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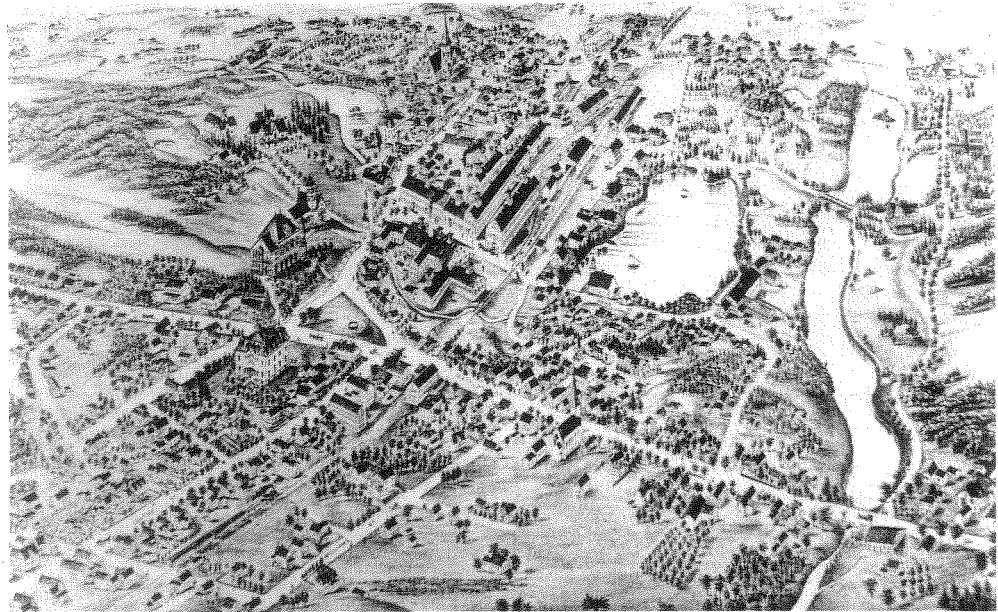
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Architecture and Philanthropy in a Model Company Town

John Garner

The Ames family industrial settlement at North Easton, Massachusetts, operated for nearly a century as a “model company town.” A single enterprise owned the site, operated the factories, and rented the housing. North Easton demonstrated the benefits of a free enterprise economy, where Yankee ingenuity and capital investment were successfully combined. Labor was also an ingredient, and its accommodation figured prominently in company housing and other buildings. Like Hopedale and Ludlow, Massachusetts; South Manchester, Connecticut; Peace Dale, Rhode Island; and Fairbanks Village, Vermont, other model company towns in New England, North Easton’s industrial dynasty, whose resident members owned much of the town and directed its growth, took a benevolent and paternal interest in the welfare of their workers. The town’s appearance, in architecture, and landscaping, contrasted favorably with other industrial settlements.¹

The bestowal of philanthropy accounts for this difference. What distinguishes North Easton and other towns of its type are the manner and extent to which philanthropy was used. Gifts in the form of buildings, statues, and parks gave them an unusual and sometimes attractive aspect. However seigniorial or emblematic of one family’s



1 Bird’s-eye view of North Easton, Massachusetts, showing factories at center, 1881. Courtesy of the Easton Historical Society.

wealth, these gifts had a salutary effect in that they provided a useful service for the public at large. Between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the onset of taxation on corporate and individual income after 1913, expressions of philanthropy became commonplace. They represented the denouement of America's great industrial fortunes. Though the "Robber Barons" rarely gave back in proportion to what they took away, many of them felt compelled to leave some lasting reminder of their wealth for the betterment of those less fortunate. Andrew Carnegie suggested a "doctrine of stewardship," encouraging his fellow millionaires to share their fortunes.² But even with Carnegie's magnificent bequest, the construction of a single library or museum was but a minor addition to the wholesale building of a town or city. For a small place like North Easton, whose founders were hardly in league with the Carnegies, Fricks, or Rockefellers, the concentration of one family's philanthropy in one location could appear overwhelming. The Ames's gifts, for example, included two schools, a library, town hall, railroad station, Unitarian church, Methodist church, landscaped town square, and cemetery, not to mention the scholarships and endowments given in support of these facilities. Tastefully chosen and impeccably maintained, their benefactions

were even more striking when compared to the grim reality of most industrial towns.

The two best known designers of the period, H. H. Richardson and Frederick Law Olmsted, collaborated on projects commissioned by the Ames family for North Easton. Richardson was the architect of Boston's celebrated Trinity Church and other distinctive buildings in the Northeast and Midwest. He also designed the monument near Sherman, Wyoming, commemorating the participation of the Ames family in building the Union Pacific Railroad. Olmsted had won acclaim for his metropolitan parks in New York, Boston, and Montreal. That two such talented figures should collaborate on the buildings and grounds of such a small town was unusual, and it indicates the lengths to which the Ameses were willing to go to bring the best minds to bear on the design of North Easton.³

