

Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century

This book presents a fundamental reassessment of the nature of wage labor in the nineteenth century, focusing on the common use of penal sanctions in England to enforce wage labor agreements. Professor Steinfeld argues that wage workers were not employees at will but were often bound to their employment by enforceable labor agreements, which employers used whenever available to manage their labor costs and supply. In the northern United States, where employers normally could not use penal sanctions, the common law made other contract remedies available, also placing employers in a position to enforce labor agreements. Modern free wage labor only came into being late in the nineteenth century, as a result of reform legislation that restricted the contract remedies employers could legally use.

Robert J. Steinfeld is a Professor of Law at the School of Law, State University of New York at Buffalo. He is the author of *The Invention of Free Labor* (1991) and numerous essays on labor history and forms of free and coerced labor. Professor Steinfeld has written for *Stanford Law Review, William and Mary Quarterly, Law and History Review,* and *American Historical Review.* He has been a Langdell Fellow at Harvard Law School and a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow.



CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL STUDIES IN AMERICAN LAW AND SOCIETY

Editor

Christopher Tomlins American Bar Foundation



Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century

Robert J. Steinfeld

State University of New York at Buffalo





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Robert J. Steinfeld 2001

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2001

Printed in the United States of America

Typeface Baskerville 10/12 System Corel Ventura Publisher [PBC]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Steinfeld, Robert J.

Coercion, contract, and free labor in the nineteenth century / Robert J. Steinfeld.

CI

Includes bibliographical references. ISBN 0-521-77630-1 (hb)

- 1. Labor contract Great Britain Criminal provisions History.
 - 2. Forced labor Law and legislation Great Britain- History.
- 4. Forced labor Law and legislation United States History.

 I. Title. II. Series.

K1765.S74 2000

331.117094209034 - dc21

00-020963

CIP

ISBN 0 521 77360 1 hardback ISBN 0 521 77400 4 paperback



> For Jenny, Noah, and Ezra and for my father



Contents

| List of Illustrations and Tables | | page ix |
|--|--|---------|
| Acknowledgments | | X |
| Introduction: Free Wage Labor in the History of the West | | 1 |
| | PART ONE. AMERICAN CONTRACT LABOR AND ENGLISH WAGE LABOR: THE USES OF PECUNIARY AND NONPECUNIARY PRESSURE | |
| 1 | "Free" Contract Labor in the United States: An Anti-essentialist View of Labor Types I | 29 |
| 2 | "Unfree" Wage Labor in Nineteenth-Century England: An Anti-essentialist View of Labor Types II | 39 |
| 3 | Explaining the Legal Content of English Wage Labor | 85 |
| 4 | Struggles over the Rules: The Common Law Courts, Parliament, the People, and the Master and Servant Acts | 102 |
| 5 | Struggles under the Rules: Strategic Behavior and Historical Change in Legal Context | 167 |
| 6 | Struggles to Change the Rules | 192 |
| 7 | Freedom of Contract and Freedom of Person | 234 |
| | PART TWO. "FREE" AND "UNFREE" LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES | |
| 8 | "Involuntary Servitude" in American Fundamental Law | 253 |
| 9 | Labor Contract Enforcement in the American North | 290 |
| Conclusion | | 315 |
| Index | | 323 |



List of Illustrations

FIGURES 2.1 Annual Prosecutions Plotted against Unemployment Rates 77 2.2 Number of Prosecutions in Each County of England, 1860 79 2.3 Prosecutions Per 10,000 Population in Each County of England, 1860 TABLES 2.1 Unemployment Rates and Annual Prosecutions 76 2.2 Employed Labor Force and Annual Prosecutions 78



Acknowledgments

This book would not have been possible without the aid, encouragement, and advice of numerous people. I would like especially to thank Stan Engerman and Fred Konefsky for reading and commenting on multiple drafts of the manuscript. The work has benefited enormously from their generous advice and criticism. Markus Dubber helped me to see the visual possibilities for presenting statistical data. Gillian Hamilton was kind enough to alert me to some of the problems associated with relating unemployment to prosecution rates. I also owe large debts of gratitude to Guyora Binder, the late Betsy Clark, Seymour Drescher, Eric Foner, Morton Horwitz, Linda Kerber, Jan Lucassen, John Munro, David Seipp, Reva Siegel, and Lea Vander Velde for taking the time to comment on the manuscript at earlier stages. I'd like to give special thanks to Chris Thomlins for his support and for his many useful suggestions as this manuscript grew from a long article into a book. I would like to thank the participants in the Boston University Legal History Forum, the Buffalo Law School Faculty Forum, the Yale Legal History Workshop, and the University of Toronto Economic History Workshop for their many useful criticisms and suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank Frank Smith for all his efforts and for his wise advice in seeing this project through from manuscript to final production. None of the above are responsible for the remaining errors.