While Ballou's Hopedale dwindled away, George Draper's Hopedale grew in wealth and numbers. In 1868 Ebenezer Draper sold his interests in the village to his brother and moved to Boston and eventual bankruptcy. In contrast, George stayed at home in the familiar territory of the Blackstone textile region and prospered. After liquidating the unprofitable businesses of the old community, he concentrated on manufacturing tools and small machinery. Soon after the breakup of the community in 1856, he and his partners in the Hopedale Machine Company advertised that "they have in their shop at Hopedale a supply of first-rate Machinists' tools" which they were using to build machines for use in Milford's extensive boot and shoe industry as well as to make loom temples and such other textile appliances as "Perry's Patent Parallel Shuttle Motions for Looms," one of many patented innovations that Draper was to bring under his control. By the mid 1870s he had commanding interests in three local firms: the Hopedale Machine Company, the Dutcher Temple Company, and George Draper & Sons. The Draper firms employed over three hundred men and produced half a million dollars in machines, machine parts, and tools for sale in Europe as well as in the United States and Latin America.¹

Draper was an aggressive promoter and accumulator of technological innovations. Beginning in 1867, he acquired control over various inventions relating to a new high-speed spindle. Since the new spindle drastically reduced the costs of cotton spinning, it revolutionized the industry, creating a great market for Draper's expanding organization; in the 1880s alone, textile firms bought more than six million of the new spindles, most produced either at Hope-
dale or, under contract to Draper, by a firm in nearby Whitinsville. By the early 1880s the small community machine shop where Draper had begun business had given way to a sprawling three-story brick factory building that loomed large over the village. In 1886, when Hopedale was incorporated as a town, Draper’s dominance was such as to lead one critic to say that if it were not for an accident of history the place would have been called “Draperville.” By then Draper and his three sons had controlling interests in the now incorporated Hopedale Machine and the Dutcher Temple companies, two manufacturing firms begun in the mid 1850s as small partnerships, and exclusive possession of George Draper & Sons, which acted as general business agent for the producing companies. These three firms had nearly $200,000 in property at Hopedale, while in addition the Drapers privately owned some $150,000 in personal property and real estate; the total was more than half the total assessed value of all the property in town, and the proportion was destined to grow larger over the next decades.

Among the few others with notable wealth was a longtime resident of Hopedale and ally of the Drapers, Joseph B. Bancroft. Originally a machinist listed in the 1850 census schedules as having $1,500 in property, Bancroft in 1886 had over $15,000 in taxable holdings, not particularly impressive until it is recognized that this figure did not include his 285 shares in the machine company and his fourteen valuable patents on textile machinery. In contrast, in the same year Ballou, the founder, had total property valued at $3,000, no more than he reported in 1860. Hopedale’s evolution into a company town was slow and subtle, allowing for the survival of what Ballou called in 1881 “some of its original moral and social character.” Ballou himself continued to live in his modest white frame house with its attached printing office on a half-acre lot at the corner of Peace and Hopedale streets. There, passersby could see him working in his ample garden or at his desk in the south window of the house. Along with its conspicuous orderliness and the absence of poverty and drunkenness, Hopedale retained much of its old interest in moral and mental culture. Soon after it became a town, its school committee established the “Hopedale High School,” setting space aside in its school building to educate some 30 students at that level, a major achievement for a small
town of 926 inhabitants. It also taxed itself for the support of a public library, noting that the old community had established one of the first such libraries in America, an action that had contributed to "the constant use of books and periodicals in our town at the present." There were at least three reading clubs involving some thirty families who pooled their resources to subscribe to a variety of newspapers and magazines, continuing habits from the communal past.4

On the other hand, signs of the new times were also there to see. In place of the diversity of enterprises, individual and communal, that had enlivened the community in its glory days, there was outside of the Draper firms and a few farms only one independent business, a grocery and dry goods store conducted by Henry L. Patrick, the son of a community member, Delano Patrick. And in contrast to the voting and officeholding of women in the Hopedale Community, both political life in the town and management in the company were the exclusive preserves of men.