Located twenty-three miles south of Boston and bounded by the intersections of Routes 123, 138, and 106, North Easton presently serves as a residential satellite to the larger city. As a division of the unincorporated town of Easton, it is home to fewer than two thousand people, settled within an area of a half-mile square. Were it not for a cluster of vacant factories, the town might

be mistaken for a farming community adapted to the needs of a few wealthy families as a place of retreat. Upon entering the town from the east, one cannot help but notice the large, parklike estates of the proprietors. After turning onto Main Street, the Unitarian church comes into view, exhibiting in its appearance the patronage of generous subscribers. This Victorian response to a fashionable retreat is dispelled, however, by the factories and nearby workers' cottages, suggesting that the community's wealth derived from local industry and was not imported. Yet North Easton was never a typical industrial town. No regular grid of streets divides the town into rectangular blocks. Topographic features would have hindered such a layout, had such been desired. Instead, North Easton developed slowly, one street at a time, without the benefit of land speculation. Today, in spite of its industrial past, the town has acquired an attractive and well-cared-for landscape, reminiscent of a "picturesque" suburb.

But less than a century ago, North Easton remained isolated and self-supporting, inclusive and self-regulatory. This independence came directly from the Ames family and their shovel and tool company. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the company greatly expanded, and, beginning in

the 1850s, new factories built of stone provided a substantial addition to the town. Later, in the 1880s, when the Memorial hall, library, and railroad station were completed, a certain dignity and refinement accompanied the bustling factories to draw attention to the center of town. On a small scale, North Easton symbolized the virtues of American industrialism by demonstrating that manufacturing with proper supervision could be undertaken without spoiling the environment.

What attracted Oliver Ames (1779–1863) to North Easton was an abundance of water. Starting in 1803, he began purchasing rights to the Queset River, enlarging a millrace and reservoir and improving an earlier dam. Water was important to industry and of utmost necessity to the Ames development. Water operated the great tilt-hammers that tempered and forged the shovel blades and other implements manufactured by the Ames Iron Works, later renamed Oliver Ames and Sons. It added to the visual amenity of the site as an inviting topographic feature seen in the contours of the river and mill pond, about which the first factories and houses were located. Water also contributed to the distinctive bend in the handles of Ames shovels. When the straight hickory handles were placed in

holders above the dam, they acquired a bend from the force of the spilling water that added tensile strength to the neck of the tools where the blades were fitted. The curve became a trademark and contributed to the durability and resilience of the product.⁴

In time, Ames tools set a standard for quality and garnered awards at national trade fairs. During the Gold Rush of 1849, Ames shovels were supposedly in such demand and so highly prized that they were traded in gold dust. Twelve years later, the Civil War brought President Lincoln to call upon the Ameses, personally, to furnish shovels for the Union cause. It is a tribute to the company that the great quantity of shovels made then and after apparently did not affect the high quality of workmanship that went into their manufacture; for in both the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia of 1876 and the Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893, Ames shovels received first prizes for excellence.⁵

In 1844, Oakes (1804–1873) and Oliver Jr. (1807–1877) were brought into partnership with their father, and what had been a small, regional business began to grow and prosper. A census of Massachusetts industry for 1845 listed Oliver Ames and Sons as having manufactured shovels, spades, forks, and hoes valued at

\$136,000; having an operating capital of \$40,000; and employing seventy-two workers. By 1855 production had soared to \$600,000 a year, and ten years later, profiting as a supplier to the Union, the figure had risen to \$982,500. In 1875 the value of products sold amounted to \$1,500,000. Oliver Ames and Sons followed the pattern of other New England manufacturers, such as those making textiles and textile machinery, which realized sizable profits following industrial expansion during the second half of the century. Such success had considerable impact on North Easton, as profits were plowed back into the town with the construction of new buildings.

The importance of the company in proportion to its surroundings can be judged by comparing property assessments. In 1853, Oliver Ames and Sons was appraised at \$75,610. Twenty years later, its valuation had escalated to \$1,879,886 and represented nearly 82 percent of the total valuation of Easton township, including the nearby villages of South Easton and Easton Center. Though the Ameses did not own everything, their holdings were extensive, and their improvements were everywhere in evidence.⁷

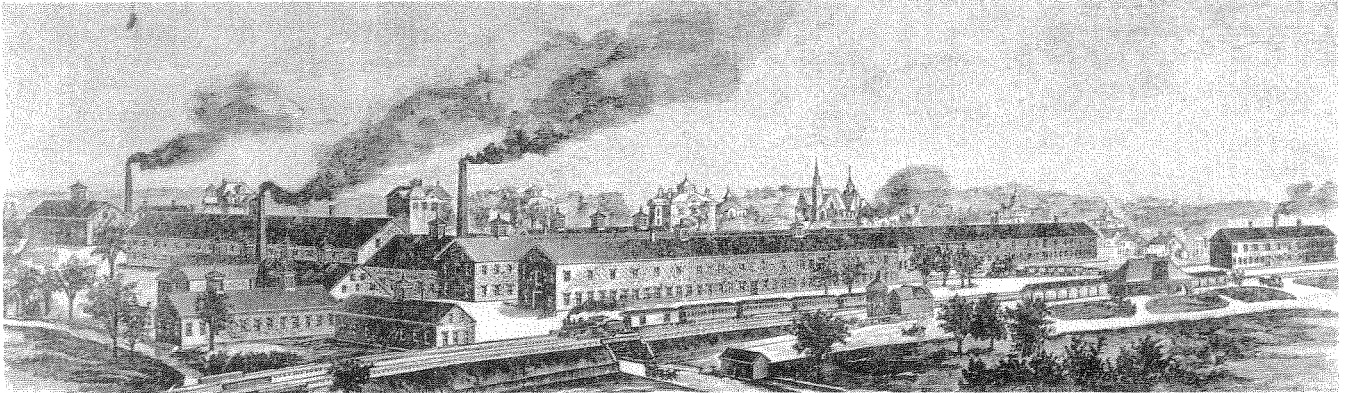
The factories of Oliver Ames and Sons were strategically located to take advantage of the resources of the Quesset

