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The Great Northern Paper Company, Chapter 20: The State of the Unions

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C H A P T E R XX
THE STATE OF THE UNIONS

When we made the outline for this story, more years ago now than we like to think about, we titled this chapter "Peace with Honor". The frequent use of the expression in connection with the withdrawal of United States forces from the tragic Viet Nam war, leaving, in this writer's mind, no peace and little honor, except to those who conducted themselves so bravely, gave it a pejorative implication, and we abandoned it. However, in a recent conversation with a Vice-President of one of the International Unions, he used these words to describe the relationship between the Great Northern Paper Company and its employees, and that is what this part of our narrative is all about.

In an article published in the February, 1956 issue of "Management News", L.A. Appley, President of the American Management Association, wrote:

"The Company cannot talk. Some responsible individual or group of individuals says 'yes'. Then PEOPLE have to produce the money. PEOPLE.... have to design better products. PEOPLE.... have to produce them at lower cost and of higher quality. PEOPLE.... must collect, and so on."

We have had much to say about some of the individuals who say "yes", or sometimes "no", and we have paid tribute to all the people

who did all the other things that Mr. Appley mentions, and more, but since the great majority of that ever-changing group of people in the mills, who, each in his own way and in his own place, in his own time, contributed to making paper "better and cheaper" belonged to labor unions, and since a close relationship with organized labor has been as much a fact of life with Great Northern as the West Branch, it seems desirable to give, at least in outline, some details of this relationship over the period which we have discussed, and the results that stemmed from it.

As this is written in 1974, all the hourly paid workers in the mills; certain groups in what is now the Woodlands Department; a few para-technical people, and the office forces at Millinocket and East Millinocket, exclusive of confidential secretaries, Personnel Department people and the like, are represented by seven International Unions, through fourteen locals, as follows:

United Paperworkers International Union	Millinocket - Locals 12 and 27 East Millinocket - Locals 37 and 152 Woodlands Dept. - Local 591
International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers	Millinocket - Local 69 East Millinocket - Local 261
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners	Millinocket - Local 658 East Millinocket - Local 1612
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	Millinocket and East Millinocket - Local 471
International Brotherhood of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	Millinocket - Local 156 East Millinocket - Local 362
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry	Millinocket - Local 485
Office and Professional Employees International Union	Millinocket and East Millinocket - Local 192

These organizations are all A.F.L.-C.I.O. affiliates. Their names were not always exactly as they are given above, and there were other unions or associations at other times. We will explain this as best we can as we proceed, including why there are in this list two locals of the United Paperworkers at each mill. Also, we will use abbreviated designations in common use for the various organizations after we reach the point where we are familiar with them.

It will not be possible to explain precisely how this line-up developed. There are too few existing records, and inquiries have turned up too much information which does not fit the facts. Therefore, while some of the events that led to full organization and the stable situation which has lasted for over sixty years were most interesting, our account of them must depend upon such bits of evidence as are available, and we will plug the holes as best we can with some amount of conjecture.

Great Northern labor began to organize shortly after the Millinocket mill went into operation, although but a small part of the work force took part. There is not much doubt that the first local was formed at Millinocket by the paper makers. Our best source for this statement is from a listing in the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics for the State of Maine, 1902, which reads; "Papermakers' Millinocket Union, No. 27, Organized in March, 1901; number of members 75; initiation fee \$2.00 and \$1.00, according to wages, monthly dues 50 cents." The Department of Labor & Industry has no record of any labor organization at Millinocket prior to that date. Since it had a

number, this local was not a purely local organization, as the name might suggest. From the number of the local, and other information, organization by the paper makers at Madison came a little later, and there was of course no East Millinocket mill until 1907. It has been the general impression that the first contracts with labor unions were signed in 1911 or 1912, but this was not the case. We will come back to this subject shortly.

In the meantime, let us examine the matter of early wage rates just a little. Wages have been by no means the sole pre-occupation of labor unions, but they are the one factor common to all contract negotiations over the years. Raw figures on wage rates and earnings are not particularly valuable for comparative purposes, but in most cases they are all we have, and they have historical significance. We will use one or the other, as may be available, as a sort of framework on which to hang other matters relevant to this part of our story. As a start, since there is no information on wages being paid in paper mills, let us see what the situation was in other industries in the State of Maine at the time Great Northern began operations, after which we will try to connect this up with what very little we know about early Great Northern conditions.

In 1899, according to the report of the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics, the average weekly wage for men working in cotton textile mills was \$7.46; in woolen mills \$8.26, and in shoe factories, \$10.93. To the best of our knowledge, the textile mills at least were operated 24 hours a day, so the figures presumably include both day and shift workers. We are therefore unable to reduce them to daily or hourly rates, but they repre-

sented average earnings of about \$410.00 a year.

Between 1899 and 1900, wages in Maine rose in general about 5 percent. However, the 1900 report of the Commissioner does not contain information directly comparable with that of the year before, but gives figures on a rather sketchy survey of the earnings of "laborers", the average rate being \$8.69 a week for a 10-hour day, six days a week, which would figure out to \$1.45 a day. A more comprehensive study was made of 176 men -- carriage makers, shoe makers, machinists, blacksmiths, bleachery workers, granite workers and laborers, which indicated average income of \$520.00 a year, or \$10.00 a week. Most of these men would have been day workers, and they would have been for the most part skilled or semi-skilled. To put the above in some perspective, the annual budget for a family of five in those days was about \$600.00, which would have been well below the earnings of some of these people. However, it may be of some interest to note that of these 176 men, 47 owned their own homes, and 76 had savings accounts, to which they had added during the year. Only 15 belonged to labor unions, and of these, 11 were men without families. Given the general state of affairs between unions and employers at that time, union membership could be a handicap to men with family responsibilities.

We have almost no knowledge about Great Northern's original wage scale, but it was probably, as would be normal in a large new enterprise in an established field, pretty much in line with prevailing rates in other industries at the lower end, and considerably higher at the upper end. The only hard information we have comes from the two letters written by an unknown paper maker,

dated January 31 and February 9, 1901, respectively. We have quoted from the latter in another place. From these letters, we learn that there were only four hands on a machine at that time, with a broke hustler for each pair. To the best of our knowledge, a broke hustler would have been of "laborer" status, and would have received less than the \$1.50 per day paid fourth hands, but more than the \$1.35 paid for construction labor in 1899. Perhaps \$1.45 would be a reasonable guess, and this was the average figure for laborers at this time, according to the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics. This would be for a ten-hour day, six days a week, which would work out to \$8.70 a week, or 14-1/2 cents an hour. We also learn from these letters that Beater Engineers were paid \$4.00 a day; Machine Tenders \$3.50; Backtenders \$2.25 and Third Hands \$1.75, although we have some reason to believe that the figure for Beater Engineers may have been in error. It is unlikely that he would have been paid more than a machine tender, and later information indicates that his rate was in fact lower. However, the other rates appear to be correct. Neglecting the beater engineer, the three hands on the machines were therefore paid roughly 29 cents, 19 cents and 15 cents an hour respectively, as these men worked an average of 12 hours a day. By this calculation, a third hand did not earn much more than the minimum rate on an hourly basis, and a fourth hand less, but weekly pay was very much higher. The schedule for tour workers -- always pronounced "tower" until quite recent years -- was nominally twelve hours a day, seven days a week. However, in these early days, the actual schedule was "eleven and thirteen"; eleven hours on the day shift and thirteen at night, the pay being the same in either case, as it was by the day. In confirmation of this, we quote, slightly paraphrased, from a booklet "Introducing

your Union" prepared by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, revised in 1960:

"This morning I want to take you back to the year 1901... (to) the little village...(where) there was located at that time one of the large mills of the International Paper Company. Had you...stood at the entrance of this mill between the hours of six and seven on any working day, you could have seen a long line of pale-faced workmen carrying dinner pails reporting for work in the superheated atmosphere of that mill, and you could also have seen another line of even paler-faced workmen coming out of that mill.... The long line of workmen coming out of the mill had just completed thirteen hours of hard, back-breaking physical labor. The line of workmen reporting for work was starting eleven hours of similar toil. Had you been able to stand in front of any paper mill in North America....you would have witnessed similar scenes..."

This was seven days a week. There being only two shifts, it was necessary to work a long tour on the change, which took place on Monday, so that a tour worker worked 24 hours on Sunday. Our paper maker, "Rob", says in one of his letters: "We get 15 days every two weeks". This would be the effect of the long Sunday tour. In the other, he says: "I got in 33 days and... I got \$115.50 for January", which indicates that at his \$3.50 per day rate as a machine tender he got his "15 days every two weeks", straight time. This was \$26.55 a week, princely pay when compared with the figures we have quoted for other major industry

in the State. Even a fourth hand, at \$1.50 a day, would have earned about \$11.50 a week, more than the average of all the trades in the State survey. This was just before the paper makers officially organized, although they were in the process of doing so, and there is no doubt that the scale of pay for at least the top three jobs on the machines were related to union rates in other mills.

In 1901, while there were a number of unions of people in the so-called mechanical trades -- machinists, carpenters, boiler house firemen, stationary engineers and the like, who worked in pulp and paper mills, the only labor organization representing production workers was a very exclusive club, admitting only paper makers. As this situation was about to change, and as the Great Northern Paper Company and Millinocket people were involved in the events, it seems desirable at this point to provide a little background.

A booklet, "The Making and Shaping of Unionism in the Pulp and Paper Industry", reprinted in February, 1965 by the then United Papermakers and Paperworkers, from "Labor History" Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring 1964, with permission of the author, Dr. James A. Gross, gives us information which agrees with, but is much more comprehensive than that developed by the writer's own research, largely interviews before that date. Part of what immediately follows is from one source, and part from the other.

From the time the first paper machine started up in America to just after the time we are now discussing, the only "paper makers" were the machine tenders, who looked after the actual

forming of the sheet at the wet end, and the beater engineers, who prepared the stock for the machine. The other hands on the paper machine and in the beater room were merely helpers. The machine tender was cock of the walk in a paper mill, with the right to hire and fire any member of the crew of his machine. The beater engineer had the same status in his department. They had come up through the ranks, but upon reaching these lofty eminences, seemed to acquire a great sense of importance, and an instant contempt for their old associates, who were now subordinates. This attitude was a holdover from the old days of **hand-made paper**, when the man who formed the sheet with his own two hands was a true craftsman; the man who prepared the stock for him to work with had to have **exact** knowledge of his art, and these men had a strong consciousness of their superiority to those who did not have their skills. By the middle 1880's, however, the wood pulp era was well established, and the paper-making operation not only became more mechanized, but as time went on mills became larger; companies with more than one mill were formed; cyclical over-production resulted in long shut-downs and the closing of smaller mills, along with wage cuts, and while the machine tender and the beater engineer were still **important people**, they began to find themselves having less and less control over their working conditions and the wages they received for their services, and their status was being subtly eroded. This was more important to the machine tenders than to the beater engineers, as there were many more of them, and they considered themselves a little superior anyway.

In 1884, a group of machine tenders in Holyoke, Massachusetts,

where there were several mills, had formed the Eagle Lodge, an exclusive club, not a union, and in the next year or two a number of these organizations were formed in other paper mill towns in the Northeast. While the original purpose was strictly social, they provided their members with a forum for the discussion of problems common to their employment, and a means of hardening concerted opinion. One of the gripes at this time was the operation of the mills on Sunday. This got to be such a bone of contention that, unable to get anywhere with the employers, the Eagle Lodge, which seems to have been the most active of these clubs, turned to politics, making efforts in 1887 and again in 1891 to get the Massachusetts legislature to pass laws reducing the hours of Sunday work. These also failed. At this point, it became obvious to the members of Eagle Lodge that to get what they wanted they had to have more muscle, and they decided to form a National Union, assessing themselves to carry the message to the organizations in other mill communities. This operation was successful, resulting in the formation in 1893 of the United Brotherhood of Paper Makers, which was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor.

This union accepted only the elite -- machine tenders and beater engineers -- who proceeded to press for advantages for themselves, disregarding the problems of the other workers in the mills. This quickly led to friction and hostility, and the United Brotherhood of Paper Makers began to come apart, so to broaden its scope, it obtained permission from the A.F.L. in 1897 to open its doors to those in certain other jobs on the paper machines. This liberalization of membership did not please certain die-hards in New York State, who broke away and founded the International Machine

Tenders Union. Membership in this was limited to machine tenders, beater engineers and backtenders, but the last were treated as inferiors, with little voice in the direction of affairs, this showing up in the tremendous differential between wages for machine tenders and backtenders indicated by the figures we have given. This was the organization with which the "Paper Makers Millinocket Union, No. 27" was associated.

Things seem to have gone fairly smoothly for a short while after the start-up of the Millinocket mill, but Frank Bowler, in his diary, reports strikes in the beater room and in the wood room in September, 1901, and a walk-out in the finishing room in February 1902. These seem to have been minor incidents, but do not indicate an entirely happy situation. They were not union actions, as none of these people were organized. However, the few organized employees were making themselves felt, and on February 22, 1902, Frank Bowler noted: "Paper Makers get 8-hour day." This was an historical first. The late John P. Burke, long-time President of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers said, in his speech at Millinocket on the occasion of its 50th anniversary celebration:

"It is a matter of record that the first eight hour day established in the pulp and paper industry in North America was in the mill of the Great Northern Paper Company right here in Millinocket, Maine. That was in 1902. At that time the hours of labor in all pulp and paper mills were twelve hours a day for tour workers and ten hours a day for day workers.

The establishment of the eight hour work day in the mill here in Millinocket caused consternation among many mill owners in this and in other industries. They wanted to know what the country was coming to. Some of them declared that the Great Northern Paper Company would go bankrupt because, so they claimed, no mill could operate profitably with three eight hour tours instead of two twelve hour tours. However, the Great Northern Paper Company went ahead, and proved that it was a good thing for the Company, for the workers and for the community."

The three-shift schedule was not generally adopted by other companies until 1907, and then only gradually. It was still not in effect in some plants in the 1920's, and according to Dr. Gross, one mill remained on the two-tour system until as late as 1938.

It is not clear whether all tour workers were put on an eight-hour day at this time. The minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of March 2, 1902, state that the action of the President in putting machine tenders on a three-tour basis, seven days a week, was approved, but this is not conclusive, as whoever wrote up these minutes would not have been particularly conversant with the situation. The number of members in the Paper Makers local, as reported by the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics in 1903 works out to enough for three shifts, so there is little doubt that all the machine hands who were members of the union were put on the new schedule. We know also that the firemen in the boiler house were on eight-hour shifts

before 1903, and John P. Burke's statement indicates that the change included all tour workers, so it is our conclusion that all shift work at the Millinocket mill was on an eight-hour basis after February, 1902. We know however that the eight-hour day was not put into effect for tour workers, not even paper makers, at the Madison mill at this time. Day men continued to work ten hours a day at both mills.

The concession of an eight-hour day does not seem to have satisfied the Paper Makers. We do not know specifically what beef they had at this time, except that there was internal trouble and friction with other workers, and of course they were still working seven days a week, but Frank Bowler records on March 14, 1902: "Paper Makers ready to strike. President of I.P.M.T. Union here with Smith." This would have been A. Ledyard Smith. On March 15th, he notes: "More trouble with Paper Makers", and on March 23d, a Sunday: "Paper Makers went out and shut down at Midnight last night." This would indicate that the trouble was probably over the Sunday hours, although they were now working only a sixteen on the change, instead of a twenty-four. Nothing is known about when the men returned to work nor on what terms, but the walk-out seems to have been of short duration, as the pulp mills kept running. Things then seem to have quieted down again.

Nationally, the International Paper Machine Tenders Union was having the same problems as the United Brotherhood of Paper Makers, because of its restrictive policies versus other workers in the mills; the two organizations were tearing each other apart, and under the urging of the A.F.L., finally decided to get back

together. Some time in 1902, they merged as the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We have not troubled to find out exactly when this took place, but it may have been as early as May. Frank Bowler notes on May 12th: "Paper Makers National Union meeting at Niagara Falls last week and this. Schenck and Smith there." This last comment is most interesting. Just why and under what circumstances Garret Schenck and A. Ledyard Smith should have attended this conference is unknown. Anyway, the paper makers' organization at Millinocket became Local 27 of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, representing the machine tenders, backtenders and beater engineers only.

For the next few years, we have no record of any very serious labor difficulty. The organization of Great Northern workers proceeded apace. According to the report of the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics, a local of the Carpenters and Joiners, No. 1031, was organized at Madison on March 19, 1902, and a local of the Stationary Firemen, No. 12, on June 12th of that year. From Mrs. Emma Folsom Clark's History of Madison, a local of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America was also formed in Madison in that year. There is nothing to indicate that any of these were Great Northern locals, but Great Northern people may have joined them. The Firemen & Oilers local representing Company employees only was No. 270, but the Stationary Firemen became the Firemen and Oilers at a later date, and the higher number may derive from that time. Also somewhat further on, probably in 1907, judging from the closeness of the number of the local to that of the one at East Millinocket, the Madison

mechanical trades people formed one of the American Federation of Labor "Federal Labor Unions" which we will explain shortly. Local 73 of the Paper Makers was probably organized at Madison some time in 1902 or 1903, although it is not shown in the State report for the latter year. That report, however, does say that some time in that year the Madison mill was shut down by a strike, the men demanding the eight-hour day in force at Millinocket, but that they returned to work in about three weeks, leaving the question of working hours to be decided later on. We find no mention of this in the Company records, but this does not mean anything, as there are few records.

At Millinocket, Local 69 of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen (Firemen & Oilers) was formed on October 27, 1902. At this time, it was common for small groups of employees of one company, or sometimes of more than one company in the same community, to form independent so-called "Laborers' Protective Unions", which, having been established, were chartered by the American Federation of Labor as "Federal Labor Unions". The trades people at Millinocket chose this course, according to the report of the Commissioner of Industrial and Labor Statistics, and Federal Labor Union No. 11,331, with twenty-three members, was chartered on July 18, 1903. A reorganized unit must have chartered later, as this number does not agree with that found in Company labor contracts later on.

Ernest J. Graham, one of the founders and a Vice-President of the Maine State Federation of Labor, who came to Millinocket

shortly after the mill started up, in reminiscences published in the Maine State Labor News of June, 1955, -- he was 77 years old at that time -- said:

"He (Samuel Gompers, President of the A.F. of L.) appointed me as an A.F.L. organizer, and I went to work among the trades at Millinocket. The first thing I learned was that the only organization in the new town was the Paper Makers. They had been brought in from all around for the new mill. There weren't enough men in the other trades to qualify for individual charters, so we took all the machinists, carpenters, pipefitters and so on and organized them into a Federal Labor Union. But the company refused to recognize us, and there was a lockout. As was common in the old days, the town was quickly filled with 'scabs' and it looked pretty bad for us. I'll never be able to say enough good for the Paper Makers. They really stuck by us and insisted that we had a right to be recognized. And we were. That was the beginning of it. Before long the whole town was organized, not just the men at Great Northern, for after we obtained an agreement with the mill, all the barbers, the retail clerks, bakers and all the others joined their organizations, and after some months of lockout and its successful end, we had a 100 percent union town."

We do not include this quotation for its accuracy, but to show how time telescopes events in the minds of even the most knowledgeable old-timers, and why the writer does not rely too

heavily upon anyone's memory, including his own, as a source of fact. The Federal Labor Union at Millinocket was a catch-all. We know it took in the Company's storehouse clerks, and there is evidence that it took in barbers, who were not Company employees. However, we do not know about any problem of "recognition", which did not necessarily mean a contract, and while there was a lock-out, it was five years later; was definitely not of "some months" duration; was against the Paper Makers, so that the support would seem to have been the other way around, and, as we will see, it depends upon one's point of view as to whether there were any "scabs" in town during that incident.

There is no way of knowing exactly what the early working relationship between the Company and its mill employees may have been. Very few employers of those days welcomed union organization, and in the paper industry, the arrogance of the Paper Makers must have been hard to take. It does not appear that Garret Schenck opposed early organization -- there would surely have been more trouble if he had been openly hostile, and while there were no written contracts in the very early period, there must have been collective bargaining in some form. However, he was wary. He had a right to be. After all, these were turbulent years in the labor movement. It was in 1901 that Eugene Debs, candidate for President in 1904, organized his Socialist Party, which was to transform "the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership of the entire people", and the writer definitely recalls seeing a copy of an early letter from Garret Schenck to George Parks in which he said: "There are a lot of Socialists up there".

In 1905, William D. (Big Bill) Haywood was organizing, if that is the right word, the I.W.W.; the "One Big Union of the Industrial Workers of the World"; the famous "Wobblies", whose philosophy, if they had any, was nearer to nihilism than to socialism. In that same year ex-governor Frank Steunenberg, of Idaho, was killed by a bomb, resulting in the arrest of a professional killer who was connected to a long string of previously unsolved bombings, shooting and arson, said to have been paid for by the Western Federation of Miners, bringing on a famous trial, with Senator Borah as the prosecutor and Clarence Darrow for the defence, and it was in 1906 that Jack London made his inflammatory speech at Yale University, in which he said that there were seven million men in all countries of the world "who are fighting with all their might for the conquest of the wealth of the world, and for the complete overthrow of existing society.....The capitalist class has failed in its management and its management is to be taken away from it. Seven million men of the working class say that they are going to get the rest of the working class to join with them, and take that management away. The revolution is here, now."

This is what Socialism stood for then, and labor was tarred with the Socialist brush wherever it attempted to organize. Nevertheless, Garret Schenck recognized the validity of at least some union objectives, as witness the fact that his company was the first in its industry to adopt the eight-hour day, and it was he who hired William A. Whitcomb, a known friend of organized labor, to head up the manufacturing operations. Even before William A. Whitcomb's time, the Company had shown its support of organization by those who were being victimized even by their own fellow-workers,

which is what we will tell about now, piecing things together as well as we can, from information which is in places not very clear.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that by some time in 1903, the mechanical types, the boiler house people throughout the mills, and a majority of the paper machine crews, were represented by formal organizations, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The great bulk of the workers -- those in the yard, on the wood piles, in the wood room, the pulp mills, the finishing room and in other jobs, all the way up the wage scale from laborers to skilled people like the cooks in the sulphite mill, were not exactly unorganized, but they were in a peculiar situation, which brings us to the story of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, and its association with the Great Northern Paper Company.

This union had its beginnings in a Laborers' Protective Union formed in Fort Edward, N.Y., in the summer of 1901, by a James T. Johnston, who, it is said, was a mattress-maker, black-listed by employers in that industry as a union organizer. His first convert in Fort Edward was a paper mill worker, a young man by the name of John H. Malin, who became secretary of this little group, and was to be a leader in the movement. This organization, made up of pulp and paper mill workers other than paper makers, was chartered by the A.F.L. as a Federal Labor Union, and like Eagle Lodge, assessed its members to send John Malin to form similar units, almost all in International Paper Company mills, along the Hudson River, in Vermont, New York State, New Hampshire, and in Garret Schenck's old mill at Rumford, Maine.

Before the end of 1901, he had a total of about 5,000 men in these small A.F.L. Federal Labor Unions, which in some cases took in not only people in the types of jobs we have mentioned, but mechanics and steam plant workers.

On April 8, 1902, at which time, as far as we know, John Malin had formed no cell in either of the Great Northern mills, delegates from these organizations met at Bellows Falls, Vt., went on record for a 65-hour work week for tour workers, a 59-hour week for day men and a 2-1/2 cent an hour wage increase, and resolved to petition the A.F.L. for a charter as a National Union. This petition was denied, and in 1903 they were transferred, willy-nilly, to the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, which had been granted industry-wide jurisdiction, and had been being pressured by the Federation to take in these mavericks in order to strengthen organized labor's position in the pulp and paper mills.

We know almost nothing definite about the events of the next few years. Most of the employees in the Company's two plants not already belonging to other unions, joined the Paper Makers, and it is quite clear from what follows that the Company signed a contract or contracts with this organization, the new International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and perhaps with other organizations representing the employees some time before 1906, although we have found no documents, and inquiries of the head office of the Paper Makers in 1964 failed to turn up any information. Dr. Gross says of this period, in effect, that the "aristocracy", that is, the real paper makers, ruled the roost, and that the new locals -- that would be the various Federal Labor Unions associated with them by A.F.L. decree -- were segregated, and held separate meetings, and that

at the Paper Makers convention in 1905 it was proposed that no one but a qualified machine tender could hold the office of President. As far as we know, there were no production people in such separate locals -- the Federal Labor Unions -- at Millinocket or Madison, and what we will call the rank and file workers belonged to Local 27 or Local 73 of the Paper Makers, but the writer was told very early in his association with the Company that the paper makers held the "shovel stiffs" in low esteem, and paid little attention to them or to their problems. Their delegates were thrown out of the 1903 convention, and were put down when they tried to take part in 1904 and 1905.

This situation was universal, and intolerable to men with any self-respect, and they rebelled. At a convention in Burlington, Vt. on January 12th and 13th, 1906, attended by 38 delegates from 21 locals, they broke away from the Paper Makers, and formed a new, independent union, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. The men in a few mills did not go along with this, but a majority of them did. The President-Secretary of the new organization was a young man, James F. Fitzgerald. John H. Malin was elected Treasurer, and John Mackin, of Millinocket, an active secessionist, became First Vice-President. On January 22d, James F. Fitzgerald announced that the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers would never be part of the Paper Makers' organization again. Famous last words.

This development as such does not seem to have disturbed Great Northern's management unduly. Garret Schenck was notified by the first letter written to the Company by the new union. The late John P. Burke told the writer that this was written on a scrap of ruled paper, and was undated. We have no copy of it.

James F. Fitzgerald apparently advised George Parks also, and on February 13, 1906, George Parks wrote to him at Fort Edward a letter which sets the tone for the Company's relationship with the new organization:

"Dear Sir:

Your interesting favor of February 10th at hand. Have been informed by Mr. Mackin regarding the withdrawal of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers from the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. Mr. Carey, President of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers was at Millinocket the first part of last week. As I was at Madison, I missed him. He went to Madison, and told them that he expected to see me there, but I had left for Millinocket. If he had notified me that he wanted to see me, would have made an appointment with him. He left Madison intending to call on Mr. Schenck in Boston. I do not know whether he saw President Schenck, or not, but will know in a few days, as we expect Mr. Schenck here.

Mr. Carey told Mr. Ingleton Schenck, Superintendent of the Madison mill, that so far as he could see, his people were very well satisfied with the situation at both mills, and they had no complaints.

Regarding the third hands. No one has been to us regarding this. If they do bring it to our attention, will advise you of what is doing.

We shall expect that our contracts that are in force with your organizations will be carried out.

It would seem to the writer that the third hand affair is for your Unions to adjust. I do not see where we have any jurisdiction over them as regards what union

they will belong to. Our contract is with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. We will, however, do everything we can to keep conditions as they are until our contract expires. We do not want any changes, or any trouble or annoyance in the matter.

I have heard it talked that they were going to take in the third hands, and that they were going to see the Management about it. I am glad to have your letter before they bring the matter up, and we will do our utmost to steer them so that everything will be continued as it is until our contract expires.

Glad to hear that you are coming up and make us a visit. We hope you will take time to look the situation over carefully at both our mills. We think it would be to your interest to do so.

Yours very truly"

This letter is conclusive evidence that the Company had a contract in force with the Paper Makers before 1906, and sets forth, at this early date, its position on jurisdiction.

James F. Fitzgerald's reply was written on February 15th:

"Dear Sir:

Your letter of February 13th in answer to one received from me under date of February 10th received and contents very carefully noted.

I want to assure you, Mr. Parks, that so far as we are concerned, if the Paper Makers do not prevent us, we are willing, and more than anxious to see that our Contract is carried out with you to the letter.

I expect to be able to visit both Madison and Millinocket next week, if I do, I shall be pleased to pay you a visit and discuss the matter further, until then I trust that with the cooperation of Mr. Mackin you will be able to avoid any serious difference existing in your mill.

Thanking you kindly for the prompt attention given my communication and wishing you continued success, I am

Very truly yours"

Local No. 12 of the new International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers was promptly organized at Millinocket, and Local No. 17 at Madison. There was not much sweetness and light between the Paper Makers and these new locals, the members of which continued to work under the terms of the agreement then in effect with the Paper Makers, who had represented all the organized production workers at the time it was made. Shortly after the above letters were written, James F. Fitzgerald and Garret Schenck met in Boston, and established some guidelines. In March, the first issue of the "Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers Journal" was published, and records found in the office of that organization show that Garret Schenck made a contribution in June of that year, 1906, toward the cost of putting it out. This was not for advertising, but an outright donation. Just before the middle of March, Garret Schenck and George Parks went to Madison to straighten out some problems that had arisen there, one being that the beater engineer had hired a Paper Maker from outside for a Pulp & Sulphite job, so quickly did jurisdictional disputes arise, but there was no great difficulty.

