

45th Annual Meeting

Business History Conference

March 5-7, 1999

CAROLINA INN
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Friday, March 5

8:30 am - 6:00 pm

Colonnade

Registration

9:30 am - 12:00 noon

Visit to Glaxo-Wellcome, Research Triangle Park

1:30 - 3:00 pm

PLENARY SESSION: DISSERTATIONS

Pleasant's Family Assembly Room, Wilson Library, UNC

Chair/Moderator: Sally Clarke, *University of Texas, Austin*

Theresa M. Collins, *Rutgers University*

A Life of Otto H. Kahn, 1867-1934: Finance, Art, and Questions of Modernity

Hal E. Hansen, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

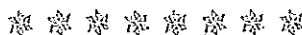
Caps and Gowns: Historical Reflections on the Institutions That Shaped
Learning for and at Work in Germany and the United States, 1800-1945

Lisa Anne Marovich, *Loyola Marymount University*

Fueling the Fires of Genius: Women's Inventive Activities in the American
War Eras

Mary Tripsas, *University of Pennsylvania*

Surviving Radical Technological Change: An Empirical Study of the
Typesetter Industry



3:30 - 5:30 pm

SESSION I. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES: REAL ESTATE
HILL BALLROOM SOUTH

Chair/Moderator: Angel Kwolek-Folland, *University of Kansas, Lawrence*

Stephanie Dyer, *University of Pennsylvania*

Shopping Center Diaspora: Retail Decentralization and the Moral Economy of Suburban Development in Metro Philadelphia, 1922-52

Jeffrey Hornstein, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Selling Home: Realtors, "Third Wave" Professionals, and the Middle Class, 1910-1960

Sandy Isenstadt, *University of Kentucky*

The Visual Commodification of Landscape in the Real Estate Appraisal Industry, 1900-1992

Andrew Sandoval-Strausz, *University of Chicago*

For the Accommodation of Strangers: Public Space, Commercial Virtue, and the Origins of the American Hotel

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SESSION II. MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVES/ BIG BUSINESS: THE EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE
IN THE 20TH CENTURY (PANEL DISCUSSION OF YOUSSEF CASSIS)
Hill Ballroom Central

Chair/Moderator: Michael Smith, *University of South Carolina*

Youssef Cassis, *University of Geneva*

Big Business: The European Experience in the 20th Century

Colleen Dunlavy, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Big Business: The German Experience

Leslie Hannah, *City University Business School*

Big Business: The British Experience

Patrick Fridenson, *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*
Big Business: The French Experience

Maggie Levenstein, *University of Michigan*
Big Business: The American Experience

Ken Lipartito, *Florida International University*
Big Business: The Comparative Experience

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SESSION III. FOREIGN CASE STUDIES: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
Hill Ballroom North

Chair/Moderator: Larry Neal, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

R. Funda Barbaros, *Ege University, Turkey*
From West to East: British Trade in Smyrna, 1850-1914

Nevin Cosar, *Yildiz Technical University, Turkey*
History of a Small Commercial Bank in Turkey: Demirbank

Judy Slinn, *Oxford Brookes University*
A History of Booker PLC

Geoffrey Channon, *University of the West of England*
Railway Morals in Britain: A Case Study of the Great Western

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SESSION IV. VIRTUES APPLIED: THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE
Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator: Edwin J. Perkins, *University of Southern California*

David Boughey, *Royal Holloway College, University of London*
To Build or Not to Build: The Locomotive Policy of Britain's Railway
Companies in the Nineteenth Century

Dilwyn Porter, *London School of Economics*

Trusted Guides of the Investing Public: How London's Financial Press
Became More Virtuous, c. 1890-1990

Lucy Newton, *University of East Anglia*, and Roy A. Edwards, *London School of Economics*

The Ethics of Lending: The Assessment of Borrowers by Bank
Management, 1870-1920

Robin Pearson, *University of Hull*

Fraudsters, Liars, and Arsonists: Moral Hazard and the Assessment of
Insurance Risk in 18th- and Early 19th-Century England

SESSION V. THE SOUTHERN EXPERIENCE
Club Room

Chair/Moderator: Robert McMath, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Toby Moore, *University of Iowa*