River. At the outset, the operation was largely handled in two shops at the lower end of the reservoir. In March of 1852 a fire destroyed the original frame buildings, and to replace them the Long Shop was built. Located near Main Street, west of the reservoir, it established what soon became the heart of the town. Rising two stories high and extending 539 feet in length, this great stone building dominated the industrial site, and it determined the material and style of the added wing and the surrounding shops, which were erected in 1857. The factories were structurally designed with load bearing walls thirty inches thick. The interior frame was timber post and beam, spanning twelve feet on center.⁸ The only adornment to these simple, massive buildings were the bell cotes placed atop the long saddle roofs. These stalwart granite structures prefigure in a way Richardson's handsome buildings that were erected nearby.

At ten minutes before five o'clock each morning, six days a week, the bell in the cupola of the Long Shop wing would announce the beginning of a new day. At seven o'clock work commenced and continued until the bell rang again at six.⁹ For those who labored in the factories, the work day lasted ten hours with an hour off for lunch. But

despite the pervasiveness of the routine and the long hours and arduous work, one employee testified: "In all my long service in the shovel factory, a period of 36 years, I never knew Oliver Ames to give his workmen a rough or uncivil answer or to treat them otherwise than with kindness and respect."¹⁰ The industrial environment of North Easton and the fact that the Ameses were resident landlords may have had a mitigating effect.

Paramount to the image of a company town is the housing of its employees. Oliver Ames and Sons constructed houses for their growing work force. By 1855 at least twenty-eight double-family dwellings were owned by the company. There were also tenements for single men. That year the number of workers employed was 330. Because the majority of the workers were native to the area, they lived in private housing or in neighboring villages. But thirty years later, the number of dwellings had increased to approximately sixty-four and the work force expanded to 500. Who lived in the company housing? Most likely, the newcomers, the foreign born, who by 1885 made up a quarter of the population. Of the immigrants, half were Irish; the remainder came from Sweden, England, Canada (Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), and other countries. After the turn of the century, a few emi-



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grated from Lithuania and Portugal.¹¹

The earliest tracts of company houses were located on the east side of Mechanic Street and the south side of Pond Street. These units were erected between 1844 and 1855. Some of the oldest are still standing and can be identified by their narrow cross gable roofs. In appearance they resemble inexpensive versions of Carpenter Gothic cottages, minus the ornamentation. Others are equally plain, though all were well constructed. After the fire of 1852, carpenters were brought in from other towns to construct the new shops, and it seems reasonable that a part of their labor may have been diverted to the construction of houses. It was during the winter of 1852 that the two houses now on Oliver Street, just east of the tracks, were moved across the ice-covered reservoir and used for the families of company fore-

men. They remain today in surprisingly good condition. Oliver Street was completed in 1857, and a number of units were placed there. Mechanic, Lincoln, and Elm streets were also developed for company housing, and the tract along Elm was once known as "Battle Row." According to a lifelong resident who lived in one of the houses, the name derived from fights that periodically broke out between the families. Reportedly, the Irish were often at fault. Battle Row still remains, though its occupants are no longer company employees.¹²

Success in business stimulated other interests as the family fortune began to mount. Because of their wealth, the family assumed greater responsibility for those who came under their purview, while taking a hand in local affairs. Eventually, this sense of obligation led to politics and notoriety. Oakes represented his district in

the U.S. Congress in 1862, and, in 1864, through the persuasion of friends in Washington, including the President, he undertook to help build the Union Pacific Railroad. This historically famous commission is a story in itself, one that deeply involved both sons and had political repercussions in the Credit Mobilier scandal of the 1870s. Their interest in railroads stemmed from a need for shipping goods from North Easton. At first, this entailed the completion of a spur from North Easton to Stoughton, Massachusetts in 1855. Until then, Oliver Ames and Sons had to rely on wagons and teams to deliver their goods to the nearest freight depots of the Boston and Providence Railroad. Oliver Jr. became president of the Easton Branch Railroad Company; in 1866, he was named president of the Union Pacific, and he continued to work actively in North Easton while also serving as

2 Factories of Oliver Ames and Sons at North Easton, Massachusetts, with the Old Colony Railroad Station on the right. From Shovel Shop letterhead, ca. 1885.

state senator. However, it was his brother Oakes who promoted the Union Pacific through the sale of debentures in the Credit Mobilier construction company, some of which may have been used to purchase votes from fellow congressmen. Following an investigation, he received a Congressional censure. All the while, both brothers maintained residences in North Easton, where Oliver Jr. managed the railroads and Oakes reigned as “King of Spades.”¹³

