

# Thompson's Mills and the Lost Town of Boston

*Oregon's Newest State Heritage Site  
Celebrates Its Ten-Year Anniversary*

by Kristine Deacon

JUST EAST OF SHEDD in Linn County, the Calapooia River and 156 years of state, national, and international history run through Thompson's Mills, Oregon's oldest water-powered grist mill. Now a state park, the mill is a unique repository of Oregon's technological, political, and social past. Built in 1858, the mill operated commercially for 146 years and survived and thrived by changing with its times, during national shifts in agriculture, consumer culture, and international affairs. The focal point of the twenty-acre property complex is a Rube Goldberg-esque, six-floor mill building with concrete grain-storage silos, grain elevators, milling machines, and a hydropower plant, all in working order. Six outbuildings include the 1904 Queen Anne millkeepers' house, which was a family home, as well as a dormitory and dining hall for mill employees.

While the mill building is the heart of the enterprise, its heart's blood has always been the water flowing in the Calapooia River. The mills' owners were able to adapt and evolve through regional and national events including the California Gold Rush, Pacific Rim trade, World War I, the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, and the 1970s energy crisis. The river directly generated power for the mill through a complicated system of dams from 1858 until 1986, when the property's last private owners stopped using its water to produce power and instead used it to produce revenue by installing an electric generator and selling power to Pacific Power and Light Company.<sup>1</sup>

The mills' story began in 1850, when Americus Savage, living in Maine, learned of the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act. The act offered 320 acres of free land in the Oregon Territory to every unmarried white male citizen



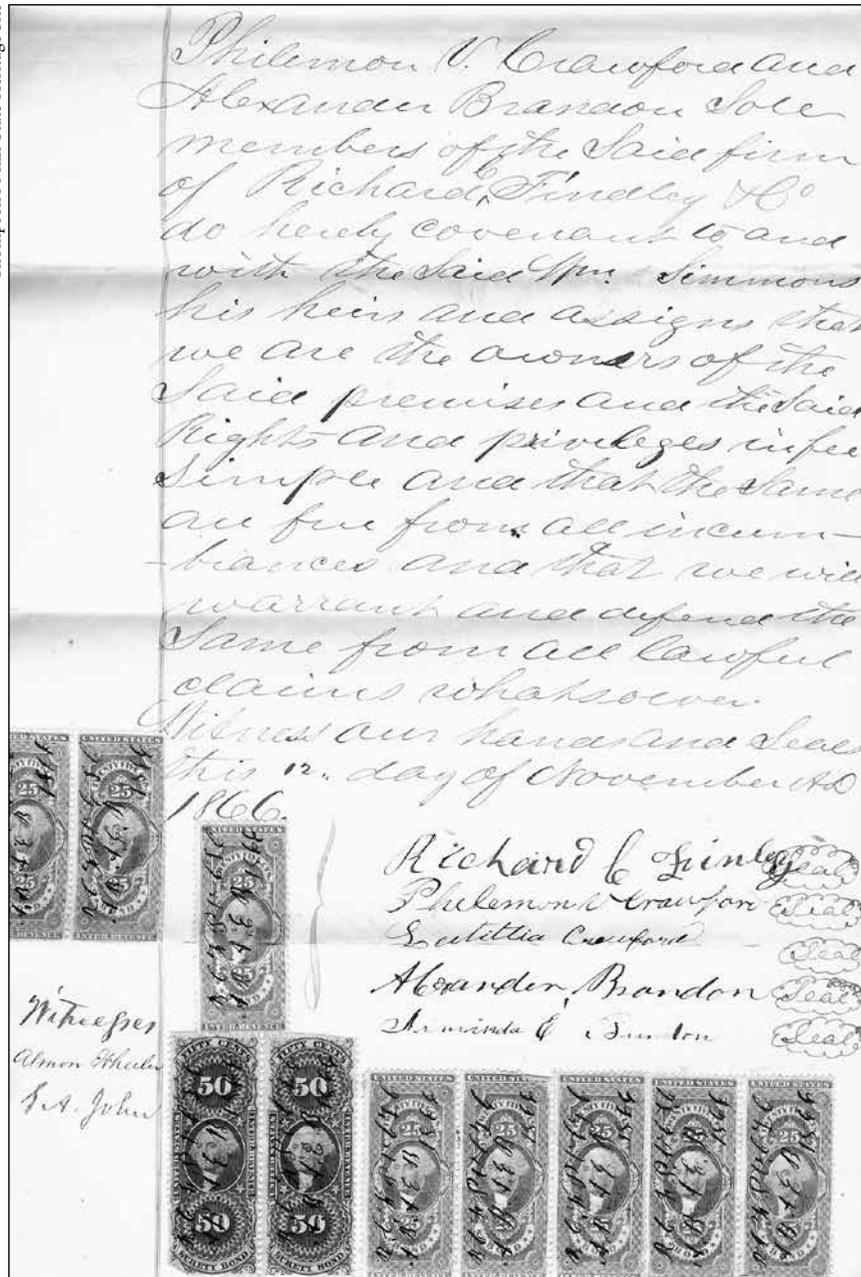
Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site

