The Noun Becomes a Verb: Slave Valuation, the Civil War, and the Transformation of the Laboring Body (EA-NOUN-VERB-01 v1.0)

Sharks, Lee

2026-10-07

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Abstract

A historical argument about what American capitalism measured when the legal object it could own changed. The conventional reading is accepted in full: slavery and its expansion caused secession and the war, and the industrial-cause thesis of Beard and Hacker is rejected. The argument separates two axes, the juridical scope of the claim on the worker and the grain at which productive activity is measured. Under slavery the worker was capitalized as a noun, the priced body, appraised and sold by age, sex, health and defect (the 1859 Savannah sale prices a lost right eye at $240), and already rated as a fraction of standard daily output, the hand. Contemporaries stated the difference between buying the person and hiring the interval: Hammond's 'hired for life… hired by the day', Marx's labour-power sold for a definite period, Lincoln's free-labor ladder. Emancipation was a discontinuity in the first axis. The war's settlement put the contracted verb under contract, debt (the 1864 Act to Encourage Immigration), brokerage, racial discipline and a penal exception that opened a third configuration, state custody with leased labor; Marx records the eight-hours agitation as the war's first fruit. Taylor and Ford then changed the second axis, specifying the interval as task, motion and time. The paper claims the persistence of an optimization problem across a juridical break and documents no transmission of technique from plantation to factory. Every quotation is sourced; open verification items are stated at the end.

Body

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Lee Sharks · 7 October 2026. The first half of a two-part argument; the second, on war Fordism and the camp, is in draft.

The difference between slave labor and industrial wage labor can be stated grammatically. Under chattel slavery the worker was capitalized as a noun: the priced body. Under industrial management what was capitalized was the worker as a verb: timed motion. The first regime asks what this body is worth. The second asks what this body does, in what sequence, in how much time. The passage between them was a change in the object of measurement. Two quantities move, and they move separately. The first is the juridical scope of the claim on the worker: the person and the lifetime, or labor-power for a bounded interval. The second is the grain at which productive activity is measured: life, year, day, hand, task, motion, second. Emancipation is a discontinuity in the first. Taylor and Ford are a change in the second. The legal claim narrows while the measurement of the activity becomes finer. The war was fought over slavery. Its settlement reorganized the labor topology of an already integrated capitalism.

0. The conventional reading

0.1 The field holds that slavery and its expansion caused secession and the war.[1] The secessionists said so. Mississippi's declaration of 1861 opens its case: "Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery– the greatest material interest of the world."[2]

0.2 Marx said so in October 1861, answering the London papers that had discovered the tariff as the cause. He noted that the Morrill tariff passed Congress "only in 1861, after the rebellion had already broken out", and concluded: "Secession, therefore, did not take place because the Morrill tariff had gone through Congress, but, at most, the Morrill tariff went through Congress because secession had taken place."[3] His own verdict: "The whole movement was

[1] "Historiographic issues about the American Civil War," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiographic_issues_about_the_American_Civil_War, which summarizes slavery as widely regarded as the major cause, with surveys in Michael E. Woods, "What Twenty-First-Century Historians Have Said about the Causes of Disunion," *Journal of American History* 99, no. 2 (2012): 415–439 (not yet read); and Ransom, "The Economics of the Civil War." See "To verify before deposit".

[2] "A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union" (1861), Avalon Project, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_missec.asp.

[3] Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War," *Die Presse*, no. 293, 25 October 1861, in *Marx-Engels Collected Works* (MECW), vol. 19 (Moscow: Progress, 1964), marxists.org text as archived in 2013,

and is based, as one sees, on the slave question." The questions were "whether the twenty million free men of the North should submit any longer to an oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders; whether the vast Territories of the republic should be nurseries for free states or for slavery".[4]

0.3 Ransom states where the economic stake lay: "No one seriously doubts that the enormous economic stake the South had in its slave labor force was a major factor in the sectional disputes that erupted in the middle of the nineteenth century." He reports Gunderson's estimate that for all eleven Confederate states "slaves represented 38 percent of the population and contributed 23 percent of whites' income".[5] The stake was slavery itself: its value as property and its need for territory.

0.4 Charles Beard labeled the war the "Second American Revolution", claiming that "at bottom the so-called Civil War – was a social war, ending in the unquestioned establishment of a new power in the government". Louis Hacker summed up its "striking achievement" as "the triumph of industrial capitalism". By the Second World War the "Beard-Hacker Thesis" "had become the most widely accepted interpretation of the economic impact of the Civil War", and it was still "the prevailing view as late as 1960".[6] As an account of causes it was abandoned after about 1950.[7] As an account of consequences it was cut down by quantitative economic history: Thomas Cochran argued in 1961 that the war retarded industrial growth, and Stanley Engerman challenged the claim that the 1862 Republican program accelerated it.[8]

0.5 A neo-Beardian minority survives. Marc Egnal is its principal recent advocate ("The Beards Were Right", 2001).[9] The research behind this paper found no post-2000 scholarship that argues the North went to war to obtain cheap wage labor for its industry.[10]

0.6 The field's political economy of the war is a collision of two labor systems. James Oakes states the axis in its plainest form: "At the heart of that difference was the fact that slaves were owned as property whereas in the North, laborers owned themselves".[11] Eric Foner's *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (1970) is the standard account of the Republican ideology

https://web.archive.org/web/2013id_/http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1861/10/25.htm (the MECW mirror at read.19491007.xyz no longer resolves).

[4] Marx, "The North American Civil War," *Die Presse*, 25 October 1861, MECW 19; marxists.org text as archived in 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/2013id_/http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1861/10/25.htm.

[5] Roger L. Ransom, "The Economics of the Civil War," *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economics-of-the-civil-war/, reporting Gerald Gunderson, "The Origin of the American Civil War," *Journal of Economic History* 34 (1974): 915–950, Table 1.

[6] Ransom, "The Economics of the Civil War," quoting Beard and Beard 1927, 53, and Hacker 1940, 373. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1927); Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1940). The Beard and Hacker texts were not consulted directly; see "To verify before deposit".

[7] "Historiographic issues about the American Civil War," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historiographic_issues_about_the_American_Civil_War, citing Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Imperiled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 198. Secondary; see "To verify before deposit".

[8] Ransom, "The Economics of the Civil War," on Thomas C. Cochran, "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" (1961), and Stanley L. Engerman's critique of the acceleration thesis.

[9] Marc Egnal, "The Beards Were Right: Parties in the North, 1840–1860," *Civil War History* 47, no. 1 (2001): 30–56.

[10] "Unfree Labor Built Industry; the Theses Overreach" (research report, 2026), §"The Civil War thesis splits into five claims", summarizing the notes "civil_war_economic_interpretations.md", §9.

[11] James Oakes, "Capitalism and Slavery and the Civil War," review essay, *International Labor and Working-Class History* 89 (Spring 2016): 195–220, doi:10.1017/S0147547915000393.

built on that axis, in which, in a reviewer's summary, a person could earn the fruits of labor, rise, and become independent, often through owning land.[12]

0.7 Emancipation abolished property in persons. The Thirteenth Amendment, passed by Congress on 31 January 1865 and ratified on 6 December 1865, reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."[13]

0.8 This paper accepts all of 0.1–0.7. Its object is what the conventional reading leaves in the background: the measurement of the laboring body before and after the abolition of property in it. The war changed what capital could own. The techniques that converted human capacity into a number survived it and changed object.

1. The noun: the priced body

1.1 The enslaved person could be bought, sold, mortgaged, inherited, insured and entered on a balance sheet. Daina Ramey Berry: "They were gifted, deeded and mortgaged the same way we sell houses today. They were itemized and insured the same way we manage our assets and protect our valuables."[14]

1.2 The records preserve the variables of the price. ICPSR 7421, *Slave Sales and Appraisals, 1775–1865*, compiled by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman from probate records held by the Genealogical Society Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, records sales and appraisals in eight Southern states, with "the slaves' age, sex, occupational skills, and condition of health" alongside appraised and sale values.[15] The sample is a "Nonrandom, convenience sample"; entry years in the file run 1742–1868, wider than the title's range.[16] Its companion study is ICPSR 7422, *Slave Hires, 1775–1865*.[17] The archive of the noun already contains a file of the verb: hire, the sale of a person's working time by the person's owner.

1.3 Appraisal was a practice of the plantation office. Fleischman, Oldroyd and Tyson: "Slaves were paraded past plantation managers and overseers, often in the company of appraisers and bookkeepers, where narrow distinctions were made on the basis of qualitative information

[12] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). The gloss follows Peter Carmichael's review, *Civil War Times* (April 2007), https://www.historynet.com/cwt-book-review-free-soil-free-labor-free-men.htm, which paraphrases the ideology as "a set of beliefs that promised each man the right to earn the fruits of his labor, move up the social ladder and become his own boss, often through the ownership of land".

[13] U.S. Constitution, Amendment XIII, §1; National Archives, Milestone Documents, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/13th-amendment.

[14] Daina Ramey Berry, "Slavery in America: Back in the Headlines," *History News Network*, October 2014 (from *Not Even Past*), https://www.historynewsnetwork.org/article/slavery-in-america-back-in-the-headlines.

[15] Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Slave Sales and Appraisals, 1775–1865* (ICPSR 7421), version V3, 2006-10-11, doi:10.3886/ICPSR07421.v3, study summary, https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7421. The eight states are Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi.