The third generation of Ameses, Oliver Jr.’s son, Frederick Lothrop (1835–1893), and Oakes’s sons, Oakes Angier (1829–1892) and Oliver III (1831–1895), represents the beginning of a change in the family’s relationship to the town. The founder and his sons were men of humble beginnings who were accustomed to hard work. They labored alongside their employees, albeit in a supervisory capacity. Even their first houses were simple frame structures similar to those of their employees. But with the sons of Oliver Jr. and Oakes, a gradual distancing from the workers became evident, as the scions of a now wealthy family prepared for lives as capitalists and not mechanics. They made the most of their new social standing. Frederick L. and his cousins were the first of the family to graduate from college. While Oliver Jr. did attend North Andover Acad-

emy for a year, his son, Frederick L., graduated from Harvard. There was also a difference in deportment among the employees. When Oliver Jr. died, the workmen felt his loss personally:

The town was silent when he died, March 9, 1877. The shops and schools were closed. A special train from Boston brought about forty business and railroad men of national importance, but it was to the employees of twenty-five to fifty years’ standing that his remains were confided to be carried to the grave.¹⁴

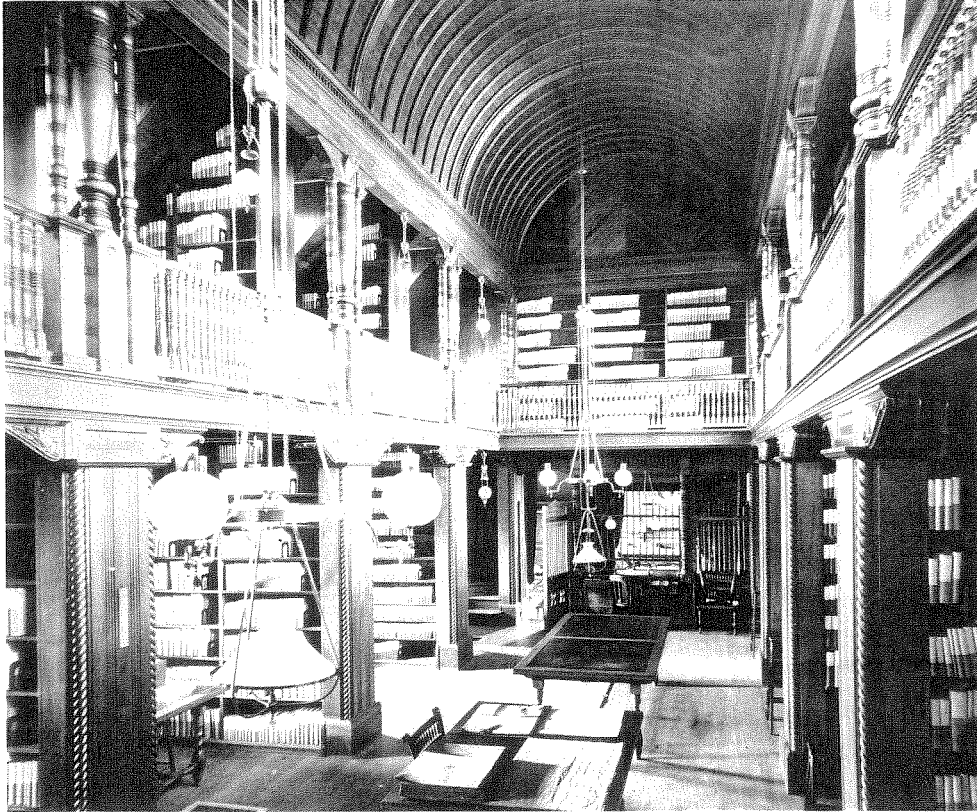
By contrast, no workman served as pallbearer to his son, whose body was conveyed in an elegant hearse and whose funeral was attended only by immediate family.¹⁵ While the old hands were respected and occasionally honored, the newer employees—largely immigrants—were patronized and subordinated. Though by the 1880s the relationship had changed between the Ameses and those they employed, the philanthropy of the family became more evident.

Since 1844, a part of the town’s responsibility lay in support of an alms house. Only a portion of the cost of maintenance was funded by public tax; the remainder came from gifts by local families, usually in the form of groceries and other necessities. A ward of the town was not entitled to

much, but the Ameses apparently made life bearable for a half or more of these dependents. An account of each was annually recorded with Oliver Ames and Sons, more often than not, cited as benefactor. To what extent the Ameses considered their charity a matter of noblesse oblige poses an interesting question. It may have been done to curry political favor. However, that would seem unnecessary when so many in North Easton relied on the family anyway for their livelihood. More likely, they considered their support of the poor a business responsibility, since some undoubtedly were former employees, their widows, or children. By the time the third generation assumed their responsibilities, this sense of obligation on the part of Frederick L. Ames extended from local matters to a regional commitment. As president of the Home for Incurables, an officer in the Massachusetts School for the Blind, the Perkins Institute, McLean Insane Asylum, and Children’s Hospital, and a benefactor of the Unitarian Society, he accepted charitable service as a social obligation by members of his class.¹⁶

Another form of philanthropy practiced by the Ameses, one prominently displayed, though characteristic of model company towns, took substance in the architecture of North Easton.