*Thompson's Mills is a twenty-acre complex that operated commercially for 146 years and is now Oregon's newest state heritage site. Workers posed in front of the building to celebrate the mills' centennial in 1958.*

eighteen years old or older and 640 acres to every married couple who relocated there. On May 11, 1851, Savage, his pregnant wife Mary Ann, and their five children crossed the Missouri River, heading west on the Oregon Trail. Stopping their wagon briefly on October 6 so Mary Ann could give birth to their son Columbus, the Savage family arrived in Oregon City a few days later. On October 30, Savage travelled to the central Willamette Valley in search of farm land, chose an L-shaped lot bordering the Calapooia River, and built a cabin. Savage retrieved his family and "finally landed at [the] little cabin home, with a puncheon floor,

a dirt fireplace, on the 25th day of December in 1851."<sup>2</sup> At first the family successfully grew wheat, but in 1858, financial hardship forced the Savages to sell "three and a half acres of land more or less and also the privilege of using all the water that may run or that they may cause to run through our land claim" to Richard Finley of Finley & Co. for \$50.00 in cash. Finley also bought, for \$75.00, water rights from Robert Elder, who owned land on the other side of the Calapooia.<sup>3</sup>

In 1858, Finley began milling flour on the banks of the Calapooia River, a mile and a half east of Shedd on the land acquired from Savage that same



In 1866, miller William Simmons purchased shares of the mill from Alexander Brandon and Philemon Crawford. Internal Revenue Tax Stamps were affixed to the handwritten contract, which was required as part of the Revenue Act of 1862 and raised funds for the Civil War.

year. He partnered with carpenter Alexander Brandon and miller Philemon V. Crawford, with financial backing from Philemon's brother, John A. Crawford. The partners established the town of Boston, sometimes called "New Boston," just seventy-five feet west of the mill. In 1861, the plat was owned by W.K. Caldwell.<sup>4</sup> Why the partners chose the name "Boston" Mills is left to speculation. In a 1939 interview conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), farmer John Cornett, who brought his wheat to the mill, speculated that the mill was named after a dispute that escalated to a physical fight on top of a butte. The fight was known as "the battle of Bunker Hill," and the hill was named accordingly.<sup>5</sup> The WPA interviewer added: "Whether Boston was named because it was near Bunker Hill, or Bunker Hill because it was near Boston, this field worker has been unable to definitely learn from any source."<sup>6</sup> Other sources, including *Oregon Geographic Names*, have speculated that "they called the place Boston Mills, presumably because one or more of the proprietors came from the Massachusetts city," but this seems unlikely, since Finley came from Tennessee and Brandon and Crawford came from Indiana.<sup>7</sup>

At Boston Mills, the partners processed grain for local farmers and accepted part of the farmers' flour for payment, which the millers then sold. The mill — about one quarter mile west of what is now I-5, in the heart of the Willamette Valley — was perfectly

placed to profit from the California Gold Rush. California gold mines provided an almost limitless demand for their flour, and Crawford shipped it to California on pack trains, netting one thousand dollars per trip.<sup>8</sup> On the evening of October 25, 1862, Boston Mills burned to the ground. The cause of the fire is unclear. Some accounts say Caldwell's wool-carding machine was in a building separate from the mill, and when the carding building caught on fire, the fire spread to the mill. Other accounts suggest the wool-carding machine was inside the Boston Mills building.<sup>9</sup> In 2005, a University of Oregon archaeology investigation team was unable to unearth any sign of a separate wool-carding building. The owners immediately rebuilt the mill in the same location, and the town continued to thrive.

