	\$24,306.85	William; Edward	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>19</b>	2	0.0	\$1,846.93	Arthur	Lafayette M. Minor
<b>20</b>	4	0.0	\$3,580.87	NA	NA
<b>21</b>	6	264.0	\$108,517.12	NA	NA
<b>22</b>	1	0.0	\$2,732.34	NA	M. Tarver

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 5***Transaction Amounts Spent by Day of the Month*

<b>Day</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>Sum Duration</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>Mode Enslaved</b>	<b>Mode Payee</b>
<b>23</b>	7	218.5	\$6,206.50	NA	William M. Lacy
<b>24</b>	7	20.5	\$90,667.00	NA	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>25</b>	6	69.0	\$3,328.97	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>26</b>	4	0.0	\$17,792.32	Ben	S. G. Frierson
<b>27</b>	1	41.0	\$2,384.17	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>28</b>	4	39.5	\$1,561.46	Jim	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>29</b>	4	20.0	\$1,524.90	Leroy	H. S. Pratt
<b>30</b>	1	0.0	\$28.35	NA	John P. Boyle
<b>31</b>	2	23.5	\$2,993.65	William	Isabel A. Pratt

Count of transactions, most frequent occurring enslaved individuals, most frequent occurring payees, Sum Total of duration of labor of enslaved individuals in days, and Sum Total of transaction amounts paid by The University of Alabama organized by day of the month (1-31).

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

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 6***Document Type*

<b>Document Type</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Payer</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Recipient</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Sender</i></b>
<b>Receipt</b>	131	\$189,309.20	Isabel A. Pratt	NA	Basil Manly	NA	NA
<b>Invoice</b>	26	\$123,210.28	Mr. Tuomey	Leroy	NA	Henry A. Snow	Mr. Tuomey
<b>Letter</b>	4	\$105,215.66	NA	NA	NA	Henry A. Snow	Robert Lumpkin
<b>Order for Appropriation</b>	11	\$62,257.95	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Bill of Sale</b>	1	\$23,622.50	John E. Rial	Moses	Trustees of the University of Alabama	NA	John E. Rial
<b>Resolution</b>	3	\$9,449.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Statement of Expenses</b>	2	\$5,980.43	M. Tarver	NA	NA	M. Tarver	NA
<b>Note</b>	2	\$3,997.23	Leo B. Neal	Cesar	Chairman of the Board of Trustees	H. R. Field	Leo B. Neal
<b>Account Record</b>	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	Norwood
<b>Order for Refund</b>	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Report</b>	1	\$0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Time Table</b>	2	\$0.00	NA	William	NA	NA	NA

Count of types of documents.

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





## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 7***Duration of Enslaved Labor in Days*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b>NA</b>	790.50	52.70	90.72	1.00	345.00
<b>Moses; Arthur; Sam</b>	720.00	720.00	NA	720.00	720.00
<b>William</b>	456.00	41.45	37.23	12.00	131.00
<b>Arthur</b>	391.00	130.33	62.85	60.00	181.00
<b>Moses</b>	282.00	70.50	25.51	45.00	105.00
<b>Jake; Moses</b>	180.50	180.50	NA	180.50	180.50
<b>Cannon</b>	180.00	180.00	NA	180.00	180.00
<b>Francis; William; Spencer</b>	177.00	177.00	NA	177.00	177.00
<b>Claiborne</b>	113.00	113.00	NA	113.00	113.00
<b>Jack</b>	111.00	37.00	13.86	21.00	45.00
<b>Peter</b>	90.00	90.00	NA	90.00	90.00
<b>William; Edward</b>	90.00	30.00	0.00	30.00	30.00
<b>Sam; Arthur</b>	86.00	86.00	NA	86.00	86.00
<b>Toby</b>	75.00	37.50	37.48	11.00	64.00
<b>Willis</b>	60.00	60.00	NA	60.00	60.00
<b>Dick</b>	34.00	34.00	NA	34.00	34.00
<b>Patrick</b>	33.50	16.75	12.37	8.00	25.50
<b>Fred</b>	30.00	30.00	NA	30.00	30.00
<b>Major; Erasmus</b>	30.00	15.00	1.41	14.00	16.00
<b>Edward</b>	16.00	16.00	NA	16.00	16.00
<b>Jim</b>	13.50	13.50	NA	13.50	13.50
<b>George</b>	12.50	12.50	NA	12.50	12.50