Several prominent buildings were completed within a five-year period. Although the erection and subsequent administration of these structures were supervised by Frederick L., Oakes A., and Oliver Ames III, the building bequests either came from their fathers or were made in their name. The year for the first of these gifts, 1877, is significant for marking the date that Oliver Ames and Sons, having already achieved industrial success, began a program of town improvement. In sharing its wealth with North Easton, the family offered the town not only valuable and much needed cultural resources but lasting reminders of their benevolence. Occupying a prominent site and handsomely designed in the most fashionable style, the Romanesque Revival, the Ames Free Library was no mere repository; it was a monument, and it was the result of careful study not in just architecture but as regards the purpose it was designed to serve. The fact that a library was first among the buildings given to North Easton is significant. The reason no doubt was influenced by the third generation’s insistence on the importance of education. That public libraries provided an answer to cultural improvement for the masses was popularly discussed among leading industrialists and educators of the period. Only twenty years before, in 1854, the Boston Public

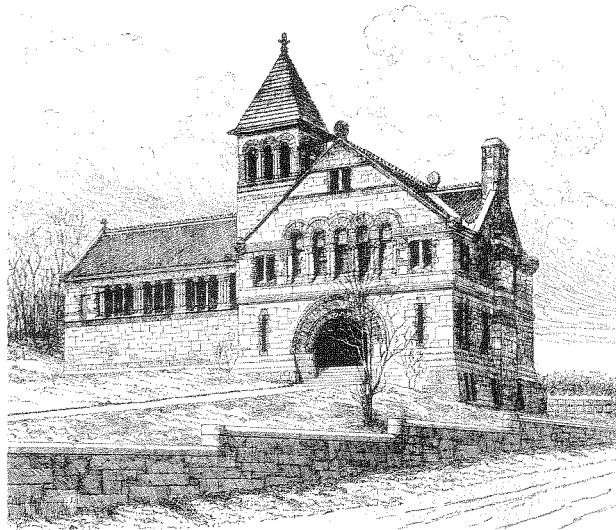


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Library had opened its doors. Though by the turn of the century, Carnegie's great bequest would make possible the construction of libraries throughout America.¹⁷

The gift of a library did not come as a sudden philanthropic gesture. Rather, it was a deliberate benefaction on the part of Oliver Ames, Jr. The terms were carefully spelled-out in his will:

I give and bequeath to my executors hereinafter named, the sum of \$50,000 in trust, for the construction of a library building, . . . for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town. . . . Not more than \$25,000 of the above sum of \$50,000 shall be expended in the purchase of the land and in erecting the library building, and \$10,000 only shall be in the first place expended for books, maps, and furniture for the library, and the remaining \$15,000 shall constitute a permanent fund.¹⁸



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The final expenditure, however, may have amounted to \$80,000 or more. The care with which the library was erected and maintained is a testament to the family's resolve to faithfully execute his wishes. To oversee the library, its appropriations, and staffing, a library committee was designated and headed by an Ames. The first library catalog, compiled in 1883, suggests that the first volumes purchased were

intended to help readers with learning or improving a skill. The library thus encouraged self-improvement with a practical application as a goal and in this way promoted the assimilation of middle-class, Protestant values. The Bancroft Library in Hopedale, Cheney Hall in South Manchester, and the Hazzard Memorial Hall in Peace Dale, also founded during this period through the philanthropy of resident industrialists, operated at first with similar motives.¹⁹

The architect was H. H. Richardson (1838–1886). Frederick L. Ames approached Richardson in September of 1877 about the commission. The recently completed Trinity Church and the attention accorded its architect probably determined his choice. By this date, more than other members of the family, Frederick L. was busy in Boston managing investments in banks, securities, and real estate. Surely he rubbed elbows with Richardson and other young professionals, probably through social contacts. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, author of a monograph on Richardson's architecture, mentions that "F. L. Ames . . . was one of his [Richardson's] immediate circle of friends," and by 1880 the two were "close friends."²⁰ Both attended Harvard, but five years separates their dates of graduation, so it is unlikely that they met in college. It