Dismantling the Cotton Mill Village System in the American South

Randall Patton, *Kennesaw State University*

The Creation of North Georgia's Carpet Industry: Indigenous
Industrialization in the New South, 1945-1990

Rachel Willis, *University of North Carolina*

Knitting the Social Fabric: The Past and Future of Work-Family Balance
Policies in Southern Hosiery Mills

5:30 - 7:00 pm, Old Well Room: Reception

**Sponsored by the Center for the Study of the American South and the
University of North Carolina Press**

Saturday, March 6

8:00 am - 5:15 pm, Colonnade: Registration

9:00 - 10:00 am: Tours of Wilson Library

10:15 am - 12:00 noon

SESSION I. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES: THE POSTWAR SOUTH
Hill Ballroom South

Chair/Moderator: JoAnne Yates, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Marko Maunula, *University of North Carolina*

From Mill Town to Euroville: Economic Change and the Arrival of
Foreign Corporations in Spartanburg, SC, 1950-1980

Conrad Rein, *New Orleans Regional Planning Commission*

Defense Plant Conversion and Leading Sector Industrial Development in the
Postwar South: The Slow Take-Off of the Space Program in New
Orleans

Margaret Shannon, *Vanderbilt University*

Tourism and the Politics of Economic Development at Hilton Head Island

Louis Kyriakoudes, *University of Southern Mississippi, Gulf Park*

Lower-Order Urbanization and Territorial Monopoly in the Southern
Furnishing Trade: Alabama, 1871-1900

SESSION II. MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE: TEACHING MBAS FROM HISTORY
HILL BALLROOM CENTRAL

Chair/Moderator: Richard Barsness, *Lehigh University*

Thomas McCraw, *Harvard University*

Teaching Business History Courses to Harvard MBA Students: The
Growth of Enrollment from 50 to 1300

Richard Rosenbloom, *Harvard University*

Using History to Enrich Theorizing and Teaching the Management of
Technology

Robert Lynch, *University of Dallas*

Seeking Practical Wisdom

Daniel Raff, *University of Pennsylvania*

Management 101

SESSION III. CASE STUDIES: BRITISH AND AMERICAN CREDIT
Hill Ballroom North

Chair/Moderator: William J. Hausman, *College of William & Mary*

Ann Carlos, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Purchasing Strategies: The Case of the Royal African Company, 1672-1700

Stephen Quinn, *Texas Christian University*

When Did Interest Rates Fall during the Financial Revolution?

John Smail, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Credit, Risk, and Reward in 18th-Century Commerce

Rowena Olegario, *University of Michigan*

Character and Liquidity: Strategies for Determining Creditworthiness
during the 19th Century

SESSION IV: VIRTUES APPLIED: US REGULATION
Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator

and Discussant: Ernie Englander, *George Washington University*

Alan Loeb, *Argonne National Laboratories*

Profits Versus Social Cost: A Case Study Analysis of Paradigms Governing
Corporate Responsibility for the Environment

Marc McClure, *George Washington University*

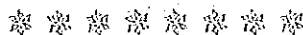
The Origins of the Federal Trade Commission: George Rublee and the
Creation of a Progressive Republican Institution

Kerry Pannell, *DePauw University*

The Virtues of Self-Regulation: The Organization of Better Business
Bureaus in the Progressive Era

Brandon Shackelford, *Harvard University*, and David M. Hart,
Harvard University

Red and White and Blue All Over: The Political Development of IBM,
1970-2000



SESSION V. THE EARLY AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
Club Room

Chair/Moderator: Jeremy Attack, *Vanderbilt University*

Carolyn Dimitri, *U.S. Department of Agriculture*

Innovation, the Entrepreneur, and Agricultural Industrialization

Naomi Lamoreaux, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Accounting for Capitalism in Early American History: Farmers, Merchants,
Manufacturers, and Their Economic Worlds

John Majewski, *University of California, Los Angeles*

The Rise and Decline of Stock Ownership in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840

John Smolenski, *University of Pennsylvania*

Manufacturing Nationalism: Agriculture, Productivity, and Alexander Hamilton's Treasury Reports