Moreover, evident class differences had appeared. At the one extreme, there was a growing number of propertyless workingmen: In 1886, of the some 356 taxpayers in town, slightly more than half paid only a poll tax, having no taxable property; most of these lived in houses rented to them by the Drapers. At the other extreme, wealth was becoming more conspicuous. Although George Draper and his partners had built large houses, they chose to reside close by their shops and their old neighbors; in 1886 Draper's house was valued at four thousand dollars, while Ballou's was assessed at one thousand dollars. Draper's sons, though, had by this time begun to build mansions in a new and fashionable section of town set apart from rest. William F. Draper, the general, had initiated this trend in 1872 when he erected a lavish three-story mansion with a dominating tower, a conspicuous monument to wealth in a place once dedicated to equality and brotherhood.5

The Drapers' wealth stemmed primarily from their entrepreneurship and business creativity rather than from anything like exploitation of their workers. Indeed, as Hopedale became a company town, it also became for a second time a model social experiment, in welfare capitalism rather than Christian socialism. From the beginning, the profitability of the Draper firms had allowed them to
pay reasonable wages and to provide decent housing at low rents to their workers. The family, which shared at least some of Hopedale's emphasis on mental and moral culture, took an interest in creating conditions that would enable workers and their children to improve themselves, supporting the town's school and library and in 1887 cutting the workweek in their shops to fifty-five hours, more than a decade before Massachusetts made that number a statewide requirement; ten hours a day with a half day on Saturday was then thought to allow adequate time for self-improvement and recreation. Again, Hopedale had found a way to avoid the social evils commonly associated with industrial society.6

The Drapers, as hardheaded businessmen, explained that they were motivated not by philanthropy but by pragmatism, primarily by the aim of assuring their firms a dependable supply of skilled, reliable workers. Their policies also reflected some of the advanced social thinking of their times. Whereas the early years of Hopedale had focused on profound moral concerns, the post-Civil War years brought special concern over the relationship between capital and labor, a concern highlighted by often violent strikes and other disruptions of the industrial order. Although the industrial towns of the Blackstone region remained generally quiet, they were not entirely remote from the problem. In 1886, for instance, Thomas Edwin Brown, a Baptist minister at nearby Providence, called attention to what he called the primary social facts of the day, "a world never before so rich, yet in every land a vast army of the discontented," an army potentially threatening to the whole society. To fend off social catastrophe, Brown urged businessmen to accept their responsibility both to God and to humanity for the righteous use of their wealth to benefit workers and others.7

The masters of Hopedale had their own local sources of social consciousness. Adin Ballou, who long before the Civil War had considered the problem, continued to urge the rich to be responsible stewards of their wealth on the principle, as he put it in 1870, "that all property, being supplied to mankind originally by divine Providence, should be subject to divine law—the supreme moral law of justice, charity, and brotherhood." On his death, he left a sizable sum of money to be used to disseminate his views on such matters as the application of Christianity to the relations between capital
and labor; out of it came the Adin Ballou Lectureship in Practical Christian Sociology at the Meadville [Unitarian] Theological Seminary.\textsuperscript{8}

George Draper rejected Christian socialism, but even he could not entirely escape the influence of Practical Christianity. Moreover, his principal partner and heir, his eldest son, William, had spent his formative years in Ballou’s Hopedale, as a teenager getting his formal education in Abbie Ballou’s school and then in the Home School and attending the Sunday religious meetings and the Tuesday evening lyceums. For a time, William F. Draper worked in the machine shop managed by his uncle Ebenezer before he completed his industrial education in the mills of nearby Uxbridge. Although he had broken with the community over the Civil War, the general retained an interest in its successor, the Hopedale Parish, serving at various times as its treasurer, trustee, and Sunday-school superintendent.\textsuperscript{9}

The most creative and forceful influence behind the Hopedale solution to the labor question, however, was probably none of the Drapers but one of their partners, Joseph Bancroft, eventually vice president and then president of the Draper firm. Although he did not settle in the village until 1847, Bancroft had deep roots in the old community. He was part of the Uxbridge group so vital to Hopedale’s early success, being married to one of three Thwing sisters, the other two being the wives of George and Ebenezer Draper. In 1851 the Bancrofts lost a set of new-born triplets, a devastating loss even though they eventually had seven other children. Bancroft worked with Ebenezer in the little machine shop at Hopedale and later became the superintendent of industrial operations for the Hopedale Machine Company, working directly with its small labor force, which included his brother William, also a skilled machinist.\textsuperscript{10}