At Millinocket, it was a different story. On March 16, 1906, George Parks, in a letter to James F. Fitzgerald, in which he mentions the Madison meeting, said:

"I arrived here (at Millinocket) this morning. Have just had a conference with Harmon" (Clarence L. Harmon, President of the Paper Makers local, later a Vice-President of the International union, and a sound man)... "He tells me that the Paper Makers union here are in a much more satisfactory state of mind regarding the differences between the two organizations. He thought there was a strong disposition to leave things just as they were until convention time, and he also promised that he would use his influence to stop all dirty work and talk that has been going on lately between the two organizations. He said he told them at the Paper Makers meeting last Sunday that he thought they were acting unwisely in some of the methods they were pursuing to antagonize the two unions, that he thought the Paper Makers should do their utmost to hold the Pulp & Sulphite organization together as it was, and do nothing to disrupt it, letting the convention decide the differences... He said he wasn't hearing so much talk about the differences, and everything had quieted down very much.

He agreed with me that he thought that Carey's period of authority would be over at the next convention. (This was James T. "Jerry" Carey, President of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and neither Mr. Harmon nor Mr. Parks could have been more wrong.)

He said they were trying to get through the local union here a resolution endorsing the withdrawal of the Pulp & Sulphite Workers from their association, to be sent

to the National Convention....He also agreed with me that there was a following here with the party that we have spoken about, who was always on the wrong side of any proposition, who was always magnifying everything to make trouble, were always against the company's interests, and would like to see trouble if they could foster it and keep out of it themselves...

I explained to him that we were going to insist in our contracts that we make in the future who belongs to the organization that we are making contracts with, grouping them in under such heads as properly belong to them. He seemed favorable to this, and thought that each organization would be much better off entirely by itself.

He also agreed that you were the best equipped for head of the Pulp & Sulphite Workers of anyone he had ever seen or heard of in that department, so they recognize your ability, and I believe are willing to help you all they consistently can at their next convention. I am quite sure you can count on Harmon, if you want to use him.

I have not seen Mackin, but think everything is going along here very smoothly, and the worst of the thing is over as regards the differences between the two organizations..."

It is unfortunate that there is not more information about this very interesting period in the history of the Company's relations with its employees. Thus far, we have been able to be reasonably specific, but we have come to a point where there has to be more guesswork, and even some blanks that cannot be filled in. At this time, and throughout the time of the old Company,

labor relations, and negotiations, except for the results of them, which of course became public knowledge, were considered to be very confidential, and such records as were kept were carefully guarded, which is the only reason the few there are survive.

We now come to some rather confusing events, on which we will lay out such little information as is available, and then try to explain it. Things were not as rosy as George Parks seemed to think.

We have nothing at all as to the nature of the agreements between the Company and its employees between January 1906 and late 1907, except that we know that on May 18, 1907, a new one-year contract was made with the Firemen & Oilers (International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen). We also know that some time early in 1907 it had been agreed to put the paper machines on a six-day operating schedule, at the insistence of the Paper Makers, our understanding being that wage rates were adjusted so that the men received the same pay for six days as they had been getting for seven. We know that the Pulp & Sulphite people were working under the existing Paper Makers' contract, but we do not know when this was due to expire.

Whatever the situation may have been, our next information comes from a typed copy of an article written for the new union's "Journal" and signed with the strange pseudonym "Cockney Echoite". It is undated, but can be placed perhaps about the middle of August, 1907, as it says: "The Aroostook Mill of the Great Northern Paper Company at East Millinocket now boasts one machine at work", and the first machine at that mill started up on August

6th. The delegates from Local 12 had just returned from the Pulp & Sulphite convention, or perhaps from a joint convention of the Pulp & Sulphite and the Paper Makers, and the writer says: "Some of us, realizing that dissention so often means weakness, had high hopes that the differences between the Paper Makers and ourselves would be settled on a basis satisfactory to both Unions. We still hope that, in the distant future the old symbol of unionism, a hand grasping a hand, will be a true representation of the relationship between the two Unions." He then said that President Fitzgerald had been in Millinocket in July, and had stated at an evening mass meeting that no effort had been spared, or would be spared, to end the trouble. There had been some dissatisfaction at the time about wages, and James F. Fitzgerald and a committee from the Local had met with Company officials at the Great Northern Hotel the day following this meeting. As a result "increases have been granted ranging from five cents to seventy-five cents per day. The question of Sunday labor was broached, and it was decided that labor on the Sabbath be optional and curtailed as much as possible. Other concessions were made to the men, and the general feeling throughout the mill seems to be one of satisfaction that matters should have been settled so amicably".

At this time, as may be gathered from the above, no great headway was being made toward reconciliation between the Paper Makers and the Pulp & Sulphite. The issue had hardened on personalities and policies. Employers did not know who belonged to what, and the two organizations had become known as "Carey's Union" and "Fitzgerald's Union". Jerry Carey, at least in the opinion of the Company, as expressed to the writer by William O. McKay, and in

the eyes of the leaders of the rival union, as he was told by John P. Burke, was a bad actor. His policy, and that of his Paper Makers, was that there should be only one union -- the mechanical trades people excepted -- in the pulp and paper industry, and that was going to be the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, period. In this, he had the backing of the American Federation of Labor. James F. Fitzgerald, in the Company's view, was a much more reasonable man, who had taken up a good cause -- the protection of the rights and the betterment of the welfare of the ordinary Joe, in whom the Paper Makers were not particularly interested. His policy was that he would be happy to have two unions representing the production people; that the Paper Makers could have their own union if they wished, with jurisdiction over certain occupations that could be arrived at by negotiation or arbitration, and that he would work hand in hand with them for the good of all, but that if they did not want to play ball that way, and insisted that there was going to be only one organization, it would be the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. In this concept he had the backing of Garret Schenck and the Great Northern Paper Company. While the two unions found it to their mutual interest to seek certain common objectives, and in effect to back each other up in some areas, the Paper Makers were attempting to coax the rank and file into their organization, and the Pulp & Sulphite, with better success, because of what had happened earlier, were not only gaining members from this group, but were picking up a few paper makers. The two philosophies were on a collision course; the two men who personified them had no use for each other what-

ever, and Dr. Gross says: "Despite attempts by the A.F.L. to moderate the dispute, there was constant and bitter warfare between the two unions. They underbid each other on wages; they broke each others' strikes; they raided each others' jurisdiction; they checkmated each other to the point of mutual exhaustion."

We have an example of the kind of thing that was going on. On August 20, 1907, John Mackin wrote to James F. Fitzgerald:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

I organized at East Millinocket last night 24 members to start with. This is a good start as there is only one machine running at present and that only part of the time. And what do you think? Mr. Herman Casper is due there next week to organize the Pulp Workers. Jerry Carey's brother is at work in the machine room. I do not know what his first name is. He came from Palmer's Falls. Just landed in town...."

This was the start of Local 37 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. James F. Fitzgerald replied on August 23d:

"Your letter of August 20th advising me that you have organized a local at East Millinocket of 24 members received. I...have sent the charter and supplies....You had better keep your eye on them, and when Casper goes to that town, if he calls an open meeting, go there yourself and make a holy show of that dirty rotten hypocrite.

I also note that one of Jerry Carey's brothers is running a machine there. His name is Tom Carey. I don't believe he will stay long, for he is an awful soak...."

We have no date for the formation of Local 152 of the Paper Makers at East Millinocket, but it is probable that it was about this time, perhaps as the result of the visit of their organizer, Herman Casper. The mechanical trades people formed a Federal Labor Union. A well-informed source says that they joined the one already in existence at Millinocket. The writer, however, has always been under the impression that they had their own, and there were three of these organizations, one at each mill, when the first joint contract was signed a little later. From this fact, and from the numbers of the various trades locals, which we will note in another place, and the dates we have for their charters, we are quite sure that East Millinocket originally had its own Federal Labor Union of the mechanical trades, which of course may have met at this early period with the one at Millinocket. Local 261 of the Firemen & Oilers (International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen) must have been organized at East Millinocket shortly after the mill was built, but we have no date for this either.

The next information is an entry in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors on September 18, 1907:

"The President reported on the Labor Conditions at Millinocket and the demands that were being made. It was voted to leave the adjustment of the difficulty with the President, with power."

On or about October 1, 1907, and effective on that date, the Great Northern Paper Company signed a Memorandum of Agreement with James F. Fitzgerald, President-Secretary, and John T.

Mackin, First Vice-President, "for the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers". The first clause of this memorandum, which was signed by Garret Schenck for the Company, read:

"In consideration of the Great Northern Paper Company employing, for the period hereinafter mentioned, and on the conditions stated, only members of the above named organization, for operating its mills at Millinocket, East Millinocket and Madison, the Union named herein, and the officers for said Union, will furnish the Great Northern Paper Company, for its mills, when requested, with all of the necessary skilled and unskilled workmen, for a period of at least one year from the date at which this agreement shall be put in force."

At the end of the document, it was provided that it would continue in force after the end of one year for so long as it might be necessary for the parties to make "a new contract or agreement". The wage scale was to be that then in effect "except in the event that our principal competitors agree to pay a larger scale in any or all departments". In order that the Company might "secure the average daily production from its mills that it has been getting", the work week was to be 6-1/2 days, or 52 hours, eight hours a day for tour workers and nine hours for day workers. Hours worked beyond those specified were to be paid for at straight time, on an hourly rate computed from the daily wage. However, those who by agreement made previously were being paid time and one-half for overtime would continue to be so paid.

A clause somewhat repetitive of the first but very important, stated:

"Further, in consideration of the Great Northern Paper Company employing only workmen who are members of the Union organization herein designated, for operating its paper machines, as well as other parts and departments of its mills, the Union named herein, and the officers of said Union, will furnish the skilled and unskilled labor with which to operate the mills of the Great Northern Paper Company (this to include all workmen employed in the Ground Wood, Sulphite and Paper Mills, both inside and outside, except otherwise provided) for a period of at least one year."

By specifying the groundwood, sulphite and paper mills, it would seem that the intent was to exclude from the agreement those who were members of the Firemen & Oilers, and the mechanics' Federal Labor Union, although this is not entirely clear. The agreement provided that amalgamation of the Pulp & Sulphite with any other organization would have no effect on its terms or provisions; there was a no strike, no lock-out clause; a grievance procedure clause; an internal joint arbitration committee was established; employees were to give proper notice if they could not report for work; vacations (without pay) were provided for, and the Company had the right to discharge employees for inefficiency, neglect of duty or insubordination, or to lay off men if improved machinery or methods resulted in fewer being needed. A line of demarcation was drawn at the bridge over the log pond. Only union members were to work inside (south) of this line, and with

the exception of wood polers, were not required to work north of it. Those working outside this line were not within union jurisdiction.

The purpose of the agreement was stated:

"It is the intent of this agreement that there shall be cooperation on the part of both parties to this agreement to the end that, by fair treatment accorded to both parties whose interests are involved, it shall free the Mill Management and the Union organization of the annoyances now experienced."

It would appear that the contract with the Paper Makers, under the terms of which the Pulp & Sulphite people had been working, had expired, and with the signing of this agreement the Company had chosen to recognize the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers as the bargaining agent for its production employees, leaving the Paper Makers, at this point, out in the cold. It is interesting to note that the agreement was in effect with the International officers of the union, as well as with the organization itself.

On October 10, 1907, at an Executive Committee meeting, Garret Schenck presented a letter from James T. Carey, dated September 24th, requesting the Company to pay "the advanced scale of wages in operation for Machine Tenders, Beater Engineers and other Machine Tenders (sic)". It was voted that the reply, as follows, be spread upon the minutes:

"Jas. T. Carey, Esq., President,
Watertown, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of September 24th, I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Company to write you as follows:

'We are paying a scale of wages in all departments of our mill equal to the highest paid in any similar mill in the country, and we cannot see how we can consistently raise one group of men without treating all the others in the same manner, which would handicap us seriously as compared to our competitors.

We must, therefore, decline to increase the present very liberal scale of wages paid by our Company, and take this opportunity to remark that it is an inopportune time on the part of your organization to bring such matters to our notice when we have, by the action of your organization lost 10,000 to 12,000 tons of production at a time when we could ill afford to do it and before our new mill was prepared to deliver.

And further, that the action of the Organization at Millinocket in refusing to clean up and clothe the machines or permit others to do it, so that the full six days' product can be obtained from them, at a time when the mills are under full pay is an additional embarrassment and reason why we should feel dissatisfied with the schedule of hours now in force.

And the further annoyance and embarrassment to us in the management of our mill by reason of the fact that we have two organizations in our Plants, both claiming that the men should belong to their union is a condition under which no manufacturing concern can get the best results for the wages paid.

Yours very truly,

GARRET SCHENCK

President ' "

There was no mention in this letter of the agreement which to the best of our belief, had already been signed with the Pulp & Sulphite, and which may have been under wraps at this point. The loss of production referred to was occasioned by the adoption of the six-day schedule on the paper machines. In addition, the Paper Makers had decided that they would run right up to the shut-down Sunday morning, and leave the machines without washing up, and they would not put on clothing until after 8:00 A.M. on Monday, nor allow Pulp & Sulphite people to do so. On top of this was the demand for a wage increase. In 1907, machine tenders were still being paid \$3.75 a day; backtenders had gone up to \$2.75; beater engineers were also at \$2.75, which is why we feel that the 1901 figure of \$4.00 was in error, and third hands were at \$1.90. We are a little puzzled by these figures, as it is our strong impression, and this seems to be borne out by Garret Schenck's statement that the mills were "under full pay", that the machine crews were being paid the same wages for six days as for the former seven. Perhaps they were simply paid for an extra day at the same rate. At any rate, it appears that Jerry

Carey, in a letter and at several conferences with Garret Schenck, had demanded that rates be increased to \$4.25 a day for machine tenders, \$3.00 for backtenders, \$3.50 for beater engineers and \$2.00 for third hands. In the course of these negotiations, he had scaled this down to \$4.00 a day for machine tenders, \$3.00 for backtenders and beater engineers. There is some evidence that the Paper Makers' local at Millinocket was not pushing too hard in support of his original figures. He had also demanded that the Company force the seceded Pulp & Sulphite people to return to the Paper Makers, apparently threatening some kind of action if this were not done. Upon this, Garret Schenck, who objected to being forced into anything, had called in James F. Fitzgerald, and the agreement of October 1st with him had been the result. With this agreement in hand, the Directors had authorized the President to write the letter of October 10th. What happened between that time and November 3, 1907, again a Sunday, when Frank Bowler noted in his diary: "Paper Makers Union locked out. Deputy Sheriffs on guard", is not known.

Most people connected with the Company are aware of the strike which occurred a year later, but even the writer, until he began research for this story, had only vague knowledge of this lockout. It was far more important, historically, than the strike, which affected a number of mills, and involved Great Northern only incidentally. It did not last long. The Pulp & Sulphite organization had experienced paper machine help within its ranks; it had an agreement to run the mills, and some machines were started up almost at once, the sheriff's deputies discouraging the paper

makers from making any disturbance. James F. Fitzgerald sent to other mills for machine tenders -- these were not "scabs", as they were under a legitimate contract -- and had fourteen more; enough for all the machines; on the way to Millinocket on November 12th, when Garret Schenck reported to the Directors that the outlook for starting all machines was very bright and under more favorable circumstances than that existing heretofore; a line of demarcation would be established by the American Federation of Labor between the two unions, and the same wages that prevailed before the lockout would continue for one year.

The reason for this statement was that the Paper Makers realized that they were about to be wiped out, as far as the Great Northern Paper Company was concerned, and on that day, November 12, 1907, Jerry Carey and A. Ledyard Smith had signed an agreement at Millinocket. This document was curiously headed "Memorandum for an Agreement between the Great Northern Paper Company for its Millinocket, East Millinocket and Madison Mills and the 'International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' ". We do not know that the Paper Makers' organization ever had this name officially. It may have been just a cheap device for Jerry Carey -- and the A.F.L. -- to avoid recognition of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers as a separate organization. It was used from this time until 1909, when the "Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers" part of it was dropped.

This memorandum provided that the Company would make a one-year agreement with the above-named organization, at the scale of wages

being paid on November 1, 1907, "except in the event that our principal competitors agree to pay a larger scale on machines of approximately the size of ours". It was agreed that the Company reserved the right to "run its business as regards employees in such a manner as is satisfactory to the Management, reserving the right at all times to discharge unsatisfactory employees, always with the understanding that such men are replaced with good union men." It was also agreed that there would be no interference with getting the mills in condition to start up at 8:00 A.M. Monday, or with getting the best results every 24 hours. A line of demarcation was to be drawn by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor between the "International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers" and the "International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers", which would be binding upon the Paper Makers in the mills of the Company, and that until the decision was made there would be no further controversy as regards jurisdiction, and no interference by the Paper Makers with men remaining in the unions to which they then belonged. When the line had been drawn, the Company was to make a new contract with the "Union herein mentioned", which would embody the decision of the A.F.L. as to jurisdiction, and it would "reinstate the members of the Union herein mentioned in their former positions". This memorandum was countersigned by Stuart Reid, General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

The Directors promptly voted that the paper makers who had been locked out, when re-employed, would not be required to work the 6-1/2 day schedule called for in the agreement with the Pulp

& Sulphite people, nor to work extra Sundays to "catch up" the tonnage lost. Not much had been lost anyway.

During the negotiation of this memorandum of agreement, James F. Fitzgerald had been in constant touch by telephone with A. Ledyard Smith and Garret Schenck, and it had his blessing. As we have said, he was perfectly willing that there be two unions, but as it turned out, he and Jerry Carey had entirely different ideas as to what was meant by "demarcation".

The Executive Council of the A.F.L. was then in session in Norfolk, Virginia. Garret Schenck told James F. Fitzgerald that Jerry Carey was headed for that place, and that he himself had better get down there and take John Malin and John Mackin with him. This he did, as he said later "like a couple of damn fools", expecting that the Council would make a decision as to which occupations should be represented by the Paper Makers and which by the Pulp & Sulphite, but Jerry Carey was just ahead of him; the Council refused to make any ruling, and the whole business remained up in the air.

On January 2, 1908, Garret Schenck reported to the Directors that A. Ledyard Smith and Forrest Goodwin were to meet with officials of the A.F.L. in an attempt to get them to determine the line of demarcation between the "Carey and Fitzgerald Unions". We have not identified Forrest Goodwin, but he represented the Company, perhaps in legal capacity; we just do not know. At the same time, the President reported that the groundwood and sulphite mills at Madison would be shut down for five or six weeks, as there was enough pulp to run the machines for that length of time;

wood was in short supply; it would save money in payroll, and besides, as he said, he was of the opinion that "it would strengthen our position in the labor question at Millinocket."

There does not seem to be much doubt that Garret Schenck had prodded Samuel Gompers into this meeting, as although the matter of jurisdiction was a problem in many places, it is unlikely that there was anywhere a situation such as that which existed at Millinocket and Madison at this time, with definite agreements with both unions calling for A.F.L. determination. It was held on January 21 and 22, 1908. James F. Fitzgerald said in a speech a little later: "It would seem that the President of the Great Northern Paper Company suggested to Mr. Gompers that the representatives of the various unions appear in Washington; with proper credentials, to show that they had power to represent their organization." Samuel Gompers, in a letter to James F. Fitzgerald on December 27, 1907, referred to a letter from Garret Schenck, dated December 23d, and said: "I fully concur with President Schenck's suggestion that whoever represents your organization before the Executive Council should have proper credentials and authority to take final action in the matter which will be binding upon your organization", wording which encouraged James F. Fitzgerald to declare later: "I supposed when I left (for) Washington that I was going to settle the fight between the organizations for good."

Unfortunately, nothing was settled. The matter was taken under advisement, but the meeting adjourned without having done anything, promising a decision later. Jerry Carey was not present,

the Paper Makers being represented by J.J. O'Connor, Secretary-Treasurer, and another officer, who, according to James P. Fitzgerald, repudiated the agreement signed at Millinocket, although J.T. Carey later denied this.

Some time between the middle of November, 1907 and early February, 1908, it would appear that the people at Millinocket had taken matters into their own hands, and had drawn their own line of demarcation between the two organizations, with the assistance of a Judge Reed, of Brockton, Mass. We know very little about this development, but draw this conclusion from examination of a 72-page booklet, given the writer by John P. Burke, which contains the printed transcript of the proceedings of a meeting held in Fort Edward, N.Y. on February 16, 1908, under the auspices of Local 28 of the Paper Makers, attended by some 800 Paper Makers and Pulp & Sulphite people from all over the northeast. Some of the information in what we have just written is derived from this source. It is a fascinating document for anyone interested in the union infighting that goes on to this day. A great deal of it bears on the events involving the Great Northern Paper Company, which we have described, but we will of necessity use it sparingly.

In an opening statement, J.J. O'Connor made a plea for unity, and for the acceptance of the one organization concept, and he laid it on the Pulp & Sulphite workers that they had not taken the outstretched hand of their brothers, the Paper Makers, and had refused arbitration of their differences, mentioning that he had suggested the services of Judge Reed who "was acceptable to the parties who represented the seceding brothers at Millinocket".

He carefully avoided mentioning either union by name, but his pitch was clearly that the dissenters should return to the Paper Makers.

He was followed by Stuart Reid of the A.F.L., who was heckled during the early part of his speech by the Paper Makers, but who made the point that the "Carey Union" and the "Fitzgerald Union" had been so busy quarrelling for the past three years that they had done little to improve the lot of the workers in the pulp and paper mills. He then read the awaited decision of the Executive Council of the A.F.L., which had already been sent to James F. Fitzgerald:

"Finding that the decision heretofore rendered by convention of the American Federation of Labor and by the Executive Council giving jurisdiction to the Papermakers' Union over all employees in paper mills, thereby providing for only one organization in the paper companies. The Executive Council also decides that separate local unions with paper makers and pulp and sulphite workers will be allowed, where sufficient numbers are employed, when all members have the same duties and have equal voting powers in a general organization, shall be entitled equally to all the rights, privileges and benefits of the general union and shall pay the same dues. The Executive Council decides as to the special case of the Great Northern mills, that the present contract shall remain in force and effect until July 1st, 1908; and that, until that time, the division of jurisdiction between the two unions be conducted as it now exists in the Great Northern Paper Company's mills."

This decision left the Pulp & Sulphite people just where they were. The A.F.L. had declined to draw lines of demarcation, and had confirmed the Paper Makers' jurisdiction over all pulp and paper mill workers. The "shovel stiff" could have his own local, within this jurisdiction, but would have to pay the Paper Makers' scale of dues, and the arrangement worked out at Millinocket -- our justification for the statement that the people there had drawn their own lines; Madison was not mentioned, but they were in the same boat -- was to last only until the expiration of the existing agreement between Garret Schenck and James F. Fitzgerald.

By invitation from the chairman for someone from the "other organization" to speak, Stuart Reid was followed, without introduction, by a rank and file Pulp & Sulphite man, who, in a short speech, blasted the past actions of the Paper Makers; acclaimed the secession, and extolled the virtues of James F. Fitzgerald.

The purpose of this meeting is not entirely clear. J.T. Carey was to be the principal speaker, by invitation, and the Pulp & Sulphite people were there, by invitation, to hear him, and while it was an open meeting, it was not intended, apparently, as a forum for debate. However, this speech by a pulp worker touched off an exchange of unpleasantries, and gist of which was that James F. Fitzgerald, who said that he was not in favor of open meetings, wanted the right to reply to Jerry Carey if he did not like what Jerry Carey had to say, and it was finally so agreed.

J.T. Carey then spoke, and after stating that he had not intended to say a single word about the "other organization", launched into what was basically a defence of the Paper Makers'

position, combined with a personal attack on James F. Fitzgerald and the Pulp & Sulphite organization, which he accused of making a deal with Great Northern to prevent the Paper Makers from getting a wage increase. He was immediately followed by James F. Fitzgerald, who in an even longer speech took Jerry Carey and the Paper Makers apart, piece by piece, defended the Pulp & Sulphite position, stating that they were fed up with the past attitude of the Paper Makers toward them; that it was unfair to expect their low-paid men to pay Paper Makers' dues; and that the Paper Makers could join the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers if they wished, but that he had told the American Federation of Labor that his organization would not join the Paper Makers.

Jerry Carey promptly called James F. Fitzgerald a liar, and another argument broke out, involving Stuart Reid and John Malin, who offered to produce proof to back up everything James F. Fitzgerald had said, but it was now seven o'clock in the evening, and the Paper Makers walked out. The meeting broke up "amid cheers, shouts and hand-clapping for the speakers for the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers."

This eyeball to eyeball confrontation of the heads of the two unions left relations nowhere to go but down. Although we do not know what the next developments may have been, Garret Schenck reported to the Executive Committee on April 14, 1908, that labor trouble was anticipated. It was decided, however, not to buy paper in advance to cover for any possible shut-down. On April 30th, there was another meeting of the Executive Committee,

during which the President said that there was "friction between the Carey and Fitzgerald factions", but he was not sitting on his hands. On July 2d, he reported that a two-year contract had been made with "Fitzgerald's Union", and that although the situation had not altogether cleared, he did not expect any trouble, and on July 23d, a note in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors reads: "The President reported the satisfactory adjustment of the Labor difficulties, which ended in an agreement with Carey's union for one year, a contract with Fitzgerald's union having been signed some time before the first of July."

We have found no copies of these particular agreements, at least for the Millinocket and East Millinocket mills, the employees of these two plants bargaining jointly. Separate one-year contracts with the two organizations seem to have been made for the Madison mill. A copy of that with the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers is in existence. This is printed in a little brown-covered booklet, almost surely the first time a booklet was provided, and contracts were not again put in this form for a very long time. As its terms were no doubt similar to those of any agreement that might have been made for the other mills, we give some details. It called for the scale of wages in effect on July 1, 1908 to remain in effect, with the provision "except in the event that the principal competitors of the Great Northern Paper Company agree to pay a higher scale." The Pulp & Sulphite organization was to have jurisdiction over the workers on the log pile, the pond and in the wood room; in the groundwood and sulphite mills; in the electrical department and in the yard. All the occupations were named. In the paper mill, it

was to have the beater men (not the Beater Engineers), broke hustlers, swipers, rewinder men, cutter operators, core men, weighers, finishers, truckers and cleaners. This division of jurisdiction probably reflects the arrangement made earlier under the putative auspices of Judge Reed at Millinocket, and was very close to that arrived at in negotiations between the two organizations directly, a year later. The Firemen & Oilers' people and the mechanics, with the exception of the electricians, it will be noted, remained in their own organizations. Hours were eight hours a day for tour workers and nine hours for day men. Nothing was said about Sunday work, but it was agreed that members of this organization would do nothing to prevent the Company from getting the mill into the most effective condition for starting up at 8 A.M. on Monday, or for getting the best results every 24 hours, this indicating a six-day week. It provided that an employee who desired to remain off duty, provided he was not drunk, could do so by giving reasonable notice, and it allowed a week's vacation without pay. The Company could summarily discharge any man for inefficiency, neglect of duty, insubordination, intoxication or sleeping on duty, and it had the right to lay off men if more efficient machinery was installed or more modern methods instituted.

"In consideration of the officers of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers putting into effect better rules for maintaining discipline among its members, so that they render more efficient service to the Great Northern Paper Company", a most interesting provision, the Company agreed to employ men who were Pulp & Sulphite members. Any new man who

was not a member, after a two weeks' trial, was to join the union, but the Company had no obligation to see that he became a member, unless it was notified by the union. In consideration of this, the union agreed to do "all within its power to furnish competent helpwhen called upon to do so." The local agent of the union, if there was one, was to be allowed into the mill only for the purpose of notifying employees of their duty to become members. It was agreed that all members of the union were to be "strong, able-bodied men, fully equipped both mentally and physically to fill any position allotted to them...in order to participate in the full scale of wages." There were to be no strikes or lockouts, and a grievance procedure was set up, the local having a grievance committee to talk with the Superintendent, and if this committee could not settle the complaint, it was to be referred to a Board of Arbitration, consisting of the President or some International Officer of the union, one of the officers of the Company, and a third party chosen by them. The decision of this board was binding. This agreement was signed by Garret Schenck and James F. Fitzgerald. A rider "Applying to the Madison Mill" says in effect, as best we can interpret it, that men belonging to the Paper Makers organization holding jobs listed as being under the jurisdiction of the Pulp & Sulphite union, could either stay with the Paper Makers or come over to the other union, their own choice, but that if any of these individuals left, men hired in their place would belong to the Pulp & Sulphite. The fact that there was such a rider, applying only to the Madison Mill, would indicate to the writer that the terms of the contract made for the other mills were most likely the same as those given above.

As of this same date, July 1, 1908, a one-year agreement was made with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen (Firemen & Oilers), covering all three mills. It is identical with the above, except for the clause about the local representative, and it does not have the rider, as there was no jurisdictional dispute between this organization and any other. This is further evidence that all the agreements were essentially the same, and that all employees were under contract on July 1, 1908, although we have found nothing in the records of this period about agreements with the Federal Labor Unions representing the mechanics.