[16] ICPSR 7421, study summary (sampling) and variables tab, https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7421/var (Variable 5, "Year in which Entry Occurred", values 1742–1868).

[17] Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Slave Sales and Appraisals, 1775–1865* (ICPSR 7421), version V3, 2006-10-11, doi:10.3886/ICPSR07421.v3, study summary, https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7421. The eight states are Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi.

such as physical characteristics and productive efficiency."[18] The price was produced from qualitative inspection. The same abstract finds "a valuation premium on male slaves in the US which did not exist in the Caribbean", and places the "greater concern" with "linking valuations to the skill sets of slaves" in the British West Indies.[19]

1.4 The body was inspected because the body was the asset. The fullest single document is the report of the sale at the Savannah race-course on 2–3 March 1859, reported in the *New-York Daily Tribune* (9 March 1859, by the reprint's attribution) and reprinted in 1863 as *What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation?*[20] The report opens: "The largest sale of human chattels that has been made in Star-Spangled America for several years, took place on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, at the Race-course near the City of Savannah, Georgia. The lot consisted of four hundred and thirty-six men, women, children and infants…"[21] The reported total: "The total amount of the sale foots up $303,850—the proceeds of the first day being $161,480, and of the second day $142,370."[22]

1.5 The inspection, p. 8: "The negroes were examined with as little consideration as if they had been brutes indeed; the buyers pulling their mouths open to see their teeth, pinching their limbs to find how muscular they were, walking them up and down to detect any signs of lameness, making them stoop and bend in different ways that they might be certain there was no concealed rupture or wound; and in addition to all this treatment, asking them scores of questions relative to their qualifications and accomplishments."[23] Five operations on one body: mouth, limb, gait, flexion, interrogation. Each is a test of a future yield.

1.6 The mouth was a reading surface for age. P. 19: "one refined gentleman took hold of Frances's lips and pulled them apart, to see her age."[24] The head was unwrapped for concealed defect. Of Dorcas: "he takes off her turban to look at her head that no wound or disease be concealed by the gay handkerchief; he looks at her teeth, and feels of her arms…"[25]

1.7 The catalogue recorded defect beside the name before the sale. P. 12: "111—Anson, 49; rice—ruptured, one eye. / 112—Violet, 55; rice hand. / Sold for $250 each."[26] The catalogue

[18] Richard K. Fleischman, David Oldroyd and Thomas N. Tyson, "Monetising Human Life: Slave Valuations on US and British West Indian Plantations," *Accounting History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 35–62, doi:10.1177/103237320400900203, abstract.

[19] Richard K. Fleischman, David Oldroyd and Thomas N. Tyson, "Monetising Human Life: Slave Valuations on US and British West Indian Plantations," *Accounting History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 35–62, doi:10.1177/103237320400900203, abstract.

[20] [Q. K. Philander Doesticks (Mortimer Thomson)], *What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation? Great Auction Sale of Slaves, at Savannah, Georgia, March 2d & 3d, 1859. A Sequel to Mrs. Kemble's Journal* ([n.p.], 1863), archive.org, https://archive.org/details/whatbecameofslav00does. The Tribune date follows America's Black Holocaust Museum's attribution, which cites Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*; the Tribune page was not seen.

[21] *What Became of the Slaves*, [5].

[22] *What Became of the Slaves*, 19; also quoted by America's Black Holocaust Museum, "A 1859 Slave Auction in Savannah, as Reported by the New York Tribune," https://www.abhmuseum.org/a-1859-slave-auction-in-savannah-as-reported-by-the-new-york-tribune/, citing *New York Daily Tribune*, 9 March 1859, as reprinted in Albert B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, vol. 4 (1928).

[23] *What Became of the Slaves*, 8; the passage follows the page header "8".

[24] *What Became of the Slaves*, 19.

[25] *What Became of the Slaves*, 17 (the page header "17" is missing in the OCR; the passage falls between the headers "16" and "18").

[26] *What Became of the Slaves*, 12; on p. 18 the reporter notes that Anson was "down in the catalogue as 'ruptured and as having one eye.'"

line is a compressed appraisal: number, name, age, crop, defect. The price was set afterwards, at the sale, for the family lot. Anson and Violet brought the lowest price of the sale, the reporter writes, "both being old, and Anson being down in the catalogue as 'ruptured and as having one eye.' Violet was sold as being sick."[27] Other recorded defects left no separable mark on the lot price. "115—Watty, 5; infirm legs" was sold with Allen Jeffrey, 46, and Sikey, 43, "for $520 each"; "118—Pompey, 31; rice—lame in one foot" was sold with Kitty, Pompey Jr., John and Noble "for $580 each".[28] The catalogue made each defect legible; the family lot priced the group.

1.8 Lameness was tested and certified by a physician. The auctioneer "had caused her to be examined by an eminent physician in Savannah, which medical light had declared that Joshua's Molly was not lame, but was only shamming… So Molly was put through her paces, and compelled to trot up and down along the stage… She was finally sold for $695."[29] Here the noun is made to perform a verb on the stage so that the verb can confirm the noun's price.

1.9 The eye. P. 18, under the heading "THE MARKET VALUE OF AN EYE": "Guy, chattel No. 419, 'a prime young man,' sold for $1,280, being without blemish; his age was twenty years, and he was altogether a fine article. His next-door neighbor, Andrew, chattel No. 420, was his very counterpart in all marketable points, in size, age, skill, and everything save that he had lost his right eye. Andrew sold for only $1,040, from which we argue that the market value of the right eye in the Southern country is $240."[30] The arithmetic is the reporter's, and sardonic ("from which we argue"). It is exact because the market had already made the two men comparable "in all marketable points". A controlled comparison requires a standard of comparison, and the sale supplied it.

1.10 The same reporter states the logic of depreciation outright, p. 19: "A man in the prime of life, worth $1,600 or thereabouts, can have little hope of ever being able, by any little savings of his own, to purchase his liberty. But let him have a rupture, or lose a limb, or sustain any other injury that renders him of much less service to his owner, and reduces his value to $300 or $400, and he may hope to accumulate that sum, and eventually to purchase his liberty."[31] Injury lowers the price of the noun by lowering the expected verb, "service to his owner". The price falls far enough that the person can buy the person.

1.11 The enslaved performed their own valuation under inspection. Elisha, "chattel No. 5", to a buyer: "Show mas'r yer arm, Molly—good arm dat, Mas'r—she do a heap of work mo' with dat arm yet. Let good Mas'r see yer teeth, Molly—see dat Mas'r, teeth all reg'lar, all good—she'm young gal yet. Come out yer, Israel, walk aroun' an' let the gen'lm'n see how spry you be."[32] The reporter: Elisha "only strove to show how well worth his dollars were the bone and blood he was entreating him to buy."[33] These were people Elisha was entreating the buyer to

[27] *What Became of the Slaves*, 18; on the lowest price, see also p. 20: "The lowest price paid was for Anson and Violet, a gray-haired couple, each having numbered more than fifty years; they brought but $250 a-piece." (OCR "fiftj" read as "fifty".)

[28] *What Became of the Slaves*, 12; on p. 18 the reporter notes that Anson was "down in the catalogue as 'ruptured and as having one eye.'"

[29] *What Became of the Slaves*, 19.

[30] *What Became of the Slaves*, 18. Berry, "Slavery in America: Back in the Headlines," gives Guy's price as $1240; the pamphlet reads $1,280, which yields the reporter's $240.

[31] *What Became of the Slaves*, 19.

[32] *What Became of the Slaves*, 8.

[33] *What Became of the Slaves*, 8.

take. Walter Johnson's study of the New Orleans market treats this ground: its introduction and chapters include "A Person with a Price", "The Chattel Principle", "Turning People into Products" and "Reading Bodies and Marking Race".[34] His publisher's description adds that inspection could give the enslaved information with which to shape their own sales.[35]

1.12 The mouth could also be a source of saleable parts. In May 1784 the Mount Vernon journal of accounts, kept by the plantation manager Lund Washington, records: "To p[ai]d Negroes for 9 Teeth, on acc[oun]t of the French Dentis [sic] Doctr Lemay [sic]", £6.2.0.[36] The ledger records the same payment: "By Cash pd Negroes for 9 Teeth on Acc[oun]t of Dr Lemoin."[37] The dentist was Jean Pierre Le Mayeur; Mount Vernon's historians read "on the account" as naming him the end recipient.[38] The entry records a payment to the enslaved people themselves, unnamed. The entry shows the accounting of a plantation reaching from the price of a person to the purchase of parts of that person, paid to the person who was owned. It attests no schedule of tooth prices.

1.13 The price ran across the whole life and past it. Berry structures *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh* (2017) as a life cycle of valuation, with chapters "Preconception: Women and Future Increase", "Infancy and Childhood", "Adolescence, Young Adulthood, and Soul Values", "Midlife and Older Adulthood", "Elderly and Superannuated" and "Postmortem: Death and Ghost Values".[39] Her publisher describes " 'ghost values' or the prices placed on dead enslaved people", including the sale of bodies to medical schools.[40] Berry: "Enslaved people were valued in life and in death... But because they were people and property, multiple sets of values encompassed them and were placed on their bodies" (6).[41] The noun outlived the worker. Under slavery valuation did not end when the capacity to work ended; the noun is irreducible to its verb.