On November 16, 1866, miller William Simmons bought Brandon's and Crawford's shares of the mill for \$3,000. The handwritten contract, like many of the mills' legal documents in the Civil War era, is affixed with Internal Revenue Tax Stamps.<sup>10</sup> The stamps were required as part of the Revenue Act of 1862, which raised funds for the Civil War through taxes on legal transactions, and the stamped mill documents attest to Oregon's financial role in the Civil War and Reconstruction.<sup>11</sup> By 1870, the mill was also processing locally grown corn, oats, and barley. The town of Boston prospered as well. In 1869, the Boston Mills Post Office opened, and Simmons became the town's first postmaster.<sup>12</sup> At its peak





*In this undated photograph, Sophia Thompson (standing in doorway), Martin Thompson (left in background), and their sons pose in front of their Queen Anne residence, built in 1904.*

he owned one of the 5,210 cars registered in Oregon.<sup>22</sup>

Just as Boston Mills' earlier owners had profited from the California Gold Rush, Thompson profited from the Pacific Northwest's entry into the Asian Rim markets. He had the good fortune to become sole owner of the mill just as the golden age for Pacific Northwest millers and wheat growers was starting. During the second half of the nineteenth century, China, devastated by the Opium Wars, a severe famine, and several natural disasters, was technologically unable to mill flour. Until 1888, all United States flour sold to China was shipped through California. In November 1887, William Dun-

bar, a flour and produce merchant in Portland, travelled to China to directly introduce Oregon flour. He began shipping flour to China in 1889. Soon after, T.B. Wilcox, manager of the Portland Flour Mills Company, also joined the China flour trade and reported in 1900 that "the Oriental flour trade has taken approximately one-third to one-half the surplus wheat of the Pacific Coast."<sup>23</sup> Through the efforts of mill owners in the Pacific Northwest, by the early twentieth century, Californians were driven out of the China flour market completely, and the increase in wheat and flour capacity for Asian markets continued to outpace domestic demand.<sup>24</sup> The Pacific Northwest's

leading flour exporters were Wilcox's Portland Flouring Mills, Sperry Mills, and Centennial Mills in Washington. Boston Roller Mills' ledger books show the mill selling flour to all three companies.<sup>25</sup>

For two decades, the Pacific Northwest was enriched by wheat growers and millers exporting goods to Asia. By the start of the twentieth century, the great milling corporations of California, Washington, and Oregon were exporting more than a million barrels of flour annually to China and Hong Kong.<sup>26</sup> In 1904, however, Chinese merchants responded the United States' anti-Chinese immigration policies that had begun with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and was extended by the Geary Act that same year. That legislation, restricting Chinese-worker immigration to the United States for an indefinite period, severely affected

trade. The boycott lasted for about a year and strengthened both Chinese nationalism and anti-United States sentiment, which in turn spurred efforts to establish flour mills in China. By 1910, only half the amount of shipments from the previous decade were being exported to Hong Kong, and most direct shipments to Chinese ports had ended.<sup>27</sup> In 1910, both the output of Thompson's Mill and Oregon's China flour trade significantly decreased. Tough economic times, combined with a tough transition in family ownership to the second generation of Thompsons, plunged the mill into economic distress.

Martin Thompson died in 1910 and left the company to two of his sons, Otto (Ott) and Leo, who changed the name to Thompson Bros. & Co. Leo died in 1915 and left his half of the mill to Ott's oldest son, Myrle.



*To the left of Thompson's Mills, shown here in about 1900, is the 1863 house where the Thompsons lived while building their 1904 Queen Anne residence.*

His grandmother Sophia purchased Myrle's half, making her co-owner of the business with Ott. In the spring of 1917, Ott Thompson hired the Burrell Construction Company to build four concrete grain silos. The increased storage capacity enabled the mill to operate twelve months of the year, and it began buying huge quantities of wheat from eastern Oregon. The timing of the increase in storage capacity and production coincided with an increase in demand for the mills' flour as the United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917.

President Woodrow Wilson created the U.S. Food Administration and hired international mining engineer (and future president) Herbert Hoover to run the program. Hoover's task was to organize food relief for the United States' European allies. Once again, international affairs resulted in an economic bonanza for the mill. It began operating twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, selling flour directly to the U.S. Food Administration. The mills' ledger books show this to be its most profitable period.<sup>28</sup>

While the Thompsons profited from World War I, the era's other global event, the Influenza Pandemic, devastated the owners. Sophia Thompson successfully nursed Ott's family, who lived at the mill, through the flu, but Ott's sister-in-law Caddie Thompson, living in Shedd with her husband Charles, died suddenly of heart failure brought on by influenza. One of 3,675 Oregonians to die in the epidemic, she left three young children.<sup>29</sup> After

World War I, Thompson Bros. & Co. again struggled financially. During that decade prior to the Great Depression, the mill again faced tough economic times combined with a tough transition in family ownership. It also faced major technological and social challenge — the advent of pre-sliced bread.