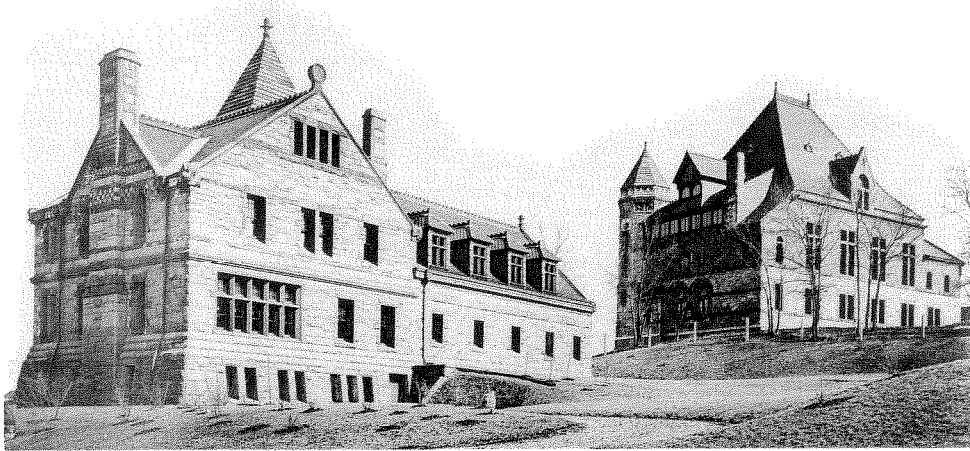


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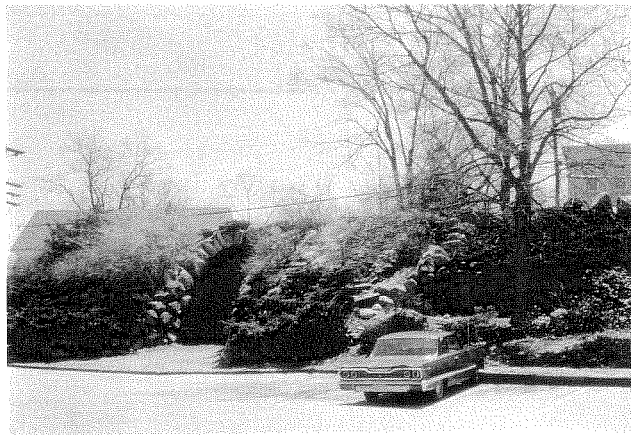
3 Interior of Ames Free Library. From *Ames Memorial Buildings*, Monographs of American Architecture, 1886.

4 Ames Free Library (1877–1879), designed by H. H. Richardson, from the driveway off Main Street. From *Harper's Weekly*, 1884.

5 Oakes Ames Memorial Hall, designed by H. H. Richardson. From *Ames Memorial Buildings*, Monographs of American Architecture, 1886.



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6 Ames Free Library (foreground) and Oakes Ames Memorial Hall (from the rear). From *Ames Memorial Buildings*, Monographs of American Architecture, 1886.

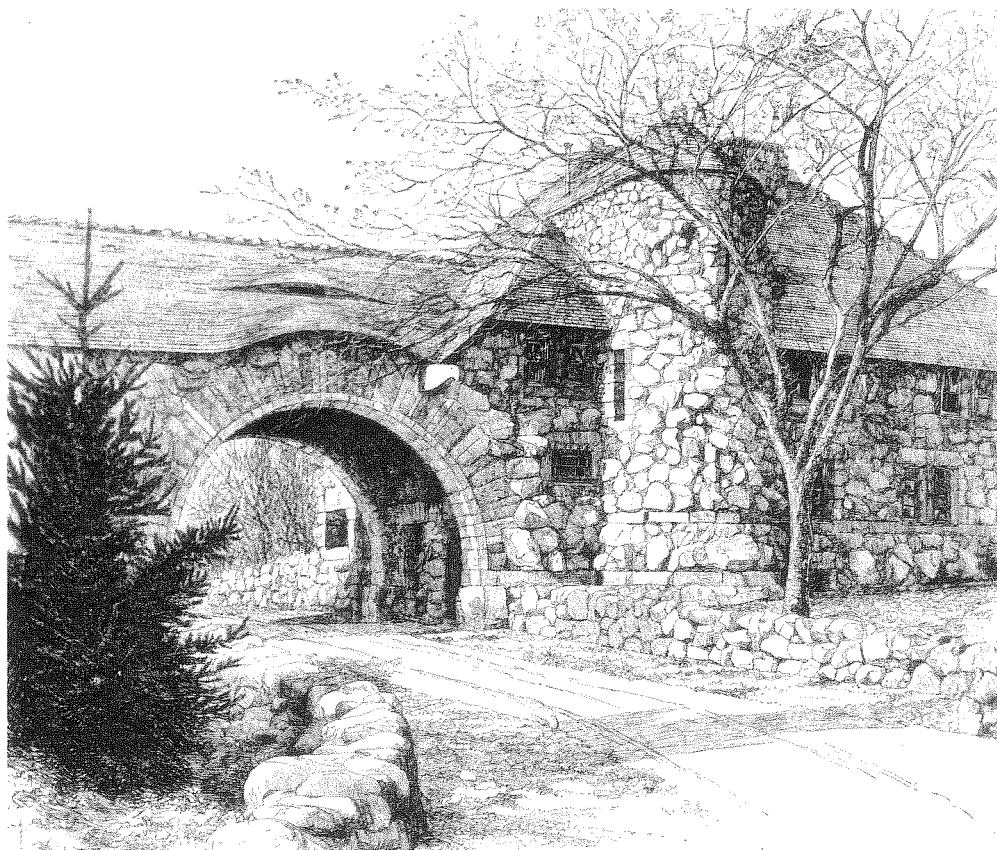
7 Rockery on Main Street. Photograph by John Garner.

may be that Frederick L. selected Richardson solely on the basis of aesthetic appreciation for his work. Whatever the reason, this first commission subsequently brought eight more.