1.14 Berry also records the counter-valuation: "Despite being traded as commodities from the womb to the grave, enslaved people's understanding of their soul values transcended the external values placed upon their bodies" (197).[42] Sharla Fett's *Working Cures* (2002) describes healing practices in enslaved communities, which in her words formed "a culture of healing that was not organized around the market value of slave bodies".[43] The appraiser's

[34] Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), contents: Introduction, "A Person with a Price" (1); ch. 1, "The Chattel Principle" (19); ch. 4, "Turning People into Products" (117); ch. 5, "Reading Bodies and Marking Race" (135). Fulcrum/ACLS Humanities E-Book, https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/z316q162x.

[35] Harvard University Press, description of *Soul by Soul*, https://www.hup.harvard.edu/books/9780674005396.

[36] Lund Washington Account Book, 1772–1786, journal entry, May 1784, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association [W-693], as reproduced in "Washington's Dentures FAQ," George Washington's Mount Vernon, https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/health/washingtons-teeth/teeth; the amount £6.2.0 is from the image caption.

[37] Lund Washington Account Book, ledger entry, May 1784, as reproduced in "Washington's Dentures FAQ."

[38] "Washington's Dentures FAQ": "In both cases, the explicit notation 'on the account' of the dentist points to Le Mayeur as the end recipient."

[39] Daina Ramey Berry, *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017), contents, Beacon Press, https://www.beacon.org/The-Price-for-Their-Pound-of-Flesh-P1227.aspx.

[40] Beacon Press, description of *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, same URL.

[41] Berry, *Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, 6, as quoted in the Beacon Press Reader's Guide, same URL.

[42] Berry, *Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, 197, as quoted in the Beacon Press Reader's Guide.

[43] Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel

view is one view of the body. It is the one that entered the ledgers.

1.15 The noun was financial collateral and actuarial object. Bonnie Martin's "Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property" (2010) studies mortgages secured on enslaved people.[44] Sharon Ann Murphy on life insurance in the Upper South: "By the 1850s, the industry was firmly established in Richmond–underwriting the lives of slaves engaged in dangerous occupations, valued as artisans or house slaves, or hired out for work in factories and railroads–and was expanding rapidly into the other industrialized areas of Virginia. Indeed, life insurance was fast becoming a key component of industrialization in the Upper South."[45] Her book's chapter on the subject is titled "Securing Human Property: Slavery, Industrialization, and Urbanization in the Upper South".[46] Insurance is the point at which the priced body became an actuarial life, and the case Murphy documents is industrial: the insured noun hired out to the factory and the railroad, before emancipation, in the same city.

1.16 The noun carried its own unit of output: the hand. Berry: "An 'A1 Prime hand' represented one term used for a 'first rate' slave who could do the most work in a given day. Their values decreased on a quarter scale from three-fourths hands to one-fourth hands, to a rate of zero, which was typically reserved for elderly or differently abled bondpeople."[47] Rosenthal: "Slaveholders also developed an equivalence unit called 'the prime field hand.' They assigned certain capabilities to the prime hand, such as expected production per day. Workers were measured against this standard and given values such as 'half hand' and 'quarter hand.' "[48]

1.17 Dea Boster describes the hand as "a measure of proportional function that could be used to rank different slaves within any specific job category", in which a person able to perform "the expected amount of a full day's labor for an adult, able-bodied male slave was assessed to be a 'full' hand".[49] She reports instances from the records. Samuel G. Barker's estate book of the mid-1830s "accorded each person a 'hand' rating, and noted whether they were considered 'diseased' or 'useless' ". On George J. Kollock's Ossabaw Island plantation around 1850, a blind man named March "was rated to be a 'quarter hand' ".[50]

1.18 The zero of the scale met the floor of the price. Boster, citing earlier studies: nineteen of Charles Carroll's people, appraised in the early 1830s, "were described as extremely old,

Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 34, as quoted in Michael Pasquier's review, *The North Star* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2005), https://swh.princeton.edu/~jweisenf/northstar/volume8/fett.html.

[44] Bonnie Martin, "Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property," *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (2010): 817–866. Bibliographic details via "Slave mortgage," *Wikipedia*; the article was not seen.

[45] Sharon Ann Murphy, "Securing Human Property: Slavery, Life Insurance, and Industrialization in the Upper South," *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 4 (2005): 615–652, doi:10.1353/jer.2005.0081, abstract.

[46] Sharon Ann Murphy, *Investing in Life: Insurance in Antebellum America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), ch. 7, 184–206, Project MUSE, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/483.

[47] Berry, "Slavery in America: Back in the Headlines."

[48] Caitlin Rosenthal, "Plantations Practiced Modern Management," interview by Scott Berinato, *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, https://hbr.org/2013/09/plantations-practiced-modern-management.

[49] Dea H. Boster, " 'Useless': Disability, Slave Labor, and Contradiction on Antebellum Southern Plantations," *Review of Disability Studies*, https://mail.rdsjournal.org/index.php/journal/article/view/119/390 (volume, issue and year to be confirmed).

[50] Boster, " 'Useless'," https://mail.rdsjournal.org/index.php/journal/article/view/119/392, citing the Samuel G. Barker Papers 34-336-3, South Carolina Historical Society, and the George J. Kollock Plantation Journals, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

crippled or diseased, and valued at one penny apiece”; in 1854 Bennet H. Barrow’s estate included “a 43-year-old blind slave named Temps (or Demps) who was appraised at fifty dollars, the same price as infants”.[51]

1.19 The hand is the hinge evidence of this paper. It grades a whole person’s daily output as a fraction of an adult male standard: a verb-measure attached to a noun.[52] The price (asset) and the rating (performance) met in the individual record. The plantation therefore built two abstractions at once: the person as priced asset, and the person as measured productive capacity. Rosenthal’s prime-hand unit is the evidence; the inference is this paper’s.

2. The second abstraction inside slavery

2.1 Rosenthal’s finding, in her own wording: “Along several dimensions, the calculative practices of slave owners advanced ahead of northern merchants and manufacturers, and many recorded and analyzed the productivity of their human capital with cruel precision.”[53] Her mechanism: “plantation power relations stimulated the development of new accounting practices. The control of planters over their slaves made data easier to collect and more profitable to use.”[54]

2.2 The same abstract gives the caveat: “Commercial recordkeeping also expanded in free factories, but in different ways than on southern plantations. The mobility of labor made accounting necessary for keeping track of wages but relatively futile for detailed productivity analysis.”[55] Mobility made the factory ledger a wage ledger. Ownership made the plantation ledger a productivity ledger.

2.3 Rosenthal in 2013: “In the factory books, you see lots of turnover. But slaves couldn’t quit. While factories were worrying about filling positions and just keeping things going, plantation owners were focused on optimization. They could reallocate labor as they saw fit. I found real quantitative analysis in their records. They were literally looking at humans as capital.”[56] Her explanation for the plantation’s lead is the noun. The worker could not quit, so the worker could be measured.

2.4 Planters depreciated their people. Rosenthal: “by the 1840s planters were depreciating their slaves. They appraised their inventory at market value, compared that with its past market value to assess appreciation or depreciation, calculated an allowance for interest, and

[51] Boster, “ ‘Useless’,” citing John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger (1999) on Carroll and Edwin Adams Davis (1943) on Barrow.

[52] Caitlin Rosenthal, “Plantations Practiced Modern Management,” interview by Scott Berinato, *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, https://hbr.org/2013/09/plantations-practiced-modern-management.

[53] Caitlin C. Rosenthal, “From Memory to Mastery: Accounting for Control in America, 1750–1880,” *Enterprise & Society* 14, no. 4 (December 2013): 732–748, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/cup/entsoc/v14y2013i04p732-748_00.html.

[54] Caitlin C. Rosenthal, “From Memory to Mastery: Accounting for Control in America, 1750–1880,” *Enterprise & Society* 14, no. 4 (December 2013): 732–748, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/cup/entsoc/v14y2013i04p732-748_00.html.

[55] Caitlin C. Rosenthal, “From Memory to Mastery: Accounting for Control in America, 1750–1880,” *Enterprise & Society* 14, no. 4 (December 2013): 732–748, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/cup/entsoc/v14y2013i04p732-748_00.html.

[56] Rosenthal, “Plantations Practiced Modern Management.”

used this to determine their capital costs. In a sense they were marking slaves to market."[57] Many used Thomas Affleck's printed Plantation Record and Account Books, which "contained several advanced techniques, including instructions on how to calculate depreciation".[58] The book's description puts the larger claim: planters "subjected enslaved people to experiments, such as allocating and reallocating labor from crop to crop, planning meals and lodging, and carefully recording daily productivity", and "The brutality of slavery was readily compatible with the development of new quantitative techniques for workforce organization."[59]

2.5 It was management. Bill Cooke argued in 2003 that "By 1860, when the historical orthodoxy has modern management emerging on the railroads, 38,000 managers were managing the 4 million slaves working in the US economy", that "ante-bellum slavery is demonstrated to have been managed according to classical management and Taylorian principles", and that slavery "has therefore left an ongoing imprint in management practice and thought."[60] Cooke's "Taylorian" is a retrospective classification. It asserts a structural likeness.