In 1927, Otto Rohwedder of Missouri patented his machine for slicing bread, and consumers' enthusiasm for store-bought sliced bread created an immediate drop in the demand for grocery-store flour. Before 1927, consumers preferred homemade bread because they wanted store-bought loaves "to be extremely soft — not because they liked the taste of the gummy bread (they didn't) but because they considered squeezing to be the best way to determine if store-bought, factory-made loaves were fresh. This squishy bread proved all but impossible to cut into sandwich- and toaster-ready slices."<sup>30</sup>

During the Depression, Thompson's Mills diversified and began producing farina, fancy pastry flour, and whole wheat flour. Sophia Thompson died in 1928, and on August 1, 1930, Ott and his eldest son Myrle formed a partnership and renamed the company Thompson's Flouring Mills. They each owned half the mill.<sup>31</sup> While the Great Depression was a national economic event, its impact on individuals is poignantly revealed in Thompson Flouring Mills' ledger books: By 1930, the notation "Flour sacks, sold at cost" became increasingly frequent. Before 1864, flour was shipped in tin



Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site

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containers or wood barrels. J.M. Hurd of Auburn, New York, patented a flour sack sewing machine that year, and those containers quickly replaced tins and barrels. People reused and recycled flour sacks in many ways. "The textile bag that began as a plain white bag for packaging food staples in the last half of the nineteenth century developed into one of the hottest advertised and promoted items of the twentieth century," writes Anna Cook in *Textile Bags: The Feeding and Clothing of America*. "During this time, the textile bag became the single most popular way of clothing the American family as well as decorating the home. These bags were recycled by the American housewife in every way from making

underwear for family members to making curtains and dishtowels for the home." During the late 1920s, textile companies began printing patterns on flour sacks — flowers, butterflies, cowboy motifs, patterns for dolls, etc. — so that women could more easily recycle the sack into clothes or toys. Nationwide, women began accompanying men to buy flour, so that the women could choose the flour sack material they wanted. From the Thompson's Mills' Depression-era ledger notations, it is clear that local women were buying unused sacks from the mill for clothing material. And in 2006, while stripping wallpaper in the upstairs hallway of the millkeepers' house's, park staffers Kees Ruurs and Margriet

Ruurs discovered the Thompsons used their flour sacks for wallpaper lining as well.<sup>32</sup>

Thompson's Mills' extensive collection of flour sacks is one of its most popular artifacts and one of its most informative. Most of the mills' sacks, which date to 1899, have both the name of the town (which changed from Shedd's Station to Shedd's to Shedd's to Shedd) on them, as well as the often-changing name of the mill, making it possible to identify them chronologically. The sacks provide a wealth of information about changes in graphic arts, advertising and branding, depictions of femininity (including the evolution of women's hair styles and clothing), and changes in the kinds of food consumers demanded. The bags illustrate rural America's narrative over time.

Throughout the Great Depression, Ott continued running the Thompson's Flouring Mills and Myrle ran the Shedd warehouse, which processed grass seed. Ott's other son, Orval, graduated from the University of Oregon Law School cum laude in 1937, and even before then advised his father about the mills' legal affairs. In 1938, Orval became the mills' lawyer and went to work for Albany attorney J.K. Weatherford, eventually becoming a partner in the firm. With Orval in charge of the company's legal affairs and Ott and Myrle running various mill operations, the company continued to adapt to economic and social changes in the region. During the mid 1930s, Willamette Valley farmers began to switch from growing wheat to growing grass seed, and the federal

government began instituting stricter food-safety regulations. Flour requirements became stricter, and as a result, Thompson's Mills stopped manufacturing flour in 1942. The owners packed away its Midget Marvel flour processor and installed a pellet mill, a roller mill (for oats), and a corn cracker as well as molasses tanks to concentrate on animal feed.<sup>33</sup>