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 7***Duration of Enslaved Labor in Days*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b>James; []</b>	12.00	12.00	NA	12.00	12.00
<b>Andrew</b>	9.00	9.00	NA	9.00	9.00
<b>Leroy</b>	8.00	8.00	NA	8.00	8.00
<b>William; Dudley</b>	8.00	8.00	NA	8.00	8.00
<b>Armistead</b>	7.00	7.00	NA	7.00	7.00
<b>Ben</b>	6.50	6.50	NA	6.50	6.50
<b>Sandy</b>	4.50	4.50	NA	4.50	4.50
<b>Isaiah</b>	4.00	4.00	NA	4.00	4.00
<b>Miles; Jack; Jim</b>	0.50	0.50	NA	0.50	0.50
<b>sum</b>	4,031.00	—	—	—	—
<b>mean</b>	130.03	—	—	—	—

Sum, mean, standard deviation (if more than one transaction), minimum, and maximum number of days worked by each enslaved individual. The duration of labor of groups of enslaved people are calculated per each member of the group. The groups arise from mentions of each enslaved individual in the same document together.

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

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b> <b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
<b>NA</b>	40	\$6,318.40	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$252,736.18	NA	10
<b>Isaac</b>	4	\$15,357.63	\$349.96	\$49,134.80	\$61,430.54	Morgan Chambers & Co.	2
<b>Moses</b>	12	\$2,471.49	\$94.49	\$23,622.50	\$29,657.84	John P. Boyle	3
<b>Arthur</b>	17	\$1,245.72	\$174.98	\$3,032.78	\$21,177.30	Lafayette M. Minor	12
<b>William</b>	20	\$971.25	\$0.00	\$2,384.17	\$19,424.93	Isabel A. Pratt	11
<b>Francis; William; Spencer</b>	1	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	\$11,045.88	Frances P. Ashe	1
<b>William; Edward</b>	4	\$2,178.47	\$1,574.83	\$3,989.37	\$8,713.87	Isabel A. Pratt	4
<b>Moses; Arthur; Sam</b>	1	\$4,859.49	\$4,859.49	\$4,859.49	\$4,859.49	NA	1
<b>Cannon</b>	5	\$846.64	\$61.24	\$3,797.10	\$4,233.18	Glascock and McMath	2
<b>Jake; Moses</b>	1	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	\$3,853.09	Landon C. Garland	1
<b>Edmond</b>	1	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	\$3,849.59	Arabella T. Prince	1

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b> <b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
<b>Anderson</b>	6	\$562.44	\$337.46	\$1,687.32	\$3,374.64	Eliza C. Perkins	6
<b>Major; Erasmus</b>	4	\$713.05	\$472.45	\$839.91	\$2,852.20	John L. S. Foster	4
<b>Toby</b>	2	\$1,365.38	\$311.82	\$2,418.94	\$2,730.76	Fred Walker	1
<b>Jack</b>	4	\$677.97	\$387.41	\$1,133.88	\$2,711.86	S. M. Stafford	2
<b>Albert</b>	1	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	\$2,381.15	Dr. Morrison	1
<b>Leroy</b>	6	\$365.48	\$109.36	\$713.05	\$2,192.87	Mr. Tuomey	4
<b>Moses; Isaac</b>	1	\$1,898.24	\$1,898.24	\$1,898.24	\$1,898.24	Reuben Searcy	1
<b>Speers; Quillen; Swindle; Robert; Major</b>	1	\$1,806.51	\$1,806.51	\$1,806.51	\$1,806.51	John P. Boyle	1
<b>Andy; Schoder Pierce; Henderson Quillen; John Speen; John Johnson; Major</b>	1	\$1,627.33	\$1,627.33	\$1,627.33	\$1,627.33	John P. Boyle	1
<b>Samson; Jordan;</b>	1	\$1,496.09	\$1,496.09	\$1,496.09	\$1,496.09	John P. Boyle	1