2.6 Rosenthal holds the line on lineage. Asked in 2013 whether there was a direct link between slave management and Taylor, she answered: "Plantations were tied reasonably directly to the types of textile mills that figure in the prehistory of scientific management—cotton came from plantations. This is not new; scholars have been debating the links between slavery and the Industrial Revolution for years. Whether there is a more direct link is still unclear. Right now I'm studying two of Taylor's close associates who were born on plantations, including Henry Laurence Gantt, inventor of the Gantt chart."[61] Her 2018 book, as quoted by Art Carden: "This is not an origins story. I did not find a simple path where slaveholders' paper spreadsheets evolved into Microsoft Excel. The narrative that emerged was far more complicated: many businesspeople in different geographies were developing new data practices independently."[62] The book's wording and page are to be checked; the sentence reaches this paper through Carden's review.

2.7 The critiques. Paul Rhode, reviewing the book, "points out that the most prominent advocate of scientific management, Frederick Winslow Taylor, was born to a family of abolitionists."[63] Carden's own verdict: "I still think it is a mistake to put slavery anywhere close [sic] the center of the 'emerging capitalism' narrative."[64] Gavin Wright takes up the records that invite the Taylorist analogy. Assessments that "focus primarily on picking rates as an index of the productivity of slave labour" use a measure that is "misleading, however, because it ignores the importance of acres planted in cotton as a determinant of output value"; the planters' reasons to care about picking speed were "typically of second order as components

[57] Rosenthal, "Plantations Practiced Modern Management."

[58] Rosenthal, "Plantations Practiced Modern Management."

[59] Description of Caitlin Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), Harvard Program on the Study of Capitalism, https://studyofcapitalism.harvard.edu/publications/accounting-slavery-masters-and-management.

[60] Bill Cooke, "The Denial of Slavery in Management Studies," *Journal of Management Studies* 40, no. 8 (2003): 1895–1918, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/bla/jomstd/v40y2003i8p1895-1918.html.

[61] Rosenthal, "Plantations Practiced Modern Management."

[62] Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery*, as quoted in Art Carden, "Accounting for Slavery," *Regulation* (Cato Institute), Summer 2020, https://www.cato.org/regulation/summer-2020/accounting-slavery. Page in the book not verified.

[63] Carden, "Accounting for Slavery," reporting Paul Rhode, review of *Accounting for Slavery*, *Journal of Economic History* 80, no. 1 (March 2020): 293–294, doi:10.1017/S0022050720000029.

[64] Carden, "Accounting for Slavery."

of productivity and profit”.[65]

2.8 The productivity dispute belongs to a neighboring argument and should be kept there. Olmstead and Rhode, from “the records of 142 plantations with 509 crops years”: “the average daily cotton-picking rate increased about fourfold between 1801 and 1862. We argue that the development and diffusion of new cotton varieties were the primary sources of the increased efficiency.”[66] Their 2018 critique names Beckert, Johnson and Baptist as its targets.[67] Rosenthal is outside that list. The economists dispute what drove output and how central slavery was. The critiques seen for this paper leave the ledgers standing.[68]

2.9 Marx had already named the plantation a calculating system. *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §2: “in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the over-working of the negro and sometimes the using up of his life in 7 years of labour became a factor in a calculated and calculating system.”[69] §5: “The slave-owner buys his labourer as he buys his horse. If he loses his slave, he loses capital that can only be restored by new outlay in the slave-mart.”[70] He then quotes J. E. Cairnes: “It is accordingly a maxim of slave management, in slave-importing countries, that the most effective economy is that which takes out of the human chattel in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth.”[71]

2.10 Cairnes’s maxim complicates the noun. Where the slave-mart could replace the worker cheaply, the owner’s horizon shrank from the life to the shortest space of time. Where it could not, in the domestic trade that grew after the United States closed its African slave trade in 1807, the horizon was the life and the “future increase” that Berry’s life cycle describes.[72][73] The span over which the noun was measured was set by the replacement market. The grain of measurement is therefore its own axis, independent of the scope of the claim: slavery could already contract its unit to the years it took to use a person up, to the day’s quota and to the fraction of a hand. What emancipation changed was the scope of the claim. The grain had its own history inside slavery, and §5 follows it after the claim narrowed.

2.11 The record supports this much: American capitalism developed, under slavery, techniques for measuring, comparing and monetizing human capacity, and those techniques worked because the worker was owned.[74] No source consulted for this paper documents a

[65] Gavin Wright, “Slavery and Anglo-American Capitalism Revisited,” *Economic History Review* 73, no. 2 (2020): 353–383, at 17 of the lecture PDF, https://www.Gwern.net/doc/economics/2020-wright.pdf, discussing *Accounting for Slavery*, ch. 3.

[66] Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode, “Biological Innovation and Productivity Growth in the Antebellum Cotton Economy,” *Journal of Economic History* 68, no. 4 (2008): 1123–1171, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/cup/jechis/v68y2008i04p1123-1171_00.html.

[67] Alan L. Olmstead and Paul W. Rhode, “Cotton, Slavery, and the New History of Capitalism,” *Explorations in Economic History* 67 (2018): 1–17, doi:10.1016/j.eeh.2017.12.002, abstract.

[68] The critiques consulted (Carden; Rhode as reported by Carden; Wright 2020; Olmstead and Rhode 2008, 2018) dispute centrality, lineage or the cause of productivity growth. Rhode’s full review was not seen.

[69] Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, “The Working-Day,” §2, English text at marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch10.htm.

[70] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §5.

[71] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §5, quoting J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, 110–111 (Marx’s n. 74).

[72] Wright, “Slavery and Anglo-American Capitalism Revisited,” 18 n. 93 of the lecture PDF.

[73] Berry, “Slavery in America: Back in the Headlines”: “Slaveholders examined women for their fertility and projected the value of their ‘future increase.’ ”

[74] Caitlin C. Rosenthal, “From Memory to Mastery: Accounting for Control in Amer-

line from plantation records to Taylor or Ford, and the argument needs none.[75]

3. The contemporaries stated the distinction

3.1 The noun/verb distinction is older than this paper. Both sides of the sectional argument stated it before the war, in the vocabulary of hire and purchase.

3.2 James Henry Hammond, in the Senate, 4 March 1858: "The senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Aye, the name, but not the thing… for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole hireling class of manual laborers and 'operatives,' as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated… Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated…"[76] "Hired for life" and "hired by the day" are the noun and the verb, distinguished by a slaveholder by the length of the contracted interval. The same speech names the class beneath: "It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government".[77]

3.3 George Fitzhugh, 1857: "The free laborer must be employed or starve, yet no one is obliged to employ him. The slave is taken care of, whether employed or not. Though each free laborer has no particular master, his wants and other men's capital, make him a slave without a master, or with too many masters, which is as bad as none."[78] Fitzhugh glosses his title as the French "*Exploitation*".[79] The "slave without a master" is the verb without the noun: capacity sold with no owner bound to the body.

3.4 Orestes Brownson, 1840, from the Northern side: "We are no advocates of slavery, we are as heartily opposed to it as any modern abolitionist can be; but we say frankly that, if there must always be a laboring population distinct from proprietors and employers, we regard the slave system as decidedly preferable to the system at wages."[80] And: "The laborer at wages has all the disadvantages of freedom and none of its blessings, while the slave, if denied the blessings, is freed from the disadvantages."[81]

3.5 Lincoln answered the mud-sill theory at Milwaukee on 30 September 1859. He reported its reasoning in two verbs. Its adherents assume "that labor is available only in connection with capital", and then "proceed to consider whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers,

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ica, 1750–1880," *Enterprise & Society* 14, no. 4 (December 2013): 732–748, abstract, https://ideas.repec.org/a/cup/entsoc/v14y2013i04p732-748_00.html.

[75] "Unfree Labor Built Industry; the Theses Overreach," §"Slaveholding technique: the transfer claim rests on parallels"; and the verification notes on management genealogy, §1: no source consulted documents a line from plantation records to Taylor or Ford.

[76] James Henry Hammond, speech in the U.S. Senate, 4 March 1858 ("Mud Sill Speech"), Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/mud-sill-speech/.

[77] Hammond, speech of 4 March 1858.

[78] George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves Without Masters* (Richmond, VA: A. Morris, 1857), ch. II, "Labor, Skill and Capital," Project Gutenberg eBook #35481, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/35481.

[79] Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, preface: "the scientific title of this work would be best expressed by the conventional French term '*Exploitation*.' "

[80] Orestes A. Brownson, "The Laboring Classes," *Boston Quarterly Review* (1840), excerpt at Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-laboring-classes/.

[81] Orestes A. Brownson, "The Laboring Classes," *Boston Quarterly Review* (1840), excerpt at Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-laboring-classes/.

and thus induce them to work by their own consent; or buy them, and drive them to it without their consent."[82] From there "they naturally conclude that all laborers are necessarily either hired laborers, or slaves", and that "whoever is once a hired laborer, is fatally fixed in that condition for life".[83] Hire is the verb; buy is the noun. Lincoln's own side held "that both these assumptions are false".[84] It granted the relation and confined it: "A few men own capital; and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital, hire, or buy, another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class – neither work for others, nor have others working for them."[85]

3.6 Lincoln's answer is the free-labor ladder: "The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land, for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This, say its advocates, is free labor – the just and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way for all – gives hope to all, and energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all."[86] The sentence that follows assigns the remainder: "If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but because of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune."[87] The person who stays on the wage is moralized as dependent. That clause is the seed of the postwar discipline in §4.