12:00 noon - 1:15 pm: Lunch Break

1:15 - 3:00 pm

SESSION I. SECTIONAL AND SECTORAL PERSPECTIVES

Hill Ballroom South

Chair/Moderator: Fred Carstensen, *University of Connecticut*

Tracey Deutsch, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

From Wild Animals' Stores to Women's Sphere: Supermarkets and the Politics of Mass Consumption, 1930-1950

Sarah Elvins, *York University, Ontario*

Selling in Hub and Hinterland: Retailing and Regional Identity in Upstate New York, 1920-1940

Cory Sparks, *Nunez Community College*

Community Values: Opposition to Chain Stores, 1925-1940

Edith Sparks, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Gold Intentions and Iron Wills: The Economic, Legal, and Personal Circumstances behind Why San Francisco Women Started Small Businesses, 1870-1920

SESSION II. THE MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE
Hill Ballroom Central

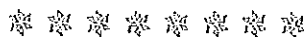
Chair/Moderator: Colleen Dunlavy, *University of Wisconsin*

Caroline Fohlin, *California Institute of Technology*
Securities Exchange and the German Universal Banking System

Edwin J. Perkins, *University of Southern California*
New Strategies for Stockbrokers: Merrill Lynch in the 1940s

Srinivas B. Prasad, *Central Michigan University*
The Metamorphosis of Chase and City as Multinational Banks

Lee Craig, *North Carolina State University, Raleigh*
Managing a Pension Portfolio in the 19th Century: The U.S. Navy
Pension Fund, 1800-1842



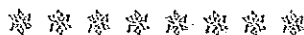
SESSION III: VIRTUES
Hill Ballroom North

Chair/Moderator: David Sicilia, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Donald F. Dixon, *Open University of the Netherlands*
Changing Concepts of the Virtue of Merchants in 17th-Century England

Michael Rowlinson, *University of Nottingham*
Paragons of Virtue: Quaker Employers in Britain

Scott Dalrymple, *Wichita, Kansas*
John Hay's Revenge: Anti-Labor Novels in America, 1880-1905



SESSION IV. THE MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE
Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator

and Discussant: Philip Scranton, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Katina Manko, *University of Delaware*

Teaching Women the Value of Business: The Motivational Literature of the California Perfume Company (Avon) during the Depression

Eugene McCarraher, *University of Delaware*

Mandarin of Capital: Peter Drucker as Corporate Intellectual, 1939-1950

Kevin Reilly, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Dilettantes at the Gate: *Fortune* Magazine and the Cultural Politics of Business Journalism in the 1930s

SESSION V. SOCIAL VIRTUE AND THE INTEGRATION OF U.S. BUSINESS
Club Room

Chair/Moderator: Nandini Chandar, *Rutgers University*

Stephen B. Adams, *Chemical Heritage Foundation*

The Changing Face of Western Electric: Integration of a Government Contractor

Theresa Hammond, *Boston College*

The Virtue of Professional Cooperation: African-American CPAs in 1940s Chicago

Discussant: Angel Kwolek-Folland, *University of Kansas, Lawrence*

2:45 - 3:45 pm Coffee and Cookies

3:15 - 5:15 pm

SESSION I. BUSINESS ETHNICS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Hill Ballroom South

Chair/Moderator: Alfred Mierzejewski, *Athens State College*

Robert Fitzgerald, *Royal Holloway College, University of London*
Employment Relations and Industrial Welfare in Britain, 1846-1939:
Business Ethics and Labor Markets

Scott Fletcher, *University of Chicago*
Business Strategy and the Social Question in Interwar Europe: Bata Shoe and
Its Enemies

Christopher Kopper, *University of Minnesota*
The Ethical Challenge of Nazism: Industrialists and Bankers in Nazi
Germany

Alan Dye, *Barnard College*, and Richard Sicotte, *Harvard University*
An Incredible Commitment? U.S.-Cuban Trade Cooperation and Its
Unraveling

SESSION II. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Hill Ballroom Central

Chair/Moderator: William Becker, *George Washington University*

David L. Carlton, *Vanderbilt University*
Entrepreneurship and Southern Industrialization—The Case of North
Carolina

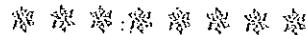
Peter Coclanis, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
David R. Coker, Pedigreed Seeds, and the Limits of Rural Reform in Early
20th-Century South Carolina