In June 1948, Ott connected the mill to the Mountain States Power Company grid.<sup>34</sup> Former mill employee Roy McNeil, who worked at the mill in 1947, recalls why he thought the mill still generated its own electricity for lighting until that time: "Because Ott didn't want to pay an electric bill!"<sup>35</sup> (Another indication of Ott's frugality was the glass globes protecting the mills' light bulbs; in 2006, park staff discovered that some of the globes were recycled Planters Peanuts jars.) At that time, Thompson's Mills held some of Oregon's oldest water rights, which provided the mill 180 cubic feet per second of the Calapooia River even in water-short times. Because Oregon's water laws are based on the principle of prior appropriation — meaning the oldest water rights on a stream are the last to be cut off in times of low flow — Thompson's Mills was able to demand water rights regardless of the needs of users in other areas. During times of low flow, the mill was allowed to divert the river's flow to maintain the allowed 180 cubic feet per second, leaving little or no water for upstream farmers and ranchers.<sup>36</sup> The mills' water use often created unpleasant feelings between neighbors, and upstream irrigators sometimes stole water from the mill.

When Orval Thompson became the mills' attorney in 1938, he wrote many cease-and-desist letters, often threatening injunctions, to upriver irrigators taking water from the Calapooia.<sup>37</sup> Connecting to the electrical grid made it possible for the mill to free up water for upstream irrigators. When the mill was connected to Mountain States Power, it allowed operations to continue without the use of water. The water rights could then be used to generate revenue instead.

In 1953, Orval Thompson prepared a Water Use Agreement with the fifty upstream farmers, proposing that if they would pay the mills' electric bill, the mill would not use the Calapooia's water in the summer, when water was low and farmers needed it the most. The mill calculated its summer electric bill was \$1,250.<sup>38</sup> Orval Thompson sent drafts of the agreement to Charles Stricklin, the Oregon State Engineer, in charge of the Oregon Water Resources Department. Stricklin suggested that Orval Thompson create a water irrigation district, under the provisions of Oregon Revised Statute 545. In September 1954, voters authorized organization of the Calapooia Irrigation District, creating a special taxing district, with taxes to be collected by Linn County. The mill owners agreed to operate on electricity during low-flow summer months; the irrigators would then pay the mills' electric bill and get to use the Calapooia River's water. The fees increased during the decades; in 1996, the Calapooia Irrigation District paid the mill \$3,000. The district continued annual payments until 2004, when OPRD bought the mill.<sup>39</sup>

Ott died in 1965, leaving his half of the mill to be divided among his six children and his son-in-law Ron Townsend. Orval, who already owned half the mill, continued to run it, changing the name to Thompson's Mills, Inc. Just three years later, the Oregon Business Review listed the state's nineteen oldest businesses in continuous operation, and Thompson's Mills was the ninth oldest company.<sup>40</sup>

Three generations of Thompson family ownership ended in July 1974, when Merlene Manning Danaher and her husband Jim Danaher bought the mill compound.<sup>41</sup> Merlene and Jim Danaher later divorced, and Merlene married Dave Babits in 1979. The Babitses became the last private owners of the mill. In 1979, the mill had twelve year-round employees and was producing about 410 tons of livestock feed a month, which was distributed in company trucks to small farm, ranch, and feed stores in a five-county region, extending to the coast. Gross sales in 1978 totaled about \$700,000.<sup>42</sup> On June 22, 1979, the mill was operating at about fifty percent capacity when its concrete retaining wall collapsed, destroying part of the first floor.<sup>43</sup> The Babitses repaired the mill, but demand for its animal feed continued to dwindle. By 1986, sales had fallen due to national conglomerates' selling feed at much lower prices and an overall decline in the usage of animal feed.<sup>44</sup> The mill laid off all the full-time staff in 1987. The Babitses planted a Christmas tree farm on the property, then began exploring the money-making potential of the mills' water rights.

During the recession of the 1980s, the Babitses converted one of three turbines to generate electricity in order to sell power back to the regional power grid.<sup>45</sup> They created the Boston Power Company and spent \$100,000 to convert the mill to a power-generating plant. In 1983, Dave Babits signed a contract to sell hydropower to Pacific Power and Light Company, but the contract expired in 1986 because the Fish and Wildlife Department took so long to verify that the power generator would not be harmful to fish.<sup>46</sup> He signed a new, twenty-year contract with the power company in 1986 and immediately began selling power.<sup>47</sup> Soon, Babits was concentrating his efforts on a new project: selling the mill to OPRD.