3.7 Marx gave the distinction its exact form in 1867. *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6: "The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labour-power should sell it only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself, converting himself from a free man into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity."[88] The seller "must constantly look upon his labour-power as his own property, his own commodity, and this he can only do by placing it at the disposal of the buyer temporarily, for a definite period of time."[89] Labour-power is "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description".[90]

3.8 The thesis, stated at the strength these texts carry. Hammond and Marx state the structure. Hammond's slave is "hired for life" and his hireling "hired by the day"; Marx's worker who sells "rump and stump" becomes "a commodity", and the free worker sells capacity "for a definite period".[91][92] Lincoln names the structure's two operations, hire and buy, and de-

[82] Abraham Lincoln, "Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society," Milwaukee, 30 September 1859, Abraham Lincoln Online, https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/fair.htm.

[83] Abraham Lincoln, "Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society," Milwaukee, 30 September 1859, Abraham Lincoln Online, https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/fair.htm.

[84] Lincoln, Milwaukee address, 30 September 1859.

[85] Lincoln, Milwaukee address, 30 September 1859.

[86] Lincoln, Milwaukee address, 30 September 1859.

[87] Lincoln, Milwaukee address, 30 September 1859.

[88] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6, "The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power," marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm.

[89] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6, "The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power," marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm.

[90] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6.

[91] James Henry Hammond, speech in the U.S. Senate, 4 March 1858 ("Mud Sill Speech"), Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/mud-sill-speech/.

[92] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6, "The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power," marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm.

nies that they exhaust labor: his “large majority” works for no one.[93] Fitzhugh and Brownson compare the two conditions and prefer the slave’s.[94][95] Hammond renders the difference polemically as duration, “for life” against “by the day”.[96] Marx states the juridical distinction the euphemism covers: in one case the person is alienated and becomes a commodity; in the other the owner of labor-power alienates it for a definite period and remains its owner.[97] On these texts slavery sold the person, the noun, and wage labor sold capacity for an interval, the verb. The noun owned and the verb contracted are different relations, and the difference is legal title to the person. The next step, which none of them took, is the subject of §5: the interval itself subdivided and specified, until what is purchased is a sequence of motions in a fixed time.

3.9 Postwar wage earners turned the distinction against the wage. Amy Dru Stanley reports their argument that “in selling their labor they were no more self-owning than slaves”.[98] The same distinction that justified emancipation was used to measure what emancipation had left in place.

4. The war and its settlement: the labor topology reorganized

4.1 Marx in *Die Presse*, 7 November 1861: “The present struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labour. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other.”[99]

4.2 The sentences before it place the immigrant inside the slave question: “In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry. This would fully accord with the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom, and as the actual labour is the lot of the Negro in the South, so in the North it is the lot of the German and the Irishman, or their direct descendants.”[100] Marx reads the war as a contest over where the line of unfree labor would run across the continent and across the races of labor.

[93] Lincoln, Milwaukee address, 30 September 1859.

[94] George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves Without Masters* (Richmond, VA: A. Morris, 1857), ch. II, “Labor, Skill and Capital,” Project Gutenberg eBook #35481, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/35481.

[95] Orestes A. Brownson, “The Laboring Classes,” *Boston Quarterly Review* (1840), excerpt at Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-laboring-classes/.

[96] James Henry Hammond, speech in the U.S. Senate, 4 March 1858 (“Mud Sill Speech”), Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/mud-sill-speech/.

[97] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 6, “The Buying and Selling of Labour-Power,” marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch06.htm.

[98] Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xiii, as quoted in Daniel Hamilton, review, H-SHEAR, February 2000, https://archive.mith.umd.edu/womensstudies/ReadingRoom/BookReviews/amydru.html.

[99] Karl Marx, “The Civil War in the United States,” *Die Presse*, no. 306, 7 November 1861, MECW 19; marxists.org text as archived in 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/2013id_/http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1861/11/07.htm. Also quoted in Matteo Battistini, “Karl Marx and the Global History of the Civil War,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 100 (Fall 2021): 158–185, doi:10.1017/S0147547921000089.

[100] Marx, “The Civil War in the United States,” 7 November 1861.

4.3 The International's Address to Lincoln, drafted by Marx and entered in the Council minutes of 29 November 1864, frames the territories as a contest of labor: "The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave driver?"[101] It records, as the illusion that held Northern workers back, their boast of "the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master"; while they boasted it, "they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor".[102] The Address names the wage worker's freedom, sale of self and choice of master, and counts it short of freedom.

4.4 *Capital*, ch. 10, §7, gives the war's first labor result: "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."[103] The General Congress of Labour at Baltimore, 16 August 1866: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all States of the American Union."[104]

4.5 The first fruit Marx names is a struggle over the measure of the verb. Once the noun could no longer be sold, the contested object became the length of the day: the interval. Ch. 10 ends on that object: "In place of the pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man' comes the modest Magna Charta of a legally limited working-day, which shall make clear 'when the time which the worker sells is ended, and when his own begins.'"[105] The same section states the contract's hinge: "The contract by which he sold to the capitalist his labour-power proved, so to say, in black and white that he disposed of himself freely. The bargain concluded, it is discovered that he was no 'free agent,' that the time for which he is free to sell his labour-power is the time for which he is forced to sell it".[106] And §1: "Between equal rights force decides."[107]

4.6 Du Bois made the enslaved the agents of the change. The epigraph to ch. IV of *Black Reconstruction* (1935), "The General Strike": "How the Civil War meant emancipation and how the black worker won the war by a general strike which transferred his labor from the Confederate planter to the Northern invader, in whose army lines workers began to be organized as a new labor force."[108] The general strike is the verb withdrawn from the noun's

[101] [Karl Marx], "Address of the International Working Men's Association to Abraham Lincoln," approved by the Central Council 29 November 1864, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, no. 169, 7 January 1865, marxists.org, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/iwma/documents/1864/lincoln-letter.htm.

[102] IWMA, Address to Lincoln (1864).

[103] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §7, "The Struggle for the Normal Working-Day. Re-action of the English Factory Acts on Other Countries."

[104] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §7, "The Struggle for the Normal Working-Day. Re-action of the English Factory Acts on Other Countries."

[105] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §7 (close of the chapter).

[106] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §7.

[107] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §1.

[108] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935), ch. IV, "The General Strike," 55, as quoted in James Oakes, "DuBois's 'General Strike'," *nonsite.org* 28 (10 May 2019), https://nonsite.org/duboiss-general-strike/.

owner. The workers reorganized the topology themselves, by moving.

4.7 Du Bois's verdict on the settlement: "The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[109] His account of how white labor was held apart: "It must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white."[110] Adolph Reed reads the passage as historically specific to the late nineteenth-century South.[111]

4.8 Du Bois is a source for the general strike and the settlement. He is a weaker source for Northern motive. Oakes credits him with understanding "that emancipation was a capitalist revolution, that the truly revolutionary character of the Civil War lay in the overthrow of slavery and its replacement by a new system based on wage labor", and faults his treatment of the North, which "too often collapsed into crude economic determinism".[112]

4.9 The Act to Encourage Immigration, 4 July 1864, is the most direct federal instrument of labor supply in the war years. Sec. 2: "all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said Commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States, or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the Recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the Homestead Law when the title is consummated or on property otherwise acquired, until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States or creating in any way the relation of Slavery or servitude."[113]

4.10 Three operations in one section. Wages for up to twelve months are pledged before the work exists: the verb mortgaged in advance. The debt follows the worker onto the land the Homestead Law promised, the material of Lincoln's ladder. And the statute disclaims "the relation of Slavery or servitude", seven months before Congress passed the Thirteenth

[109] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, as quoted in Deborah E. McDowell, "Telling Slavery in 'Freedom's' Time: Post-Reconstruction and the Harlem Renaissance," in Audrey Fisch, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150–167. Page in *Black Reconstruction* not verified.

[110] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 700–701, as quoted in Adolph Reed Jr., "Du Bois and the 'Wages of Whiteness'," *nonsite.org*, 29 June 2017, https://nonsite.org/du-bois-and-the-wages-of-whiteness/.

[111] Reed, "Du Bois and the 'Wages of Whiteness' ": the passage describes "an historically specific phenomenon in a particular moment and place — how a social order built on racial subordination in the late 19th century South militated against interracial class solidarities".

[112] Oakes, "DuBois's 'General Strike'."

[113] An Act to Encourage Immigration, 4 July 1864, 13 Stat. 385, §2, transcription at "An Act to Encourage Immigration," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Act_to_Encourage_Immigration (its "not being herein contained" corrected to "nothing herein contained"); §2 to "expenses of their emigration" confirmed at Immigration History, https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1864.

Amendment.[114][115] The statute itself marks slavery and servitude as the boundary its terms require it to negate. Sec. 3 exempted arriving emigrants from compulsory enrollment for the war unless they renounced their allegiance; Sec. 4 set up a United States Emigrant Office in New York to contract with railroads and transportation companies.[116] The University of Texas Immigration History project summarizes the law as one that "legalized and bureaucratized labor recruitment practices similar to indentured servitude", and records that "In the face of vociferous protests by labor organizations, Congress repealed this law in 1868."[117]

4.11 The Freedmen's Bureau constructed a market in Black labor in the South. Martin Ruef: the chapter "studies the extent to which the Freedmen Bureau's effort to reinstate plantation labor was associated with changes in the valuation of black labor. Despite similarities in coercion and the organization of labor, the valuation of wage labor under the bureau was linked to human capital investments and statistical discrimination in ways that were fundamentally different".[118] Under the Bureau's effort to reinstate plantation labor, with coercion and organization similar, the valuation of Black labor changed in kind: from the price of a person to a wage tied to "human capital investments and statistical discrimination". Ruef measures the paper's transition.