While the labor difficulties may possibly have been "satisfactorily adjusted" in the Company's mills, they were not elsewhere, and in other mills they went from bad to worse. Dr. James A. Gross says:

"The climax came in 1908 during a strike protesting a wage reduction in the International Paper Company. The Pulp & Sulphite Workers accepted the wage decrease and continued to work, while the Paper Makers struck to resist the cuts."

At the same time, they struck other mills in their effort to destroy the Pulp and Sulphite organization, which was balking them. John P. Burke, in a letter to the writer dated June 15, 1959, said: "The two unions were fighting at that time. The Great Northern Paper Company was caught in the middle. That was the real cause of the strike." In another letter, on February 24, 1960, he wrote: "As you can readily understand, most unionized companies, including the Great Northern Paper Company,

were caught in the middle during this fight between the two organizations." There was no problem about wages in the Company's mills, but the ink was hardly dry on the Paper Makers' contract when on September 17, 1908, Garret Schenck reported to the Executive Committee that "James T. Carey, President of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers Union had by telegraphed instructions ordered out the representatives of his union in our Madison mill on Sept. 10th at 7:00 P.M. and a similar order ordered out the men of his union from the Millinocket and East Millinocket mills at midnight of the same day, demanding that we dispense with the so-called Fitzgerald union, or force them into his union. Having a contract with Fitzgerald, it was decided that we would under no conditions break that contract or yield to Carey's demands in any form." All three mills were shut down.

We have no information that we can accept as fact as to exactly what happened in the towns. The Pulp & Sulphite contract did not now allow its members to operate the paper machines, so they were in a different position than they had been during the lock-out of the previous year. As far as we know, they made no effort to reopen the mills, as they had done before, and the Company did not encourage them to do so, under the circumstances. On September 29th, Garret Schenck told the Executive Committee that J.T. Carey and James F. Fitzgerald had signed an agreement to arbitrate the differences between the Pulp & Sulphite and the Paper Makers, and had agreed to start the mills on Monday, the 28th, but that Carey's union had refused to carry out his instructions, and the mills would still remain closed.

On September 30th, the following notice was posted by the Company around the mills and the towns:

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The demands made by the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers at their meeting held September 29, 1908, cannot be considered for a moment, and are herewith declined, and inasmuch as the agreement made by the President of that organization dated September 24th has been repudiated, the Company must decline to treat with it further.

This Corporation, however, proposes to resume Manufacturing at its mills at once, and to this end we give notice that the positions vacated by those leaving the Company will be filled as soon as possible. In filling such positions, the preference will be given to those formerly employed by the Company.

That the Company's position may not be misquoted or misunderstood, it desires to state that it is not opposed to organized labor, but is prepared to recognize any organization which is properly constituted and can convince the Company's officials that any contract or agreement entered into between the Organization and the Manufacturer will be lived up to and carried out in good faith."

By the middle of October, five machines were running at Millinocket, and one at the Lower Mill, Garret Schenck noting that this was because men had begun to return to work after the posting of the above notice, and as the result of advertising outside for paper makers, these being the people that William O. McKay told

the writer he escorted from Boston to Millinocket. By October 28th, all machines were in operation, and there were more machine tenders and other paper makers in the towns than could be employed. We do not know exactly what happened at Madison. Mrs. Emma Folsom Clark, in her "History of Madison", says that the Paper Makers struck the mill on October 15, 1908; that 170 men were out, and that the strike was called off on November 12th. This does not square with the information we have as to the date when the strike began, but it may have been officially called off in November. Garret Schenck told the Directors on November 12th that labor conditions were satisfactory and improving each day.

At this point we come to the end of hard information about the strike itself. We do not know anything about the actual process of settlement, but we do know that no new contracts were made to replace those which had been broken. Garret Schenck reported to the Executive Committee on December 2d on labor conditions at the mills, and the minutes say: "Methods of cooperation with labor were discussed; that efforts might be made toward the restoration of the Carey union, but there were chances of its not being successful. The suggestion of a piece-work system, which might help to obtain higher production, and better pay for machine tenders, "based on that production", was discussed. We do not know that these suggestions were ever acted upon, but at this time the machines were put on a 6-3/4 day week, to help make up some of the lost production.

As far as we know, the Company had no contracts, at least with the major unions, for the next few years, but continued to

maintain the eight-hour day for tour workers, a nine-hour day for day workers, and ran the machines on Sundays, all day or part of the day, as might be required. Meanwhile, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, both of which had managed to hold together, but had fought each other to exhaustion by strikes against the industry, finally saw the folly of this internecine warfare, which had set them back a long way, and in 1909 buried the hatchet and signed a peace agreement, drawing their own lines of jurisdiction, the Paper Makers taking in all those men connected with the operation of the machines, plus the beater engineers, the Pulp & Sulphite taking in all the other occupations not already organized by other unions, like the Firemen & Oilers. The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers reverted to the use of this name, and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers was chartered by the American Federation of Labor. James F. Fitzgerald had at last made his point, the hard way.

A note in the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors held on March 17, 1910, read: "Labor conditions in the paper industry discussed. The President reported everything running smoothly at the mills of the Company, and that shutting down all of Sunday was in his opinion going to become necessary and that instructions had been given to cut out all Sunday production starting May 1st. Men to be advised it is due to surplus of paper on hand."

We do not know whether there actually was a surplus of paper on hand -- that is, in the various storehouses we have mentioned,

or whether this was a face-saving gesture, because just at this point the addition of dryers to the paper machines at Millinocket, to obtain more production, was authorized. The real reason probably was the brewing trouble in the International Paper Company's mills. This company was obviously anti-union at that time, and was doing its best to keep its mills unorganized. By March 31st, I.P. had been struck, and this time the Paper Makers and the Pulp & Sulphite supported each other. No particular pressure was put on the Company's employees to go out in sympathy, and Great Northern's Directors refused all importunities from I.P. customers to supply them with paper, as we have noted elsewhere. This strike lasted for three months, the unions winning out, with a reduction in working hours and a pay raise. This settlement, it will be remembered, resulted directly in William A. Whitcomb's being fired by I.P. later in the year, because of his union leanings, and his being hired by Great Northern for the same reason.

On May 11, 1910, while the I.P. strike was still in progress, Garret Schenck informed the Directors that a committee of the Company's employees had met with him by appointment, and had stated that a large majority of the men were union members, asking that the Company recognize and enter into working agreements with them. He had told them that a union head who did not act in good faith could defeat the purpose of agreements, but that he thought there were men who could fill the position of President; that he had no doubt that the Company's employees would act in good faith under such men, and that he would ask the Board to authorize him to make contracts where there was confidence in the officers of their unions. As the result of discussion of this request, the

following letter was distributed to each individual employee:

"Dear Sir:

You are an employee of the Great Northern Paper Company and as such we wish you to understand the position of the Company on organized labor and making working agreements.

The following resolution has been adopted by our Board of Directors:

WHEREAS it is the opinion of the Board that labor organizations composed exclusively of the Company's own employees will carry out in good faith working agreements made between the Company and said organizations; and

WHEREAS it is the opinion of the Board that the employees of the Company belonging to organizations whose membership is not confined to employees of the Company will try to carry out in good faith any working agreements made on their behalf by such organizations and will carry the same out unless prevented from so doing by the management of such organizations, and that working agreements may safely be made with such organizations where management thereof can be relied upon by the Company;

RESOLVED that the Company is prepared to recognize labor organizations composed of its own employees and to enter into working agreements with its employees through such organizations;

RESOLVED that the Company is prepared to recognize labor organizations whose membership is not confined to its employees, and to enter into a working agreement with its

employees belonging to any such organization through the organization, provided that the organization shall have an official head and management of such character that the Company can enter into such agreement with confidence that it will be carried out in good faith.

RESOLVED THAT THE Executive Officers of the Company be and they are hereby authorized in accordance with the foregoing resolutions, to formulate and enter into such working agreements as in their judgment will be fair and equitable both to the Company and its employees and will bring about the best practicable working conditions for both parties.

Yours truly,

GEORGE H. PARKS

Manager of Manufacturing."

This was a pretty clear invitation to the employees to form a "Company" union, but there were too many "good union men" around. The outcome was the signing of the first true joint contract between Great Northern and its employees. The copy in the writer's possession is not dated, except for the year, 1910, and is not signed for the Company, but does bear the typed signatures of the representatives of the International Unions involved, and of a representative of the American Federation of Labor. An envelope in which it was found is dated "July, 1910". It was taken from papers in the President's safe in the Boston office, and as some parts of its content were reported by Garret Schenck to the Executive Committee on August 10th there seems to be no reason to doubt its authenticity. We quote its heading in entirety:

"MEMORANDUM OF WORKING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GREAT NORTHERN PAPER COMPANY AND THE SEVERAL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED TO WIT: THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPERMAKERS, THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS, THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STEAM ENGINEERS, THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF STATIONARY FIREMEN, THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR REPRESENTING THE MILLWRIGHTS, PIPERS AND STEAMFITTERS, MACHINISTS AND OTHER TRADES."

It will be noted that at this time there were two organizations representing steam plant employees; the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen being what we have called the "Firemen & Oilers", and that Local 471 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had been organized some time before July, 1910. This Local did then and continues to represent the electrical workers at both Millinocket and East Millinocket. The signature of the A.F.L. representative covered the two or perhaps three Federal Labor Unions.

The agreement, which ran from whatever date it was signed in July, 1910 to May 1, 1912, provided for an across-the-board wage increase of 5 percent as of August 1, 1910 "for all men who received no increase prior to January, 1910". The paper machines were to run six days a week, and no work was to be done on them between 8 A.M. Sunday and 8 A.M. Monday, except for repairs by mechanics and "fourth hands, fifth hands or swipers or other laborers willing to do the work." Normal operation of the pulp mills was also six days a week, but they could be run a longer

period if necessary to keep the machines supplied with pulp for a full six days. There were to be no strikes or lockouts, and there are two other significant provisions, one that "to avoid misunderstanding and disagreement, and in the interest of harmony and discipline, it is agreed that the Company recommend that all men become members of their respective Organizations, parties to this Agreement, new men employed to become members within fifteen days after being employed"; the other setting up a two-step grievance procedure, followed by binding arbitration by a committee of one man from the Company, one from the union involved and a third selected by these two. This gave one more chance to straighten out complaints internally than had previous agreements.

Neither Jerry Carey nor James F. Fitzgerald signed this agreement. A George J. Schneider signed for the Paper Makers, and John H. Malin for the Pulp & Sulphite, without titles, and in the copy available there were no signatures by local delegates. Nowhere does it say that this agreement covered all three mills, but we have no doubt that it did. It was the result of what had been happening between the Great Northern Paper Company and its employees in the period after the 1908 strikes, when, as Dr. Gross says: "Most mills at this juncture were non-union and/or anti-union, and they actively campaigned to keep their plants free of organization." We have perhaps gone into too much detail about what happened in these early days, but it was the foundation upon which the contractual relationship between the Company and its employees, at this time in 1974 unbroken since 1910, was built, and this relationship was a powerful force in maintaining the viability of the organized labor movement in the pulp and paper industry.

By the fall of 1910, A. Ledyard Smith was gone, George Parks was gone, and Garret Schenck had turned labor matters over to William A. Whitcomb. Until his first negotiation, in the spring of 1912, things seem to have been peaceful enough. Up to 1910, negotiations, except for the free-for-alls with the Paper Makers and the Pulp & Sulphite, seem to have been conducted with the individual unions, but the agreement signed in that year was a joint one, the result of "coalition bargaining", as it has become known, bringing to one conference table representatives of all the locals in all the mills, and their International Officers.

The 1912 conference must have gone quite smoothly. Jerry Carey, in spite of the earlier predictions, was still around, but it would seem that he had mellowed. James F. Fitzgerald was gone. We do not know what happened to him, but John H. Malin was now President of the Pulp & Sulphite organization. We say that the conference must have gone well, because William A. Whitcomb noted in his diary on March 6th: "Labor men came in at 10 o'clock. Said they accepted wage schedule. Then fixed up arbitration clause and after signing all fixed signatures. At 1 P.M. meeting broke up. Everyone satisfied". The conference had started the day before. On March 14th, he reported to the Directors at their regular meeting that he had negotiated a two-year contract running from May 1, 1912, establishing May 1st as the historical renewal date for a long time. This contract is what has generally been considered the first joint agreement. As we have seen, it was not. In this case, the date of the agreement, May 6th, was the date on which agreement was reached, and as we have said elsewhere, at that time and for many years afterwards, there were

few occasions when it was not signed by the delegates and their International Officers on the spot. Later on, we cannot depend upon the contract as the date on which agreement was reached, because as negotiations grew longer, sometimes running into more than one session, the contract finally agreed to was generally, but not always, dated as of the day the conference originally opened.

This 1912 agreement, not including the wage rates, was printed on a single 8-1/2" x 11" sheet for distribution. The form was the standard 2A, which with the heading "Labor Agreement" and, later on, appropriate rulings for signatures, became Form 54, and this form was used for the original contract thereafter. The parties to the 1912 Agreement were the Company, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers, the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the American Federation of Labor, representing the "millwrights, pipers and steamfitters, machinists and other trades". It was signed by William A. Whitcomb, J.T. Carey and John H. Malin; for Timothy Healey, President of the Firemen & Oilers, by one of the delegates, and by eighteen delegates, seven from Millinocket, five from East Millinocket and six from Madison. There was no signature for the American Federation of Labor, which represented the three Federal Labor Unions, one at each mill, but it was signed by the delegates from these locals, called the "Federal Trades" in this contract, which covered a great deal in a very few words.

It provided that jurisdiction would be determined by the

American Federation of Labor. The Company was to give preference in employment to members of the signatory unions. New men were required to join the proper union within 15 days and maintain membership as a condition of employment. The contract was to remain in force for another year unless either party gave notice of desire for change sixty days before expiration. Paper machines were to run the six week days, and no work was to be done on the machines on Sunday except for cleaning and repairs by maintenance men, fourth and fifth hands and swipers. The pulp mills were to run six days also, but could be run Sunday if pulp was needed to keep the machines in operation six days. Day workers were to work a nine-hour day, with time and one-half for overtime, and not less than three hours pay for a call-in for repairs. Tour workers were to work an eight-hour day, and were to be paid time and one-half for any work done on Sunday. Labor Day, Christmas and the Fourth of July were to be 24-hour unpaid holidays, on which no unnecessary work was to be done, and time and one-half was to be paid for any work which it was necessary to do. There was a no strike, no lockout provision. A two-step grievance procedure, with time limits, and binding arbitration after the second, by a committee as in the 1910 agreement, was included. An unspecified wage increase "which will result from the evening up of the hourly rate" was granted. This may indicate that wages were put on an hourly instead of a daily basis in 1912, as in William A. Whitcomb's report to the Directors, he said that the wage increase "will result in evening up the hourly rate now paid to the men." However, this is not clear, and the change may have already been made, perhaps at the time of the 1910 agreement.

For the first time, we have a wage scale. It will probably be of interest to follow the changes in it over the years, from such information as may be available, and this perhaps can best be done by a later tabulation. It will not be a valid comparison, because while many of the occupations in the mills have the same names in 1974 as they had in 1912, there are few jobs, if there are any at all, that involve exactly the same duties as they did in 1912, performed under the same conditions, and this would have been true also in 1951, at the end of the period of which we are writing. The best we can do is to pick out a few jobs, representative of various points in the wage scale, that may have retained some semblance of their early content. For this purpose, we note the following rates from the 1912 schedule.

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>RATE PER HOUR</u>
Wood Handler	\$.22 - .24
Screen Man	.24
Oiler	.22 - .25
Stone Sharpener	.25 - .27
Third Hand	.26 - .28
Journeyman Mechanic	.28 - .35
Cook	.34 - .43
Machine Tender	.50 - .54

In 1912, there were three classes of rates for the machine crews. These were designated A, B and C, which denoted the tours, "A" being the day shift, so that there seems to have been a sort of shift differential in reverse. The rates we have given for Third Hands and Machine Tenders are for the "C" and "A" classes, in that order. It will be noted that most of the other occupations

also have more than one rate. In the case of the mechanics, who were all paid on the same scale, regardless of their trade, this may have meant different rates for different degrees of skill, but in the other occupations, the higher rate was for tour work. It is hard to rationalize this, in view of the reverse English on the paper machine rates, but a statistical report on wage rates prepared by Bryan Seelye in the 1930's and going back to 1912, shows in many occupations day and tour rates for the same job, the tour rate being the higher. This distinction disappeared in 1916.

The 1914 two-year agreement, dated March 28th, was between the Company, the Paper Makers, the Pulp & Sulphite, the Stationary Firemen (Firemen & Oilers), and the A.F.L. "representing the Federal Labor Unions". For some unknown reason, the Electrical Workers do not appear. The Steam Engineers are also missing. This agreement established the principle of seniority, by the addition of the sentence "When laying off help, union men shall be retained in preference to those not members;" -- which makes one wonder a little how well the membership clause was being enforced --" the older employee in point of service being given preference of employment, all things considered". It was agreed that all manual labor on the paper machines "such as operating the machines and putting on clothing" should be done only by members of the Paper Makers union, who could be assisted by swipers, sweepers and laborers. The operation of the pulp mills was limited to not more than 6-1/2 days a week. The work week remained unchanged, but the 8 to 4, 4 to 12 and 12 to 8 schedule for tour workers was established. This does not seem to have been a change, but simply a contract requirement, as the day for tour workers had started at 8:00 A.M.

before this time. A clause was added providing that tour workers required to work overtime at other than tour work should be paid time and one-half, and call-in pay was raised to not less than four hours. The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers' "Standard Wage Scale" was adopted, and all other employees received a 5 percent general increase. This resulted in fractional rates, the minimum now being 22.2 cents per hour. This agreement, which otherwise was like that of 1912, was signed for the International unions by J.T. Carey and John H. Malin; a delegate again signed for Timothy Healey of the Firemen and Oilers; Frank H. McCarthy signed for the A.F.L., and 20 delegates from the locals added their names. Settlement seems to have been reached without much difficulty, the President reporting to the Directors on April 15th that negotiations had been completed, and this would have been the next regular meeting.

The 1916 negotiations again were conducted jointly, but there seems to have been difficulty of some kind which resulted in two separate contracts. The conference was not opened until April, starting some time before the 12th, when William A. Whitcomb reported to the Directors on the negotiations, stating that he expected to hold another meeting with J.T. Carey, who, it would appear, had become difficult again, and "hoped to be able to close for three years for about 5 to 6 percent." There also seemed to be some problem with the mechanics, and we will discuss the reason for this a little later. Anyway, the result was two three-year agreements, running from May 1, 1916, one signed on April 20th for the Paper Makers, the Pulp & Sulphite and the Firemen & Oilers by J.T. Carey, John H. Malin, Timothy Healey in person, and the 13 delegates from the locals of these organizations, the other signed on April 26th with "Federal Labor Unions 13,048, 13, 056 and 11,643, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Union No. 471, and the American Federation of Labor." This bore the signatures of John T. Fennell, International Representative of the Electrical Workers, Frank H. McCarthy for the A.F.L., and 6 delegates from the locals. There is no difference in the applicable terms of the two agreements. It was probably one of those troublesome times in joint bargaining when it ceased to be "one for all and all for one", with one or more organizations wanting more than one or more others were willing to accept, and it is quite likely that the mechanical trades got a little more than the other employees in this instance. Anyway, there were two contracts. There was little change in the terms of the Agreement itself. However, parts of the 1914 contract were lifted out and put into a special document called "Rules Governing Mill Employees", which also contained some new wording covering some of the nitty-gritty, probably mostly things which had become custom, and these "Mill Rules" were made part of each contract, establishing a format which has remained in use ever since. The items moved into the Mill Rules were the work schedules, unchanged; overtime, reworded but the sense unchanged, except that day workers as well as tour workers were to be paid time and one-half for Sunday work, so that now all employees were paid time and one-half for work on Sunday as such; call-in pay, unchanged, except that paper makers called in to put on a wire were to be paid for four hours, and if they stayed to change a wire at the end of the shift they were to receive not less than one hour's extra pay; grievance procedure, unchanged, and causes for summary discharge, considerably broadened. Of the new clauses in the Mill Rules, not previously appearing in the Agreement, one covered the duties and working hours of teamsters. Another provided that no tour worker should leave his job

until his mate had reported, and laid out reporting rules for men not able to come in. This is when we note for the first time the designation of the three shifts as "A", "B" and "C". An interesting new provision, headed "Individual Responsibility", had to do with housekeeping -- "Everything about the plant shall be kept clean and in good order, and each employee will be held responsible for the condition of the part of the plant under his control". Other new provisions in these Mill Rules specified the times for blowing the mill whistle; the use of bulletin boards, and some safety rules, including the wearing of clothing that could not readily be caught in machinery. The wearing of shoes in the mill was also required, this probably being directed at the men in the paper machine crews, many of whom still worked barefooted in those days, because shoes were always wet. Machinery guards were not to be removed except by permission; men were to ride on elevators at their own risk; accidents were to be reported at once, and every employee was required to turn to in case of a fire. Lastly, Superintendents, Foremen, the office force and night watchmen were established as being part of the Management. Another wage increase was granted, which William A. Whitcomb reported as working out to an average of about 6.6 percent, this giving the impression that quite a lot of adjustments had to be made on top of a general increase, and it would be a good guess that this, and the difficulty with the mechanical trades, stemmed from the adoption of the "Paper Makers' Scale", a foreign element.

It should be noted that in these early multi-year contracts, the wage increase negotiated went into effect at once, not part in the first year and part in succeeding years. However, these parti-

cular contracts provided that at the end of two years the Company would make adjustments in wages "to meet any higher wages which have become generally effective throughout the American newspaper mills". We are again probably going into more detail about contract changes in these formative years than it will be possible to do later. Contract provisions are like the ships that went to the Bight of Benin on the west coast of Africa for slaves, of which John Masefield wrote: "Few come out, though many go in."

Some part of the wage settlement does not seem to have pleased the paper makers at Madison, as in November of that year Charlie Burr, Superintendent there at that time, with Jerry Carey and a delegation from the Paper Makers' local were in Boston, and some kind of adjustment was made with them.

It also happened that late in this year the International Paper Company granted a 10 percent general increase. William A. Whitcomb reported this to the Directors on December 13th, stating that it was his opinion that the Company should take the same action "on at least the lower-priced men". The matter was left to him, and after talking with the Superintendents, all employees earning less than \$2.60 per day were given an increase of 2 cents an hour. This was done without negotiation.

This was of course before the writer's time, but in later years the unions frequently made the claim that every time they got a raise, the merchants in town immediately raised their prices, and with the cost of living going up anyway, it appears that such a statement was being made at this time. At any rate, according to

historical data furnished by William A. MacLeod, an East Millinocket paper maker, no relation, the notice announcing this increase contained the following:

"We are informed that the Local Stores are not charging fair prices. If this continues, the Company will establish a General Store at Millinocket and another at East Millinocket, where you can buy at reasonable prices at all times."

No action was taken on the establishment of such a store right at this time, however.

Although the contracts did not call for reconsideration until May 1, 1918, the United States had got into World War I, wages were going up rapidly, and there was a succession of conferences in 1917. A meeting was held in Boston on March 20th, just before war was declared, with J.T. Carey, Timothy Healey and John P. Burke, who had become President of the Pulp & Sulphite organization, along with a delegation from the locals. This does not seem to have been pleasant, William A. Whitcomb noting that "there was some rag chewing" and that one of the delegates was very disagreeable. At this meeting he offered another 2 cents an hour, across the board, but this was rejected. On October 2d there was another conference, very short, which resulted in a general increase of 4 cents an hour, with 2 cents additional for grinder men and 3 cents for truckers. This was really a very substantial adjustment, amounting to 14 percent of payroll. These increases did not involve new contracts.

Whether or not this would have held the line until the expiration of the agreements in 1919 is academic, because in the spring of 1918 a complaint was filed with the National War Labor Board by the paper mill unions, all signatory to the Company's contracts, against nineteen manufacturers, large and small, both American and Canadian, but not including Great Northern, in connection with their wage rates and work schedules. After several hearings, it was agreed to accept the decision of a committee of the War Labor Board. This committee, in a report submitted June 27, 1918, recommended an 8-hour day for workers inside the mills, a 9-hour day for outside men, a minimum rate of 38 cents an hour for inside day workers, 41 cents an hour for tour workers, and 50 cents for journey-men mechanics, with a related scale of rates for other occupations, based essentially on the rates being paid by the International Paper Company in October, 1917, plus 10 percent. It also recommended that for the duration of the war and six months thereafter, cost of living figures should be reviewed on January 1 and July 1 of each year, and if these should increase or decrease by 10 percent or more as compared with those of July 1, 1918, wage scales would be automatically adjusted upward or downward accordingly. Four holidays were specified. The right of employees to organize and bargain collectively, and interestingly, the right of employers also to organize in associations or groups for the purpose of bargaining collectively, was recognized and affirmed.

While this was going on, in May, 1918 the Directors voted the sum of \$10,000 to build the general store promised the year before, and during this year and the next the one-story brick building at the Spruce Street crossing in Millinocket, which we

have noted elsewhere in connection with this vote, was constructed. A side-track to it was put in, and an unloading platform and conveyors to handle supplies were provided, along with cold storage rooms. Its actual cost was about \$21,000.00. This enterprise was operated as a cooperative, purchases resulting in shares which permitted participation in profits. This store was operated until about 1930, after which it stood idle for some time. The building was owned by the Company, and was carried on its books as an investment. At some time after 1930, it was given to the Town of Millinocket for use as a garage for highway equipment. No such store was ever built at East Millinocket, however, to the best of our knowledge.

Although Great Northern's minimum rate was already up to 40 cents, and other rates were in proportion, and although the Company was not involved in the complaint we have noted, the management had apparently taken the matter of granting another wage increase up with the National War Labor Board on its own hook, and early in July, 1918, without calling any conference, it instituted a general increase of 10 cents an hour, retroactive to May 1st. At the same time, it announced that inside men working a nine-hour day would henceforth work only eight hours. These changes were covered by notices posted in the mills late in June. However, either the inequity of taking an hour's pay away from the nine-hour man seems to have arisen at once within the management, or there had been a misunderstanding about it, as on July 12th, following a telephone conversation between William A. Whitcomb and Joe Nevins at Millinocket, each of the three Superintendents posted a second notice. These were all different in wording, but all to the same effect, and we quote the one posted at the Millinocket mill:

"The Company has decided to pay all men who are working on an hourly basis and have been transferred from nine hours to eight hours the same rate of pay for eight hours received for nine hours, plus the 10 cents per hour.

Those affected will not receive their new rates on last week's payroll, as the payroll has already been made up, but will receive same as soon as arrangements can be made. The new rates will date back to June 30th. (This referred to the 8-hour - 9-hour change, the general increase already having gone into effect).

In view of the voluntary increase in wages on the part of the Great Northern Paper Company, we feel the employees should use their best efforts to produce and perform their work duties in a creditable manner and in the regular eight hours."

Payday for the increase between May 1 and June 30 was July 16th, and a notice of this, posted in the mills, says that the 10 cent increase was granted by the War Labor Board. This, with the fact that the Company had not been included in the union complaint, leads us to the conclusion that Great Northern, as usual, had done what it thought ought to be done, on its own account.

In spite of this voluntary action, the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee on January 23, 1919 note that William A. Whitcomb read a letter from J.T. Carey and the Paper Makers, making demands for another increase in wages. This seems to have been ignored. Madison appears to have been the hot spot at this

time, as William A. Whitcomb went to that mill twice before the upcoming conference to meet with a committee of the workers -- "going over things", as he wrote in his diary.

The 1919 conference opened in Boston on April 9, 1919, and was, for the first time of which we have record at least, a real hot one, although there is not much information except what comes from William A. Whitcomb's diary, as follows:

"April 9, 1919 Labor meeting, 60 Congress Street,
Carey, Burke and Healey.

April 10, 1919 Second day of meeting

April 11, 1919 Spent day talking with Superintendents
about labor, etc."

The conference seems to have broken up on April 10th, and was re-convened on April 23d. William A. Whitcomb's diary resumes:

"April 23, 1919 Long labor meeting A.M. and P.M. Mr. Carey
exploded bomb at end of day and meeting
adjourned.

April 24, 1919 A long struggle with the labor men"

The conference broke up a second time. William A. Whitcomb notes that he came in on April 26th, Saturday "to meet labor men", but no one showed up except Frank H. McCarthy, the A.F.L. representative. The meeting resumed on Monday, however, and William A. Whitcomb notes:

"April 28, 1919 Labor talks. Didn't get anywhere.

April 29, 1919 Some labor talk. East Millinocket and Madison
Paper Makers locals don't want agreement.

April 30, 1919 Today Burke signed agreement. Meeting with him in P.M."

There is no real information as to why this conference should have been so bitter, given the history of relations up to this time. In discussions of some later conferences, which were more or less disagreeable, William O. McKay told the writer that they were a Sunday-school picnic compared to this one. John P. Burke told him that the Paper Makers were holding out for a percentage increase, which, with their much higher rates, would have been advantageous to them at the expense of the lower paid people, but that he decided to make a deal for the Pulp & Sulphite, whether or not the Paper Makers went along.