Jeremy Kinney, *Auburn University*

"We Hold the Merchandising Idea as Paramount": The Virtue of Mass Markets over Mass Production in the 1920s American Furniture Industry

Phil Holleran, *Patrick Henry Community College*

Rates of Return, Investment, and Entrepreneurial Failure in the Postbellum South



SESSION III. DEALING WITH FOREIGN BUSINESS

Hill Ballroom North

Chair/Moderator: Mira Wilkins, *Florida International University*

Susan Aaronson, *George Mason University*

1970s Development of Social Regulation in the United States

Barry Machado, *Washington and Lee University*

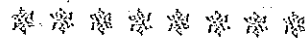
Ford's Activities in Brazil before World War II

Michael Smitka, *Washington and Lee University*

Shifting Auto Industry Involvement in Trade Disputes after World War II

Jeffrey J. Matthews, *University of Kentucky*

The Businessman Diplomat: A. B. Houghton, A Case Study in Virtues and Vices



SESSION IV. VICE APPLIED: HOW TO HOOK CUSTOMERS

Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator: Steve Usselman, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Matthias Kipping, *University of Reading*, and Celeste Amorim, *University of Reading*

How To Get New Clients Hooked: The Market Entry of Foreign Consultancies in Britain and Portugal, 1920s to 1990s

Lina Galvez-Munoz, *University of Reading*

**Tobacco Companies and Governments: Sharing the Profits of Addiction—
The Spanish Case, 1880s to 1930s**

Teresa Lopes, *University of Reading*

**The Impact of Multinational Investment on Alcohol Consumption,
1962-1996**

Marion K. Pinsdorf, *Fordham University*

Building a Virtue—Actual, Image, or Spin: Case Studies of PR Men

6:00 – 6:30 pm Book Auction

**6:30 – 10:00 pm, Chancellor's Ballroom: Reception, Banquet, and
Presidential Address**

Jeremy Atack, *Vanderbilt University*

Sunday, March 7

7:45 am – noon, Colonnade: Complimentary Coffee

8:30 – 10:15 am

SESSION I: THE MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE: PROFESSIONALIZATION

Hill Ballroom South

Chair/Moderator: Paul Miranti, *Rutgers University*

Christopher McKenna, *Johns Hopkins University*

**Defining a Virtuous Profession: Rhetoric and the Professionalization of
Management Consulting, 1939-1982**

Daniel Clark, *Purdue University*

Why the Businessman Needs a College Education: Constructing the Image of
a New Profession

Cristina Crucini, *University of Reading*

The Development and Professionalization of the Italian Consultancy
Market after World War II

SESSION II. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Hill Ballroom Central

Chair/Moderator: Robert Post, *University of Maryland*

William R. Childs, *Ohio State University*

Pragmatic Federalism vs. National Administrative Capacities: State,
Inter-State, and National Regulation, c. 1900-1920

**Paul Barrett, *Illinois Institute of Technology*, Mark Rose, *Florida
Atlantic University*, and Bruce Seely, *Michigan Technological
University***

"The Best Transportation System in the World": Truck Operators and the
Politics of the Regulatory Regime, 1945-1980

W. David Lewis, *University of Michigan*

Airline Executives and Federal Regulation: An Ambivalent Relationship

Discussant: Deborah Douglas, *NASA*

SESSION III. CASE STUDIES
Hill Ballroom North

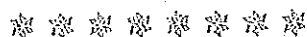
Chair/Moderator: Augustus Veenendaal, *Institute of Netherlands History*

Frederick McKittrick, *Monmouth University*

The Moral Economy of the Small Firm: The German Artisan as Alternative to Competitive Capitalism

Chantel Vancoppenolle, *General State Archives, Brussels*

Between Paternalistic Care and Functional Management



SESSION IV. ACCOUNTING FOR VIRTUE
Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator: Nandini Chandar, *Rutgers University*

William Samson, *University of Alabama*, and Gary John Previts, *Case Western Reserve University*

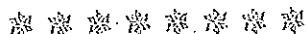
The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and Management Information, 1827-1856

Dale Flesher, *University of Mississippi*, and Gary John Previts, *Case Western Reserve University*

The Illinois Central Railroad, 1857-1887: Self-Interested Reporting and the Virtue of Economic Development