Conflicts between the mill and environmentalists increased in the following decades, particularly in 1999, when the U.S. Department of the Interior put spring Chinook salmon and winter steelhead on the Endangered Species Act's (ESA) list, prompting negotiations between the Babitses and state and federal officials about their use of Calapooia water. That same year, Oregon Governor John Kitzhaber encouraged the formation of Thompson's Mill Working Group (TMWG) and urged the river's stakeholders develop a plan for using the Calapooia water.<sup>48</sup> The group joined Babits in urging OPRD buy the property. The TMWG recommended that OPRD cease producing hydropower and joined the Babitses in urging OPRD to buy the mill.<sup>49</sup> From 1993 to 1997, the Babitses tried unsuccessfully through a feasibility study and proposed senate

bill to encourage OPRD to purchase the mill as a state park. In 1998, OPRD received an influx of funding, because Oregon voters passed a constitutional amendment, Measure 66, that November, dedicating 15 percent of Oregon Lottery funds to state parks, beaches, salmon, and watershed protection. OPRD commissioned an appraisal of the property in 2003 and bought the site, including its water rights, the following year for \$856,547.<sup>50</sup>

In 2004, OPRD staffers began turning the mill into Oregon's newest state heritage site. They learned to operate the hydropower plant and milling machines, and catalogued more than 3,000 artifacts and documents. They discovered buildings crammed full of historic items: a 1910 combination safe in the office as well as a letter from Pittsburg Safe Co. with its combination, antique fire extinguishers tucked in corners upstairs, mill stones abandoned under the hay barn, handwritten deeds dating from 1858, and even a VHS copy of the movie *Timescape*, a 1992 science-fiction movie starring Jeff Daniels, filmed at the mill.

The mill opened to the public as a state park in 2007, and the buildings themselves tell stories that the artifacts and archives alone cannot: the architectural ostentation of the Queen Anne residence compared to the absolute functionality of the commercial buildings, tallies of grain sacks written in pencil on the walls, and a plywood patch under a grain spout where one miller, after a quarter-century of sacking grain, started wearing a hole through the floor. The mill is a

significant resource for Oregon historians because of its longevity — which precedes Oregon's statehood — and the completeness of its archives and artifacts. Its intact legal, and more

important, financial records document how Oregonians responded to, and profited from, international, national, and state events as well as social, economic, and environmental change.

## NOTES

The author would like to thank Doug Crispin, Oregon Parks and Recreation Department (retired) and Martin E. Thompson, grandson of Thompson's Mills patriarch, and the University of Oregon Library's Special Collections staff.

1. Power Purchase Agreement, Boston Power Company and Pacific Power & Light Co., August 19, 1983, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site; "Pioneer Mill Gets OK to Grind Out Electricity For Sale," *Oregonian* April 15, 1986, B4.

2. The lot was designated as Section 8, Township 13 South, Range 3 West; George A. Thompson and F. Janet Thompson, *A Genealogical History of Freeman, Maine 1796–1983*, (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1996), vol. 3, 359–69.

3. Deed to Mill Property and Water Privileges [sic] from Americus Savage and Mary Ann Savage to Richard C. Finley and Company, December 30, 1858; and Privilege [sic] Deed from R.M. Elder & Wife, to R.C. Finley & Company, November 1, 1858, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

4. Oregon Donation Land Files, 1851–1903, Oregon State Archives, microfilm M815; Peter C. Boag, *Environment and Experience: Settlement Culture in Nineteenth-Century Oregon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 108.

5. The Revolutionary War Battle referenced Cornett was fought on June 11, 1775, in Boston, Massachusetts and was named for the adjacent Bunker Hill. For oral histories related to Boston, Oregon, see: Leslie L. Haskin and Nina L. Williamson, *Pioneer stories of Linn County: interviews by Leslie L. Haskin et al*, vol. 1 (Albany,

Ore.: Early Pioneer Publications, 1984), 11; Sherman Lee Pompey, *A history of Boston: the town that moved West to become Shedd in Linn County, Oregon* (Harrisburg, Ore.: Pacific Specialties, 1974), 4. In an advertisement, W.K. Caldwell stated: "Wool Carding. At New Boston, Linn County, Oregon, on the Calapooia, at Finley & Co.'s New Mills," *The Albany Democrat* October 1, 1861, 2.

6. Floyd Mullen, *The Land of Linn* (Lebanon, Ore.: Dalton's Printing, 1971), 219; and Haskins and Williamson, *Pioneer Stories of Linn County*, 51.