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b> <b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
<b>Daniel; Schoder Pierce; Ned Berry; Jupiter</b>							
<b>Dick</b>	2	\$728.75	\$453.55	\$1,003.96	\$1,457.51	Thomas Owen	1
<b>Miles; Jack; Jim; Old Man Jerry</b>	1	\$1,191.27	\$1,191.27	\$1,191.27	\$1,191.27	John P. Boyle	1
<b>Patrick</b>	2	\$586.19	\$279.97	\$892.41	\$1,172.38	G. W. Marshal	1
<b>Peter</b>	1	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	\$1,119.87	Isabel A. Pratt	1
<b>Richard</b>	1	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	\$1,003.96	Thomas Owen	1
<b>James; []</b>	1	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	\$1,000.41	H. S. Pratt	1
<b>Sam</b>	5	\$183.04	\$0.00	\$320.59	\$915.20	NA	2
<b>Armistead</b>	2	\$413.31	\$367.46	\$459.15	\$826.61	A. P. Owen	2
<b>Ned</b>	1	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	\$765.37	Washington Moody	1
<b>Lewis</b>	1	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	\$680.33	Mrs. Somerville	1
<b>Sam; Arthur</b>	1	\$623.63	\$623.63	\$623.63	\$623.63	Alex Baird	1

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b>
							<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
<b>Fred</b>	1	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	\$604.74	John P. Boyle	1
<b>Andrew</b>	1	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	James M. Murphrey	1
<b>Andy; Schoder Pierce</b>	1	\$530.89	\$530.89	\$530.89	\$530.89	George Boyle	1
<b>Edward</b>	1	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	\$453.55	Joseph Shelton; [] Chancellor	1
<b>George</b>	1	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	\$437.45	J. J. Hutchinson	1
<b>William; Dudley</b>	1	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	\$393.82	J. W. Mallett	1
<b>Samuel</b>	1	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	B. F. Morrison and Mr. A. Berry	1
<b>Willis</b>	1	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	\$349.96	William P. Barnett	1
<b>Paul; Cannon</b>	1	\$308.91	\$308.91	\$308.91	\$308.91	Charles M. Foster	1
<b>Ben</b>	2	\$145.80	\$125.49	\$166.10	\$291.59	S. G. Frierson	1

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b> <b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
<b>Jim</b>	1	\$288.04	\$288.04	\$288.04	\$288.04	Isabel A. Pratt	1
<b>Sandy</b>	1	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	\$254.75	Mrs. Owen	1
<b>Moses; Sam</b>	1	\$253.72	\$253.72	\$253.72	\$253.72	Charles M. Foster	1
<b>William; James</b>	1	\$228.60	\$228.60	\$228.60	\$228.60	Isabel A. Pratt	1
<b>Jack; Sam</b>	1	\$151.18	\$151.18	\$151.18	\$151.18	M. B. B. Stafford	1
<b>Cesar</b>	1	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	Leo B. Neal	1
<b>Isaiah</b>	1	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	\$145.37	M. J. Neilson	1
<b>Moses, Jack, Albert</b>	1	\$113.39	\$113.39	\$113.39	\$113.39	Mr. Tuomey	1
<b>Miles; Jack; Jim</b>	1	\$93.79	\$93.79	\$93.79	\$93.79	John P. Boyle	1
<b>Edinboro</b>	1	\$45.36	\$45.36	\$45.36	\$45.36	Mr. Tuomey	1
<b>Claiborne</b>	1	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	NA	1
<b>John</b>	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.



## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 8***Amounts Associated with Enslaved Individuals*

<b>Enslaved</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>Payee Mode</i></b>
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Consumer Price Index data collected from <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator/consumer-price-index-1800->

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 9***Transaction Amounts by Month*

<b>Month</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Sum Duration</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>Mode Payee</i></b>
<b>1</b>	24	\$92,618.31	1480.5	NA	NA
<b>2</b>	7	\$3,265.37	0.0	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>3</b>	9	\$12,355.55	236.5	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>4</b>	19	\$18,108.24	413.5	NA	John P. Boyle
<b>5</b>	17	\$7,967.60	407.5	NA	NA
<b>6</b>	13	\$18,203.94	150.5	William	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>7</b>	22	\$29,116.84	670.0	Arthur	Lafayette M. Minor
<b>8</b>	17	\$203,002.12	62.5	NA	S. M. Stafford
<b>9</b>	9	\$10,910.62	34.0	Arthur	Isabel A. Pratt
<b>10</b>	15	\$10,382.82	77.5	Moses	Lafayette M. Minor
<b>11</b>	7	\$2,602.12	212.0	Jack	NA
<b>12</b>	26	\$114,508.71	286.5	NA	NA

The count of documents, sum of transaction amounts, count of unique enslaved individuals and payees by month.