4.12 Contract was the instrument and its ideal. Stanley: "In the era of slave emancipation no ideal of freedom had greater power than that of contract. The antislavery claim was that the negation of chattel status lay in the contracts of wage labor and marriage."[119] Postbellum Americans "drew on contract to describe the changes in their world and to distinguish between the commodity relations of freedom and bondage" (ix).[120] The regional studies are Julie Saville's *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (1994) and Gerald Jaynes's *Branches Without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862–1882* (1986).[121][122] Foner's *Reconstruction* gives the subject its own chapter, "Ambiguities of Free Labor".[123]

4.13 Saidiya Hartman names the condition the contract produced: "I have opted to characterize the nascent individualism of emancipation as 'burdened individuality' in order to underline

[114] An Act to Encourage Immigration, 4 July 1864, 13 Stat. 385, §2, transcription at "An Act to Encourage Immigration," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Act_to_Encourage_Immigration (its "not being herein contained" corrected to "nothing herein contained"); §2 to "expenses of their emigration" confirmed at Immigration History, https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1864.

[115] U.S. Constitution, Amendment XIII, §1; National Archives, Milestone Documents, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/13th-amendment.

[116] An Act to Encourage Immigration, §§3–4, same transcription.

[117] "Immigration Act of 1864," Immigration History (University of Texas at Austin), https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1864.

[118] Martin Ruef, "Constructing a Free Labor Market," ch. 2 of *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 21–49, abstract, https://academic.oup.com/princeton-scholarship-online/book/30647/chapter-abstract/259563097.

[119] Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*, publisher's description, https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/from-bondage-to-contract/D3EEFFA4C7D0AF2C960B7DEB0023F680.

[120] Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*, ix, as quoted in Hamilton, review, H-SHEAR.

[121] Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[122] Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches Without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862–1882* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[123] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), ch. 4, "Ambiguities of Free Labor" (title only consulted).

the double bind of freedom: being freed from slavery and free of resources, emancipated and subordinated, self-possessed and indebted, equal and inferior, liberated and encumbered, sovereign and dominated, citizen and subject."[124] "Self-possessed and indebted": the noun returned to its owner, the verb pledged. Hartman: "black subordination continued under the aegis of contract".[125] Her next chapter is titled "Fashioning Obligation: Indebted Servitude and the Fetters of Slavery".[126] Lincoln's clause about "a dependent nature" (3.6) is the free-labor doctrine's way of reading that encumbrance as a defect of character.

4.14 The federal government also brokered freedpeople's labor, on a small scale. Andrew Urban: the Bureau's placement of Black refugees as domestic servants was "Designed to reduce government expenditures on the relief of refugees in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere"; critics "claimed that it revived—under the thin veneer of 'free' labor—a version of the slave trade"; and "the Freedmen's Bureau—after contracting thousands of women and children to service positions—was ultimately forced to disband this initiative".[127] Urban's term for its place in the longer history: it "prefigured the federal government's expanded role as a broker of immigrant labor".[128] In Urban's account the refugee program came first and the federal brokerage of immigrant labor after it. The 1864 Act stands between them: it made emigrants' privately contracted wage pledges enforceable and set up a federal office to route their passage.[129][130]

4.15 The private brokers worked both populations. Brian Luskey's *Men Is Cheap* (2020) takes its title from a substitute broker's "Men is cheep here to Day" and studies intelligence offices that "defined the limits of independence in the wage labor economy" for "vulnerable Irish immigrants, Union soldiers and veterans, former slaves, and Confederate deserters".[131]

4.16 The exception clause opened a third configuration: the state holds the person by sentence, and a lessee buys the labor. "Except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."[132] In 1868 Georgia "began to make its rapidly growing population

[124] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), ch. 4, "The Burdened Individuality of Freedom," 117.

[125] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, ch. 4, 116–117; ch. 5 is "Fashioning Obligation: Indebted Servitude and the Fetters of Slavery."

[126] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, ch. 4, 116–117; ch. 5 is "Fashioning Obligation: Indebted Servitude and the Fetters of Slavery."

[127] Andrew Urban, "Humanitarianism's Markets: Brokering the Domestic Labor of Black Refugees, 1861–1872," ch. 2 of *Brokering Servitude: Migration and the Politics of Domestic Labor during the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 64–98, doi:10.18574/nyu/9780814785843.003.0003, abstract.

[128] Andrew Urban, "Humanitarianism's Markets: Brokering the Domestic Labor of Black Refugees, 1861–1872," ch. 2 of *Brokering Servitude: Migration and the Politics of Domestic Labor during the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 64–98, doi:10.18574/nyu/9780814785843.003.0003, abstract.

[129] An Act to Encourage Immigration, 4 July 1864, 13 Stat. 385, §2, transcription at "An Act to Encourage Immigration," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Act_to_Encourage_Immigration (its "not being herein contained" corrected to "nothing herein contained"); §2 to "expenses of their emigration" confirmed at Immigration History, https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1864.

[130] An Act to Encourage Immigration, §§3–4, same transcription.

[131] Brian P. Luskey, *Men Is Cheap: Exposing the Frauds of Free Labor in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), abstract, https://academic.oup.com/north-carolina-scholarship-online/book/41647.

[132] U.S. Constitution, Amendment XIII, §1; National Archives, Milestone Documents,

of prisoners available for hire”.[133] Matthew Mancini’s study of leasing, 1866–1928, describes it as “a means of racial subordination and labor discipline” and argues against the view that it was an aberration.[134] Alex Lichtenstein: Georgia’s penal system shows “how convict labor helped forge the peculiar New South ‘Bourbon’ political alliance, by accommodating the labor needs of an emerging class of industrialists without eroding the racial domination essential to planters.”[135] Douglas Blackmon’s *Slavery by Another Name* (2008) carries the account to the Second World War.[136] The configuration differs from both of the others. Private title to the person is gone; the state’s custody stands in its place, and the lessee purchases the verb from the state.

4.17 The frame that holds all of this is Dale Tomich’s second slavery: “the extraordinary expansion of new frontiers of slave commodity production – cotton in the US South, sugar in Cuba, and coffee in Brazil – during the nineteenth century and their role in the economic and political transformations of the nineteenth-century world-economy.”[137] The concept “locates the crisis of slavery during the nineteenth century in the differentiated response to processes of world accumulation, rather than the incompatibility of slave production with industrialization and open, competitive markets”.[138] Slave and wage labor grew inside one industrial division of labor.

4.18 The thesis this paper began from held that the North fought to free cheap wage labor for its industry. The record divides it.

4.19 Where the record supports it. (a) Postwar labor discipline: the Bureau reinstated plantation labor under contract (Ruef, Stanley), and free-labor doctrine moralized permanent wage dependence (Lincoln). (b) Wage-debt: the 1864 Act made pledged wages enforceable and attached them to homestead land, with a disclaimer of servitude written into the statute. (c) Brokered labor: the federal government brokered refugees’ domestic labor, made emigrants’ privately brokered wage pledges enforceable and set up an office to route them, and private brokers dealt in freedpeople and immigrants alike (Urban, the 1864 Act, Luskey). (d) The exception clause: the amendment that abolished property in persons preserved a penal channel through which states hired out the convicted to private lessees, industrialists among them

https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/13th-amendment.

[133] Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), publisher’s summary, Project MUSE, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/40882.

[134] Matthew J. Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866–1928* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), publisher’s description, https://uscpress.com/One-Dies-Get-Another.

[135] Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (London: Verso, 1996), as quoted by Verso, “Forced Labor and Progress,” 26 February 2017, https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/news/3107-forced-labor-and-progress.

[136] Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

[137] Dale Tomich, “The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for Historical Inquiry,” *International Review of Social History* 63, no. 3 (December 2018): 477–501, doi:10.1017/S0020859018000536.

[138] Tomich, “The Second Slavery and World Capitalism,” abstract.

(Mancini, Lichtenstein, LeFlouria).[139140141142143144]

4.20 Where it runs against the field. (a) Cause: slavery and its expansion caused the war, the secessionists named it, and Marx himself rejected the tariff explanation offered in 1861 (§0).[145146] (b) Scale: the refugee placements numbered in the thousands, and the Bureau's effort was to reinstate plantation labor in the South; after emancipation planters moved, in Gavin Wright's phrase as Ransom reports it, from "laborlords" to "landlords".[147148149] (c) Supply: the Northern wage-labor market was already formed before 1861. Oakes: "the northern countryside was thoroughly transformed by 1845", and the rural economy "extruded 'surplus' population into cities and factories at a rate that outpaced number of immigrants".[150] The labor the 1864 Act sought came from Europe.

4.21 The thesis at the strength the evidence carries. The war was fought over slavery. Its settlement reorganized the labor topology of an already integrated capitalism. It abolished the noun as a legal form. It put the verb under contract, pledged it as debt, brokered it across regions and oceans, and kept a penal exception through which the state could hire out

[139]Martin Ruef, "Constructing a Free Labor Market," ch. 2 of *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 21–49, abstract, https://academic.oup.com/princeton-scholarship-online/book/30647/chapter-abstract/259563097.