In 1856, for reasons unknown, he broke with his in-laws and future partners by casting the lone vote against the dissolution of the community, an act that may have won Ballou’s special trust. Later he and his oldest son, Eben (head accountant for the Draper firm), both served as officers in the Hopedale Parish. Bancroft’s daughter Lilla recalled that after the Civil War Ballou would often visit the Bancroft house “to see what ‘Brother Bancroft’ thought of this or
that scheme for the improvement of village life." Whether because of Ballou's direct influence or not, Bancroft was remembered as having a strong interest in providing good living conditions for workers, on the principle, as his daughter recalled, that "give a man a comfortable house, with his own front door, flowers in the yard, a good meal on the table, and he will not wander far afield." Eventually, he provided the money to build one of Hopedale's most distinguished buildings, the Bancroft Memorial Library.\[11\]

After George Draper's death in 1887, his model company town entered into a new and higher phase, thanks in no small part to the business skills and ingenuity of his sons, particularly William, who had from the late 1860s been a major force in the company's progress. In 1892 the firm succeeded, after years of costly effort, in perfecting the automatic Northrup loom, which reduced manpower requirements in the weaving process by half while improving the quality of the cloth. Over the next decades the great majority of textile mills replaced their looms with the new automatics, making Hopedale the nation's leading producer of textile machinery. In 1901 William Draper estimated that his firm was making some two thousand looms a month, and he expected to make many more, since most textile mills would have to buy the new looms to remain competitive. Under the spur of expanding production, the town's population grew from 1,176 in 1890 to 2,188 in 1910, most of the increase consisting of skilled workingmen and their families.\[12\]

By then the Draper family had acquired a fortune in the millions and the influence that went with it. General William F. Draper had served as a United States congressman and as ambassador to Italy in the 1890s, and in the next decade his younger brother Eben became the head of the state Republican party and governor of Massachusetts; most of the day-to-day management of the firm was left to Joseph Bancroft. At the same time, the Draper firm expanded its welfare programs. Although it took full advantage of the intense competition among textile mills, it was itself largely protected from competition both by discriminatory tariff duties against foreign machine builders and by its control over a network of patents giving it exclusive production rights. With its assured profits, it could commit itself to a long-range plan of benefits, often with the cooperation of the Hopedale town government.
The firm provided recreational facilities, health benefits, and general job security, the last by a policy of reducing working hours for all during the few times of slowdown. Having from the beginning furnished good cheap housing for workers, it intensified its housing programs, employing various architects to provide differing designs of its standard house, the double house or duplex, which was preferred to apartments because, while it didn't take up as much room as a single house, it fulfilled Bancroft's dream of giving workers comfortable homes with their own front doors and access to their own yards. In the 1890s the firm began the development of Bancroft Place, a small suburb with curving streets and larger and better appointed houses, establishing a trend that stressed improved site planning as well as home design. Throughout the town, the company provided a building maintenance program that kept its houses in good condition. By 1910 all its houses had water, gas, electricity, and indoor plumbing; and Hopedale had won international recognition for its model housing for workers: an English housing expert, after investigating various company towns, declared it to be "America's best."13

Housing was only part of a broader ambition of the Draper firm to create a good physical and aesthetic environment for its employees. Over the years both family and company had purchased surrounding lands, increasing the original domain acquired from the old community from 600 to over 3,500 acres and giving them a strong basis for environmental control. In the 1870s the company had begun to develop an infrastructure to support an expanding town population, laying gas and water lines and improving its streets. To protect public health, it provided an efficient system of garbage collection and trash removal and, as a matter of special pride, it constructed a sewerage system that by the late 1890s was connected to every house in town. Taking advantage of its power, the company prohibited fences between properties, thereby avoiding unsightly dividers and creating a unified parklike appearance along the streets.14

These accomplishments owed much to the support of the town of Hopedale and at least something to the distant influence of the Hopedale Community. During its glory days the community had developed a tradition of tree planting and gardening that survived in
the new company town. In 1886 the new town included among its ordinances a prohibition that "no person shall tie or fasten any horse to any shade or ornamental tree in any street in town, or wrongfully injure or abuse such trees in any other matter." In the same year the company helped initiate a village improvement society, and eight years later it began to give prizes to encourage tree and shrub planting, flower growing, and similar improvements in the town's appearance. These policies may have been devised by Joseph Bancroft, who in 1853 had been an officer of the Hopedale Industrial Army when it accomplished such communal improvements as the replanting of forest trees along the streets of the village.\footnote{15}