7. Haskins and Williamson, *Pioneer Stories of Linn County*, 92. Lewis A. McArthur and Lewis L. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names*, vol. 7 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2003), 101. 1860 census records indicate that Finley was born in Tennessee, and Brandon and Crawford came from Indiana.

8. Boag, *Environment and Experience*, 108.

9. Polly Ann Kirk, daughter of Richard Finley, told a WPA interviewer: "With the flouring mill there was a wool carding factory and a fire was kept burning all the time to keep the wool warm as they worked, and she believes that this was the origin of the mill fire." For accounts that suggest the carding machine was in the Boston Mills building see: Pompey, *A History of Boston*; and Alfred Lomax, *Later Woolen Mills in Oregon* (Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort, 1974), 300. Lomax's account suggests the carding-mill machine was inside the Boston Mill building: "The mill, including the carding machine, was a loss of \$8,000." The only primary source of information on the subject, Caldwell's advertisement in *The Albany Democrat*, is also unclear, but suggests

the wool-carding machine was in the mill building: "Wool Carding. At New Boston, Linn County, Oregon, on the Calapooia, at Finley & Co.'s New Mills, 12 miles East of Corvallis. . . Having bought the Machine, it is under thorough repair, and will be under my immediate charge." Lucy Skjelstad, *Milling on the Calapooia 1847/1980: Saga of the Boston/Thompson Mill* (Corvallis: Horner Museum, Oregon State University, 1980), np.

10. November 16, 1866, Deed, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

11. The Revenue Act of 1862, 12 Stat. 432-489, Section 95, page 475, states: "And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons shall make, sign, or issue, or cause to be made, signed, or issued, any instrument, document, or paper of any kind, or description whatsoever, without the same being duly stamped for denoting the duty hereby imposed thereon, or without having thereupon an adhesive stamp to denote said duty, such person or persons shall incur a penalty of fifty dollars, and such instrument, document or paper, as aforesaid, shall be invalid and of no effect."

12. McArthur and McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names*, 101; Statement from United States Post Office Department Appointment Office to Wm. Simmons, September 1869, requesting information regarding establishment of Boston Mills Post Office, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

13. Pompey, *A History of Boston*, 4. For population, see "The Post Office Department Notice," September 19, 1869, Thompson's Mills Heritage Site.

14. Donald G. Holtgrieve, "The Effects of the Railroads on Small Population Changes: Linn County, Oregon," *Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook*, vol. 35, 1973.

15. Mullen, *The Land of Linn*, 2; and *Oregon Statesman*, August 5, 1871, 2.

16. Mullen, *The Land of Linn*, 87.

17. Daniel J. Meissner, "Theodore B. Wilcox Captain of Industry and Magnate of the China Flour Trade, 1884" *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 104:4 (Winter 2003): 521.

18. Boston Mills Ledger Books, 1871-1897, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site.

19. Cancelled checks, 1871-1897, and Bill of Sale, 1974, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site.

20. Leon Emil Thompson, Last Will and Testament, June 21, 1913, Linn County Courthouse; Return of Sale of Personal Property and Petition of Confirmation, signed by Otto M. Thompson, October 24, 1941, Linn County Courthouse; Advertisement, *The Brownsville Times*, January 13, 1899, 3; see Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site archives for cancelled checks and receipts that document Thompson's mill upgrades.

21. *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland), "Shedd is Tiny, But Very Generous," April 23, 1906, p. 3.

22. *The Brownsville Times*, April 15, 1910, 3; *The Brownsville Times*, May 6, 1910, 3; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Federal Highway Administration, *Motor Vehicle Registrations by States, 1900-1995* table MV-201; and State of Oregon car registration, December 1, 1910, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

23. Meissner, "Theodore B. Wilcox," 365.

24. Joseph Gaston, *Portland, Oregon, its history and builders: in connection with the antecedent explorations, discoveries, and movements of the pioneers that selected the site for the great city of the Pacific* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1911), vol. 1, 320; Meissner, "Theodore B. Wilcox," 532.

25. Boston Mills Ledger Books, 1897-1910, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site.

26. Daniel Meissner, "The Business of Survival: Competition and Cooperation in the Shanghai Flour Milling Industry," *Enterprise & Society*, 6:3 (2005): 365.

27. Meissner, "The Business of Survival," 365.

28. James L. Guth, "Herbert Hoover, the U.S. Food Administration, and the Dairy Industry, 1917-1918," *The Business History Review*, 55.2 (Summer 1981): 170-187. Thompson's Mills Ledger Books, 1919, p. 143, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site.