We might say here that we have no information on the "Paper Makers' Standard Wage Scale" adopted in 1914, but a feature of it was probably the machine classification system, under which each machine was given a class number according to its width measured on the bottom couch roll and the speed at which it was running, the class being determined from a chart with one ordinate for speed and the other for width. The wage scale for the machine crew was set up with a small differential between each class, and adjustment of the rate was automatic, up or down. Although it was probably in use, there was no specific mention of it in contracts between 1914 and 1919, in which year it appears again. At that time, the speed ordinate of the chart was in increments of 100 feet per minute up to 400 feet; 50 feet per minute between 400 and 600 feet, and 25 feet per minute above 600 feet. The width ordinate was in increments of 10 inches up to 170 inches of width, and 5 inches above this width. As the machines had been speeded up between 1914 and

1919, some paper makers' rates were relatively high, which may have been a contributing factor in the unpleasantness of this year. A new classification set-up was adopted in 1926, but we will take this when we come to it.

After the Pulp & Sulphite had agreed to the terms of a new contract, and they did accept a percentage increase, negotiations must have been concluded fairly quickly, but because of the dissention among the unions the result was four separate one-year agreements, running from May 1, 1919; one with the Pulp & Sulphite, one with the Paper Makers, one with the Firemen & Oilers, and one with the A.F.L. Federal Labor Unions Nos. 13,048, 13,056 and 11,643, the Electrical Workers Local 471 and the Carpenters & Joiners Local 658, which had been organized at Millinocket on November 8, 1917, by men separating from Federal Labor Union No. 11,643.

They were all based on the 1916 Agreement. The essential changes were that the Fourth of July holiday was made a 32-hour shut-down, starting at midnight July 3d; and Christmas a 40-hour shut-down, starting at 4:00 P.M. on December 24th. The Paper Makers got six hours instead of four for putting on a wire outside of their regular shift. There was a change in the wording of the clause about Sunday work in the pulp mills, making six day operation normal, while six and one-half days were allowed if pulp was needed, and a longer period when mutually satisfactory. The six-day provision was really inoperative. The sulphite mill at Millinocket was chronically short of capacity, and much of the time it was almost criminal to waste water on Sunday. However, the Company

stuck with this agreement for a great many years, running the groundwood mill on Sunday only until the tanks were full, and not taking any off on wet machines except to turn over the piles. The big change was the establishment of the eight-hour day for all workers, and those who had been working nine hours received an increase of 5 cents an hour, in addition to the general increase, to compensate for the shorter work day. The re-employment clause was revised slightly, eliminating the rather meaningless "all things considered" in favor of a provision that "among equally efficient employees" the one with the most service would be given preference. The 1916 Mill Rules, revised only to cover overtime after eight hours instead of nine; the change in holiday hours; the elimination of the provision that men must wear shoes, probably needless by this time; an agreement to make arrangements to provide meals for men working an extra tour, and the inclusion of Assistant Superintendents as part of the Management, were made part of each of the new agreements. A general increase of 5 percent was granted. William A. Whitcomb reported this to the Directors as "an increase in wages to cover the increase in Cost of Living May 1, 1919 as compared with July 1, 1918".

We have the original typed agreements, all dated April 24, 1919, right in the middle of the negotiations, perhaps at some point where the Company thought it had an agreement in sight -- two days before William A. Whitcomb was stood up by the delegates. The Paper Makers contract was signed by J.T. Carey and one Millinocket local delegate, but East Millinocket and Madison did not sign. The Pulp & Sulphite document was signed only by John P. Burke, no local delegates. We are inclined to think that this

was by agreement -- that they just went home and left it to him. The Firemen & Oilers contract was signed by Timothy Healey and all the delegates from that union, and the mechanic's agreement was signed only by a delegate from the Millinocket Federal Labor Union. It looks as if a verbal agreement was reached, and left to the International officers to clean up. Whatever the situation that resulted in four agreements may have been, it was straightened out, apparently without another conference, within a few weeks, and the four contracts were combined into one, which, when printed, was dated May 1, 1919, and was pointedly headed "Joint Labor Agreement". We have a copy of this printed document, which was signed by William A. Whitcomb, J.T. Carey, John P. Burke and Timothy Healey, and we have a note in William O. McKay's handwriting, saying that 22 other signed copies were sent to the mills for the delegates' signatures. The signature sheet which was then printed and attached to the contract was signed by the 23 delegates of all the locals of all the organizations involved, and by Frank H. McCarthy for the American Federation of Labor. The Mill Rules were also reprinted, and dated May 1, 1919.

At this time, it may be remembered, the Great Northern Paper Company was making a great deal of money. William A. Whitcomb did not keep any diary in 1920, but the conference that year would appear to have been short. There was no issue except money, and the one-year contract, signed on the spot by all the organizations, called for a whopping general increase of 20 percent. There was only one change in the actual terms of the agreement. This was added to the no strike-no lockout clause, and provided that "all parties signing this agreement shall endeavor to bring about a

condition of maximum production". Clearly, the atmosphere was much better than it had been a year before. Outside of this, by rewording without changing the sense and removing some provisions duplicated in the Mill Rules, and by revising to eliminate the superfluous material which came from the four separate agreements of the previous year, the contract was reduced from fourteen clauses to nine, about 17 printed lines. It was signed by J.T. Carey, John P. Burke, J.J. McEntee and Timothy Healey; by Frank H. McCarthy for the A.F.L. and by 20 local delegates, in groups designated "Paper Makers", "Pulp Workers", "Firemen" and "Mechanical Trades", at each mill, the Mechanical Trades lumping together the Federal Labor Unions, the Electrical Workers, the Carpenters and Joiners and the Machinists. This became the standard format for delegates' signatures for the next 40 years or so. J.J. McEntee was an organizer for the International Association of Machinists, which indicates that a local of this union had been formed between 1919 and 1920, although the date we have been given for the first charter from this organization is somewhat later. As there has been and will be some confusion about the various organizations representing those engaged in the generation of steam, the operation of steam driven equipment, and the lubrication of power transmission equipment, let us say that at this time Timothy Healey's organization was still the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, although we have referred to it as the "Firemen & Oilers", and some of the employees engaged in the above duties belonged to small locals of other steam-power oriented unions, which seem to have been represented at negotiations by the Firemen & Oilers. The 1919 Mill Rules, without change, were made part of the agreement. The wage increase of 1920 brought the Company's minimum rate to 59 cents an hour.

As we have noted elsewhere, things were beginning to go to pot in the newsprint industry in 1921. Reference to the statistical tables for this period will be helpful. Nevertheless, the joint conference of the Paper Makers and the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers in January had resolved to demand another increase in wages. As negotiations began in the spring of the year, the International Paper Company and its subsidiary Continental Bag, and a group of nine other companies -- the so-called Carlisle group -- which included St. Regis, bargaining as a unit, countered the unions' demand for a 10 percent upward adjustment in wages with a proposal for a nine-hour day, the elimination of overtime pay, the barring of "common labor" from the unions, so that it could be hired at the market rate, and a 30 percent wage cut.

This regressive position opened a gap just too wide to bridge, and the result was a long strike in the spring of 1921 against International, St. Regis, Abitibi, Spanish River, Minnesota & Ontario, Union Bag and a number of other companies. This time, the unions hung together. The manufacturers' bargaining committee, according to Dr. Gross, finally broke up, the Carlisle group persuading their unions to accept arbitration, and their mills opened in July, pending the arbitrator's decision, which resulted in the continuation of the existing contracts, with a 10 percent cut in wages for people earning 60 cents an hour or more, and a 16-2/3 percent cut in the lower rates. Some of the other companies did not go along with this. The International Paper Company also started to re-open its mills in July, but with strike-breakers, and although we have no names, there must have been others who adopted the same policy, and encouraged each other.

The unions were almost annihilated. John P. Burke said to the writer "we lost all the unions in the International Paper Company in 1922, and many other companies. We were in poor shape for finances." According to a well-placed union source, the membership of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers dropped from 16,000 to 4,000, the low point probably being in 1924, when some ground began to be regained. This union finally called off the I.P. strike in 1926.

The Great Northern Paper Company stood apart from all this. The Company probably received the same demand for a wage increase in the spring of 1921, but conditions in the industry must have been a factor in the negotiations, which were concluded in one day, May 3d, William A. Whitcomb noting in his diary: "Day of Labor Conference. Agreed during P.M. to extend agreement another year." In fact, the printed 1920 contract form was used for signing, the old dates being erased and revised on a typewriter. There was one change in the Agreement, covered by a typed sticker, this providing that the existing wage scale would continue in effect, except that men hired for unskilled outdoor labor would be paid 55 cents an hour for the first six months of employment. There was no change in the 1919 Mill Rules. This contract was for one year.

This contract was signed by J.T. Carey for the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, John P. Burke for the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, Timothy Healey for the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen -- all International Presidents; by J.J. McFntee, Organizer for the International Association of Machinists, by Frank H. McCarthy for

the A.F.L., and by 19 local delegates. The Electricians for some reason do not seem to have had an International representative present, but as far as we know, they were party to the agreement. Their delegate, if they had one, probably signed in the Mechanical Trades group, and believe it or not, Charlie Burr, by this time Superintendent of the East Millinocket mill, was authorized to sign, and did sign, for the workers in the Mechanical Trades at that mill! The result of the strikes in other plants was a banner year for Great Northern.

By 1922, as we have noted, the newsprint price situation had become highly unstable because of rapidly increasing Canadian capacity, and dropped drastically, in spite of the fact that consumption increased. Great Northern's production held steady, but its profit margin declined sharply, and it appears that there was no great sweat, in view of what was happening with labor elsewhere in the industry, in negotiating another one-year contract, with a general wage cut of 10 cents an hour, with the rate for "unskilled labor" reduced to 40 cents. A printed table prepared for this conference, dated April 25, 1922, listing the rates for 31 occupations in four large Canadian newsprint mills and two big United States plants, as compared with those being paid by Great Northern, shows that the Company, was paying, before this reduction, rates which were from 17 to 90 percent higher than the average for these plants for the same occupations, the median difference being 58 percent; the greatest difference being at the minimum rate -- 59 cents at Great Northern against 32 cents for the other mills, this being the "common labor" rate in all except one of them, which was paying 30 cents.

A separate supplemental agreement with the Pulp & Sulphite people spelled out sixteen occupations which were to be classified as "unskilled labor", to which the new 40 cent rate was to apply. The "poor man", as the lower-paid worker called himself in those days, took the worst beating. As had been done the year before to get a document for signing, the dates on the old contract were again simply changed on a typewriter, and a little typed sticker covered the change in wage rates. We might say here that in preparation for any negotiation, a supply of the forms for the previous year's contract, sometimes with the day of the month on which the negotiations were to take place left out, and a sufficient number of copies of the existing Mill Rules, always had to be available. This 1922 agreement was again reached on one day of bargaining, on April 25th. For some reason, while the contract ran from May 1 to May 1, the new rates ran only to April 28, 1923. This document was signed by the same people as was that of the year before for the Paper Makers, the Pulp & Sulphite, the Stationary Firemen and the Machinists, but was also signed for the Electrical Workers by J.J. Dowling, Organizer, by John Flynn for the Carpenters & Joiners, and there was no A.F.L. signature. Seventeen local delegates added their names. As there had been no space on the old form for the Carpenters & Joiners, John Flynn signed in the delegates' section, and this year Joe Nevins signed as a delegate for one of the Millinocket Trades.

The increasing number of International Officers signing the agreement indicates the break-up of the old Federal Labor Unions or "Federal Trades" at Millinocket. We have noted that the movement started with the formation of Local 471 of the Electrical Workers as early as 1916 and of Local 658 of the Carpenters & Joiners in 1917. By 1920 Machinists Local No. 156 had apparently

been organized, but up until that year, outside of the agreements of 1916, when the Electrical Workers were first recognized separately, the contracts had been signed by a representative of the American Federation of Labor for the Trades people in the Federal Labor Unions. Theodore (Teco) Brown, a long-time employee at East Millinocket, has given the writer some information bearing on this development, to the effect that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the Federal Labor Unions, which as we have said were catch-alls, taking in men with various mechanical skills, and in some cases even men with skills other than mechanical, and as it was impractical for every trade to be represented at the conferences with the Company, there was more or less feeling that the delegates who went gave more importance to matters relating to their particular interests than they did to those of the others. There were in the Federal Trades groups men who carried cards in International trades unions representing their crafts. At the same time, men from the Pulp & Sulphite organization, the pool for all labor not otherwise represented, were often advanced into mechanics' jobs while retaining their Pulp & Sulphite membership. As Teco Brown says: "With such a combination, it isn't hard to visualize the bickering that must have gone on."

In the story of the struggle between the Paper Makers and the Pulp Workers, we have said that in those early days the policy of the Pulp & Sulphite organization was that if there was going to be only one union, it would be theirs. As we have seen, when the smoke cleared away, there were two unions representing the production people, but the Pulp & Sulphite did not see why they should not have everyone but the paper makers, and in the years

after they had made peace with the latter, they began to make motions at the men in the Federal Labor Unions. This did not sit well with the mechanics, who felt that while they were superior to the "shovel stiff", they would have but a small voice among them. Besides, there were established International unions representing their skills. Most of these had some kind of protective benefits in the way of insurance, and understood their peculiar problems. The electricians at Millinocket were the first to move into their own International union, and this, along with the general situation we have described, may have been the reason for the mixed-up bargaining of 1916 and 1919. During the next few years other mechanical trades locals were organized at Millinocket, as we have seen, explaining the additional International signatures on the contract in 1922 and 1923. The division of jurisdiction seems to have been worked out at Millinocket with some rationale, but there were some anomalies which resulted in later changes. At East Millinocket, there were fewer men in the Trades, and while they had the same problems, they did not move so early, and the Federal Labor Union at East Millinocket remained in existence until after the negotiations in 1923.

By that year, the newsprint business was in an even more confused state, the fortunes of the unions were at a low point in the industry, and they were having their brains beat out by some manufacturers at every opportunity. The writer has notes on remarks made by John P. Burke at a conference with the Company in 1952, checked with him ten years later. We quote:

"In 1924 we were negotiating with Abitibi and Spanish River, and they had their minds set on getting

rid of the unions. Colonel Jones (Abitibi) made a trip to Boston to try to get Mr. Whitcomb to declare for open shop in the spring of 1924. Mr. Whitcomb asked for me, John P. Burke, to come to Boston. He told me the story. If Great Northern had joined the group, we would have been completely wiped out. Mr. Whitcomb refused to join."

It is the writer's feeling that this was really in the spring of 1923, as he recalls President Burke telling him at another time that William A. Whitcomb not only refused to have anything to do with such a movement, but called him in and told him he would grant a wage increase, and there was no increase in 1924.

The 1923 conference was held on April 24th, and the contract, including the 1919 Mill Rules, was renewed for one year without change, with a 5 cent an hour across-the-board increase, bringing the minimum rate to 45 cents. This agreement was signed by the same International officers as in 1922, except that William Larkin signed as Organizer for the Machinists, and it was signed for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, by C.N. Kimball, Organizer. As had been the case for several years, the old contract form, with typed revisions in the dates, and a short typewritten change in the wage clause to cover the increase. There were only eleven local delegates at this meeting.

We are now at the point we have previously noted, where the output of the Canadian newsprint industry was almost up to that of the United States. While the latter had not yet begun to decline, newsprint price had started the long slide that had many mills at the brink of disaster, and on April 15, 1924 the Labor Agreement was renewed for one year, without any change whatever.

In the meantime, Local 485 of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry had been formed at Millinocket on May 26, 1923. Local 1224 of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America was organized at that mill, too. We do not know exactly when, as the name does not turn up in any of our records until ten years later, but it could have been at this time, since, as we have noted, there were locals which did not appear in the contract, the delegates signing with the others in the "Mechanical Trades" group. However, at some date further on, it was dissolved, and its members went into one of the other trades locals, we believe the Carpenters and Joiners -- and by the way, the greater part of the membership of this organization was composed not of carpenters, but of millwrights. Two more Trades locals, No. 362 of the Machinists and No. 1612 of the Carpenters & Joiners, had also been organized at East Millinocket in November, 1923, from the Federal Trades. The writer has been told that this was done by sort of choosing up sides, and there were some odd results; the engineers (engine operators) and the electrical workers, for instance, going into the Machinists local, from which, at some later time the latter withdrew and joined Local 471 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at Millinocket. Unless the writer's memory fails him, the Pipers & Steamfitters also formed a local at East Millinocket, perhaps at this time, but there were not many of them, and after some years they went, we believe, to the Carpenters & Joiners. It may be, as we have been told, that the East Millinocket tradesmen formed their own locals, rather than join those already established at Millinocket because of the difficulty of winter travel in those days of the Model T, but no one seemed to have any great

problem in getting to Millinocket for any other purpose. We are inclined to believe that community pride, which had become very strong, and the fear of domination by a larger group was a more important factor. Along about this time also, the Federal Labor Union at Madison disappeared, and to the best of our recollection, most of the mechanics there went into the Machinists' organization. We are not entirely sure of this -- there may have been other Trades locals there at one time or another; it is impossible to tell from the Labor Agreements -- but they eventually all wound up as Machinists, with the exception of a few who, while actually mechanics, belonged to the Pulp & Sulphite, and stayed with that organization. Very confusing.

The 1924 agreement had some new International signers -- we are keeping track of these at this time for a purpose. An F.P. Barry signed for the Paper Makers as President, but actually he was a General Organizer. John P. Burke signed as President of the Pulp & Sulphite, and a J.P. Flanagan signed for Timothy Healey, President of the Stationary Firemen. W. Larkin signed for the Machinists, John Flynn for the Carpenters & Joiners, F. Ingles, Vice-President, for the Electrical Workers, and Michael F. Garrett for the new Pipers & Steamfitters. Fifteen local delegates also signed. At this point, the Federal Labor Unions had disappeared, and the Agreement was not again signed by a representative of the American Federation of Labor, everyone now being in a duly chartered national union.

The 1925 conference was pretty much a repeat of that of the previous year, the contract terms and wage rates remaining unchanged.

There was, we should say, one revision; reduction of the Christmas shut-down from the 40 hours established in 1919 to 32 hours. This was agreed to by the delegates, who adopted a resolution to the effect that they accepted the change, and would use their best efforts to persuade their locals to approve. They were successful. As we have said, in those days acceptance by the delegates practically assured an agreement. There was very seldom any question that whatever the delegates agreed to would be ratified. A.A. Gillis signed as the International officer representing the Pipers & Steamfitters. Other than this, there was only one important change in the signatures for the International organizations, and this was of some significance as it bears on the relationship between the Company and the unions representing its employees. M.H. Parker signed as President of the Paper Makers. John P. Burke said, in the 1952 remarks from which we have previously quoted:

"J.T. Carey had been head of the Paper Makers for many years, and was succeeded by a Mr. Parker. He was an active strike leader, and had the reputation of being a radical. Some companies did not want to do business with Parker. Mr. Whitcomb said the men had the right to elect their own President, and that Great Northern would deal with him. This is part of the history. If we had not had men at the head of Great Northern with the attitude that William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay have had; if it had had leadership that was anti-union, the unions would have been washed out."

William A. Whitcomb was not in the habit of accepting people before they had proved themselves, and this indicates something of a change from the Company's earlier attitude to the effect that it required responsible leadership in the unions with which it dealt. However, its experience had been good. Even that firebrand Jerry Carey seems to have behaved pretty well, except for whatever difficulty there may have been in 1919, and a viable working relationship had emerged. Nineteen delegates represented the locals at this meeting.

During all these years, the Labor Agreement in effect had been renewed -- we have used the word "extended", but technically there was a new agreement for each contract period. In the years when there was no general change in wages, there were of course some adjustments of individual rates, for cause, these usually being small, like 2 cents, even 1 cent. Between negotiations, little was heard of the contract. It was much simpler and easier to administer than it became later. For this reason, if for no other, the old Company never had "shop stewards", the President of the local speaking for all the men in his organization, regardless of the department in which they might be employed. Most complaints were settled on the ground, and real grievances were rare. Such few as got as far as Boston were usually settled between the Manager of Manufacture and the President or some other representative of the International by mail or telephone, without a formal meeting. The vaguely uneasy feeling that the work force seemed to have toward the management, which we have previously mentioned and which prevailed for quite a long time, came, it seems to us, more from the general background of the labor move-

ment in the pulp and paper industry as we have described it, and from the natural deference of the "working man" of that time toward the boss than from any purely localized suspicion or distrust. It gradually weakened, and disappeared during the depression years of the 1930's.

By 1926, Canada was shipping more newsprint to the United States than the entire U.S. industry could produce. Its big new mills, with low-priced labor, were rough competition, and on April 6, 1926, the Great Northern Paper Company and the International officers and local delegates of the unions entered into a five-year contract, running to May 1, 1931, with provision for termination by written notice by either party thirty days prior to any May 1st. Under this agreement, the Company agreed to adopt the "1926 Paper Makers' Standard Schedule", which required some minor changes in the rates paid to some of the machine hands. The wage schedule for all other employees remained unchanged -- the same rates as had been paid in 1923, with whatever individual adjustments may have been made. As usual, the new agreement was the old form, with changes made on a typewriter. It was signed for the Paper Makers by a new President, W.R. Smith; for the Pulp Workers by John P. Burke; by J.P. Flanagan for Timothy Healey, President of the Stationary Firemen; by J.J. McEntee for the Machinists, and by J.J. Dowling for the Electrical Workers. There are no signatures for the other International organizations, but there is no question that they were in agreement. This important conference seems to have been a quiet one, and was concluded in one day. Only six International officers were present -- it will

be noted that at this period, and this was true for quite a number of years after, the major unions were represented by their Presidents, but there were quite often Vice-Presidents or International representatives of the same organization in attendance -- and there were 21 local delegates, about as many as usual, previous local representations having run between 12 and 20 men. We have the feeling that this negotiation was orchestrated by John P. Burke, a serious student of broad trends in the industry and the part of the unions in affecting the course of events one way or the other in the interest of the people they represented, and it was to their interest at this point to give support to the Great Northern Paper Company, the champion of independent action and friend of organized labor. From another printed table of unknown origin, the average weekly earnings of workers in the pulp and paper industry in the month of January, 1926, were \$27.55. A note in red ink, written on the margin, indicates that the comparable figure for Great Northern workers was \$33.23, reason enough not to rock the boat, and making a long-term agreement, particularly one with a termination clause, seem safe enough to the unions and the Company as well.

We have one small anomaly in connection with this agreement. There are letters from the engineers and engineer helpers at the Millinocket Mill -- these were the men who operated the paper machine engines; saying "We members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers of the Millinocket Mill will not have any delegate to Boston this spring with the other unions", and asking for upward adjustment in their wage rates. We have found it impossible to keep the names of the organizations re-

presenting the steam plant employees straightened out. Indeed, the correct names of some of the other unions were not used in the contracts, but nobody worried about that. The name of this organization never appeared in any contract, and these people -- there were only a few in this group -- probably had been closely identified in negotiations with what was then the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen (Firemen & Oilers).

A note in connection with this meeting states that the 1926 Paper Makers' Standard Schedule" was to replace the one in effect, which was identified as the "1919 Schedule". The 1926 Paper Machine Classification Chart called for a scale set up on up-the-ladder increments of 50 feet per minute in speeds up to 2,000 feet, and straight increments of 10 inches in width up to 270 inches. The Paper Makers' Standard Wage Schedule related only machine tenders, backtenders and third hands to the machine classification number, with differentials of one cent an hour between classes from 1 to 10; one and one-half cents from 10 to 18 and three cents from there up. These differentials applied to machine tenders and backtenders. Third hands had another setup, classes being grouped differently, but arriving at the same 3 cent maximum increment. Rates were based on newsprint machines. The scale for beater engineers increased with tonnage, and had differentials for different kinds of paper, and there were special differentials for Boss Machine Tenders, for machines with more than one stack, and for kraft, bag and hanging paper. Class 1, by the Paper Makers' chart, covered a machine between 50 and 59 inches wide, running up to 89 feet per minute. William A. Whitcomb had the thing revised so that Class 1 covered machines up to 59 inches in width, running up to 99 feet per minute, and this was established as the

Company's "News Print Paper Machine Classification", which bore, and still bears, the notation "This Form is Printed Exclusively for the Great Northern Paper Company", because it differed from the official Paper Makers' version, although the class numbers for any given machine, except those in Class 1, remained the same. In 1954, when the first big high speed machine was started up at East Millinocket, 18 speed classes and two width classes were added, and in the following years, as still larger machines were installed, more classes were added, and the first ten were chopped off to make it possible to print the chart on two booklet pages, primarily, but no machines ran at less than 500 feet anyway. Another note on this 1926 meeting, referring to paper makers' wage changes, says: "New schedule provides for a better balanced scale of rates. Machine Tenders, second (backtenders) and third hands on machines running under 750 feet receive small increases" However, apparently some of the existing rates were above the new scale, as a typed provision in the contract states: "Men now receiving higher wages than entitled to under this schedule will be continued at their higher rate only so long as they fill present positions. All new men will begin at standard schedule rates." Our information shows that the rates established for paper makers at this time were actually those shown in the Standard Paper Makers' schedule, the washing out of the Company's old rates resulting in only rather minor changes.

The Labor Agreement itself, as we have said, was printed on a single sheet of paper, about two-thirds of which was reserved for signatures. A sufficient number of copies were signed at the conference so that in addition to those needed by the Company, each local and each International representative could have at least

one. As soon as possible after the conference, additional copies, with the signatures printed in, were made and distributed. When there was a change in the wage scale, the delegates might or might not be able to take home the actual new schedules, but it was usually possible, as schedules without rates were always typed up in advance, and if the time element was right, the rates, which were shown by the hour and by the day by custom, could be entered so that the delegates for each local had them before they left. As with the Agreement, additional copies of the wage schedules were made up and distributed promptly. At this time, this meant laboriously typing and re-typing, using as many carbons as possible, but a little later on they were mimeographed, and it was possible to give every delegate a copy. There were four rate schedules. Because of the fact that the Company had agreed to adopt the Paper Makers' Standard Schedule, the sheet covering paper makers' rates was, as a formality, headed "Paper Makers Standard Minimum Wage Schedule - No. 1". Actually, after the expiration of this five-year agreement, it was the Company's negotiated schedule, and had nothing to do with any "Paper Makers' Standard", but the title continued to be used. The others were "P.S. & P.M. Workers Rates - No. 2"; "Firemen & Oilers' Rates - No. 3" and "Mechanical Trades Rates - No. 4". We are not sure they were arranged this way in 1926, but they were in 1931, and for the next twenty years. Outside of the momentous agreement of July 1, 1908 with the Pulp & Sulphite organization, the contract was not put in booklet form again until 1945. Between negotiations, the wage scales were inviolate. If a new job was established, some appropriate rate already in some one of the

schedules was agreed upon, and the new occupation was added at the next negotiation. This was strict interpretation of the Wage clause, which said "rates shown upon the attached schedules shall be paid"; ergo, no rate was paid that was not in one of the schedules.

Early in March, 1927, the unions in the paper industry held conferences in Albany, N.Y., and on March 9th, a joint letter from the six unions involved in the 1926 contract (the name "International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers" appears for the first time in this letter) was written to the Company, asking for a conference, with local delegates present. This was held in Boston on March 30th. With Great Northern already paying wages much higher than the rest of the industry, almost across the board, the wage scale, perhaps with the exception of some individual adjustments, emerged unchanged. The Mill Rules, however, were reworded, although there was really no important change. Dishonesty and disorderly conduct, the reading of books and newspapers while on duty and neglect of duty were removed from the causes for summary discharge; the whistle clause was taken out; some sections were simplified and combined, so that there became eighteen instead of twenty-two, and they were put in more orderly succession. The Mill Rules were then reprinted again, and dated May 1, 1927.

In April, 1928, the Company was advised, in the same manner as the year before, that the International Representatives of the signatory unions felt that it would be agreeable to their members to continue the contract as it was for another year, and that a conference would not be needed. The price of newsprint was still

going down, and the Cost of Living index, which always had been a highly important factor in wage negotiations, had dropped a little, but William A. Whitcomb, in his reply, noted that the reduction "was not great enough to demand a revision of rates of pay". However, the Superintendents were instructed to hold meetings with the locals at the mills, and adjustments were made in some rates in the manner we have noted. This duty was usually left pretty much to them in negotiations, anyway.

Between 1926 and 1930, the price of newsprint dropped some \$13.00 a ton, and the Company's earnings were cut nearly in half, but it elected to ride out its five-year agreement; the unions decided to let well enough alone, and called for no conferences in 1928, 1929 or 1930, the 1926 contract and wage rates remaining in effect. However, by early 1931, when the agreement was to expire, things were really rough all over. Everyone was on a cost-cutting binge. According to John P. Burke's 1952 statement, the International Paper Company had already reduced wages three times, and so had many other companies. The Canadian industry was in financial trouble. Great Northern's production was falling off for lack of orders, with the situation complicated by poor water conditions, but it was nowhere near as badly off as other big producers. At the mills, almost everyone was still employed, the construction work going on at East Millinocket being a big help, although cost-saving moves had cut overtime and shortened up on some work schedules to spread the work. Garret Schenck had died, William A. Whitcomb had become President, and William O. McKay had taken over labor matters. The Paper Makers had a new President, Matthew J. Burns, a very fine man, and the Firemen & Oilers

had a new President, John McNamara, who was another.