Before the turn of the century the Draper firm also committed itself to an ambitious park-development program around its principal millpond. Over the years it had tried to squeeze the maximum benefit out of the waterpower privilege it had acquired from the community by deepening and expanding the pond, creating a small lake that invited efforts to improve its shoreline. The company took an interest in the matter in part because it wanted to prevent any development along the lake that might threaten its waterpower, but it also heeded the desire of the townspeople for some place, besides the community cemetery, to enjoy tranquility and solitude. In the late 1890s it employed Warren Henry Manning, a landscape architect who had worked for Frederick Law Olmsted in the development of Boston's regional park system, to prepare a plan for the area around the millpond. Manning's plan won the support of the town government, which appointed a park commission to implement it.\footnote{16}

Over the next decade, Hopedale spent $2,500 a year to develop a park of a thousand acres (nearly one-third of the town's acreage) around the lake, employing a trained forester to create a diversified woodland setting. The pine groves inherited from the community were groomed, with the largest becoming a picnic ground, and extensive areas were planted or replanted with a variety of trees and shrubs. Particular care was taken to plant picturesque trees along the edge of the lake, with the result that there was "never a place where the white birch and its slim reflection fail to add delight to the men canoeing by." In the forest, more than four miles of winding trails were opened and steps were taken to entice birds, rabbits, and squirrels to inhabit the woods, where they were protected from
hunters. By 1914 an observer could tell the world that Hopedale had obtained "a park whose path plunges from her very threshold into cool deep woods, whose lake surface is fit for fishing, boating, swimming, and skating in winter, whose brooks are crossed with artistic bridges, whose gorgeous and varied forest looks as though it originated there." 17

While most of the lake area was developed as a wilderness refuge, other portions were incorporated into town life. On one part of the shoreline a short distance from the factory, sand was dumped to make a beach with a bathhouse, and nearby a "play ground" was completed with ball fields and tennis courts; the area became the site for an annual field day featuring games and athletic events. On the opposite side of the pond, early in the twentieth century, the company developed a small peninsula for residential use, employing another landscape architect, Arthur A. Shurcliff, to prepare the design. This Lake Point development had ten two-family houses, most of which were placed facing the water, both to give their inhabitants a lake view and to prevent the unsightly accumulation of backyard trash near the shore; a service road was built behind the houses and a public loop road was opened along the shoreline in front. With its careful design and placement of houses and its respect for topography, Lake Point was a minimodel of suburban planning. 18

In its development Hopedale at least partly realized some important nineteenth-century dreams of the good society. In its general character it came close to achieving the goal that Adin Ballou had set in 1857 for his Practical Christian Republic, where every orderly citizen would be assured employment, education, protection, and a comfortable domestic life: "Good homes in good neighborhoods for all who try to be worthy of them." With its tree-lined streets and expanding system of parks, it seemed also to have achieved the popular dream of "a factory in a garden" by placing its dominating manufacturing plant in a softening and protective natural setting, depriving industrialism of its unnatural and destructive influences. Above all, it seemed to have resolved the most formidable problem of its day, harmonizing the interests of labor and capital by way of a profitable paternalism. Early in the new century Hopedale acquired a wide reputation as the industrial "garden spot" of Massa-
chusetts, a shining example of welfare capitalism that was providing good jobs and a good environment for nearly three thousand workers.\textsuperscript{19}

In creating their paradise the Drapers, perhaps partly by design, expunged many of the physical traces of the old community, including its meetinghouse, which was replaced by a Gothic church dedicated to the memory of George Draper and his wife; carefully preserved from earlier days, though, was the little machine shop built by the community in the 1840s where the Draper business had gotten its start. At the turn of the century, with Draper support, the town did celebrate the memory of its founder. General William Draper contributed the money for a statue of Ballou as he was “in mid-life, with a light mustache and beard, all his powers in full vigor,” and the statue was dedicated with much ceremony, the Draper shops being closed for the event. Even this, however, had its negative side, since at the general’s suggestion the statue was placed in a memorial park prepared from Ballou’s own yard, forcing the removal of his house to another site.\textsuperscript{20}

When the past was not expunged, it was rewritten to suit the new order. Beginning in the 1880s a number of admirers of the Draper success eagerly presented the old community in a contrasting light. In 1887, for instance, ex-Governor Long said that the village had been saved from total bankruptcy only by hardheaded American business: “Enlightened and liberal selfishness became, as it usually does, a beneficence to which a weak communism was as the dull and cheerless gleam of a decaying punk to the inspiring blaze of the morning sun.” At the time an indignant Ballou was able to object to this characterization and to say that without the devoted labors of the community likely there would have been no town, but his words had little effect on people who wanted to believe otherwise. Later a writer declared that Hopedale had once been a “futile communistic experiment” that had failed to produce enough for its own needs and was rapidly running into unmanageable debts when it was taken over: “The only wonder is that there were men available who were willing and able to shoulder the burden.”\textsuperscript{21}