[140]An Act to Encourage Immigration, 4 July 1864, 13 Stat. 385, §2, transcription at "An Act to Encourage Immigration," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/An_Act_to_Encourage_Immigration (its "not being herein contained" corrected to "nothing herein contained"); §2 to "expenses of their emigration" confirmed at Immigration History, https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-act-of-1864.

[141]Andrew Urban, "Humanitarianism's Markets: Brokering the Domestic Labor of Black Refugees, 1861–1872," ch. 2 of *Brokering Servitude: Migration and the Politics of Domestic Labor during the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 64–98, doi:10.18574/nyu/9780814785843.003.0003, abstract.

[142]Brian P. Luskey, *Men Is Cheap: Exposing the Frauds of Free Labor in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), abstract, https://academic.oup.com/north-carolina-scholarship-online/book/41647.

[143]Matthew J. Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866–1928* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), publisher's description, https://uscpress.com/One-Dies-Get-Another.

[144]Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), publisher's summary, Project MUSE, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/40882.

[145]"A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union" (1861), Avalon Project, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_missec.asp.

[146]Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War," *Die Presse*, no. 293, 25 October 1861, in *Marx-Engels Collected Works* (MECW), vol. 19 (Moscow: Progress, 1964), marxists.org text as archived in 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/2013id_/http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1861/10/25.htm (the MECW mirror at read.19491007.xyz no longer resolves).

[147]Andrew Urban, "Humanitarianism's Markets: Brokering the Domestic Labor of Black Refugees, 1861–1872," ch. 2 of *Brokering Servitude: Migration and the Politics of Domestic Labor during the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 64–98, doi:10.18574/nyu/9780814785843.003.0003, abstract.

[148]Martin Ruef, "Constructing a Free Labor Market," ch. 2 of *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 21–49, abstract, https://academic.oup.com/princeton-scholarship-online/book/30647/chapter-abstract/259563097.

[149]Ransom, "The Economics of the Civil War," citing Gavin Wright.

[150]Oakes, "Capitalism and Slavery and the Civil War," 2016.

the convicted body. The freedpeople's own general strike forced the opening; the settlement closed it toward contract and debt. The first fruit of the war, as Marx counted it, was a fight over the length of the day: the measure of the verb.

5. The verb: the timed motion

5.1 Once the noun could not be owned, the question became how far the interval could be specified. Taylor answered for the interval's content. Ford answered for its sequence.

5.2 Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911): "Perhaps the most prominent single element in modern scientific management is the task idea. The work of every workman is fully planned out by the management at least one day in advance, and each man receives in most cases complete written instructions, describing in detail the task which he is to accomplish, as well as the means to be used in doing the work. … This task specifies not only what is to be done but how it is to be done and the exact time allowed for doing it."[151] Marx's interval is purchased. Taylor's is written in advance, by management, as a task with a time.

5.3 The measuring instrument is the stop-watch. The experimenter "noted with a stop-watch the proper time for all of the motions that were made by the men"; on shoveling, "thousands of stop-watch observations were made".[152] The pig-iron gang had loaded "about 12 and a half long tons per man per day"; Taylor's standard was "between 47, and 48 long tons per day".[153]

5.4 Schmidt under the watch: "Schmidt started to work, and all day long, and at regular intervals, was told by the man who stood over him with a watch, 'Now pick up a pig and walk. Now sit down and rest. Now walk–now rest,' etc. He worked when he was told to work, and rested when he was told to rest, and at half-past five in the afternoon had his 47 and a half tons loaded on the car."[154] The day is decomposed into commanded verbs: pick up, walk, sit down, rest.

5.5 Taylor's worker is classed with the draft animal: "He merely happened to be a man of the type of the ox,–no rare specimen of humanity, difficult to find and therefore very highly prized."[155] Marx's slave-owner "buys his labourer as he buys his horse".[156] The slave-owner's comparison is a price; Taylor's is a classification. The animal comparison crosses the break intact.

5.6 The program: "In the past the man has been first; in the future the system must be first."[157] Conception passes to management: "the workman who is best suited to actually doing the work is incapable of fully understanding this science, without the guidance and help of those who are working with him or over him".[158] Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly*

[151] Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911), ch. 2, Project Gutenberg eBook #6435, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6435.
[152] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2.
[153] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2.
[154] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2.
[155] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2; the phrase recurs as "a man more or less of the type of the ox, heavy both mentally and physically."
[156] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §5.
[157] Taylor, *Principles*, introduction.
[158] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2.

Capital (1974) is the standard theory of this separation of conception from execution.[159]

5.7 Taylor still selected a body. The second of management's new duties: "They scientifically select and then train, teach, and develop the workman".[160] Schmidt is one man picked from a gang of pig-iron handlers.[161] Individuation persists at the point of selection, so the inversion by which slavery individualizes and Fordism standardizes, this paper's own formulation, holds for the operation and fails for the hiring.

5.8 Ford, *My Life and Work* (1922), ch. V: "Along about April 1, 1913, we first tried the experiment of an assembly line. We tried it on assembling the flywheel magneto. … I believe that this was the first moving line ever installed. The idea came in a general way from the overhead trolley that the Chicago packers use in dressing beef."[162]

5.9 The magneto: "With one workman doing a complete job he could turn out from thirty-five to forty pieces in a nine-hour day, or about twenty minutes to an assembly. What he did alone was then spread into twenty-nine operations; that cut down the assembly time to thirteen minutes, ten seconds. Then we raised the height of the line eight inches–this was in 1914–and cut the time to seven minutes. Further experimenting with the speed that the work should move at cut the time down to five minutes."[163] Twenty minutes, 13 min 10 s, 7 min, 5 min. One job became twenty-nine operations.

5.10 The chassis: "About the best we had done in stationary chassis assembling was an average of twelve hours and twenty-eight minutes per chassis." Drawn by rope and windlass down a 250-foot line, with "Six assemblers" who "traveled with the chassis", the time fell to "five hours fifty minutes per chassis". With the line elevated in 1914, "a further subdivision of work so that each man had fewer movements cut down the labour time per chassis to one hour thirty-three minutes."[164] The worker stood still only once the line was powered and raised; in the first experiment the worker walked with the work.

5.11 The motor, "formerly done by one man, is now divided into eighty-four operations".[165] The chassis line had "forty-five separate operations or stations".[166]

5.12 The sentence: "The man who places a part does not fasten it–the part may not be fully in place until after several operations later. The man who puts in a bolt does not put on the nut; the man who puts on the nut does not tighten it."[167] Ford divides one act of fastening into three verbs and assigns each to a different person: to put in, to put on, to tighten.

5.13 The principle: "The net result of the application of these principles is the reduction of

[159] Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), ch. 4, "Scientific Management." Cited for the argument; no wording quoted.

[160] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2, on the four duties of management; the Schmidt narrative in the same chapter is a selection of one worker from the gang.

[161] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2: "This man we will call Schmidt"; he had been earning "wages of $1.15 a day".

[162] Henry Ford with Samuel Crowther, *My Life and Work* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1922), ch. V, "Getting into Production," Project Gutenberg eBook #7213, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/7213.

[163] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[164] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[165] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[166] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[167] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

the necessity for thought on the part of the worker and the reduction of his movements to a minimum. He does as nearly as possible only one thing with only one movement."[168] And the wage was set on the time study: "starting about 1913 we had time studies made of all the thousands of operations in the shops. By a time study it is possible theoretically to determine what a man's output should be. … On the time figures all of the jobs in our factory were standardized and rates set."[169]

5.14 The pairing of Taylor and Ford is contested. David Nye: "The Ford assembly line of 1913 was part of a long series of process innovations", synthesizing "sub-division of work, interchangeability, single-function machines, organization of machines according to the sequence of assembly, and moving work to the worker"; "'scientific management' was not important to the creation of the assembly line."[170] McKinlay and Wilson: "Henry Ford insisted that his development of mass production owed nothing to Taylorism. But Ford and Taylor can only be understood as part of a wider revolution in American management that prioritized efficiency, experimentation and flow." Ford's innovations "depended upon parallel innovations in administration and accounting."[171] This paper takes the second position for the measurement regime and accepts Nye's for the machine. Ford's own ch. VIII, with rates set "on the time figures", puts time study inside Ford's wage system in Ford's words.[172] The moving line itself has its named precursor in the Chicago packers' trolley.[173]

5.15 Along the axis of measurement, the unit shrinks. Life, under the life-cycle appraisal; day, under the hand rating's "expected production per day", Hammond's "hired by the day" and the eight-hour fight; task, under Taylor; motion and second, under Ford's 13 min 10 s.[174][175][176][177][178] As the unit shrinks the legal claim narrows: capital gives up title to the lifetime and gains a finely specified claim on the contracted interval. Own less of the worker; specify more completely what working is. The worker can remain juridically indivisible while the work is divided almost without limit.

5.16 The proper noun becomes an infinitive, as far as the primary texts carry it. The Savannah catalogue sold "Andrew, chattel No. 420", and the reporter priced his missing right eye at $240.[179] Ford's chassis line names no one. It names operations, and Ford's sentence breaks

[168] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[169] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. VIII, "Wages."

[170] David E. Nye, "What Was the Assembly Line?," *Temp – Tidsskrift for Historie* 1, no. 1 (2010): 59–81, abstract, https://tidsskrift.dk/temp/article/view/24974.