Early in March, as they were bound to do, Matt Burns and John P. Burke got in touch with William O. McKay by telephone, to feel him out preliminary to calling for a conference. William O. McKay, who was as good at confusing the issue as he was at making it clear, suggested an unspecified delay, and followed this up on March 17th with a letter to all the signatory unions, reading in part: "...on account of the unstable market conditions....we feel it would be better to postpone the discussion of another labor arrangement until things are upon a more stable basis. We are agreeable, however, to working along on the same operating schedule and rate scales as now effective, with the understanding that this arrangement may be terminated upon thirty days' written notice by either party."

This proposal was turned down by the locals, William O. McKay receiving a telegram on April 25th, bearing the names of all the signatory Internationals, saying that a majority of the locals were not in favor of any agreement which could be cancelled on thirty days' notice, and calling for a meeting. There being no point in further argument about it, a joint conference was set up in Boston for May 5th. Technically, the existing contract had expired on May 1st, there being no provision for extension from year to year, but as there had been no notice of termination or desire to terminate, it was considered by all hands to be still in effect.

As might have been expected, this conference did not go well. The Company wanted a wage reduction, Canadian rates being so far

below those it was paying, but although the new scale that William O. McKay offered called for a very moderate cut, the delegates, apparently instructed, rejected it out of hand, and the meeting adjourned with an agreement to live under the existing contract until July 1st. The proposed new rate schedules were not even taken back to the mill towns. Millinocket and East Millinocket were still isolated communities. The workers there did not really see the effects of the depression, and did not appreciate the gravity of the situation. The Madison people were more exposed and much more aware of what was happening in the country, but while they did not have such strong negative reaction, they did not carry much weight.

This was an era when, from the writer's observation, the International leadership, while it could not dictate, was much more influential with the rank and file membership than it became later. It could talk to management without being accused of making deals, and at this point negotiation moved to the International level, which recognized the validity of the Company's position. John P. Burke's hang-up seemed to be largely with the proposed minimum rate of 41 cents, and he proposed, by letter on May 21st, a base rate of 42 cents, with new men hired being paid 40 cents for the first six months. William O. McKay said that this made problems, but that he would consider it. On May 28th, Matt Burns and John P. Burke met with William O. McKay in Boston, the result being a new Pulp & Sulphite schedule which called for a minimum rate of 42 cents for men inside the mill, and 40 cents outside. William O. McKay pointed out in a letter to John P. Burke on June 1st that since the May 5th conference a

number of wage reductions had been negotiated in the State of Maine; that the price of paper had taken another drop, and that the cut which the Company proposed was only half the reduction in the Cost of Living index, and far less than the percentage cut in newsprint price which had occurred even since May 5th, but stated that the Company stood ready to sign with the Pulp & Sulphite on the schedule which had been worked out a few days before, for the period July 1, 1931 to May 1, 1932. Between this time and the middle of June, Matt Burns and John McNamara made separate visits to Millinocket to talk turkey to their people, but on June 14th the former advised that the Paper Makers rejected the Company's offer, and wanted another conference. William O. McKay set June 26th as the date, and notified all the other signatory organizations. On the day following this letter, he met in Boston with the International officers representing the Carpenters & Joiners, the Machinists and the Pipers -- the International representative of the Electrical Workers had his headquarters in Canada and could not attend -- and following this meeting, proposed new rate schedules for the Trades were sent to the Superintendents, who called local meetings of their delegates to discuss them. Bob Hume reported that the reaction was not unfavorable, and Charlie Burr said that the delegates from East Millinocket "seemed very well pleased, but would not commit themselves". On June 20th, William O. McKay advised the Superintendents that the June 26th date for another conference still stood, suggesting that they tell the delegates this, in case the International officers had not done so, but also to tell them that there was no need for local delegates to come to Boston at all, if they were agreeable

to accepting the Company's proposals. John P. Burke was in Millinocket on June 24th and 25th, and he was a very persuasive man.

The conference on June 26th, as the writer recalls, was not unduly rough. The facts of life had finally been brought home to the locals by all this rather unorthodox negotiating. There were no delegates from the Firemen & Oilers at all; none from the Pulp & Sulphite at East Millinocket and none from the Mechanical Trades at Madison, and the Trades at East Millinocket sent only one man to represent them all. The existing contract terms were extended for the period July 1, 1931 to May 1, 1932, with no change except that the holiday section of the 1927 Mill Rules was repeated in the contract itself, with the periods of shut-down spelled out, the Christmas shut-down being lengthened from 32 to 36 hours. A provision in the Mill Rules that paper makers started work at 7:30 A.M. in order to get the machines ready to make paper by 8:00 A.M. was deleted. The new wage schedules provided for reductions of from 2 cents to 6 cents an hour for skilled and semi-skilled workers. The minimum rate was reduced from 45 cents to 41 cents, but some occupations formerly classed as minimum rate jobs were moved up out of the 42 cent class. The total cut amounted to 5.2 percent of payroll. The hectic part of this negotiation was that the delegates insisted upon taking back with them copies of the new rate schedules, and they wanted them in booklet form. It was impossible to get them printed, and this became an all-night job for the small Boston office force. The writer frantically ruled a vast number of the little Form 229 sheets into a six-column format, on which the four schedules were typed, four or five typings to each one, while he made covers by hand, complete with

ruled margins and fan-folded backs for binding. He has a set of these before him as this is written. These were initialled the next day, before distribution, by William O. McKay and the appropriate International officers.

This agreement was signed by M.J. Burns for the Paper Makers, John P. Burke for the Pulp & Sulphite, and John F. McNamara for the Firemen & Oilers, all International Presidents; by Robert Fechner and E. Ingles, International Vice-Presidents of the Machinists and Electrical Workers respectively; by Charles N. Kimball, International Representative of the Carpenters & Joiners and A.A. Gillis, General Organizer for the Pipers. Most of these men were to figure prominently in the events related to labor negotiations for the next several years. The original agreement was signed by 14 local delegates, one of whom, for the first time, signed separately for the "Operating Engineers" as distinct from the Stationary Firemen. There was no International signature for this organization. A little later, copies of the new agreement were sent to the mills, and were signed by all the 23 delegates who had attended the May 5th meeting.

Fringe benefits to hourly paid workers, or anyone else, for that matter, were scarce at this time. The State of Maine had passed a Workmen's Compensation law in 1915, and while some companies chose to self-insure, and most paper companies ignored woods workers, Great Northern had taken out insurance, which covered not only its mill employees but its woodsmen, although we are not sure that the latter were included immediately. The cost of this was of course paid entirely by the Company. At about the same time --

the date is uncertain, and there is some indication that it may have been in 1914, before the Workmen's Compensation law was passed -- the Company's mill employees had taken out with Employers Liability, through the Company, a coverage called "Workmen's Wage Insurance", which made up part of wages lost, from the first day, unlimited medical expense and a death benefit in case of injury from industrial accident. The premium was paid entirely by the employees, the Company acting as trustee and administrator, deducting the premium payments from payroll and providing the general service required. This unique program, the only one of its kind in Maine, is still in effect as this is written in 1974. It went along quite smoothly until the 1950's, Great Northern making sure that the men got everything to which they were entitled, an employee committee supposed to check on the operation of the plan being completely inactive, to the best of our recollection. By that time, people had become insurance-conscious; the work force had developed a number of pseudo-experts; somehow or other this policy had become widely misunderstood and was confused with Workmen's Compensation; there was a lot of hassling about it, and in the early 1960's there was a real rhubarb, with the unions accusing the Company of mishandling matters. This was finally cleared up, and we do not intend to go into it further. These insurances were not true fringe benefits, in that they were not negotiated, and we mention them at this point only because we did not do so before, and to lead up to the fact that just prior to the 1931 conference the management had been working on a Group Life Insurance plan to be offered to the mill employees. This had been approved by the Directors, and left to the officers with power,

but under the circumstances, it was not brought out.

We might also say of the second conference that the locals had little money, and several of them requested that it either be held in Millinocket or that the Company pay the expenses of the delegates for the trip to Boston, which as far as we know had not been done on the past. As the Company's policy was not to hold the general conference in the mill towns, the meeting was held in Boston, and while there is no record, we believe that an expense allowance was granted, setting a precedent which in later years was to cause some difficulty, as some of the locals began to load up their delegations, making it necessary to impose limits not only on the amount of allowance, but on the number of delegates to whom it would be paid, although of course there was never any limit on the number of delegates if the local wished to send more at their own expense. There were a lot of arguments about this matter at different times -- even to the point of hanging up the conference until it had been decided.

The 1932 conference was held on April 20th, the call for it being issued by William O. McKay, who gave warning again that since 1931 wage reductions had been made by a large number of United States and Canadian mills; that Great Northern's rates were higher than those of a majority of its competitors'; and that considering the drastic reduction in the price of newsprint and the downward trend of the Cost of Living index, he believed that a further revision in wages was in order. Unfortunately, we have no history on this first meeting, and no information on what took place between that time and May 19th, when there was a second conference,

and we have no memory of any details of this negotiation. Unless we passed over it, there is not even any mention of it in the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, which is a little unusual, although wage negotiations were not always recorded there. We do know that at these two conferences the delegates from at least some of the locals came instructed not to make any binding agreement, but to bring any offer back for discussion. Heretofore, it had been an unwritten rule that the delegates had power to bargain, and that they would have no communication with the locals back home during the course of negotiations. The reason for this was obvious; to head off as far as possible rump sessions in the barber shops and pool rooms, or mass meetings of uninformed members which might interfere with orderly process. We believe that this was the year that it was discovered that one of the Millinocket Paper Makers' delegates had telephoned information on the course of negotiations to a meeting of the local, which burned William O. McKay to a crisp. Anyway, we can only say that as a result of the May 19th meeting, a second reduction in wages was made, on a sliding scale of cents per hour. The existing range of rates was divided into nine groups, the first containing men at the minimum rate, the others set up at 10-cent intervals. The reduction for the minimum rate group was 3 cents an hour, for the next higher 4 cents, and so on up to 11 cents for the \$1.13 - \$1.22 group. This reduction scale was based on 10 percent of the minimum rate in each group, causing some disruption in historical differentials, but contrary to earlier practice, it gave the best break to the lowest-paid people, the reduction in this group being something under 8 percent, bringing the base rate to 38 cents an hour. We do recall that this was generally conceded at this point

to be more fair. Boss Machine Tenders were cut 10 percent. The average reduction worked out to 8.57 percent of payroll. The new rates went into effect on May 15th, the contract running from that date to April 30, 1933, without change in the wording, except that the Christmas holiday went back to 32 hours again. There was no change in the Mill Rules. We might note that at this time fourth hands on the paper machines were still on a fixed rate, and were not included in the Paper Makers' Scale, and that the Madison machines, while now almost entirely on specialties, were still working on the speed-width classification basis. This contract was signed for the International organizations by M.J. Burns and John P. Burke, by one of the delegates for J.F. McNamara, and by Robert Fechner, John Flynn, A.A. Gillis and E. Ingles, all of whom can be related to their organizations by reference to the notes on previous conferences, although John Flynn of the Carpenters & Joiners we believe had not been a signer since 1925. Eighteen local delegates also signed. By this time the paper industry, and it had lots of company, was in deep trouble. The Canadian mills were beginning to go bankrupt, and many United States companies were nearly insolvency. The Company's earnings were down to a rate of not much over \$1.25 a share; the cut was modest under the circumstances, and as best we know, the workers were philosophical about it.

Come the spring of 1933, the Company's rate of production, while operations were nearer capacity than at most mills, had reached the lowest point since 1918, and the price of newsprint had fallen to \$40.00 a ton in New York -- even lower in the spot market. Mills were closing down all over the place. Great Northern's

earnings were at a rate of less than \$1.00 a share, and with considerable reluctance it prepared to ask for yet another wage reduction. William A. Whitcomb told the Directors at the April meeting that he planned to ask for about 7 percent more, to bring the total cut, including those of the past two years, to about 20 percent, approximately equal to the drop in the Cost of Living index, and he was voted authority to proceed on that basis.

William O. McKay had already given notice to the unions on April 5th that the Company desired a conference. It may be of passing interest to note that on that same date Bob Hume advised that he had received the following communication:

"GREAT NORTHERN EMPLOYEES FEDERATED COMMITTEE"

Paper Makers Union No. 27
 Firemen & Oilers Union No. 69
 Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill
 Workers Union No. 12
 Carpenters & Joiners Union No. 658

Steam Engineers Union
 Int. Association of Machinists
 Painters Union No. 1224
 Pipers & Steamfitters Union

Millinocket, Maine
 March 30, 1933

Mr. Robert Hume, Superintendent

Millinocket, Maine

Dear Sir:

That the employees may better cooperate with the Company during the present disturbed times it has been deemed advisable that a new committee be formed.

After numerous meetings it was agreed that the new committee should be known as the Great Northern Employees Federated Committee and as such are instructed to handle all grievances for any of our sister labor unions, also that any agreement or understanding which may have been

entered into with any individual of any of our affiliated organizations shall not be recognized by the committee.

Attached you will find personal signatures of the presidents of the unions affiliated.

Yours truly,

A.F. Beaulieu, Secretary"

The name of the Flectrical Workers does not appear in the typed copy in the writer's possession, and it is not known whether this was dropped inadvertently in the typing, or whether they actually did not participate. Bob Hune said that he had been told that this was strictly a local matter, and had not been placed before the International officers at that point for approval. It was well intended, the idea apparently being to screen complaints before they were put before the Superintendent as grievances, and to develop some sort of concerted policy which would have had the effect of blunting some of the pressure points, but it was sailing close to the legal wind as regards the grievance clause in the Mill Rules of the contract. We have no information as to the Company's reaction. We do not believe it would have been unfavorable, but it is of no moment, as to the best of the writer's knowledge, and in the memory of a few old-timers, this movement, for one reason or another, never got off the ground.

Somewhat later on, we do not know just when, what was known as the Central Labor Union was organized at Millinocket. This was an association of the various locals, but was their political arm, having nothing to do with collective bargaining with the Company. It is at this time in 1974 incorporated in the Katahdin

Central Labor Union, organized, according to our information, which may or may not be correct, in 1948. This takes in a lot of other union locals, all the way from Lincoln to the Canadian border, and has the same political purpose.

In William O. McKay's letter of April 5, 1933 to the unions, he had written:

"Because of the necessity for economy this year, we suggest that delegates come to the meeting with authority to act, so that agreement can be reached at one conference. You will recall there have been times when delegates have been bound by rigid instructions from their locals, standing in the way of effecting an agreement, and resulting in the necessity of having two meetings."

April 20th was set as the date for the conference. There had been quite a lot of construction at Millinocket in 1932, as we have noted, which had absorbed considerable labor, but by 1933 there was not much in the way of new work going on at any mill, and discussion of shortening up on work hours per week still further was in progress. The Paper Makers' local at Millinocket, apparently with this in mind, asked that the existing agreement be extended for another three months, but William O. McKay refused, on the ground that in the fall of 1932 the Company had had to cut its price for paper nearly \$8.00 a ton, retroactive to June 1st, the effect of this being a tremendous shrinkage in earnings within thirty days after the conference of that year, and in addition, the Company's wage rates were still far above those of competing mills. The meeting was held on the above date, resulting in a third wage reduction, made in much the same manner

as that of the year before, the minimum rate being reduced by 2 cents an hour, to 37 cents for inside work and 36 cents for outside work, the next higher group being cut 3 cents, and so on up to a maximum 10 cents in the highest rates, except that Boss Machine Tenders were again cut 10 percent. This all represented a slightly smaller percentage cut than that of the year before, averaging 7.4 percent, as the cents per hour by which each group of rates was reduced was based on 9 percent of the lowest rate in the group. It was agreed at this meeting that the two Madison machines would be put into fixed classes -- No. 1 in Class 23, No. 2 in Class 15 -- these spots in the width-speed classification being worked out from the average speed at which they were being run on different grades. As far as we can recall, this conference was peaceful enough. This was partly due to resignation, both by the management and the workers, to the necessities of the situation, partly to the fact that the delegates were free, William O. McKay's request having been honored, and partly because a certain continuity of representation had developed, and the parties had a lot of respect for each other. The common hardships of these years had begun to develop a sort of comradeship between the Company's workers and its management, the former recognizing that because of the latter's policies most of them at least had jobs -- as we have noted, the old-timers have always said "there was no depression in these towns." This was relative, of course, but as a result, the old stand-offish relationship between the union members and the "Company men" began to disappear. The International officers, John P. Burke, John McNamara, Charles Kimball, and Archie Gillis, had been around a long time, and knew that William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay meant what they said. Matt Burns was newer,

but he was a close friend of John P. Burke's, and a great admirer of William A. Whitcomb. At this conference there were two new names among the International people -- George J. Bowen, Acting Vice-President for the Machinists and James Brodrick, International Representative of the Electricians, but he was acting for Mr. Ingles, another old hand. Sixty percent of the local delegates had attended at least one other conference. Of the 17 signing, this was the second conference for two, the third for five, the fourth for one, and the fifth for two. It was the first time that we can be sure of that the name of a son of a previous delegate is found, although for the past few years there had been second-generation workers at the conferences. Going back to the International officers for a moment, Robert Fechner of the Machinists, while he represented them, had been an unreasonable man to deal with. He had gone into one of the Government agencies, and Robert Bowen, who was not in good health, was not much better, but other than that, those signing the 1933 agreement, and most of those who succeeded them, whom we will mention as they appear, were respected, responsible men. They stood up for their constituents, but they did not hesitate to stand up to them when they had to in the interest of labor peace. There were exceptions, but we must give credit to many of the International officials whose names appear over these and later years for their part in maintaining the stable relationship between the Company and its employees over a very long period of time. It is for this reason that we are keeping record of the International officers who signed the contracts with the Company.

With comparatively little construction going on in 1933,

and production at a low point, the work week was pretty short. There were some men working over 40 hours, but the regular schedule for tour workers was 36 hours a week, four crews working five days one week and four the next in each four-week period. Day workers were on a schedule which gave them about the same regular number of hours, but from a statement prepared by Bryan Seelye for the early months of 1934, with overtime, calls, wires and so on, paid hours per week for all workers came out to around 37, and average take-home pay was about \$22.00. The new minimum rate of 36 cents was the lowest since 1917, and the shorter hours resulted in the average weekly wage for all occupations being just about what common labor had received on a straight time basis -- \$21.60 per week -- when the writer went to work for the Company in 1924. We should say that Madison earnings were a little lower than those at the other two mills. The hourly rates for some semi-skilled occupations had always been lower at Madison because of its smaller size and lesser work load on these jobs. There were also some rates at East Millinocket lower than those at the big mill, for the same reason, but in spite of this, average weekly earnings at the Lower Mill at this time were slightly higher than at Millinocket, perhaps due to a larger proportion of the work force being skilled or semi-skilled. There was no change in the contract in 1933, but as there were now no horses at the mills, the entire clause outlining the duties of teamsters was deleted from the 1927 Mill Rules. No new Rules were printed for quite a number of years, this section and other changes mentioned simply being crossed out when they were included as part of later agreements.

In another place, we have told as much as we know of the story of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), as it affected the

newsprint industry; of the Company's effort to bolster up the minimum wage rate written into the "Code of Fair Competition" for that industry; of the final arrival at a 40-hour maximum work week and a minimum 38 cent an hour wage; of the prompt resignation of William A. Whitcomb as Chairman of the Association of Newsprint Manufacturers of the United States, and of the action he immediately ordered. On November 22, 1933, five days before the provisions of the Code became effective, William O. McKay, on William A. Whitcomb's instructions, addressed a letter to each of the International officers who had signed the agreement of April 20th, sending with this letter a copy of the Code, calling attention to its pertinent provisions, and stating that as of November 27th the 1932 wage scale would be restored, and that in addition, the minimum rate would be raised from the existing 36 - 37 cents to a straight 40 cents, which was 2 cents above the Code minimum, and was the figure that William A. Whitcomb had been fighting to get written into it. This increase amounted to 8.35 percent of payroll, and more than wiped out, at least for the lower-paid people, the last reduction, which had been in effect for just under seven months. As some changes in scheduling were necessary to meet the Code requirement of a maximum 40-hour week, William O. McKay offered to call a conference to discuss such changes, if desired, and as the 1933 contract had only five months to run, he suggested that if the unions wished to consider extending it to May 1, 1935, with provision that it could be terminated by either party on July 1, 1934 by 30 days' written notice, the Company would give consideration to such an extension. The locals did not call for a conference, changes in schedules being worked out at the mills, but

turned down the offer of an extension.

On April 7, 1934, as the time for negotiating approached, Matt Burns suggested April 19th as the date for a conference. This was a holiday in Boston; the Company was going through a low water crisis, and no information had come out on the hearings in Washington in February on the adequacy of the 38 cent minimum rate in the Newsprint Code. William O. McKay asked for a delay of a week or two. Matt Burns and John P. Burke, being assured that decision on Code changes would be forthcoming shortly, but hearing nothing, then decided that everything should be delayed until the results of the N.R.A. hearings were known, and on April 26th cancelled all pending conferences with United States mills "until we are certain what the new codes for the paper industry will contain". On this same day, John P. Burke wrote William O. McKay, saying that the locals were becoming restless because no conference had been called, but that he felt that no satisfactory agreement could be made until the result of the Code hearings were known, and asking if Great Northern would be willing to extend its existing contract "until such time as a decision is forthcoming from Washington"; which William O. McKay immediately agreed to do, with the request that the locals be advised of the situation and be asked to cool it until a date could be set.

On May 4th, Matt Burns and John P. Burke wrote a joint letter to William O. McKay in which they stated that they had learned that another public hearing must be held on the Code, which would postpone any decision for an indefinite period; said "It is our judgment that we should not further tax the patience of the workers

in our Union mills by asking them to wait any longer before holding conferences for the purpose of renewing our Labor Agreements. To do so might precipitate a crisis in labor relations in the Pulp and Paper Industry." Although the price of newsprint had not moved any, consumption was picking up, business was better, and the natives were really getting restless. A meeting was arranged for May 23d.

We have no information as to what transpired at this meeting, and no memory of it. Under the circumstances, it was probably a formality, and was adjourned without much action, pending word from Washington about revisions in the Code, which were important as they might deal with minimum wages, maximum hours of work, and the price of newsprint. It may seem strange that the writer does not recall more of the details of these conferences, but they were under the best of conditions an impossible exercise in concentration on what was going on at the moment, while at the same time trying to assess the corollary or long-range effects of the action of that moment, and while he does have definite memories of certain happenings, even of certain comments, discussions and arguments, he rarely finds it possible to relate these to any particular conference. Anyway, a second conference was held on June 20, 1934. Nothing had come out of Washington, and the result was a document headed "Amendment to 1933 Labor Agreement", covering the period April 30, 1934 to May 1, 1935. It provided that all terms and conditions of the 1933 Agreement were extended for the life of the Amendment, except as modified by the National Industrial Recovery Act and provisions of the Newsprint Code or revisions thereof subscribed to by the Company. The 1927 Mill Rules, with the deletions previously noted, remained in effect. However, a new wage schedule was put into effect on June 11th. This

called for another sliding scale increase of from 3 cents to 12 cents an hour, the minimum rate and the first group of ten rates above the minimum going up 3 cents, the next group 4 cents, and so on. This time the wage scale was divided into eleven groups of rates by 10 cent jumps, instead of the nine groups used previously, running up high enough to include the Boss Machine Tenders. The granting of the same increase to the first two groups was to remedy a little of the loss of differential which had developed between "common labor" and the rates just above it -- we are using the term "common labor" now and then in connection with the minimum or base rate, as although it was seldom used by the Company, it was used by the union people -- and this in turn upset relationship between the cents per hour increase for each group as a percentage of the lowest rate in the group, so that the percentage increase was a little smaller on the lower rates than in the upper brackets. In the first three groups, it worked out to about 8 percent of the lowest rate, and in the highest group about 9 percent. When weighted, however, the increase amounted to 7.5 percent of payroll. This may seem to be an anomaly, but taking the low-end group as an example, the cents per hour figure which represented 8 percent on the minimum rate was only 6-1/2 percent on the highest rate in the group. This same distortion of over-all percentages of course occurred in all these sliding-scale adjustments by groups, whether up or down. We should say that there was an entirely separate group for female workers -- the cutter girls at the Madison mill, mostly employed in wrapping ream sealed packages of sheeted paper, work never done by men. In 1933, their rate was 33 cents an hour. This was

raised to 37 cents. The Madison paper machines were also raised one class, No. 1 going to Class 24, and No. 2 to Class 16.

This Amendment also provided that should the National Industrial Conference Board Cost of Living index or the United States Department of Labor statistics show an increase of 5 percent or more between June 1 and December 1, 1934, another conference would be called to discuss a further revision of wage rates. It was signed by all our old International acquaintances, Matt Burns, John P. Burke, John McNamara, George Bowen, Charles N. Kimball, A.A. Gillis and F. Ingles, and by 16 local delegates.

As the Cost of Living Index did not change that much, there was no other conference in 1934, but in 1935 things began to get kind of complicated. Output of paper was still increasing, slowly. The price of newsprint remained at \$40.00, and the Company's rate of earnings was up only a little. However, by March there was enough general improvement to cause the unions to begin to look for blood. On March 11th, Matt Burns, John P. Burke and F. Ingles for the Mechanical Trades sent a letter to twenty-five paper companies in the United States and Canada, stating that the various paper industry unions had just held their joint conference in Buffalo, N.Y., and that delegates from all of the locals had reported that living costs were advancing in all the paper mill towns; in some at an alarming rate, which made higher wages imperative. The Paper Makers and the Mechanical Trades had gone on record to ask for a renewal of existing contracts with a 10 percent wage increase. The Pulp & Sulphite people had resolved to ask for renewal of existing contracts with a general increase

of 7 cents an hour or comparable percentage; larger increases to be sought in places where the cost of living had gone up excessively, or where the mills were on a more profitable basis than the industry in general. This letter extended an invitation to the manufacturers to meet with the executive officers of the unions at Montreal on April 2d, to discuss the wage structure in the industry and for the purpose of "trying to devise some practical plan of cooperative effort by the management and the unions that will be mutually beneficial." No delegates from union locals were to be present. This was an unusual move. The Internationals were a little worried about aggressive rank and file attitudes.

On March 26th, William O. McKay wrote to Matt Burns and John P. Burke, saying that it had always been the Company's policy to deal directly with the International Officers and representatives of the mill locals, and that he did not think it would be helpful to the Company's situation to sit in conference with foreign manufacturers because "it is our feeling that their unfair competition has been responsible for breaking down the newsprint price structure, and continues to be the cause of the demoralized condition of the industry." He then commented on the wage demands formulated at Buffalo, stating that the Company had granted two wage increases over the past sixteen months, while it had been unable to get any more money for its product, and that "it must be obvious to the men that it is against their self-interest to press for an increase when most newsprint mills in this country are already running at a loss, and the margin of profit has dwindled to the vanishing point even in the case of the most

favorably situated mills."

Matt Burns and John P. Burke both acknowledged this communication on March 27th, the former saying that he understood the Company's policy and its reason for not accepting the invitation to come to Montreal. He added that he did not know what, if anything, could be accomplished there, but went on to the effect that the union Internationals recognized the critical condition of the paper industry, and that it would be well for both sides to agree if possible, in general terms, as to what should be done, and the Internationals could then make recommendations to the restive locals and get things settled down as quickly as possible, because on the one hand they were disturbed by the implications of the rising cost of living, and on the other by the fact that without more business and better prices "we cannot hope to advance wages except to try where possible to eliminate unfair rates from the industry". John P. Burke said that he was aware of the Company's policy of independence, but that the invitation was sent to it as a matter of courtesy, and for information. Both he and Matt Burns suggested a wage conference with the Company about the middle of April.

William O. McKay replied on April 4th that he would be glad to hold such a meeting, but that the Company was again in a low-water bind, struggling to keep five machines in operation at Millinocket, and suggested that a date could be set later in the month. However, on April 5th, John P. Burke wrote that at the April 2d meeting in Montreal with the manufacturers, both Canadian and American, an understanding had been reached that

all contracts in effect would be extended until July 1st, and that another conference would be held in Montreal on June 25th, asking if the Company would go along with such an extension. On April 10th, William O. McKay replied that he was agreeable to this.