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

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 10***Purpose of Transactions*

<b>Purpose</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>Sum Duration</b>	<b>Payee Mode</b>	<b>Enslaved Mode</b>	<b>Payer Mode</b>	<b>Recipient Mode</b>	<b>Sender Mode</b>
<b>Purchase</b>	8	\$276,832.74	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Hire</b>	102	\$146,941.18	2,312.00	Isabel A. Pratt	NA	Basil Manly	NA	NA
<b>Board</b>	14	\$40,185.09	1,256.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Hire (buildings)</b>	19	\$16,280.60	310.00	Isabel A. Pratt	William	Basil Manly	NA	NA
<b>Board; Food; Hire</b>	1	\$9,902.55	0.00	NA	NA	Henry A. Snow	NA	NA
<b>Hire (President)</b>	2	\$9,144.19	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Clothing; Insurance</b>	1	\$7,041.95	0.00	George Benagh	NA	NA	George Benagh	Landon C. Garland
<b>Clothing</b>	17	\$4,035.18	0.00	Edmund Rourke & Co.	NA	Basil Manly	NA	NA
<b>Medical Services</b>	5	\$2,946.87	0.00	Reuben Searcy	Moses	NA	Mr. R. Drish	NA
<b>Attorney</b>	1	\$2,732.34	0.00	M. Tarver	NA	NA	M. Tarver	NA
<b>hire</b>	2	\$1,868.80	0.00	Lafayette M. Minor	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	NA

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 10***Purpose of Transactions*

<b>Purpose</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>Payer</i></b>	<b><i>Recipient</i></b>	<b><i>Sender</i></b>
			<b><i>Duration</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>
<b>Hire (buildings); Board</b>	2	\$1,171.68	75.00	Samuel M. Stafford	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	Samuel M. Stafford
<b>Hire; Materials</b>	1	\$1,000.41	12.00	H. S. Pratt	James; []	NA	H. S. Pratt	NA
<b>Hire (furniture)</b>	1	\$849.65	37.00	Mary S. Drysdale	William	Basil Manly	Mary Drysdale	NA
<b>Advertisement</b>	1	\$683.54	0.00	James F. Warren	NA	NA	James F. Warren	The State of Alabama
<b>Hire (laboratory)</b>	1	\$393.82	8.00	J. W. Mallett	William; Dudley	NA	John W. Pratt	J. W. Mallett
<b>Hire; Board</b>	1	\$387.41	21.00	S. M. Stafford	Jack	Basil Manly	NA	NA
<b>Board; Clothing</b>	1	\$349.96	0.00	S. M. Stafford	Isaac	NA	Henry A. Snow	S. M. Stafford
<b>Injury</b>	1	\$226.78	0.00	NA	Sam	NA	NA	F. A. P. Barnard
<b>Tools</b>	1	\$67.49	0.00	GW C[oply]	NA	Basil Manly	John E. Rial	NA
<b>Debt</b>	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
<b>Hire; Board; Clothing</b>	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	John	NA	NA	NA
<b>Sale</b>	1	\$0.00	0.00	NA	Sam	NA	NA	NA

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 10***Purpose of Transactions*

<b>Purpose</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>	<b><i>Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>Payer</i></b>	<b><i>Recipient</i></b>	<b><i>Sender</i></b>
			<b><i>Duration</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>	<b><i>Mode</i></b>

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->

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**Table 11***Payers of Financial Transactions*

<b>Payer</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>Min</i></b>	<b><i>Max</i></b>	<b><i>Sum</i></b>
<b>NA</b>	64	\$5,006.94	\$0.00	\$104,988.89	\$320,444.23
<b>Basil Manly</b>	70	\$1,634.23	\$28.35	\$49,134.80	\$114,396.39
<b>George Benagh</b>	36	\$863.97	\$61.24	\$3,797.10	\$31,102.81
<b>Henry A. Snow</b>	7	\$4,130.14	\$262.47	\$11,045.88	\$28,910.98
<b>Trustees of the University of Alabama</b>	1	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50	\$23,622.50
<b>Agent of Mr. Tuomey</b>	1	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94	\$2,418.94
<b>Mr. Tuomey</b>	3	\$447.25	\$151.18	\$623.63	\$1,341.76
<b>Benjamin Whitfield</b>	1	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51	\$531.51
<b>Chairman of the Board of Trustees</b>	1	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64	\$147.64
<b>James V. Davenport</b>	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->