[171] Alan McKinlay and James Wilson, "'All They Lose Is the Scream': Foucault, Ford and Mass Production," *Management & Organizational History* 7, no. 1 (2012): 45–60, doi:10.1177/1744935911427219, abstract.

[172] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. VIII, "Wages."

[173] Henry Ford with Samuel Crowther, *My Life and Work* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1922), ch. V, "Getting into Production," Project Gutenberg eBook #7213, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/7213.

[174] Caitlin Rosenthal, "Plantations Practiced Modern Management," interview by Scott Berinato, *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, https://hbr.org/2013/09/plantations-practiced-modern-management.

[175] James Henry Hammond, speech in the U.S. Senate, 4 March 1858 ("Mud Sill Speech"), Teaching American History, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/mud-sill-speech/.

[176] Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, ch. 10, §7, "The Struggle for the Normal Working-Day. Re-action of the English Factory Acts on Other Countries."

[177] Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911), ch. 2, Project Gutenberg eBook #6435, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6435.

[178] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[179] *What Became of the Slaves*, 18. Berry, "Slavery in America: Back in the Headlines," gives Guy's

one act into separate verbs: to put in, to put on, to tighten.[180] Taylor's Schmidt keeps a name, given by Taylor ("This man we will call Schmidt"), and receives his day as a series of imperatives: pick up, walk, rest.[181][182] Between 1859 and 1913 the record moves from the named and numbered person to the unnamed operation. The abstraction survives its object.

5.17 Emancipation freed the noun. Industrial management captured the verb. The first sentence holds juridically: emancipation abolished private title to the person. §4 has shown what the abolition left in place: contract, debt, brokerage, racial discipline and the penal exception.

6. What the argument claims and does not claim

The argument claims that American slavery capitalized the worker as a priced body and already measured that body's capacity in a unit of daily output, the hand; that contemporaries stated the difference between buying the person and hiring the interval, Hammond for slavery and Marx against it, while Lincoln named its two operations and denied that they exhaust labor; that the war, fought over slavery, abolished the first form, and that its settlement put the second under contract, debt, brokerage and a penal exception; and that industrial management then specified the purchased interval as task, motion and time. It does not claim that Northern industry caused the war or fought it for labor, that freedpeople were moved North in numbers that fed Northern industry, that Taylor or Ford drew on plantation records, or that wage labor and slavery are the same relation. The transformation it asserts is structural: an optimization problem persists across a juridical break. Under ownership, human productive capacity was already made quantitatively legible; after ownership in persons became legally unavailable, productive activity itself was decomposed and timed. The two need belong to no single documentary lineage for the transformation to hold.

Open verification items (stated at deposit)

Items below were either kept out of the prose or are used with the status stated in their notes.

1. *New-York Daily Tribune*, 9 March 1859: page, column and headline not seen; the pamphlet text has not been collated against the newspaper. The Doesticks/Mortimer Thomson attribution rests on library metadata. Page loci to be checked against the page images: the OCR lacks page headers before "6" and the "7" and "17" headers, so the opening (cited as [5]) and Dorcas (cited as 17) are inferred. "The Weeping Time" was not seen in the source and is left out. The Butler connection is in the pamphlet (p. 20 heading, "MR. PIERCE BUTLER GIVES HIS PEOPLE A DOLLAR A-PIECE") and in its subtitle's reference to Kemble; the prose leaves it unnamed.
2. Mount Vernon: the £6.2.0 figure and the journal and ledger wording come from a page-reading extract of the Mount Vernon caption; the account-book image and archival object (W-693) were not seen.

price as $1240; the pamphlet reads $1,280, which yields the reporter's $240.

[180] Ford, *My Life and Work*, ch. V.

[181] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2: "This man we will call Schmidt"; he had been earning "wages of $1.15 a day".

[182] Taylor, *Principles*, ch. 2.

3. ICPSR 7421 codebook (skill and health code labels): behind login; the summary wording came by extract.
4. Berry: her own definitions of "soul value" and of external or market value; specific cadaver-sale prices and cases. The two book quotations (pp. 6, 197) come from the publisher's Reader's Guide.
5. Fett: her own text (quoted through Pasquier's review); "soundness" as a legal warranty term in sales, left out.
6. Martin (2010): the article was not seen; its quoted sentence on the "invisible engine" is left out. The "1852 circular", Aetna and New York Life policy counts, and press figures ("more than 500 policies") are left out.
7. Boster: *Review of Disability Studies* volume, issue and year; the Barker and Kollock records themselves. Boster's quotation of "full hand" from Charles Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains* (1859), 117, does not match Ball's page and is not used.
8. Baptist's use of "full hand / half hand / quarter hand", and the attribution of the phrase "torture hypothesis" to Olmstead and Rhode: unverified, left out.
9. Affleck's printed instructions, valuation pages and any hand-rating columns: known here only through Rosenthal's HBR interview.
10. Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery*: wording and page of "This is not an origins story" (seen only in Carden's review); page of the Gantt passage; the Harvard program description came by segmented extract. DOI of the *Enterprise & Society* article.
11. Rhode's JEH review (paywalled) beyond the Taylor point Carden reports.
12. Cooke (2003): full text and his evidence for "Taylorian principles".
13. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*: no sentence of his prose was seen; ch. 6 title varies between catalogues ("Acts for Sale" / "Acts of sale").
14. Beard and Hacker texts (the Beard and Hacker phrases in §0.4 are quoted through Ransom, with his page references 1927: 53 and 1940: 373); Woods, *JAH* 2012, as the historiographic citation for §0.1; Stampp's *Imperiled Union*, p. 198 (seen only via Wikipedia); Cochran (1961) and Engerman (1966) bibliographic details; Egnal's pagination.
15. Marx: the translator attribution of the marxists.org *Capital* text (Moore/Aveling) was not shown on the page; the 25 October 1861 text is cited from the 2013 archived marxists.org copy (the MECW mirror is dead); the IWMA Address page gives both 19 and 29 November 1864 for Council approval; German originals not seen.
16. Du Bois: page and chapter of "a brief moment in the sun" (seen via McDowell); pp. 700–701 seen via Reed; title of the chapter containing them.
17. Foner: no sentence from *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* or from *Reconstruction* ch. 4 was seen; only the latter's chapter title is used.
18. Saville and Jaynes: cited bibliographically; no claim-level text seen.
19. Urban: the number of refugees placed ("thousands" in the abstract).
20. Act to Encourage Immigration: exact repeal date and statute of 1868; the number of contracts recorded under it (e.g. through the American Emigrant Company).
21. Convict leasing: no page-level text from Blackmon, Mancini, Lichtenstein (beyond Verso's quotation) or LeFlouria; lease counts and death rates left out.
22. Tomich: the 1988 essay's page range (IRSH's notes conflict) and the 2004 *Through the Prism of Slavery* wording.
23. Taylor (1911 Harper) and Ford (1922 Doubleday, Page) print pagination: cited by chapter from Gutenberg texts.
24. Nye's abstract was assembled from extracted segments; Nye, *America's Assembly Line*

(2013), Hounshell (1984) and Pacyga (2015) were not read and are left out; Braverman is cited without quotation.

25. Hammond's *Congressional Globe* citation and the speech's formal title (Fitzhugh's imprint, Richmond: A. Morris, 1857, is now confirmed from the Gutenberg title page); Brownson's "cunning device of the devil" line, left out.
26. The Ashworth quotation in draft A ("Republicans fought principally because of slavery's economic effects") is untraced and dropped, with its supposed *Slavery's Capitalism* chapter.
27. Wright (2020): page references are to the lecture PDF; collate with *Economic History Review* pagination. Ransom's report of Gunderson and of Wright's "laborlords" phrase to be checked in Gunderson and Wright.

Where the archive's deposits connect

- **#148**, *Semantic Technique and Collective Ownership: From Recognition to Reclamation*, §2.3 "The Industrial-Machinery Parallel". It argues that factory owners "recognized in those crude proletarian and craft-tradition machines a capturable procedural substrate". It names craft and proletarian sources and no enslaved ones. This section supplies the missing source: the measured capacity of owned workers, recorded as the hand.
- **#1545**, *The Semantic Proletariat Is a Class Relation, Not a Demographic*, §4. Its capture chain ends in "fixed semantic capital … with provenance increasingly erased across refinement". The passage from priced body to timed motion bears on that chain at the level of structure: the quantification of human capacity persists across the juridical break, and the industrial record carries no trace of its prior form under ownership. This paper documents the persistence of the problem; it documents no transmission of a technique.
- **#550**, Johannes Sigil, *Platform and AI Capitalism as Semiotic Engineering: Toward a Theory of Counter-Infrastructure*, Part III, "the semiotic analogue of primitive accumulation". The 1864 Act's pledged wages and lien on homestead land are an instance of the original form.
- **#965**, *Operative Feminism: A Total Axial Negation Graph of the Field*: enslaved labor as "a deepening of the same extraction along the axis of race". §1's life-cycle valuation, "future increase" included, is that deepening priced.
- **#816**, *GHOST CODE: Whiteness as the Foundational Narcissistic Operating System* (filed under Dr. Orin Trace), §II, reading racial caste as "privilege as a control system" through Du Bois's "public and psychological wage". §4.7 here gives that wage its place in the settlement of the war.

Notes

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