However, on May 31st, John P. Burke wrote that since the N.R.A. had been abolished, it might be well to set a date for a conference, just to put the minds of the men at the mills at ease. He also noted that they were holding a meeting with a group of Canadian companies on June 25th, and suggested that the Company set up its meeting for July 2d. William O. McKay said that this was too near the holiday, and that anyway, it might be better to wait until after the Canadian conference on June 25th, so that the attitude of the Company's competitors in that country would be known, before setting a date. This was acceptable to both Matt Burns and John P. Burke, who it will be seen by this time, were the spokesmen for all the unions. Copies of correspondence between either of them and the Company were always sent to the other. They both advised that they would see that all terms and conditions of the existing contract were honored until a date could be established to negotiate a new one.

On June 29th, John P. Burke advised that settlements had been made with four large Canadian companies without any essential change in wage rates. William O. McKay thereupon wrote that he would still be glad to hold a conference, but that if the Internationals and the locals were willing to consider extending the Company's current contract to May, 1936, this could easily be

arranged without a meeting, avoiding the expense. In the meantime, Matt Burns had written to all his locals, explaining that the Canadian employers had compelling arguments which had made this settlement seem necessary, and that in view of this development there was little hope of doing more than maintain the status quo with other companies. John P. Burke had no doubt done the same. However, the Company's locals wanted a conference. Mutual respect did not mean mutual agreement; there were a lot of things other than wages that they wanted to talk about, and a meeting was set up for July 9th. The result was a one-year contract, running from July 8, 1935 to April 30, 1936. Its wording was unchanged from that of the existing contract, except for the membership clause.

While all the above had been going on, the National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act), had been passed, and Tom Allen had pointed out that there was now some question of the legality of the membership clause, which read:

"Permanent employees shall maintain membership in good standing in the proper union and the Company shall assist in bringing this condition about. When available, union men shall be hired, and new employees, not union men, shall become so within fifteen days from the date they start work. If men are laid off, the older in point of service, when efficient, shall have preference of employment."

Several drafts of a new clause were drawn up in preparation for the conference. As we remember, the unions objected for one reason or another to all of them, but the following finally emerged:

"Employees shall maintain membership in good standing in the proper union. When available, union men shall be hired. If men are laid off, the older in point of service, when efficient, shall have preference of employment."

The writer has some recollection of this conference, and as he remembers, this wording was drafted by the unions in caucus, and was accepted with some small change, the management being glad to get rid of that tricky word "permanent". The 1927 Mill Rules were unchanged, and the existing wage scale remained in effect, except that four or five occupations were adjusted upward a few cents. There were always these requests for "individual adjustments", and almost always some were allowed, sometimes very few, sometimes quite a number, depending upon the circumstances. This year there were a lot of such demands, plus many gripes about "mill conditions", the catch-all term for complaints about everything from the state of the toilets to the application of seniority. The Company gave very little in the way of adjustments at this meeting, and referred most of the other matters to the Superintendents to handle locally. William O. McKay wrote to John P. Burke on July 29th that careful study had been given to these, and that the Company had tried to iron them out to the satisfaction of the men. Some adjustments were also made in the mechanics' scale at these local meetings. This contract was signed by the same International officers as had signed the year before, and by sixteen local delegates.

The next year presented still a different picture. Business had begun to improve, and Great Northern had moved newsprint price off the dime with an increase of \$1.00 a ton on January 1st. On February 27, 1936, John P. Burke and Matt Burns asked for a meeting with William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay in Boston, to discuss conditions in the industry, prior to calling for a labor conference. There was precedent for this kind of thing, as we have seen, but there is no information as to what ground this meeting may have covered.

On March 16th, George Bowen, Acting Vice-President of the International Association of Machinists, wrote William O. McKay: "Subject: Separate Agreement with Great Northern Paper Co." which was to the effect that it had been impossible under the existing policy of joint negotiations to come to a satisfactory agreement in regard to the jurisdictional rights of his organization, and that it now became necessary for it to withdraw from the joint agreement and bargain independently, asking for a reply, so that a separate conference could be set up before the joint agreement expired. Shortly after this, the Company received notice from Matt Burns and John P. Burke of their desire for a joint conference some time in April.

To George Bowen, the reply, on March 25th, was that the Company was once again digging out from under low water conditions during the winter and from the flood at Madison, and that it was desirable to defer consideration of renewal of the Labor Agreement, and ignored the request for a separate conference with the Machinists. George Bowen did not let this go by, writing several more letters,

but as far as we can tell, William O. McKay made no further reply until April 10th, when he wrote to all the unions, including the Machinists, suggesting a meeting on April 28th. At this time a separate letter was sent to George Bowen, saying that his request had not been overlooked, but that all the signers of the 1935 Agreement were being invited to participate in the April 28th meeting. We have no record of a reply from George Bowen, but on April 20th Local 156 advised that it would not take part in a joint conference; that "no one has been authorized to represent the members of this lodge or to negotiate any agreement which would have for its purpose the establishing of hours of labor, wages or working conditions of those employees coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, as granted by the American Federation of Labor", and asked for a separate meeting. William O. McKay replied that all the other organizations had agreed to meet with the Company jointly, and that he would give no consideration to a separate conference with Local 156 until after the general negotiations had been completed. Local 156, incidentally, was speaking for the Machinists at the Fast Millinocket and Madison mills also, although they were not mentioned.

No Machinists from any of the mills attended the April 28th conference. The outlook for the industry, at this early point in the year, was still not all that promising, and without any great difficulty a one-year agreement, running to April 30, 1937 was quickly reached, with the modest increase of 2 cents an hour across the board, and this was not to take effect until September 1st. There was no change in the terms of the contract or Mill

Rules, except as required to correct the holiday dates. The new agreement was signed by all the International officers with whose names we are now familiar, except Matthew J. Burns, who, from memory, had suffered what amounted to a nervous breakdown following the death of his wife, and had taken leave of absence. Arthur Huggins, Secretary of the International, signed for the Paper Makers. A meeting was held with the Machinists on May 15th, which resulted in their signing an identical agreement, with the same wage increase, effective on the same date. There is nothing to indicate that anything was done about "jurisdictional rights". The general increase amounted to 3.3 percent of payroll. A total of 20 local delegates signed the two contracts.

As we have said in another place, business was picking up by late 1936, and was going into a boom in 1937, although the Company had put a damper on any big price increase by announcing a jump of only \$1.50 a ton for that year. The first wage conference of 1937 was held on April 7th and 8th. Because of the nature of the information available on the conference of that year, we will use some of it to show why it would be impracticable to go more deeply into the complexities of bargaining, even when we may be quite sure of what took place.

A summary of notes on what transpired at this meeting, up to noon of April 8th, covers five closely typed pages. As often happened, particularly at critical times, William A. Whitcomb opened the meeting with a brief talk on conditions in the industry and in the Company, and then went back to his office. If we have not done so in some other place, we should note that the general

conferences were never held in the Company's offices, but in some rented space as nearby as possible. William O. McKay then took over, outlining operations of the past year, commenting on increased costs and the need to protect employees and stockholders from the financial troubles experienced by other companies. It is interesting that in this talk he mentioned the 1912 agreement, stating that its terms covered all the essentials of the existing contract, and that this was what the employees of other companies were still trying to get, also noting that Great Northern's wage scale was still higher than that of almost all other newsprint mills. At this time, West Coast rates were higher than the Company's, but were rejected for comparative purposes, as the cost of living in that area was at that time, substantially higher than in the East. Arthur Huggins, as spokesman for the unions, then made a statement in which he discussed the prospect of an improved newsprint price situation, and said that the wage requests which the employees would make were based not only on increases in the cost of living which had already occurred, but on anticipated further increases during the coming year. These "requests" -- they were always "requests" in those days, not "demands" -- as far as the Paper Makers were concerned, called for a greater differential between the rates for fourth and fifth hands; a 40-hour shut-down instead of 32 hours at Christmas; vacations with pay -- and here it is interesting to note that some wanted one week with full pay and some two weeks with pay for only one -- a number of adjustments in individual **rates**, including raising the fixed classes on the Madison machines, and a 15 percent general increase in wages, after adjustments.

One after another, the other International officers spoke, all asking for a week's vacation with pay; adjustment of certain individual rates; revision of some work schedules -- the short work-week was still in effect -- and a 15 cent per hour general increase after adjustments, which John P. Burke said would in normal times be an outlandish request, but was not out of line under existing conditions. The Machinists were at this meeting, and said that they did not want a separate contract this time but that they wanted their own individual adjustments and other special requests discussed privately, not in the open meeting. William O. McKay suggested that while the Company considered these matters, the unions get together and put their request for a wage increase on a common basis, there being a vast difference between 15 percent and 15 cents an hour, pointing out that on the minimum rate 15 cents would represent a 33-1/3 percent increase. The meeting then adjourned until afternoon.

William A. Whitcomb was back briefly at the afternoon session, pointing out the great advances that had been made in "labor conditions" over the years. Many of these "advances" were not things written into the contracts, but were the result of the Company's enlightened interpretation of the way its employees should be treated. Questioning by William O. McKay then developed that there had been no agreement as to whether any adjustment should be on a percentage or a cents per hour basis, and furthermore, that the delegates had come instructed not to sign any agreement, but to bring the Company's offer back to the locals for consideration, which did not make William O. McKay very happy.

However, he made an offer -- another sliding scale adjustment of 5 cents, 6 cents, 7 cents, 8 cents, 9 cents and 10 cents per hour, the 5 cent adjustment being in the group of rates from 45 cents to 51 cents, the other groups arbitrarily set so that the proposed increase was approximately 10 percent of the lowest rate in each. All rates above \$1.10 per hour were in the 10 cent bracket. He also agreed that there should be some correction of the fourth-hand-fifth-hand differential.

It was asked whether the Company would consider a further increase on January 1, 1938 if the price of paper went up again, which question was left hanging as the meeting adjourned until the next morning. Up until noon of April 8th, there was a wide-open general exposure of the adjustments and working conditions requests, all to be discussed in more detail with the individual delegations later, as was the custom, and the notes end as the meeting broke up for lunch.

This was a very friendly and relaxed conference, with compliments being passed back and forth wholesale. The afternoon was devoted to the settlement of requests for individual adjustments. The Machinists, as the result of their private conference, which as we recall was held in the Company's office, got a little memorandum covering the disposition of their gripes, signed by William O. McKay, and as some of the things agreed upon later were generally adopted, we should say that it was agreed that men would be given advance notice of the days they were to take off; time worked on Sunday was not to be taken away during the week; the Company was to consider reducing the number of classes of mechanics; overtime was to be divided as evenly as possible; an employee who was advanced to a higher paid job was to be given his new rate

within thirty days -- sometimes a man worked quite a while on a new job before anybody got around to changing his rate -- and men taking higher-paid jobs temporarily were to be paid the higher rate, subject to the approval of the Superintendent. There was no mention of the question of jurisdiction, which the Machinists had used the year before as the reason for a separate conference, the Company having taken the position as it always had, that under the contract it was not required to settle jurisdictional problems. There was not much more discussion of the wage offer, as it seems to have been accepted as being in the ball park, and the delegates could not act on it anyway. The meeting was adjourned to April 20th. We should say that outside the wage rate changes, the 1936 contract and 1927 Mill Rules were offered for another year, and contract terms were not an issue.

The general session on April 20th lasted only through the morning. The Company revised its offer, adding three more wage groups above \$1.10, with increases of 10 cents, 11 cents and 12 cents respectively, all rates above \$1.45 being in the last group. It also raised the minimum increase to 6 cents by lumping the lowest group with the next higher, and made some other small concessions, we believe having to do with the Madison paper makers. The extra raise for "common labor", which worked out to 13 percent, against 8 percent or less for the higher paid people, did not sit too well with some. As we have noted before, adjustments of this nature, and there had been a number by this time, repeatedly bent the differentials between the rates for various jobs out of shape, resulting in the multiplication of demands for individual adjustments evident at this and later con-

ferences. However, the sticky issue was whether the Company would agree to another wage increase at the end of the year, and in an unusual but not unprecedented move, the delegates went home after the morning session, leaving further negotiation on this point to the International officers.

All the old regulars among the International officials; Burke, McNamara, Kimball, Gillis, Ingles and Bowen, along with Arthur Huggins, were present at this meeting. They had to have an agreement, because they were getting nowhere with any other Company, and they were persuasive, at this afternoon meeting, in convincing the Company that it should lead off. William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay stuck with their position that the lower-paid employees should receive the higher percentage increase represented by the 6 cents offered, but they agreed to give another 2 cents across the board on January 1, 1938, and another cent at that time on the minimum rate, to bring it to 54 cents. The Christmas holiday period was increased from 32 to 36 hours. The wage adjustment offered figured out to 11.9 percent of payroll, not including the increase to be given January 1, 1938.

The next day, April 21st, Arthur Huggins wrote to William O. McKay that he had telephoned the Presidents of his locals, recommending that they accept the revised offer when it was presented to them, and that they urge the Pulp Workers to do the same. On the same day, he wrote a long letter to each of his delegates, and to the Secretaries of each of his locals. We quote a considerable part of this letter for its interest as

it relates to what we have said in other places about the influence of the Company and its employees in the industry in these years:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The agreement with the Great Northern Paper Company was consummated and signed in Boston yesterday by officials of the Company and officers and representatives of the International Unions. These agreements will now be sent to the mill towns, and should be signed by Delegates without delay."

After explaining the results of the previous afternoon's meeting, he went on to say:

"In our joint conference in Boston there was some indecision or misstatements as to the number of employees on the 45 cents per hour rate and some delegates there stated their belief that 90 percent of the employees were on that rate. Figures disclosed on yesterday that there are a total of 1266 employees on the payroll, and that of this number only 220 of them, or 17.5 percent, were on the 45 cent minimum rate. This justifies the position of the company in the elevation of the lower class bracket and the additional cent per hour that we will be granted on January First.

The public announcement just prior to our conference as to an increase in price of newsprint to \$50 per ton, has been most helpful to the International Unions and most fortunate for the employees of the Great Northern

Paper Company. We desire to point out, however, that the new price has only been estimated and hoped for and that publishers are now vigorously protesting same and this means the higher price is by no means assured.

The one and only responsible group that can make the new price effective is the International Unions composing the group who negotiated the agreement with the Great Northern Paper Company, and who must insist that all newsprint producers with whom no agreements have yet been signed shall make effective the \$50.00 per ton price and eliminate the discounts and the various differentials which have in the past placed the Great Northern Paper Company at a serious disadvantage.

We must insist that the two cents per hour granted by Great Northern last September First and the more recent increase effective May First and next January First become actually effective.

It has been necessary and important that the agreement with the Great Northern Paper Company be signed in order to make these increases effective with other companies whom we are to meet within the next few days, and unless the agreement would have been signed no further action could have been taken with these other employees or manufacturers.

The agreement with the Great Northern Paper Company is the best agreement we have ever had; the adjustments and wage increases are most fair and reasonable, and both the minimum and maximum rate to be paid are the

highest now in the United States, and this certainly warrants the full and whole-hearted cooperation of every worker on the payroll of Great Northern to make the operation of their plants a success.

The members of the various local unions of Paper Makers in the Great Northern mills cannot help but feel the newly established rates are fair and reasonable, and acceptance on their part is to be the important factor in the establishment of a more eminently fair price for this product throughout the entire market....."

The \$50.00 price referred to in this letter was the figure that had been announced in March, 1937 by the International Paper Company for the year 1938, and whether or not the action of the unions had anything to do with it, we have seen in another place that it did stick. We believe that this was the year that John P. Burke promised the Company, in open meeting, that if this increase were granted, the unions would do their best to get wage rates in the Canadian mills up more in line with those of Great Northern, and they did, over a period of time.

Frank Keenan took the new contract to the mills, and it was signed by the 20 delegates.

It is obvious that even such a condensed account as this of all negotiations, where the information is available, would run this chapter into another book. While there were some unusual aspects to this one, as there were to many others, it was really rather tame. Business was not good but was improving, and there

was good will and understanding on both sides. The request for vacations with pay was just a feeler at this point. The old conflict between high-paid and low-paid men showed through, but this was more or less solved by the Company's sliding-scale concept, which was a sort of compromise between a percentage increase which would benefit the higher-paid people most and a straight cents per hour increase, which was of most help to the low-paid men. The additional 2 cents on January 1, 1938 -- 3 cents on the minimum rate -- faced up to the probability of a higher price for newsprint by that time, without getting too far overboard if it did not materialize, and the whole package was not so far from the unions' original idea -- which of course was inflated a little -- that they could afford to reject it. This conference was typical in some respects. The Company would not normally have made an offer when the delegates were unable to make an agreement, and it was unusual for the final settlement to be made by the International Officers without the delegates present, but there probably was no such thing as a typical conference anyway, and our point is that from here on we will in most cases not attempt to go into much detail, but will concentrate more on the circumstances and the results than on the events.

By the time the 1938 negotiations came around, the newsprint business was in another very bad slump, and although price was up, production was back down to depression level. The conference, which was held on April 25th, and was concluded on the second day, resulted in an extension of the 1937 Agreement for one year; and the document was so headed; at the new wage rates that had gone

into effect on January 1st. No new contract was drawn, the form used being headed "Extension of 1937 Labor Agreement". This was signed for the International organizations by Matt Burns, who was back on the job, John P. Burke, John McNamara and Charles Kimball. James Brodrick, who had not been on the scene for some years, was present and signed for the Electricians. George Bowen had not come to the meeting because of some misunderstanding, and the Machinists were represented by John J. Donnellan. Archie Gillis, who was unable to be present, wrote on April 26th that he had been unofficially informed that the Trades locals had approved, and that he would come in the following week to sign for the Pipers, which he did. There were again 20 local delegates at this conference. The Machinists' little side-agreement was signed again, but the Madison paper machine classifications, which were the subject of discussion every year, remained at Classes 24 and 16 respectively, and were still in these classes in 1951, when we conclude this part of our story.

The writer has been working at this narrative for a very long time, and has done all but a very small part of the research single-handed. Most of the material was gathered in the earlier years. As far as this part of it goes, he had in his possession about all the information which was available up to this point. From here on, he has used the Personnel Department files, in which there is scant information for some years. His memory provides even less, and the remainder of this chapter may not be of the same nature as the earlier parts.

The passage in 1938 of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which

established in successive steps a maximum work week of 44 hours, of 42 hours and finally of 40 hours after which overtime had to be paid, presented no serious difficulty after the problems of compliance had been worked out. An interesting side-effect, however, was the change that began to show around the homes in Millinocket and East Millinocket. Up until this time, these communities had maintained much of the appearance of the usual mill town, notable for the absence of lawns and plantings, and the prevalence of bare cinder fill. While people had been on short hours during the depression years, there had been time but no money to spare. With the arrival of the 40-hour week under the new law, however, some of this free time began to be spent in improving properties, and the result was a dramatic change overall in the general appearance of the residential areas.

The 1939 negotiations were held starting April 26th. While production was up, costs were also climbing rapidly, earnings were not showing any radical improvement, and the Company was able to convince the delegates that competitors' rates would never catch up if Great Northern continued to raise wages, and that there was no money for an increase anyway. A new one-year contract, May 1, 1939 to April 30, 1940, was negotiated, its terms unchanged from those of the agreement in effect, except that the Christmas holiday went back to 32 hours. The 1927 Mill Rules remained as they were, except for one change. They were re-printed, probably because the supply had run out. The sections which had been deleted in previous years were left out, but the date May 1, 1927 was retained, the words "Revised to May 1, 1939" being typed in at the top. The change was that call-in pay for day workers called in at night was raised from four to six hours.

The wage scale was left just as it was, except for a number of individual adjustments, including the elimination of two classes of journeyman mechanics. We might say that up to this time there had been four classes of Head Mechanics, eight classes of journeymen, and five of helpers. This change automatically moved whatever men there were at the G and H journeyman level up to Class F. The differential between fourth and fifth hands, a bone of contention for years, was also widened. The now familiar Arthur Huggins, along with John P. Burke, John McNamara, Archie Gillis and E. Ingles (we have not been able to remember what the "E" stood for, but he always signed just that one initial) signed the agreement for their Internationals, John Flynn again represented the Carpenters and John J. Donnellan signed for the Machinists. George Bowen, who had been a rather feisty individual, we believe had died during the previous year. This year, as for the past several years, the side-agreement with the Machinists was renewed. We have noted that the two large unions, and sometimes one or more of the smaller ones, often had more than one International officer present for all or part of the conference. However, prior commitments sometimes took the one empowered or desiring to sign away from the meeting before its completion, and while the delegates may have signed agreements on the spot, all the copies in that case had then to be sent to one or more of the International officers, sometimes to all of them; one mailing them to another; for signature. However, except in a very few instances, those whose names we give as signers were present at the negotiations. On occasion, when there was more than one session to the conference, a delegate or two might be changed in be-

tween, and once in a great while some delegate did not get to sign, for one reason or another. The best we can do is to go by the signatures in the records on file.

By this time, with the backing of the new labor legislation, the union movement had begun to show more muscle. In 1935, an A.F.L. committee, composed of the presidents of eight unions, called the Committee for Industrial Organization, was set up for the purpose of organizing mass-production industries. The policy of this committee, and of the members of the unions it represented, was vertical organization, with all the workers in any plant or any company in one union. This ran afoul of A.F.L. trades union principles; the new unions formed by this committee were not accepted by it, and it threw out those who espoused the vertical organization concept. In 1938, all these unions banded together to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the C.I.O., a very militant outfit; which was considered, in its early days, to be Communist-dominated. By 1937, a few independent locals, something like the A.F.L. Federal Labor Unions, had been formed by the original committee in a few small pulp and paper mills. They were no factor at the time of which we are writing, but we will anticipate a little.

From Dr. James A. Gross's "The Making and Shaping of Unionism in the Pulp and Paper Industry", these locals were merged in 1940 with the Playthings and Novelty Workers' International Union, the members of which had little in common with pulp and paper mill workers. However, by 1943, this outfit had some 12,000 members in pulp and paper mill locals. In that year, this group was given a separate charter, under the name "Papermakers' Organizing Committee"; began to get some real backing from the C.I.O., and

by 1948 had some 39,000 members. In that year, it emerged from its constitutional convention as a full-fledged C.I.O. International, the United Papermakers of America, with jurisdiction over all workers in the pulp and paper and related industries. In the meantime, in 1942, the United Mine Workers, which had been thrown out of the A.F.L. as one of the originators of the C.I.O., also had set out to organize paper mills through its catch-all "District 50", and did pick up a number of mills in New England, at least one of them in Maine. These developments caused the management of the Company some anxiety, as there were always dissident elements who might turn to an aggressive organization, and both C.I.O. and District 50 contracts at that time were notoriously full of controversial clauses that required almost continuous interpretive conferences. However, A.F.L. tradition was strong in Great Northern mills, and if there was any very serious effort by either of these organizations to break in, it had no success. Nevertheless, the new militancy in the labor movement spread into the long-established unions to some degree, and over the long run had some effect on attitudes and events. In 1956, after the merger of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., the old International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the United Paper Makers of America in turn merged to form the "United Papermakers and Paperworkers". In the meantime, going back to 1935, there had been sporadic movements to merge the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. This was one place where Matt Burns, who was in favor, as a means not only of strengthening bargaining power but of developing a united A.F.L. front against the inroads of the C.I.O., and John Burke, who was opposed, largely on his-

torical and emotional grounds, differed. John P. Burke was supported by his membership, which also had long memories, and as long as he was alive; and he lived to a ripe old age; he was successful in preventing any such development. However, to make a long story short, in 1972, shades of John F. Fitzgerald, the two organizations did finally merge as the "United Papermakers' International Union". Which is why, as this is written in 1974 there are two locals of this union at both the Millinocket and Fast Millinocket mills, merger of the existing locals not as yet being accomplished. These things all had some bearing, in one way or another, on what happened with Great Northern, although any effect is obscure, and we make no effort to relate it to developments.

This puts us more than thirty years ahead of our story, so let us go back to 1940. The conference of that year, starting April 17th, resulted in a one-year agreement, the first since 1916 to provide for automatic extension from year to year in the absence of written notice of desire to amend or terminate given thirty days prior to any May 1st expiration date. The 1916 contract had contained provision for a one-year extension in the absence of such notice, but this was dropped in 1919, and since that time agreements had been for definite specified periods. That either party could give notice was understood but not spelled out. Nothing else in the existing contract was changed, except that the Christmas holiday was again made 36 hours instead of 32, but there was something new.

In view of the fact that there had been no general increase the year before, it was remarkable that a very modest adjustment of two cents an hour across the board was accepted. The wage rates in Canadian mills, although they had been brought a little more into line with those of the Company, were still giving the Canadian industry a substantial advantage, and Canada was at war, with wage controls either in effect or pending. This was a factor, but more importantly, the unions were pressing for a week's paid vacation; were willing to trade off a little money for it, and they got it. Before getting into this, let us say that the Mill Rules were unchanged. For years they had been printed on buff-colored paper, but this year they were reprinted again, this time on a blue sheet, so as to be the same color as the contract and wage schedules. The date of May 1, 1927 was again retained, but the words "Revised to May 1, 1939", previously typed in, were printed. The little separate agreement with the Machinists was again attached to the contract. It is dated April 30th, which may indicate that there was more than one session to this conference.

The writer recalls having seen in some union publication, which he cannot now identify, the statement that the management of the Company was "dragged kicking and screaming" into granting a paid vacation. It was not just that way. The 1960 revision of the booklet "Introducing Your Union", published by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, contains the following:

"In 1940, vacations with pay were almost unknown in collective bargaining agreements. A man worked all year, if he were lucky, and if his plant shut down he had to use

what savings he had in order to feed his family and keep going.

But something happened in the spring of 1940 which completely changed this picture. When annual negotiations began that year with the Maine companies, a proposal was made to the Great Northern Paper Company to include in the agreement a week's paid vacation for every man who had worked with the company for one year. Although the proposal was originally received by the company with shocked amazement, that day inaugurated in American industry the policy of negotiated paid vacations, now taken as a matter of course."

This is a little overdone, too. William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay were often amused but never amazed by anything in a union agenda. Some of the more farout items disturbed them a little, because they did not seem to fit the pattern of the relationship which had been established; because they clearly came from special interest pressures that might be hard to deal with, or because they might mean the presence of irresponsible elements or of indifferent local leadership, but the paid vacation demand was not an unreasonable one, and was taken under serious consideration. Of course, there had to be a show of opposition to it on general principles, but John P. Burke was allowed to carry the point in a private interview with William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay, and we recall that the former then came to the conference and made a speech in which he indicated that he felt that this was an idea whose time had come, stating that he felt it was something the workers deserved; that men had

been taking vacations without pay for a long time, and that it would be good for the Company, because a man could now take the break from work, which made him a better employee, as a right and without the hardship of loss of pay which often offset the benefit of the rest, and we well recall the applause from the delegation following this pronouncement.

It was left pretty much to the Company to draw up the rules, which were basically that an employee of one year or more -- 1600 hours of work between May 1 and May 1 being established as constituting a year -- could take one week's vacation, with pay for 40 hours at the average rate on his time-card on the last regular payday before the vacation. Absence which the Company could consider to be unavoidable was not to be taken away from the 1600 hours which made the employee eligible. These rules were printed, with a specimen vacation application form, on a separate sheet of blue paper, which was made part of the Agreement. This was the first formal paid vacation plan ever negotiated in the newsprint industry, and we believe in the pulp and paper industry, in North America.

The signatures of the International officers on the 1940 Agreement are all familiar; Arthur Huggins, John P. Burke, John F. McNamara, John Flynn, A.A. Gillis, F. Ingles and John J. Donnellon. Actually there were two sets of signatures. This contract had to be sent around to some of the officials, and the original was signed by Ernest B. Lambton, Vice-President of the Paper Makers and H.W. Sullivan, Vice-President of the Pulp & Sulphite organization in the absence of Arthur Huggins and John P. Burke, both of whom later signed other copies personally.

Twenty-four delegates also signed. The settlement, including the estimated cost of the one-week vacation, amounted to 4.8 percent of payroll.

The 1941 conference was held starting on April 22d. The result of this negotiation was another one-year contract, identical in wording with that of the previous year, with a general increase of five cents an hour, and for one time that we know of, no individual adjustments at all. The increase on payroll amounted to 6.8 percent. The Mill Rules were unchanged. Although suction couch rolls had been in use for some fifteen years, there had been no changes in the widths of the machines, and the question of using the couch roll width in connection with the Paper Makers' speed and width chart had never come up. However, the rebuilding of the old machines at Millinocket, started in 1940, had raised a question as to whether they were technically the same width that they had been, and it was agreed that the width of the breast roll, which was pretty well fixed in relation to trim, while the much longer suction couch roll was not, would be used for this purpose. As we recall, breast roll widths were such that no machine went down in class, which would not have been acceptable anyway, and that some went up. We do clearly remember that Nos. 7 and 8 at Millinocket were into a higher width class by just a hair, and that Bob Hume had 1/3 inch turned off the ends of each of these breast rolls in an attempt to avoid this. He did not get away with it.