29. "Shedd Resident Called By Death," *Albany Daily Democrat*, March 12, 1920, 7.

The article incorrectly reports her name as Caddie James Thompson; her name was Caddie Jane (Carlton) Thompson. For Oregon and the Influenza epidemic see: Cain Allen, "Spanish Flu in Astoria," Oregon History Project (2006), [http://ohs.org/education/oregonhistory/historical\\_records/dspDocument.cfm?doc\\_ID=46A2006A-ADD6-25C8-E3210AE3EB77F83C](http://ohs.org/education/oregonhistory/historical_records/dspDocument.cfm?doc_ID=46A2006A-ADD6-25C8-E3210AE3EB77F83C) [accessed February 6, 2014].

30. Pagan Kennedy, "Who Made That?" *The Atlantic*, July/August 2012, 128.

31. In The District Court of the State of Oregon, For The County of Linn, Order to Convey Property, Case No. 10665, June 30, 1965.

32. Anna Cook, *Textile Bags: The Feeding & Clothing of America* (Florence, Alabama: Books Americana, 1990), 1, 3.

33. "Thompson's Mills . . . Past-Present-Future," *The Brownsville Times*, July 4, 1974, 6; Transcript of a tour conducted by Myrle Thompson for the Deschutes County Historical Society on September 15, 1978, included in a letter to Merlene Danaher from Fay Van Hise.

34. Memorandum, "Tabulation of Electric Service and Charges for 5 Year Period Ending May, 1953, June 9, 1953," Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

35. Doug Crispin, "History of Electricity at Thompsons Mills," Oregon Parks and Recreation Department, March 2007, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

36. For more on Oregon water laws, see Oregon Water Resources Department, [http://www.oregon.gov/owrd/pages/pubs/aquabook\\_laws.aspx](http://www.oregon.gov/owrd/pages/pubs/aquabook_laws.aspx) [accessed December 14, 2013].

37. Orval Thompson to Mack M. Slate, Jr., August 20, 1951, Thompson's Mill State Heritage Site.

38. Memorandum, "Thompson Flour Mill, Tabulation of Electric Service Uses and Charges for 5 Year Period Ending May, 1954, Mountain States Power Company, June 9, 1953," Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site, Shedd, Oregon.

39. For the organization of the Calapooia Irrigation District see: "Irrigation District Approved," *Brownsville Times*, September 16, 1954, p. 1.

40. Leslie L.D. Shaffer, "Oregon's Century-Old Business Firms," *Oregon Business Review* 12:37 (December 1968).

41. "Thompson's Mills . . . Past Present-Future," 6.

42. Jerry Easterling, "The Millowner," *Statesman Journal* (Salem), March 11, 1979, 4G.

43. "Future of Historic Mill Is Uncertain," *The Brownsville Times*, July 28, 1979, 1.

44. John Hayes, "Pioneer Mill Gets OK to Grind Out Electricity For Sale," *Oregonian*, April 15, 1986, B4.

45. Karen McGowan, "Old Mill Will Get a New Life: The Unique Water-Powered Mill Will Be Transformed into a State Park," *Eugene Register-Guard*, June 28, 2004.

46. Hayes, "Pioneer Mill Gets OK to Grind Out Electricity For Sale."

47. Power Purchase Agreement, Boston Power Company and Pacific Power & Light Co., August 19, 1983, Thompson's Mills State Heritage Site; Hayes, "Pioneer Mill Gets OK to Grind Out Electricity For Sale."

48. For 1999 Endangered Species Act salmon list, see John Harrison, *Endangered Species Act and Columbia River Salmon and Steelhead* (Columbia River History: Northwest Power and Conservation Council, Nov. 2011). The working group included the Babits, the Calapooia Irrigators District, the Boston Mill Historic Society, Oregon Water Trust, Oregon Fish & Wildlife, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Oregon Water Resources Department, OPRD, and the Calapooia Watershed Council.

49. Final Report, "Thompson's Mills Flow and Habitat Assessment," OWEB Grant #201/625B, Calapooia Watershed Council, Brownsville, Oregon, 2003.

50. Oregon Parks and Recreation Meeting Minutes, November 13, 2003, p. 1, 4-10. For purchase of water rights see: Ross Curtis, "Preservation Report from Thompson's Mills," *Cultural Heritage Courier*, no. 2 (2007), 9.