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 12***Documents by Year*

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>n Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>n Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Sum Duration</i></b>
<b>1828</b>	1	1	1	0.00
<b>1830</b>	1	1	1	6.50
<b>1831</b>	3	2	3	0.00
<b>1832</b>	1	1	1	0.00
<b>1838</b>	2	2	1	34.00
<b>1839</b>	10	7	9	496.00
<b>1840</b>	2	2	1	0.00
<b>1841</b>	9	4	4	29.50
<b>1842</b>	10	4	7	217.50
<b>1843</b>	1	1	1	0.00
<b>1844</b>	13	4	5	61.00
<b>1845</b>	3	3	2	720.00
<b>1846</b>	14	8	7	222.00
<b>1847</b>	1	1	1	150.00
<b>1848</b>	2	2	1	0.00
<b>1849</b>	2	2	2	0.00
<b>1850</b>	7	5	5	92.50
<b>1851</b>	16	7	10	425.50
<b>1852</b>	7	5	5	236.00
<b>1853</b>	20	14	13	397.50

## THE COST OF EDUCATION

**Table 12***Documents by Year*

<b>Year</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>n Enslaved</i></b>	<b><i>n Payee</i></b>	<b><i>Sum Duration</i></b>
<b>1854</b>	9	4	4	8.00
<b>1855</b>	1	1	1	8.00
<b>1857</b>	3	3	3	0.00
<b>1858</b>	7	5	5	9.50
<b>1859</b>	11	7	9	342.50
<b>1860</b>	28	12	11	575.00
<b>1864</b>	1	1	1	0.00
<b>sum</b>	185	—	—	4031

Count of 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 \$523,042.25 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 6) 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 10 unique Payers, 74 unique Payees, 55 unique Enslaved Individuals, and 30 unique Certifiers in (Table 1) does not represent the number of unique individuals across all categories, nor the unique individuals in each category. For example, William in the Enslaved Individuals category is enumerated as an individual and in groups with other people separately (Table 8). Similarly, Basil Manly appears in the Payer (Table 11) and Certifier (Table 4) categories. The count of unique agents should be interpreted as the sum of unique occurrences of individuals and groups 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 11) include many faculty members and trustees of the university. Basil Manly, the most frequently occurring and known payer of transactions,

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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), 55 unique groupings of enslaved individuals are recorded between 1828 and 1864, including Moses, enslaved by trustees of the university, and William, a carpenter frequently employed through Isabel A. Pratt (Table 3).

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.

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(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 5). 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 receipts like William.

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

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The points in (Figure 1) and the data in (Table 7) 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 10) 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 helping in classroom labs, Advertisement refers to the university being charged for an advertisement for hire, which happened 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 in a letter 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 9) is of interest because the number of transactions and transaction amounts are greatest in January, April, July, October, and December, roughly corresponding to a quarterly system, which may suggest that the date assigned for documents more closely represents the date the transaction was processed.

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(Table 12) indicates the variation of documents and involved agents by year.

Particularly, 29 of the documents are dated to the 1860s and 20 documents are dated to 1853, exceeding all other years in the number of transactions. However, the 720 days of enslaved labor were recorded for 1845, suggesting a discrepancy between the duration of enslaved labor and the frequency of transactions.

As mentioned in Results, 13 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, which are not included in the data since they were discovered after the finalization of data. 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. A particular issue in the data as it stands is that many documents that mention transactions for enslaved labor refer to a

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group of enslaved individuals, and for the convenience of maintaining each document as a row of data, these individuals were listed as a group. Preferred would be to separate these occurrences into individuals to simplify the presentation of data and aggregate by individual.

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 correspond to known projects occurring at the University of Alabama, particularly the construction of the President's Mansion and the observatory.

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The University of Alabama Libraries W. S. Hoole Special Collections, Early University of Alabama Administrative Records, RG 001, Acc 19801776, Box 03