This contract was signed by all the International officers who had put their names on the 1940 agreement, except that William (Bill) Francis represented the Carpenters and Joiners, and Michael

J. White the Painters -- we believe that this is the first time the latter organization had had an International officer present -- and by 23 local delegates. Although we have noted a letter from John F. McNamara on the letterhead of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers as far back as 1926, the name of his organization appears on the contracts as the "International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen" until this year. We have no explanation. As we have said, we have not been able to follow the several organizations which represented the steam plant people, but from this point on, at least, it was the Firemen & Oilers. The separate agreement with the Machinists was also made as usual. This was originally dated April 23d, but was revised on May 21st to eliminate a provision which had been added the year before. We are not able to say whether this meant that there was more than one session to this conference. This side-agreement, incidentally, had all this time remained basically the same as the first one, and continued to call for consideration of reduction of the number of classes of journeymen, although one had already been made. The item added in 1940 had to do with special rates for some particular jobs performed in the shop.

As we have said, in the earlier years of the period of which we have been writing, the original schedules of wage rates negotiated were typed in the Boston office, using a lot of carbon paper. After 1935, they were sent out to a public stenographer, who mimeographed them on white paper. In 1941, the Boston office acquired its own mimeograph machine, and all the copies needed could be made after the first typing on stencils. However, William O. McKay insisted that the standard Form 2A blue had to be used, so

that all the papers in connection with the Agreement would be the same. This stuff was heavy bond; mimeograph ink took a long time to dry on it, even when slip sheets were used, and restless delegates often had to wait until they were dry enough to handle; but anyway, after 1941 the Labor Agreement and all the attachments to it, as they left the Boston office, were blue.

The mechanics and people in some of the peripheral jobs at the big repair shop of the Spruce Wood Department at Greenville Junction were organized by the Carpenters & Joiners in 1941, as Local 2563, the first one-year contract, a very simple affair, being made in Bangor on January 22d and signed by John Flynn and three local delegates. Negotiations with this local and another formed by Spruce Wood Department employees at Millinocket some years later were always carried on separately from those with the mill employees, and from each other. Both covered rather small groups, and whatever needs to be said about them, if anything, we will cover in another place.

We might say that at some point, we are not sure exactly when, but perhaps around this time -- it is not really important -- it became the custom for the Manager of Manufacture, his assistants in negotiations, the Mill Superintendents and the delegates to hold a post-conference meeting at Millinocket with the supervisory force, to explain any changes in the contract and any other agreements that were made as the result of complaints handled at the general conference. These sessions were beneficial, and mostly went smoothly, but there were times, especially in the later years, and particularly at times when a sufficient number of the rank and

file at home were unhappy about something or other, that they degenerated into what were practically a re-negotiation of some of the terms of the agreement, or at least an attempt to re-negotiate them, and sometimes got a little rough before they could be brought under control, it being human nature for a delegate who had nothing to lose to be much more aggressive on home ice.

The United States was only a few months into World War II when the 1942 labor conference was opened on April 22d. There were as yet no wage controls, and a one-year contract was negotiated, without any change, except for a general increase of four cents an hour and a substantial number of individual adjustments, the whole working out to an increase of about 5.2 percent. The Mill Rules and the Machinists' side-agreement were also unchanged. This contract was signed by Frank P. Barry, General Organizer for the Paper Makers, and John Flynn was back at this meeting for the Carpenters & Joiners; otherwise the International signers were the same as on the previous year's contract. Twenty-two local delegates also signed. These increases of four cents and five cents look small when compared with later figures, but in 1941 and 1942 the Company's earnings per share were sagging, due to increased cost of materials, in the face of somewhat higher production from the three rebuilt machines at Millinocket, and this was a factor in arriving at what would seem very reasonable settlements under the conditions. The percentage figures are more meaningful, and roughly reflect changes in the cost of living index.

The Anti-Inflation Law enacted in October, 1942, put controls on wages and salaries. The rules were at first covered by

"Executive Order No. 9240", which was of course later reinforced by a number of others. This did not put on a freeze, nor control take-home pay, but "stabilized" straight-time wage and salary rates at the level of September 15, 1942, and for an employer to raise or lower wage rates or salaries from this level, it was necessary for him to get permission from the War Labor Board, under some one or another of the exceptions provided, and these exceptions did not include changes in the cost of living. However, in November, this regulation was modified by the establishment of the so-called Little Steel formula, under which the increase in the cost of living between June 1, 1941 and September 15, 1942 was calculated to be 15 percent, and employers whose wage or salary rates had not risen by an equivalent percentage in this period could grant increases to make up the difference.

This presented a pretty cut and dried situation when the 1943 conference opened on April 27th, as Great Northern rates had gone up roughly 12 percent in this period, and there was not much left. All individual adjustments were thrown out, and a sliding scale increase of 2 cents, 3 cents and 4 cents an hour was agreed to, the existing range of rates being divided into three groups, the above figures representing approximately 3 percent of the mid-point of the rates in each group. The terms of the contract remained unchanged, except that the Holiday section was reworded "Holiday periods shall be as specified in Executive Order 9240. Overtime will be paid for periods specified in the order, if plants remain in operation." We do not have Order 9240, but believe that "overtime" meant time and one-half, and that it applied not only to time worked on the three shut-down holidays,

July 4th, Labor Day and Christmas, but to New Year's Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving. The Mill Rules were unchanged, and the Machinists' side-agreement was also the same, except that it stated that any reduction in the number of classes of mechanics would require War Labor Board approval. The one-year agreement was signed on the spot, with the new rates subject to the approval of the War Labor Board. The writer has a copy of the "Form 10" signed by William O. McKay and the International officers of the various unions, the names all being the same as those noted in connection with the 1942 contract, except that Arthur Huggins signed for the Paper Makers and, for the first time, Harold F. Reardon, Grand Lodge Representative, for the Machinists. This application was processed with remarkable speed, approval for the increase being received on May 8th, retroactive to May 1st. Twenty-one delegates signed for the locals, and we might note that at this time there were approximately 1,600 employees covered by collective bargaining agreements at the three mills.

The 1944 conference, which was held starting on April 25th, ushered in the era of the fringe benefit, if it had not already been introduced by the granting of vacations. The one-year contract is headed "Amendment to 1943 Labor Agreement", and is dated April 25, 1944, which, as we have said, means only that the conference did not open before that date. This Amendment covered the changes noted below, and extended all other terms and conditions of the 1943 Agreement. Unfortunately, we do not know the course of developments at this conference. We know the result, but not how it was arrived at.

As there was nowhere to go with wage rates, no general wage increase was in the picture, and negotiations were confined to "inequity" adjustments in individual rates, which could be made under the rules, and to non-wage-rate matters. There is in the writer's file a copy of a letter from Saul Wallen, Chairman of the National War Labor Board, Region I, dated June 19, 1944, which reads: "Enclosed is a copy of the ruling of the War Labor Board for Region I, covering the Board's decision in the matter of the wage adjustment which you requested." This does not seem to mean what it says, however, as the attached ruling, dated June 6th, made no mention of wage rates, but covered approval of the granting of a second week's vacation after five years service, with 40 hours pay for each week. This was the maximum allowed under the regulations at that time. It was also agreed at this conference that the Company would initiate a contributory Group Life Insurance program for the hourly-paid employees, providing \$1,000 life insurance, with double indemnity for non-occupational accident death, the employee to pay 60 cents per month toward the premium, the Company the balance. This proposition was discussed with the Government people by Frank Keenan early in May; was found to require no approval under the regulations, and the policy was taken out with the Aetna Life Insurance Company.

There was no change in the Machinists' side-agreement, nor in the Mill Rules. The Amendment was signed for Matt Burns of the Paper Makers by John R. Jones, Vice-President, who was their negotiator, by John P. Burke for the Pulp & Sulphite, John F. McNamara for the Firemen & Oilers, Bill Francis for the Carpenters

& Joiners, Timothy Callahan for the Pipers & Steamfitters, H.C. Tracy for the Electrical Workers, Harold Reardon for the Machinists, M.J. White for the Painters, and by 21 local delegates. A couple of unfamiliar names show up this year among the International officers, for some reason.

There had been a number of changes in the tour schedule since the short hours of the depression, but we have no record of these, nor do we know what the schedule was just before September, 1944, when a new four-crew schedule for seven-day tour workers, which gave each man 40 work-hours a week, was put into effect. The 1944 Amendment had of course made the Agreement into two pieces. The vacation program had been broadened, and group life insurance had been added, with no details on it, and there had begun to be some argument about the interpretation of some of the simple old clauses that everyone had heretofore taken for granted. It had therefore been agreed that the contract should be worked over and put into better form in preparation for the next conference. This was done by a committee of eight International officers and ten delegates from the mills, along with William O. McKay, Creighton Stanwood, Frank Keenan and the writer at a meeting in Boston starting on November 29th. The Paper Makers were represented by C. Arnold Brown, who had been at a number of conferences, and the Pulp & Sulphite by Fred Morris, 6th Vice-President, who incidentally was a former Madison employee, and delegate to several conferences. The results were sent to John P. Burke and Matt Burns on December 1st, evoking the following comment from the former in a letter dated December 4th. to William O. McKay:

"I am pleased with both the new printed vacation plan and the tentative draft of the Agreement. I am especially pleased that the agreement retains its concise form. Take the question of seniority, for instance. I wonder how many hours of my life I have spent talking seniority in conferences with employers all over the country. However, you and your associates and the committee have covered the whole question of seniority in one sentence

I am glad that the meeting was so agreeable and that the labor delegation was so cooperative

I am sure that the work done in drafting this agreement should save a lot of discussion at our conference next spring."

And from Matthew Burns on December 5th:

".....I have taken note of the very high compliments you have paid to Mr. Jones and Mr. Brown of the Paper Makers and Mr. Morris of the Pulp Workers..... I desire to compliment yourself and all of those who participated in the drafting of this contract for a very fine job. I think the re-draft of our agreement was a very fine concept, and it still remains quite simple and direct in its purpose and proposals."

The new contract was intended to be printed in pocket-size booklet form, so that every employee might have a copy -- for years there had been only a limited number of copies in the hands of the mill Superintendents and the locals -- and at this time the writer put together a number of hand-made typed dummies, which were sent out with the drafts.

The 1945 conference opened early, on April 6th. At least one reason for this was that the labor members of the War Labor Board were not seeing eye to eye with their colleagues, and in this situation it was not likely that the unions would be likely to settle for something that did not have to go to the Board for approval, which might be a time-consuming process. However, the general wage demand was not great -- only three cents an hour, which somebody had figured out might be approved, and at some point in the negotiations the Company agreed to this increase, plus a number of individual adjustments, but there were lots of things to ask for besides adjustment in the hourly rates, and, because these got into new areas, the argument was long and often heated. The contract finally arrived at was in the form of a new one-year agreement, following closely the draft which had been worked out by the committee in November of the year before, and containing provision for extension from year to year, failing written notice thirty days prior to any May 1st of desire to amend or terminate. However, for the first time ever, wording was included by which the Company recognized the signatory unions as the sole and exclusive bargaining agents for all the hourly-paid employees represented by these unions. This had always been understood, which was precisely the argument advanced for inclusion of this provision, the idea being to head off incursions by the C.I.O. or any other organization not then representing Company employees. It really could not completely guard against this, but it was about the best that could be done.

The Membership clause, which included the seniority policy, had been under fire, because of real or imagined abuse, and the

old wording -- "The oldest employee in point of service, when efficient, shall have preference of employment" was changed to "The oldest employee in point of service, when capable, shall have preference in promotion, lay-offs, transfers and re-employment." This was the clause that John P. Burke had applauded, but that word "capable" became the source of many a headache in the years to come. The running schedule clause was re-worded to provide that the "paper machines", instead of "pulp and paper mills", should operate six days a week "beginning 8 A.M. Monday" -- this to establish Monday as the first day of the week for overtime purposes. There was no change in the pulp mill schedule, the pulp mills being allowed to run normally 6-1/2 days a week, and "a longer period when mutually satisfactory".

The holiday shut-downs, at this time 36 hours on July 4th, 24 hours on Labor Day and 36 hours on Christmas, to comply with Executive Order 9240 remained the same. Hitherto, employees, except those who worked, had lost pay for these holidays, but at this time it was agreed that, subject to the approval of the War Labor Board, eight hours straight time would be paid for time not worked in the 24 hour period 8 A.M. to 8 A.M. of these shut-downs, plus time and one half for time worked during these same 24 hour periods. It was also provided that while Order 9240 remained in effect, time and one-half would be paid for any work done during the entire shut-down on the above three holidays, and on New Years' Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving, on which the mills continued to operate.

The vacation schedule of one and two weeks established the year before remained unchanged, but more comprehensive rules, drawn up by the November committee were adopted. The contri-

butory Group Life Insurance plan was also unchanged, but to this was added a hospitalization benefit of \$5.00 a day for 31 days, and a sickness (loss of pay) benefit, for 13 weeks, beginning on the 8th day, running from \$10.00 a week for employees earning up to \$30 a week to \$30 a week for those earning \$100 or more. About one-half the premium was to be paid by the employees, and the policy covering these benefits was later taken out with Aetna.

The grievance and arbitration clause in effect for so long was moved from the Mill Rules into the Agreement proper, and was completely overhauled, providing for a three-step grievance procedure, the first step between the local and the Department Foreman, with a three-day time limit for decision; the second between the local and the Mill Superintendent, with a six-day limit; the third between an International union officer and the Manager of Manufacture, with a two week limit, after which, if the decision was not acceptable, it could go to arbitration under the old set-up, binding decision to be made by one man from the Company, one from the union, and a third, who was to act as Chairman, to be chosen by these two.

The Mill Rules were re-written also. The work schedule of day men, which had been from 8 A.M. to 12 noon and from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. was changed to "8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. or 7:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with noon hour out for lunch". The reason for this was that the people at East Millinocket preferred, and had been allowed for a long time, to go to work earlier and knock off earlier than did those at Millinocket, but this clause did not make

any distinction between the two mills, and this fact, along with the removal of the specified lunch period, was to make trouble later. Tour work rules were the same, and there was no change in the specification of what work could be done on the paper machines on Sunday, or by whom it could be done.

A provision was added that if a man reported for his regular work, and it was not available, he would receive two hours' pay for reporting, and he was required to do any work available, other than his own job, for this period. He did not receive this reporting pay if the Company had made a reasonable effort to head him off from coming to work three hours before his regular reporting time, and it was nullified in case the lack of work on his job was due to a fire, an accident, or an "immediate" breakdown -- one which had just occurred -- or other causes beyond the Company's control. The article which had been in the Machinists' side-agreement for so many years; that a man assigned temporarily to a higher-paid job should receive the higher rate of pay was incorporated in the Mill Rules, and the provision was added that he would continue to receive his regular rate of pay if he was temporarily assigned to a lower-paid position while his regular job was in operation. Assistant Foremen and storehouse employees were added to the group considered to be Management. A whole new section on Accident Prevention, which incorporated some of the old safety rules, was added. Failure to comply with safety regulations was added to the causes for summary discharge, and the old provision prohibiting reading while on duty was restored, with the qualification "except when required". The new Mill Rules were dated April 6, 1945.

Matt Burns and John P. Burke attended this meeting, but by the time all this had been hammered out -- the committee's suggestions had to be discussed in detail, of course -- they had left, agreement in principle having been reached. The new contract was signed by C. Arnold Brown, International Representative, for Matt Burns, and by Fred W. Morris for John P. Burke; by John F. McNamara for the Firemen & Oilers, William Francis for the Carpenters, John F. Regan for the Pipers, John J. Regan for the Electricians, Harold Reardon for the Machinists, M.J. White for the Painters, and 20 delegates. From any record we have, no side-agreement with the Machinists was made at this negotiation.

This settlement was of course subject to approval by the War Labor Board, and application was filed jointly by the Company and the unions. The general 3-cent increase was justified as being in lieu of payment of a shift differential, which was unknown in the pulp and paper industry, but which was permitted under the regulations. The ruling of the War Labor Board, Region I, received with a letter of transmittal from the Chairman, Saul Wallen, dated April 25th, approved the holiday pay and the enlargement of the group insurance plan, but denied the general increase, the four public and industry members voting against it, the two labor members for it. The Company might have made this an excuse to avoid it, but did not, preparing and filing an immediate appeal for review. We do not know what arguments may have been used, but they were strong enough to bring about a reversal of the ruling, the 3-cent increase being allowed on May 18th, retroactive to May 1st. The cost of this settlement

amounted to about 4.65 percent of payroll, equivalent to around 45 cents per ton of paper, but this was peanuts compared to what was coming.

This Agreement, including the Mill Rules, wage scales, the Paper Makers' speed and width chart, vacation rules and details of the insurance plans was printed in a booklet, for distribution to all employees; the first time a contract had been put into this form since 1908, and that one had contained only the bare agreement, with no wage rates.

Controls were removed in this year, and wages began at once to take off. On December 7, 1945, Matt Burns and John P. Burke wrote the following joint letter to William O. McKay, interesting for what it reveals about the relationship between the Company and the unions representing its employees, as well as for its subject:

"Dear Mr. McKay:

We feel certain that you are aware that higher wage levels are being established in the pulp and paper industry.

Although our agreement with the Great Northern Paper Company extends to May 1, 1946, we think that a labor conference should be held in the near future to discuss the possibilities of a general wage increase. We feel free to make the suggestion during the contract year because of our long record of cordial and cooperative relations with the Great Northern Paper Company. We are suggesting a meeting in Boston Thursday, December 27th.

We shall await your reaction to our suggestion.

Very truly yours."

William A. Whitcomb and William O. McKay did not feel that it would be smart to invoke the contract, under the conditions, and the latter agreed to the conference. Matt Burns notified the other unions. We have no reason to doubt that this meeting was held, except that we have no information whatever in regard to it. If it took place it was exploratory, no action was taken, and it was adjourned to January 29, 1946. If it was not held, for some reason, it was delayed to that date. The form printed up in preparation for it was headed "Extension of 1945 Labor Agreement", and was dated December 27, 1945. Only two clauses were printed in, the first stating that the Great Northern Paper Company and all organizations signing the extension became parties to it, the second stating that the 1945 Agreement was to continue in effect until April 30, 1947, with provision for continuation thereafter from year to year. The usual ruled spaces were provided at the bottom for signatures, and the rest was left blank, no one knowing what the outcome of the meeting might be. This form was used when agreement was reached, the December date being erased and "January 29, 1946" typed in.

Not much was open for discussion except wage rates and the duration of the extension. The result, predictably, was a substantial general wage increase, 10 cents an hour, as of January 1, 1946, with another 5 cents on April 29, 1946, with the Agreement extended to April 30, 1947. The April 6, 1945 Mill Rules were unchanged. The payment of time and one-half for work performed on New Years' Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving Day, which

had been mandatory under the now extinct Order 9240, was negotiated into the Agreement, and for some reason the provision for 8 hours straight time holiday pay on July 4th, Labor Day and Christmas was spelled out again in the typed sticker pasted to the blank space on the Extension, which left all other terms of the 1945 Agreement in effect. The Extension was signed by John R. Jones, 6th Vice-President of the Paper Makers, John P. Burke, John F. McNamara and Bill Francis; by one of the delegates for P.V. McNamara -- a new name -- of the Pipers, H.C. Tracy of the Electrical Workers, and 22 delegates. The Painters had no International Representative at this meeting.

Between this conference and the last one, the Machinists had been suspended by the American Federation of Labor, and could not join in any agreement that provided for determination of jurisdiction by that organization. As we remember, Machinists' delegates attended the meeting, and we have included them in the above count. They did not sign with the others, but later accepted the same settlement, and John J. Donnellan and three local delegates signed an identical Extension, also dated January 29, 1946, on which was pasted another sticker reading:

"The International Association of Machinists agree to all of the above provisions of Extension of 1945 Labor Agreement except Article No. 3 of 1945 Labor Agreement - Jurisdiction. This article shall not apply for the International Association of Machinists, but in no event shall the Company be required to decide jurisdictional questions."

This solution may have been arrived at some months after the general conference, as copies of the Extension with the Machinists' sticker attached, were not sent to the other unions for their files until May 6, 1946. As we recall, however, the Machinists were paid the new rates while the matter was being worked out. No new booklet was provided, but edge-glued printed copies of the Extension, of the booklet size, were provided to be added to the 1945 issue.

This was a big settlement, but higher newsprint prices had already been announced, the consumption of paper was moving up with the end of restrictions on its use, and as we recall, the management was in agreement that a wage adjustment of this magnitude, particularly when tied to a year's extension of the contract, was not out of order. Besides, the shortage of labor during the war had resulted in long working hours and vast amounts of overtime. With more men available, work schedules could be reduced to a normal basis, and most of the overtime eliminated. However, the pay of those who had been accustomed to a lot of overtime could not be cut too drastically, and there had to be some offsetting increase in hourly rates. Still, the reduction in overtime was figured to save something just under half the cost of this increase.

In the period following this conference, all kinds of questions began to come up about the vacation plan, holiday pay and some of the other changes that had been made in 1945. When these got as far as Boston, they were mostly handled by Frank Keenan, who remained the official advisor and legal aide on labor relations problems, and chief helper at negotiations until the writer

became Assistant Manager of Manufacture on January 1, 1947. An example was the matter of vacations for men returning from military service, in which case it was ruled that they could be credited with 1600 worked hours per year while in the service, and there was some other unilateral loosening of the rules which John P. Burke called a very generous gesture on the part of the Company. However, from this point on, problems arising out of employment multiplied, and it was about here that the writer began to get really involved in them, because of his participation in negotiations and his frequent visits to the mills on other business. In 1943, as the technical questions raised by the Social Security program and the labor laws had become too hard for the uninitiated to answer, and to help maintain compliance, Roderick E. (Rod) Farnham, a native of Brownville Junction, had been hired from the Wage & Hours Division of the Labor Department and installed at Millinocket as Payroll Inspector. At this time, he was made Supervisor of Wages & Hours and Social Security; began to be called upon for statistical information, which gradually led into his being brought in to assist in negotiations, and this in turn allowed him to help to some degree in the solution of labor problems at the mills and in the woods. At this time, it was usually possible to produce solutions reasonably satisfactory to both sides without any bloodshed, but it was not always easy, and while there was no essential change in the overall good relationship which had existed for so long, there was, between labor law and fringe benefits, a new dimension that had to be reckoned with.

We have no information at all as to what led up to a second

wage conference in Boston on October 22, 1946, but from the circumstances, we have the feeling that it was called by the Company on account of the rapidly rising cost of living. The result was an "Amendment of 1945 Labor Agreement", which provided for a further general increase of 5 cents an hour, effective October 28th, with no other changes in the contract, and no extension of the expiration date. William O. McKay, now President, conducted this meeting, which seems to have been cut and dried. Only 11 local delegates attended. There was a full complement from the East Millinocket mill, but there were none from Millinocket except two from the Trades, and only three from Madison, representing the Paper Makers and the Pulp & Sulphite. We do not know how many International officers may have been there. The Amendment was signed by John R. Jones for the Paper Makers, (as best we can remember Matt Burns left the Paper Makers about this time, and Paul Phillips, who never attended any Great Northern negotiating sessions, became President) John P. Burke, John J. McNamara, International Representative (this was the son of John F. McNamara, who had been around for so long) for the Firemen & Oilers; Bill Francis, J.N. Ryan for the Pipers, H.C. Tracy for the Electrical Workers, John J. Donnellan and M.J. White. The agreement apparently had to be sent around from one International officer to another for some of these signatures, as it was December before a printed copy could be made up and sent to the mills, along with more glued stickers to be put into the 1945 contract booklet.

We have noted elsewhere the organization of Local 192 of the International Office Employees Union, and the circumstances which brought this about. William O. McKay, although surprised and somewhat upset by the move, was not opposed to it, but there were a number of violent dissenters among the office workers,

and he felt it best to call for an N.L.R.B.-supervised election, which was held at Millinocket on October 9, 1946. The first contract, running only to June 30, 1947, with a year to year extension provision, was negotiated in Boston on October 29th., and was signed by William O. McKay for the Company, Paul G. Hutchings, President of the International, Raymond J. Jameson, International Representative, and three local delegates. A separate agreement signed at the same time specified that the new contract was effective only if ratified by the membership -- the first time we know of that this stipulation was made in connection with a negotiated contract, although it had always been understood. The wording, in a general way, followed that of the agreement with the mill employees, but there were some differences between the two operations, and a separate set of Office Rules, the equivalent of the Mill Rules, was drawn up and made part of the contract. This agreement excepted quite a number of occupations which had been considered office type jobs, mostly supervisory or with confidential duties, but it covered the storehouse employees, who had been excepted from the mill contract. It did not include the office force at Madison, which was too far away to bother with. It was approved, of course, except by the hard-core holdouts, who wanted no part of it. This put the Company in an awkward position. Efforts were made to get the new local to except these people, but they would not, and finally Leslie Kewer convinced them that it was in the interest of the Company that they join. From that time henceforth, this contract has been negotiated separately, in spite of a number of attempts by the local to get itself in-

cluded in the joint negotiations with the other unions, on the ground that the latter set a pattern, at least as far as wage adjustments were concerned, that the office workers had no choice but to follow. However, the problems were so different that this would have complicated bargaining tremendously; the management steadfastly refused to consider it, and all later negotiations were conducted separately at Millinocket. While the writer attended many of these, as the representative of the head office, they were very complicated, and we do not plan to attempt to follow them.

It would probably be of interest to include a study of union bargaining demands and the action taken on them over the years. There is no compendium of union agenda, but if there were one, it would show that over a period of time almost every valid proposal was eventually adopted in one way or another. Most of these things, having been rejected by the Company, or traded off in any negotiation for something having more priority, appeared again the next year, and the year after that, until their time finally arrived.

While we do not have any documentation, we feel safe in saying that the matter of pensions had been on the list for quite a while. The Social Security program had been instituted in 1935, but it was inadequate, and the Company had been for some years paying supplemental pensions, at first on completely informal terms, under which some men got pensions and some did not, depending upon length of service; meritorious or mediocre performance and the like; or on physical or financial condition,

or whatever, each case being decided on its merits. However, we believe that about 1945 the Company had, on its own initiative, adopted the policy of paying a supplemental pension equal to primary Social Security, to all employees who retired at the age of 65 or over. We are on weak ground here. We know it was done, but we are not at all sure of the details, nor exactly when this program, which of course was simply expensed, was put into effect. It just seems to us that it was before 1946.

Be this as it may, we know that in March, 1947, prior to the upcoming conference, a pension committee of union delegates met with the Company in Boston to discuss a formal contributory retirement annuity plan, which had been worked out by the Company with Aetna. This called for an employee contribution for future service of two percent of earnings up to \$3,000 a year, and four percent on earnings above that figure, earnings being based on 52 forty-hour weeks, excluding overtime and premium pay. The Company was to pay for past service, and make up any difference in the cost of providing a retirement benefit, at age 65, which, with Social Security, would amount to an average of about 40 percent of annual earnings. The plan also contained provision for early retirement. The Company's contribution would have been substantially greater than that of the employee. It was contemplated that this plan would cover both hourly paid and salaried people, but the latter were not involved in this meeting, following which Creighton Stanwood, in a letter to Bob Hume, dated March 20, 1947, said in part:

"We are enclosing copy of a mimeographed memorandum which was handed to each of the delegates.... This

memorandum outlines the major provisions of the proposed pension plan which the Company has under consideration.....

The meeting terminated with the understanding that the plan discussed was the one which the Company would be willing to recommend for approval by the Board of Directors and the Stockholders. The delegates also advised that they were not in a position to definitely state that the union members would be interested in such a plan, so that no commitments were made on either side."

Late in 1946 came the great "Portal to Portal" pay flap which threw United States industry into a panic. This grew out of a suit in 1942 by 1100 C.I.O. United Auto Workers against the Mount Clemens Pottery Company, a Michigan firm, under the Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage-Hour Law) of 1938, for payment of overtime, retroactive, for time spent on Company property walking or riding to the work-place and other "pre-production" activities before the Company began to count time. A favorable ruling by a Federal judge was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, but was upheld by the Supreme Court, and sent back to the original judge in 1946 for determination of compensation and the duration of the retroactive period. In the meantime, the United Mine Workers had brought a similar claim against the Jewel Ridge Coal Company, and this set off a vertible avalanche of suits, almost all by C.I.O. and U.M.W. affiliates, bringing in claims for back pay for everything but the kitchen sink. Some settlements were made, adding fuel to the fire. Newspaper

articles published in December 1946 and January 1947 indicated that the amount involved in these suits was up to over two billion dollars, and that, since triple damages were being asked for in some cases, claims might rise to as much as five or six billion dollars. The American Pulp & Paper Association issued a bulletin on December 6, 1946, warning that there were definite signs that suits "reaching fantastic proportions", stemming from the Mount Clemens decision, would be filed against pulp and paper companies for payment of time for such things as walking to the work place, changing to and from work clothes, appearing for medical examinations and even for waiting in line to get paid, to name but a few, and citing one company, not in the industry, with only 64 employees, where such claims, with legal fees, ran to about half a million dollars. Sheldon Wardwell viewed the situation with alarm, making the point that these claims could spread even to time spent by the employee between his home and the mill, but no claims were made against the Company, and the management sat tight, watched developments, and worried a lot. We do not intend to pursue this matter much further, as it never did affect the Company. The American Federation of Labor was not behind this movement, which it said dishonored contracts. The Congress became alarmed at its implications for industry -- bankruptcy would have been the result of successful action against many small concerns -- intervened in the courts, and finally legislated the ground out from under these suits. It was in 1947 that the National Labor Relations Act was amended and re-enacted as the Taft-Hartley Act (Labor-Management Relations Act). This established a Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and required among other things the giving of 60

days notice prior to termination of a contract and the filing with the proper Government agencies of information on the existence of a dispute if settlement were not reached in 30 days. This, however, was not until after Great Northern's 1947 conference.