Not satisfied with demonstrating the inadequacies of the cooperative economy, some observers also scorned the attitudes of the founders. In 1891 one attacked the community for “the absence of
that instinct to love dumb beasts" (referring to the prohibition on dogs) and for the "dry, barren, prosaic and somewhat repellent character" of its general mentality. Lacking the "poet's frenzy," the members "never dreamed of putting together the perfect parts of a thing to make a beautiful whole for the admiration of posterity." Perhaps the unkindest cut of all was dealt in 1898 when a writer declared, regarding Ballou, that it was too bad that "our Practical Christian Apostle" had little understanding of "scientific sociology," since it would have saved him from "a fatuous experiment" that wasted his life in "the pursuit of a chimera." Of the several authors who took note of Hopedale, only one, James Church Alvord, stopped to consider that the collective tradition established by the old community might have played a role in the town's later success.22

The town was by no means indifferent to its past. In 1910, for instance, it published Hopedale Reminiscences, a collection of papers given in that year before the Hopedale Ladies Sewing Society, itself a reminder of the past. Nearly all of the papers were written by people who remembered the village from the 1850s. Although one of the ten authors had moved to California, four still resided in Hopedale, while the rest lived elsewhere in Massachusetts. Some took note of the vision that had inspired the community: Ellen Patrick, the daughter of Delano Patrick and Hopedale's teacher of ex-slaves in the South at the end of the Civil War, said that the old dream remained alive: "The new demand for social justice, with the Socialist vision of the future, is the same Community dream given a worldwide sweep." And Abbie Ballou Heywood concluded the collection by saying that the community was "one of the grandest experiments attempted for the good of mankind."23 On the whole, however, the contributors remembered only the bits and pieces of life they had known as children, especially the oddities of what they had come to see as a distant past to which there could be no return.

Eventually, the Draper Company and its town were themselves caught by changing times. Before World War I the firm continued to prosper from its sales of Northrup looms. Between 1899 and 1914 it sold more than 285,000 looms, either to reequip established mills in New England or to equip new mills in the South, more than 100,000 in the years 1909 through 1913 alone. Although some of the profits from these sales continued to finance town improvements, the firm's
expansion and the expanding interests of the Draper family resulted in the weakening of local ties, a development that had important implications for the future.24

In a 1909 article in *New England Magazine* G. Sherman Johnson presented Hopedale as evidence that the growth of great corporations was good for America, but he drew the line between corporations like the Draper firm that were rooted in towns where they operated and "alien" corporations that had little interest in the welfare of places they controlled. By this time, though, the situation had already begun to change at Hopedale. General Draper must have found considerable satisfaction in watching the development of the village from the tower of his mansion at the corner of Adin and Hopedale streets, but in the 1890s he acquired significant outside interests far beyond the Blackstone region, first as a member of Congress and then as ambassador to Italy. Eventually, his separation was made complete when in 1906 he was ousted by his brothers as head of the company, supposedly because in their view he was spending too much money on research and development. This coup led him to sell most of his stock in the company and retire to Washington, D.C. When he died there in 1910 at age sixty-eight, no reference was made to Hopedale in his death notice.25

Joseph B. Bancroft was persuaded to take his place as president, but Bancroft died in 1909. Essentially, the new head of Draper operations was the general's much younger brother Eben. Eben S. Draper had been born at Hopedale in 1857, but he was born too late to have had much exposure to the old community or its world. Whereas William had gotten his education locally, Eben completed his at MIT. Even more remote than his brother from the reformism of the pre–Civil War years, he was conservative in his social and political views, especially on labor questions. By the time he took control of the company, he had become a prominent Republican political figure in Massachusetts, first as the state's lieutenant governor between 1906 and 1908 and then as its governor from 1909 to 1911, when he was defeated for reelection, in part by the opposition of organized labor. Eben Draper brought no drastic changes in policy at Hopedale, but his outlook and outside involvements undoubtedly contributed to the rise of dissatisfaction among Draper Company workers.26
Although there was much to be pleased with at Hopedale, there was also reason for uneasiness and resentment. Because the managerial positions were monopolized by the Drapers and their allies, the great majority of employees had no opportunity for advancement in the firm, and there was little chance for them to acquire a personal stake in the town, since most of the land and houses were owned by the company and there was virtually no business beyond the company’s own. Although numerous workers had been with the firm for twenty years or more, the rapid expansion of the work force added many others with little attachment to either the company or the town. Moreover, as the general pointed out in 1901, the increase to over three thousand workers meant that he employed “more hands than there are inhabitants in town,” many living in neighboring towns like Milford from which they either walked to work or commuted by trolley line.