Bill Wooton, *Eastern Illinois University*

**Early Corporate Governance: Self-Interest and the Public Interest—
Directors and the Corporation**



SESSION V. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Club Room

Chair/Moderator: Larry Neal, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Loren Schweninger, *University of North Carolina, Greenville*
Counting the Costs: Southern Planters and the Problem of Runaway Slaves,
1790-1860

Marc Weidenmier, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Counterfeiting during the Civil War

David Surdam, *Loyola University*
Smuggling during the Civil War

10:30 am - 12:00 noon

SESSION I. CASE STUDIES
Hill Ballroom South

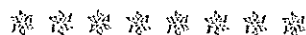
Chair/Moderator: Mansel Blackford, *Ohio State University*

Roy Church, *University of East Anglia*
Cleanliness Next to Godliness in Victorian Britain

Benjamin Pinney, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Construction Tolerances: Labor, Management, and the Politics of
Efficiency, c. 1961

Rolv Petter Amdam, *Norwegian School of Management*
The Translation of the American Mass Production System into a European
Framework—The Norwegian Industry Committee in New York during World
War II

Gerben Bakker, *European University Institute*
America's Master: European Film Companies in the United States on the Eve
of the Great War



SESSION II. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Hill Ballroom Central

Chair/Moderator and

Discussant : Ken Lipartito, *Florida International University*

Paul Miranti, *Rutgers University*

Civic Virtue, Technical Virtuosity and the Emergence of the Operations
Research Discipline at AT&T, 1900-1929

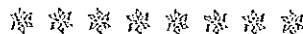
Richard R. John, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Theodore N. Vail and the Civic Origins of Universal Service

Jonathan Coopersmith, *Texas A&M University*

Creating the Commons: Establishing a Civic Space for a New Form of
Communications

Discussant: Sheldon Hochheiser, *AT&T Archives*



SESSION III. DEALING WITH FOREIGN BUSINESS: MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES
Hill Ballroom North

Chair/Moderator: Ann Carlos, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Edward Beatty, *Duquesne University*

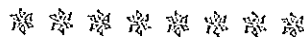
Patent Rights and Technology Transfer in Late 19th-Century Mexico

Susan Gauss, *SUNY—Stony Brook*

Legislating Development: Industrial Planning and U.S. Business in Mexico,
1938-1952

Belinda Roman, *London School of Economics*

Transitional Markets and Entrepreneurship on the U.S.-Mexican Border,
1840-1930



SESSION IV. SECTORAL AND SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVES: ADVERTISING
Alumni Room

Chair/Moderator: Regina Blaszczyk, *Boston University*

Brian Jones, *University of Prince Edward Island*, Alan Richardson,
Queen's University, and Teri Shearer, *Queen's University*

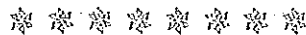
Truth and the Evolution of the Professions: A Comparative Study of "Truth in
Advertising"

Pamela Laird, *University of Colorado, Denver*

When Uncertainty Had Virtue: Vertical Interaction—Not Integration—in
American Advertising, 1880-1920

Lisa Jacobson, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Preaching the Virtues of Business: Children's Advertising and the Courtship
of the Boy Consumer, 1910-1940



SESSION V. CASE STUDIES
Club Room

Chair/Moderator: Peter Coclanis, *University of North Carolina, Chapel
Hill*

Marc Stern, *Bentley College*

Business and the Paradoxes of Occupational Health Reform: The American
Pottery Industry, 1900-1929

John Rossi, *Pennsylvania State University, Erie*

The Battle for the United States' Streets: Automobiles, Their Critics, and the
Industry's Response, 1919-1929

Beth Jo Rosenberg, *Tufts School of Medicine*

Social Determinants of a Successful Intervention: Silicosis Control in the
Vermont Granite Industry, 1938

Discussant: Mark Aldrich, *Smith College*

Discussant: Claudia Clark, *Central Michigan University*

Business History Conference, 1998-1999

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We would like to express our appreciation to the director and staff of the Center for the Study of the American South and to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for assistance and support in welcoming this year's Business History Conference. We are also grateful to the University of North Carolina Press for hosting a reception and to Peter Coclanis for helping with local arrangements.