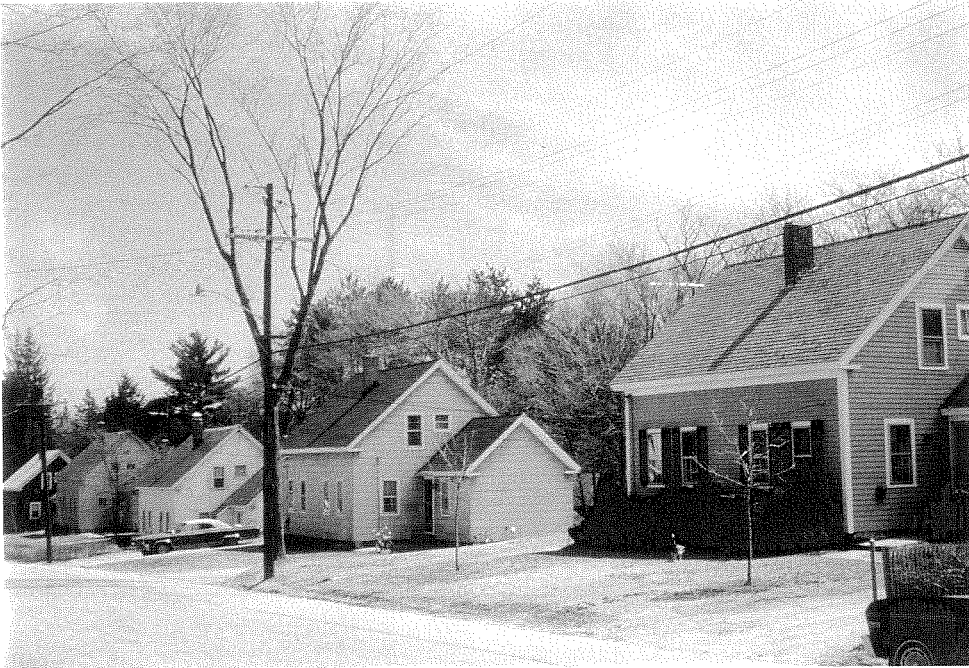
Although Frederick L. initiated relations between the family and Richardson, his cousin, Oliver III, later governor of Massachusetts (1886–1890), also commissioned Richardson. As the library was nearing completion, the architect was engaged to design the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall. On March 15, 1879, he wrote in his diary that he had taken Richardson to visit the proposed site and that the architect thought it “was superb” and would be sending along some sketches. Although Oakes Ames bequeathed a sum of money to be used for the improvement of North Easton, claims on his will delayed action. Oakes A. and Oliver III initiated the idea of a memorial hall and then paid for the structure with approximately \$40,000 of their own money. This act of filial piety came at a time when attempts were made to vindicate their father’s name. Outside of North Easton, the family had suffered abuse from the Credit Mobilier investigations. But by 1880 the air had begun to clear as the family made good its debts to shareholders of the Union Pacific Railroad. More recently, an investigation of the affair indicates

that Oakes Ames may have been an unwitting scapegoat, receiving more blame than deserved. Apparently, those who knew him thought highly of him and helped his sons rectify his image. At the dedication of the memorial hall, four to five hundred people traveled from Boston to North Easton by special trains, and such dignitaries as Governor John Long, Senator George S. Boutwell, Judge Thomas Russell, and the Reverend Edward Everett Hale were among those who spoke. Letters were received from many of the late Mr. Ames's friends, including a number of state and federal legislators. So overwhelming was the turnout that within two years time a "Resolution" passed the Massachusetts Legislature, absolving Oakes Ames of misconduct.²¹

Again, as in the example of the Ames Free Library, the family established a committee, known as the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall Association, to oversee the management of the building. Unfortunately, the building never fulfilled the promise for which it was intended. Easton Center had built a town hall just a few years before, and the selectmen and town officers hesitated using the new facility. The association did manage, however, to make money through private rentals; for the *Town Reports* of the 1880s record an average income of approximately



8 Ames Gate Lodge (1880–1881), designed by H. H. Richardson, facing Elm Street. *Harper's Weekly*, 1884.



9

9 Company housing on Elm Street. Photograph by John Garner.

\$650 a year for the use of the hall. Because of the building's proximity to the library and the Oliver Ames High School, it also served as lecture hall. Oliver III, who had long been a member of the school board, funded an annual lecture series held in the hall to supplement instruction at the school. Scholars from Cambridge and elsewhere were brought down to North Easton to share their knowledge with the students. The memorial hall was intended to serve two purposes: first, it offered a forum for popular speakers, and, second, it provided a place where town officers could deliberate. If it succeeded in the first, and for a time it did, it failed in the second. For most of its history, the building has sat vacant.²²

What the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall has continued to provide is an impressive starting point for Frederick Law Olmsted's (1822–1903) brilliant landscape ensemble, extending from the rock ledge of the building's foundation across Main Street to the "Rockery," a romantic cairn on a triangular piece of land at the center of town. What had previously been an irregular and undistinguished site was transformed into a visually pleasing, well-integrated composition of building and ground through the artificial placement of stone and plant materials. Olmsted's involvement with

North Easton continued throughout the 1880s, since he also was retained to landscape the grounds of the railroad station designed by Richardson, located just south of the factories. And in 1888 he was engaged to make improvements to the estate of Frederick L., where Richardson had earlier built the Ames Gate Lodge and Gardener's Cottage.²³