In 1901 Draper could boast that the company had never had any “labor difficulty” involving more than twenty men and that although he thought the company’s foundry workers were organized, the great majority had not been unionized. Eventually, however, enough dissatisfaction developed to lead to a long strike initiated against the Drapers in early 1913 by the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW): the serpent had appeared in the industrial Eden.

Under Eben Draper, the company refused to yield, and the strike became an open conflict that attracted national notice. In April 1913 the New York Times reported that at Milford strike sympathizers stoned trolley cars carrying non strikers to the Draper shops; when a rioter was arrested and jailed, an angry crowd gathered at the jail. The next month came reports that in Hopedale itself IWW strike leaders were arrested—for loitering—and another angry crowd gathered at the Town Hall until the arrested men were released on bail. Three weeks later, the Times described a fight that had taken place between strike sympathizers and the police along the trolley line to Hopedale. After four months, the strike was broken and affairs returned to normal. Over the next years the company raised wages and cut its workweek from fifty-five to forty-eight hours, chiefly in response to the conditions that developed during World War I.27

The strike shattered Hopedale’s well-worn halo, however, and the
following years did little to repair the damage. Eventually, the few remaining threads connecting the town with its past eroded way. In 1914 Eben Draper died unexpectedly at age fifty-six in South Carolina returning from a trip to Cuba. He left an estate valued at nearly $7,000,000; out of some $234,000 in public bequests, $20,000 went to the Hopedale Unitarian Parish and $4,000 to the town cemetery. The last of the three brothers, George A. Draper (two years older than Eben), died in early 1923, leaving an estate of over $10,000,000, of which $79,000 was bequeathed to the town.²⁸

A new generation of Drapers took control. The most prominent was Eben S. Draper, Jr., who achieved some notoriety in 1926 when a French court awarded his wife a divorce on the grounds of desertion; less than five months later he was remarried in New Jersey to a Seattle woman. Like his father, Draper became an influential Republican politician, trying unsuccessfully both in 1928 and 1930 to win his party's nomination to the United States Senate; in each try, he ran as a "wet" opposed to national prohibition.²⁹ It was a long way from the days of Ballou's Practical Christian Republic.

By now the economic fortunes of both the company and the town hinged far less on such matters than on changes in the nation's textile industry. Before World War I the company had prospered in part because, having reequipped the New England mills, it was able to sell many of its automatic looms to the rapidly expanding textile industry of the South. After the war, though, competition from the southern mills using cheap labor devastated the industry in New England, many of the casualties being the small mills of the Blackstone region that had contributed substantially to Hopedale's rise.³⁰ The dominance of the Draper firm in the textile machinery field enabled it to survive first these travails and then the Great Depression of the 1930s, but its golden days were in the past.

Various defense contracts during and after World War II helped to revitalize the company temporarily, and by 1960 it was employing more than 4,000 workers at what had become a massive plant in Hopedale. By then the population of the town had reached 2,904 people, whose median family income was some 10 percent higher than in either Milford or Boston; but sadder times lay ahead, largely because of the decline of the American textile industry. In the 1960s the company divested itself of most of its town properties and was
acquired by an outside owner, virtually severing its special links to the town. During the 1970s the Hopedale plant continued to produce automatic looms, principally for export to Asia, but it failed to make adequate profits, and in 1980 it was shut down by the parent company. The following year a *New York Times* reporter called Hopedale the "Cadillac of company-owned towns," but he published a photograph of the abandoned plant that indicated all too plainly that this particular Cadillac was a thing of the past.\(^{31}\)

And so ended a tie between business and the town that extended back nearly 140 years. Now, to the south of the small shop building where it had begun sleeps the great empty factory edifice. Further to the south, backed by the trees of the still-pretty town, stands the upright statue of Adin Ballou—portrayed as he had been in vigorous and hopeful mid-life—gazing out over the Mill River toward the far western horizon, toward some distant future, perhaps, when finally the reign of justice, brotherhood, and peace will be established over all the earth.