The Ames Free Library, the Oakes Ames Memorial Hall, and the Oliver Ames High School represent the family's building philanthropy and, together with the railroad station and residences, contribute to the special character of North Easton. With the exception of a new high school built in 1896, the architectural program at North Easton was largely completed by 1885. The town continued to grow and prosper until the Great Depression. The economic crisis forced the company to reorganize in 1931 and combine with other plants to form the Ames-Baldwin-Wyoming Co.; in the following year, its headquarters were moved to Parkersburg, West Virginia. In June of 1930, an auction was held to dispose of the forty-one remaining double-family houses owned by the company. The reason given for the sale was published in a pamphlet describing the properties:

To live in one place and work in another is com-



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10 Company house off Elm Street. Photograph by John Garner.

mon practice. Many of the occupants of the Company's dwellings are employed elsewhere. Many of the company employees live elsewhere. Men are anxious to own their own homes.²⁴

During the thirties, many company towns, especially in New England, sold their housing to get out from under the burden of maintaining unproductive investments.

Life in company housing was not as grim as one might think; the units were painted and otherwise maintained. "The houses of the hands," though similar to those in other factory towns, were enhanced "by the dispensation of olive and Indian red, which has succeeded the vivid glare of 'white with green blinds,'" reported *Harper's Weekly* in 1884. Inducements were made by the Ameses to keep the grounds tidy and attractive, and Oliver III provided from his private funds \$2,000 annually for the planting of shade trees. Across Main Street from the library was the Oliver Ames and Sons' Store, a company store that operated solely on a cash basis. The family was careful in seeing that the religious denominations of their employees were represented by giving generous donations for the construction of churches. If an employee became ill and needed special attention, the "Ames

Bed" was provided free of charge at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.²⁵

Nevertheless, the question remains to what extent the workers actually participated as members of the community. Much of the housing remained with the company until operations ceased, denying to many the social and political privileges of property ownership. Management of the factories was a family affair, and apparently none of the mechanics rose to positions of authority. The town hall was a monument—a memorial—not a chamber for addressing democratic principles. Even the children of the employees occasionally rebelled against the "superior" though alien education afforded them by acting disrespectfully.²⁶ For them and their families, the attractive surroundings represented, at best, a passive environment. Despite the philanthropy of the younger Ameses, their tenants were largely bystanders, caretakers, and not participants.

Much of nineteenth-century North Easton remains today. The present image of the town, what one sees when driving along Main and Elm streets, has changed little in appearance. What is missed is the activity that once surrounded the shops and depot. The hammering of iron and the tooting of train whistles are sounds that have long since been silenced. Instead, there is a quiet such

as experienced in remote and exclusive suburbs, interrupted only by the tumbling waters of the Quisset River. Though the company divested its real estate many years ago, this former company town retains a pleasant environment, having avoided the scars of industrial abuse. A balance was early struck between the demands of a growing industry and the maintenance of a pleasant landscape. The responsibility for keeping this balance lay with the Ames family.

Each generation of the family contributed to North Easton. The first Oliver acquired the site, made improvements, and established the reputation of the company. The second generation, Oakes and Oliver Jr., expanded the operation and became involved in local and national affairs. The family fortune was made during their lifetimes. Their sons, Frederick L., Oakes A., and Oliver III completed the task of building North Easton. Their philanthropy was pragmatic and took substance in the architecture and landscaping of Richardson and Olmsted. The memorial buildings were more than examples of personal indulgence or self-righteousness. The money invested in them might easily have gone elsewhere. Though named in honor of the Ameses, the buildings were intended to serve the workers and their families, to educate and inspire them, regardless of the outcome. The philan-

thropy displayed in North Easton represented in a small way an attempt to mitigate the negative image of industrial development during the "Age of Enterprise."

Notes

1 Descriptions of North Easton during the nineteenth century do not refer to it as a "company town," a phrase usually associated with extractive industries until the strike at Pullman, Illinois in 1894. See John S. Garner, *The Model Company Town: Urban Design Through Private Enterprise in 19th-century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), ch. 1.

2 See Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), ch. 7; Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review* (June 1889), pp. 653–64; Merle Curti et al., "Anatomy of Giving: Millionaires in the Late 19th Century," *American Quarterly* (Fall 1963), p. 419.

3 Richardson's architecture at North Easton has been carefully examined by Larry J. Homolka in "Henry Hobson Richardson and the Ames Memorial Buildings" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1976) and by Robert F. Brown in "The Aesthetic Transformation of an Industrial Community," *Wintertur Portfolio*, No. 12 (1977), pp. 35–64. Descriptions of the Richardson buildings at North Easton are also included in the reprint of Marianna Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* (New York: Dover, 1969),

- Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966), and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982).
- 4 See William L. Chaffin, *History of Easton, Massachusetts* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1886); "Ames Shovel and Tool Company History Since 1774" (a typewritten chronology of the company's achievements reproduced by the Southeastern Technical Vocational High School, 1968); Brown, op. cit., p. 35.
- 5 *Ames Shovel and Tool Co., Catalog No. 152* (Boston: privately printed, 1926), p. 3.
- 6 Francis De Witt, *Statistics on Information Relating to Certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts* (Boston: Wm. White, 1855), p. 75; Oliver Warner, *Statistics on . . . Branches of Industry in Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1866), p. 67; Carroll D. Wright, *The Census of Massachusetts, 1875, Vol. 2, Manufacturers and Occupations* (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877), p. 85.
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