The 1947 meeting came very late, not getting under way until April 29th, and running into four days. Creighton Stanwood negotiated for the first time for the Company. The wage settlement was another large one -- 14 cents an hour across the board, with a special adjustment for the Boss Machine Tenders at Millinocket because they were on fixed rates, and higher speeds on the machines had automatically increased the rates of some of the men under them. One more class of journeyman mechanics and one class of mechanic helpers were dropped, leaving five classes of journeymen and four classes of helpers. The proposed pension plan was offered by the Company at this conference, but was turned down in favor, as we recall, of an additional two cents an hour, included in the 14-cent settlement, and we remember Frank Keenan shaking his head in disbelief and saying: "That's the first time I ever saw anybody kick a million dollars in the teeth!".

As indicated by the title "Extension", there were no changes in anything except wage rates in the 1947 Agreement, which was signed by John R. Jones, John P. Burke, John J. McNamara, Bill Francis, John J. Donnellan and M.J. White, and for the first time by William F. Steinmiller for the Electrical Workers. These were all familiar people, Bill Steinmiller having attended a number of conferences. There was no International signature for the

Pipers this year. Nineteen local delegates put their names to this Extension.

There were a lot of questions about vacations at this conference, and in May some supplemental rules, with examples, were drawn up for the guidance of the mills. Apparently some holiday pay had been being used as an offset against overtime after 40 hours, and after some study of this matter, an order was issued in June to discontinue whatever it was they were doing.

Local 591 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers was organized by the employees in the Spruce Wood Department shop and storehouse at Millinocket, including certain of the men working regularly on the drive on the lower river, in 1947, the first one-year contract being negotiated in Bangor on March 23d. This Agreement, which followed the mill contract much more closely in form than the earlier one made with the Greenville employees, was signed by Fred Morris for the International organization and two local delegates. William Hilton negotiated for the Company, as was also the case with the earlier Greenville Shop agreement. As we have noted elsewhere, negotiations with the two Spruce Wood Department locals were always conducted separately from each other, and from the mill organizations, so that after 1947 there were four different labor conferences. However, in 1972 the Greenville shop was closed, and some number of the men who were working there moved to Millinocket and joined Local 591.

It will be obvious that after World War II came to an end, the unions had taken the bit in their teeth, and were pressing

year after year for everything they could think of. Samuel Gompers' one-word definition of the aim of organized labor -- "More" -- seemed to be the watchword. However, business was good, it was possible to get a better price for paper to offset higher labor and other costs, and while the Company's earnings per share were not much better, they were holding.

The result of the 1948 conference, which began on April 22d, was another "Extention of 1945 Labor Agreement", which did not mean exactly what it said, as there were changes of some substance. The extension was for one year, and in accordance with the new labor law, the notice period was increased from 30 to 60 days. Seniority problems had become increasingly troublesome, and the wording pertaining to this subject was broken out of the Membership clause and set up under its own title, with the following added:

"Vacancies shall be filled in the following order when applicants are capable: (a) by the oldest applicant in point of departmental service; (b) by transfers; (c) by re-employment; (d) by hiring new employees."

Departmental seniority and job bidding had arrived.

The Company reserved the right to run the mills on the New Year's Day, Memorial Day and Thanksgiving Day working holidays, as established by the old War Labor Board, and put into the contract after its demise, but agreed to pay eight hours holiday pay to all employees for these three days, plus straight time for time worked. This made six holidays for which pay was received whether worked or not. In addition, hospital insurance was increased to \$7.00 a day for

employees, plus \$70.00 for incidental hospital charges, and dependents' coverage was added at \$5.00 a day plus \$25 for incidentals. The number of classes of Head Mechanics was reduced from four to three; the number of journeyman classes from five to three, resulting in automatic increases for those men in the classes eliminated, and on top of this, a general increase of 11 cents an hour -- 7 cents for female employees -- was put into effect, on May 1st. There was no change in the April 6, 1945 Mill Rules. When this was all added up, it was, we believe, with the possible exception of the multiple adjustments in 1946, the most costly settlement that had ever been made.

This Extension bore the signatures of John R. Jones, John J. McNamara, Bill Steinmiller and John Donnellan, and Fred Morris, as an International officer, signed for John P. Burke, but by the time the negotiations had dragged to an end the other officers had had to take off, and local delegates, with authority, of course, signed for the Carpenters & Joiners and the Painters as International Representatives. There was again no signature for the Pipers. As best we can remember, the Machinists were still out of the A.F.L., but their International officer was able to sign, as he had the past three years, because this was an extension of the 1945 Agreement, which had been signed separately, with certain reservations. Indeed, while there had been extensions before, we believe that this particular string of them was at least in part a technicality so that the Machinists could join in the bargaining and sign with the others. Their side-agreement had disappeared some years back, as we have noted, and at some time they went back into the A.F.L., but we cannot be sure just when this was. Twenty-one local delegates signed this Extension.

One of the sticky problems brought up at this conference was the matter of allowing smoking in the mills. This was more important than it might seem. The insurance people had always frowned on it. Some places in and around a paper mill were highly dangerous spots in which to light up; others presented very little hazard, but it did not seem fair to allow this freedom to some and not to others, so smoking was banned altogether, which is probably why chewing tobacco and packing snuff was so prevalent. The ban on smoking of course did not work very well. Smoking in the washrooms was common, and so was sneaking a few drags in the toilets and in sundry holes and corners, even back of the dryers, which was not a good place at all. These infractions had continued, in spite of reluctant and often arbitrary disciplinary action. At this point, the demand for this privilege was so strong that the Company, on the old principle of "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em", decided to see if something could be worked out, and Frank Keenan and Fred Morris were appointed as an ad hoc committee to study the matter and discuss it with the insurance company. This took most of the year, but in December a "Temporary Modification of the No Smoking Rule" was worked out. This provided for the establishment by the Company of smoking areas in all departments of each mill, to which men could go to smoke, leaving their jobs not more than three times in eight hours to do so, under certain rules. Places where smoking would be allowed were not spelled out in this document, but were set up by the mills to meet the conditions, and the rules, with locations, were posted "for a trial period" early in April, 1949. Most of the locker rooms were free territory, and there were some other

specifically designated general areas. In other places, smoking was allowed only inside yellow squares painted on the floors. This took care of the problem pretty well, and the privilege, at least for a time, was not unduly abused, and although the designated areas had to be changed from time to time as not being convenient, or for some other reason, the "trial period" became permanent, and another shibboleth had fallen to progress.

It must not be supposed that all this had resulted in any feeling on the part of the Company that the unions were taking over the mills, or in any change in the good relationship with its employees, because the same thing was happening everywhere, and what was coming up in 1949 began to be widely referred to as the "fourth round". However, a mild business recession began in 1948. This did not affect the Company very much, but there was considerable unemployment elsewhere, and by early 1949 there began to be signs of a more restrained attitude on the part of organized labor. In February, the Wall Street Journal was quoting "those Washington soothsayers" as speculating that the average wage boost from spring negotiations would be "a nickel an hour", and that "A lot of wage awards are going to come only after a long and bitter struggle. It may be summer before some unions get the wage settlements they're plugging for. Some may not get 'em at all." It was also predicted that there would be more than the usual number of fringe benefits -- shorter hours with the same pay, longer vacations, and the like, mixed in with or substituted for pay raises. As one Labor Department humorist put it: "The fourth round of pay boosts won't be much more than a flurry with a fringe on top".

In the case of negotiations for quite a number of years before 1949, we have been unable to say whether or not there was more than one session. In this year, we know there were two. The first conference was held on April 25th and 26th, and came to no agreement. The Paper Makers, at their national convention late in March, had voted to go for a minimum of five cents an hour, which was a fairly moderate position for them under any circumstances, but we do not know what the locals' ideas may have been, and we have nothing to show what took place. The Company, in view of the outlook at the time, was not in a mood to raise wages again -- for one thing, as we have noted in another place, it had been having a bad time for several years with low water -- and we believe it was agreed that work would be continued under the existing Extension of the 1945 agreement until July 1st, to see what conditions might be later. The second meeting opened on June 22d. The outcome of this was another amendment, the "1949 Amendment of 1945 Labor Agreement", running for one year. This did not provide for any general wage increase, but added some more to the fringes. A shift differential of 3 cents an hour for the 4-12 shift and 5 cents for the 12-8 shift was granted. Shift differentials, the first in the industry, as far as we know, had been negotiated with the St. Croix Paper Company, and this made their adoption by Great Northern practically automatic, the only argument being over the figures. It is interesting to note that this reversed the situation which had existed many years before, when the day shift received the highest pay, at least on the paper machines. The shift differential provision did not apply to the Madison mill, which was having one of its poor years, and the Madison people were willing to forego this benefit until things

should look better there. The eligibility period for the second week's vacation was lowered from five years to three; there were quite a large number of individual adjustments, including a revision of the mechanics' scale -- mechanics' rates were a perennial hassle -- and it was written into the Amendment, in a new "Pension" clause, that "Retirement pensions approximately equal to Social Security benefits, as administered in 1948, shall be paid in accordance with rules issued by the Company." As we have noted, this kind of program had been in effect informally for some little time, but this was the first time that pensions were covered by the contract. This was another occasion when the International officers and delegates signed a blank sheet while wording to implement the agreement was being typed on forms that had been partially printed in advance, the two pieces then being pasted together to make the completed document. We might say that new wage rate sheets had been prepared to go with the various amendments and extensions since 1945, except that for some reason which we do not recall, this was not done in 1946. The 1947 rate schedules had been numbered 1A, 2A, 3A and 4A, and those for 1949 were 1C and so on. The April 6, 1946 Mill Rules were again part of the contract, with no change.

This 1949 Amendment was signed by John R. Jones, John P. Burke, John J. McNamara, Bill Francis, Bill Steinmiller, Louis E. Stricker, a new name, as Grand Lodge Representative for the Machinists, and 22 local delegates. There were no International officers' signatures for either the Pipers or the Painters. It will be noted that one or the other of these Internationals did not sign at one time or another, but this was only because they

had no representative present. The locals of these organizations were still active.

As we have seen, water conditions had been bad for several years, and were disastrous early in 1950. Storage had been empty from the first of March until just a few days before the conference of this year, which opened on April 26th. The price of newsprint had not changed for three years, and had already been set at the same figure for 1950. Madison was having a hard time. The new Directors, as we have noted, had been taking a close look at everything, and Creighton Stanwood was in a difficult position, in view of the moderate settlement of the year before, and the union demands, which included among other things a 10-cent general increase, larger insurance benefits, with the Company paying the entire cost of insurance, sick leave, double time for overtime on Sunday, and a raft of individual adjustments, especially for the mechanics -- again. Nevertheless, while the meeting was peaceful, the arguments, at least on some points, were convincing enough so that the Company wound up with a sizable package. It will be noted that we are using the word "Demands" now; they were no longer thought of as requests; and "package" was a new term that had come with the proliferation of fringe benefits. A token offer of one cent an hour, just to have something on the table, was of course turned down, but after some concessions had been made in other directions, an offer of 3 cents an hour was accepted. In addition, hospital benefits were increased again to \$9.00 and \$90.00 for employees; \$7.00 and \$70.00 for dependents, and surgical benefits were added for employees only, the insurance program, however, remaining contributory. A third week's vacation after fifteen years

was allowed, and there were a number of individual adjustments, including a special increase for the top grade mechanics. This conference was concluded in two days, the second day running into the evening, when everybody signed the "1950 Amendment to 1945 Labor Agreement", extending it to April 30, 1951. That this was a friendly negotiation is indicated by the fact that the delegates agreed to allow the paper machines to be run for some unspecified number of Sundays at the Penobscot mills, ten at Madison, to help make up some of the expense, and some of the production that had been lost to low water. There was no revision in the **1945 Mill Rules**, and the new rate schedules were numbered 1D, 2D, 3D and 4D.

The International officers signing this Amendment were Frederick J. Richford, a Vice-President of the Paper Makers -- a new name, but he had attended many previous meetings; John P. Burke, by Fred W. Morris, John J. McNamara, Bill Francis, Bill Steinmiller, Harold Reardon, back again for the Machinists, and Colin MacDonald, whose name was also signed by Fred Morris, for the Painters. There was again no International signature for the Pipers. For the locals, 23 delegates added their name.

The 1945 booklet was now complicated by so many stickers that the unions requested that a new one be provided, embodying all the changes since that year, and a new one was printed, although it took some time to get it together, the various changes having to be worked into or added to the original 1945 contract clauses without otherwise changing their intent.

As of October 30, 1950, the shift differential was put into

effect at the Madison mill, at which business had improved to the point where it was making a reasonable profit, and on November 9th the contract was opened again, by mutual agreement, at a second conference in Boston. We are not exactly sure how this came about, but to the best of our recollection, it was due to the desire of both the unions and the Company, on account of the moderate cents per hour adjustment in the spring, and the fact that the Company was on a one-year agreement, with no automatic cost of living adjustment provision such as had been negotiated into contracts in some other industries, to get ahead of a probable wage freeze under the Korean War-related Defense Production Act of 1950, which contained authority for such a freeze at any time, at the level prevailing at the time of the freeze order. At this point, improved water conditions made it possible to handle a wage increase.

At any rate, the result of this conference, which was a short one, was a 6-cent an hour general increase, effective November 13, 1950. This was covered by a "Supplement to Labor Agreement", the form for which had been printed before the meeting, leaving only the amount and effective date of the increase blank. We have a signed copy, on which these two figures were printed by the writer in ink after agreement was reached. This Supplement was signed by Fred Rockford, John P. Burke, John J. McNamara, Bill Francis, Bill Steinmiller and Harold Reardon for the Internationals --again there was no signature for the Pipers or the Painters -- and by 16 local delegates.

The expected wage controls were imposed on January 26, 1951. They did not constitute a complete freeze, because there were con-

tracts with deferred increases, automatic cost of living increases, and the like, in effect at this time, and the regulations did make certain provision for higher wages under certain conditions. They were further relaxed over the next few years, but we are now dealing with 1951. At the conference of that year, starting on April 24th, the unions came on as if they had never heard of the freeze, asking for, among other things, a general increase of 16 cents an hour. Cents per hour demands, of course, were almost always inflated, but this was ridiculous. Higher wage rates could be granted only by approval, under a Wage Stabilization Board formula based on inter-plant inequities in an industry or an area, and the Company was willing to go as far as that would allow. There were a number of other things, including adjustment of intra-plant inequities, individual merit increases, and the improvement of benefits under some fringe programs like insurance, health plans and pensions, which could be done without approval, on a reporting basis. These could of course run into fabulous costs when given as a substitute for wage rate increases, and the management was not by any means prepared to go all the way on these. As a result, this conference got a little rugged before it was over, as we remember.

However, a settlement was finally worked out, and was covered one more time by an amendment, the "1951 Amendment of 1945 Labor Agreement", running for one year, and the new rate scales were **numbered** 1F and so on. The Company had figured out that three cents an hour was as far as it could go on a general wage adjustment, and stuck with this until the delegates were convinced that this was all that would be allowed. However, an unusually large number of individual adjustments were granted, all for some reason

that could be justified in one way or another, and the Company agreed to buy and pay for \$500 additional life insurance for each employee, without any employee contribution. These concessions added just over another cent, and the 4.02 cent package was approved by the Wage Stabilization Board under WSB Order No. 6 effective May 1st. At this time there were approximately 1,800 employees on the mill payrolls. It will be noted that in the accounts of the past several settlements we have not given the percentage increase that they represented. This figure had been discontinued in the statistics from which we obtained the information, because changes in overtime provisions, holidays, vacation pay, shift differentials and such had changed the nature of payroll figures to such an extent that percentage comparisons had become invalid.

At this conference, the unions raised the question of the establishment of the "check-off" -- that is, they asked the Company to collect union dues as a payroll deduction, on signed request by the individual employee. This was agreed to, and the program was put into effect within a short time. There was again a great deal of criticism by the locals of the use and abuse of seniority, and the writer remembers pointing out that seniority was a problem of their own making, and that the Company would be very happy to eliminate seniority provisions from the contract altogether, since they could not agree on anything among themselves. However, it was agreed that later in the year a joint committee would be set up to try to formulate seniority rules that everyone could live with. The April 6, 1945 Mill Rules remained unaltered.

This Amendment was signed by the same six International officers as the last "Supplement" had been, and by 25 local delegates. At the close of the conference, on April 27th, a separate memorandum was drawn up, stating that in the event the existing wage regulations were changed, the monetary items in the agreement which might be affected by such change could be re-negotiated, retroactive to the date of the change, but not earlier than May 1, 1951. This was signed by all the same people, was printed, and was attached to the new Amendment. We believe that a new booklet, incorporating changes to date, had been printed in 1950, and we know that another was made up after the 1951 conference, although we do not have copies of either in our files.

At some date just after the middle of August, the Wage Stabilization Board issued a ruling allowing a cost of living increase, and Fred Rochford lost no time in invoking the agreement to re-negotiate the money items. Creighton Stanwood wrote him on August 27th to the effect that all he knew was what he read in the paper, from which he gathered that an adjustment based on the change in the Cost of Living index from January 15, 1951 to July 15, 1951 would be allowed, but that the Boston office of the W.S.B. had no information -- which was normal -- and that the Company would be willing to hold a conference as soon as the official ruling was available. He also suggested that under the conditions, such a meeting could be a quickie with the International officers, in Boston, avoiding the delay and expense of a general conference, leaving it to Fred Rochford to take this proposal up with the other Internationals, to whom he sent copies of his letter.

To the best of our knowledge, this was the way the matter was handled. The writer should remember things like this, but unfortunately, he does not. The meeting was held on September 12th, and an upward adjustment of 3 cents an hour, under WSB order No. 8 was agreed to. However, the union people felt that the shift differential should also be raised, on the basis of prevailing regional figures, and the Company went along with increasing this from 3 cents and 5 cents to 4 cents and 6 cents, subject to approval of the Wage Stabilization Board. This agreement was put into an informal "Supplement", which was signed and sent out to the mill Superintendents. The 3-cent cost of living increase when approved, was put into effect retroactive to August 27th, having been allowed, as we remember, on the ground that Great Northern had historically paid a few cents more per hour than other mills in the area, but the W.S.B. did not give approval to the change in shift differential until January 28, 1952. As of that date, a formal Supplement was signed by Fred Rochford for the Paper Makers, Fred Morris for the Pulp & Sulphite, John J. McNamara for the Firemen & Oilers, Bill Francis for the Carpenters & Joiners, Bill Steinmiller for the Electrical Workers and Harold Keardon for the Machinists; no local delegates, and the new shift differential became effective January 25, 1952.

In accordance with the agreement made in the spring, a series of conferences at Millinocket between Creighton Stanwood and other representatives of the Company and a committee from the unions, put together the first comprehensive Seniority Rules, enlarging on the simple clause in the Agreement, setting up some new procedures, and correcting or formalizing practices which had

become custom. These new Rules were dated November 8, 1951. Some time later on, the Seniority clause in the Labor Agreement was cut down to a simple reference to the Seniority Rules, which were made part of the contract. However, unlike the Mill Rules, they were never incorporated in the Agreement booklet, but, revised many times, were and are printed in a separate one.

At the end of 1951, therefore, the mill employees were working under the Labor Agreement and Mill Rules negotiated in 1945, with three Extensions, two Supplements and three Amendments, a set of Seniority Rules, and a clutch of agreements, written and verbal, covering working conditions and even some money items. New Agreements with the Spruce Wood Department and office employees had also been negotiated regularly, without interruption, and with more or less parallel improvements.

The ups and downs of wage rates in the mills over the period of which we have written are indicated in a general way by the table below, giving the hourly rates for the jobs selected earlier, by three-year intervals which hit all the critical periods -- the stage up to World War I; the post-war depression and the static period that followed; the great depression; the recovery from that; World War II, and into the Korean conflict. These rates are all for the Millinocket mill. Some are not from the actual rate schedules, as these are not available for the whole period, but are taken from statistical reports which should be reasonably reliable. They are, as nearly as we can arrive at them, the rates immediately after May 1st, and would have been different at some other time in many of these years. The rates for the two paper machine jobs are the highest being paid at

the time. The gaps occur because the highest machine classes in those years are not known. The figures from 1942 to 1951, however, are for Class 33, known to be the highest being paid regularly in that period. We might note that in 1951 the sliding scale for paper machine crews still covered only machine tenders, back-tenders and third hands. The other Paper Makers' occupations were on fixed rates.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WOOD HANDLER</u>	<u>SCREEN MAN</u>	<u>OILER</u>	<u>STONE SHARPENER</u>	<u>THIRD HAND</u>	<u>CLASS A MECHANIC</u>	<u>COOK</u>	<u>MACHINE TENDER</u>
1912	\$.24	\$.24	\$.25	\$.27	\$.28	\$.35	\$.43	\$.54
1915	.252	.252	.263	.284	.33	.399	.452	.59
1918	-	.35	.46	.47	.58	.66	.65	.895
1921	.59	.60	.65	.62	.88	.88	.94	1.50
1924	.45	.55	.60	.57	.86	.83	.89	1.49
1927	.45	.55	.60	.59	-	.83	.89	-
1930	.45	.55	.60	.59	-	.83	.89	-
1933	.36	.45	.48	.50	-	.67	.74	-
1936	.43	.51	.56	.58	.86	.79	.88	1.30
1939	.54	.61	.67	.68	1.00	.91	1.00	1.48
1942	.65	.72	.79	.79	1.11	1.02	1.11	1.59
1945	.70	.77	.84	.84	1.17	1.08	1.17	1.66
1948	1.15	1.22	1.29	1.29	1.62	1.53	1.62	2.11
1951	1.27	1.34	1.42	1.41	1.74	1.70	1.74	2.23

The minimum, or laborers' rate in 1912 was 20 cents an hour. After 1918, the wood handler's rate is representative of the minimum (base) rate. Where there were day and tour rates for the same job, we have used the latter, which are the higher. The hourly rates, while of interest, do not mean a great deal, of course, because by 1951 there were shift differentials; reporting

pay; higher call-in pay; more overtime provisions; including the mandatory overtime after 40 hours work in a week; six paid holidays with premium pay for time worked; up to three weeks paid vacation; life, hospitalization, surgical and loss of pay for sickness insurance, partly paid for by the Company; pensions paid entirely by the Company, and a host of concessions and improvements in working conditions. They do not reflect weekly earnings, either, since the regular work-week, using day men as the example, ranged from 54 hours in 1912 to around 36 hours at times during the depression and to 40 hours in 1951.

This is the story, told in some fashion, of the contractual relationship between the Great Northern Paper Company and its organized employees, from the chaotic early days to the end of the period of the old Company, about which we have been writing. We may have gone into too much detail in some places, but on the other hand, we have left out much of interest or importance, because we have no firm knowledge of what happened, or because putting in what we do know would result in this tale being endless. However, we must add a little more; our own thoughts on the basic reasons for this long period of what were probably as good labor relations as were ever enjoyed by any corporation and its employees.

First, there was the attitude of the management of the Company, which from Garret Schenck and George Parks to William O. McKay and Creighton Stanwood, never wavered from the enlightened policy expressed in 1910 -- that the Company recognized the right of its employees to organize and bargain collectively, and that

it would deal with them through their organizations as long as they kept their agreements. Next, we said earlier that we were putting in the names of the International officers signing the various agreements for a purpose, and as one reads this chapter, he will discover that this purpose was to show the continuity of International representation, which had much to do with the nature of negotiations and the results of them over all these years. The names are not the same over the entire period, of course, but the same ones will be found on the agreement year after year. As new names appear, they are, except in a very few cases, those of men who had attended previous conferences, along with their superiors, as participants or observers, and had a working knowledge of Great Northern's policies. By the same token, those who negotiated for the Company came to understand these people and their ways of dealing with situations. They were by no means all of equal ability, nor did they all have the same philosophies, but there were only a few who were not men of good will, with fair dealing and the common welfare their prime concern. In the later years, we are thinking of people like John J. McNamara of the Firemen & Oilers; Bill Francis of the Carpenters & Joiners; Bill Steinmiller of the Electrical Workers; Harold Reardon of the Machinists; and not previously named, Bob Gagne of the Paper Makers, and Ralph Leavitt, an International Vice-President of the Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers, who was the actual negotiator of many agreements that bear John P. Burke's signature; one of the best people the writer ever knew, and a good friend in spite of their many years on opposite sides of the table. There was another factor -- what the writer has always thought of as the "balance-

wheel" -- the big Pulp & Sulphite organization. It had no sweetheart relationship with the Company, and in the battles of joint negotiation it fought as hard as anyone else for what it thought it was entitled to, but when the Company was really between a rock and a hard place, the International never forgot that if it had not been for the Great Northern Paper Company it might never have survived the efforts that had been made to destroy it. John P. Burke was outspoken about this. In his long life of service to the cause of organized labor, he became one of its most respected leaders, and his opinions carried much weight in the counsels of the unions dealing with the Company.

We should say here that John P. Burke, who has been mentioned so many times, had not always been the calm, deliberate person that we have pictured. In his younger years, he was a radical, once running for Governor of New Hampshire as a Socialist, but this was not the man we knew for so long a time.

Of course, the most important element was the work force itself, and during the period of which we have written, this was represented by the delegates from the locals, because, as we have said, there were very few times when they were not free to make a bargain which would, although they could expect some flak from those back home, be ratified by those whom they represented. We have not yet given the name of any delegate, since, in the nature of what we have been writing, naming one meant naming them all, and the agreements resulting from the thirty-three general conferences of which we have record between 1912 and 1951 were signed by some 275 different individuals, of whom almost exactly half attended only one meeting. With a little more knowledge, other

than memory, of the job held by each man, and a computer, some interesting observations could be made about the relationship between the make-up of the delegation in any year, the matters discussed and the agreements made, but even without these aids we can make some more or less pertinent comment.

Between 1912 and 1930, the number of local delegates attending the Boston conferences, neglecting a couple of anomalies, which can be explained, ran quite consistently between 17 and 20. At the important meeting of 1919 there were 23, and in 1923 there were only 11, due to the troubles the unions in general were having at that time. In 1931, at the end of the five-year contract, the locals again sent 23 men to the conference, but through the depression; that is, between 1931 and 1936; only 16 or 18, mostly due to shortage of funds. After 1936, delegations ran between 19 and 25, with the exception of those to the second conferences in 1946 and 1950, when they were only 11 and 16 respectively.

It will be clear from the figures that many men must have attended many conferences as delegates. No two delegations were ever exactly the same, and in this period of fifty years or so three generations of employees were represented -- a grandson of Clarence Harmon, who figured prominently in the events of the early part of our story, was a delegate in 1950 and later years. We have noted that of all the men who came to the conferences in Boston, about half came only once, and there were many more who did not come more than twice. There were all kinds of reasons for this. Some "tried it once and didn't like it"; some could

not take the almost inevitable criticism from those back home, no matter how good a deal had been made, and would not take the job a second or third time. Some were ticketed with being too pro-Company after a conference, and never were sent again; some became the victims of local politics. This last applied particularly to those from the two larger unions, the Paper Makers and the Pulp & Sulphite, where what delegates were elected seemed often to depend upon which group in the local had what axe to grind. This situation showed most clearly in the Pulp & Sulphite local at Millinocket, where the center of power shifted back and forth between the finishing room and the yard and wood room.

In every delegation there were both young and older men, and every delegation had in it men who had never been to a conference before. In some, there were many novices. In 1919 and 1931, for example, only 6 out of 23 men in each case had ever taken part in a previous negotiation. Both of these years followed multiple-year agreements, and there was never so large a representation of untried men after 1931. In some delegations, nearly all were veterans, like in 1941, when but 7 out of 23, and in 1948, when only two out of 21, had not attended a conference before. There were men who came to Boston several times, and were never seen again; there were men who were sent once, or more than once, then not again for a number of years, when they served for several years running; and there were men who were almost permanent delegates, and here we will name some names -- from Millinocket, the grand old gentleman, Joe Nickless of the Electrical Workers, 22 conferences, starting in 1919 and the little "Newfie", Harry Andrews of the Pulp & Sulphite, 11 conferences, beginning in 1931; from East

Millinocket Bert Goddard of the Firemen & Oilers, 13 negotiations starting in 1926 and Bill Champion of the Painters, 13 meetings beginning in 1936; and from Madison Fred Kittredge of the Machinists, 12 meetings beginning in 1934. There were at least ten men who were sent by their locals to from seven to nine meetings -- Pete Gormley, John Wheeler, Oscar Leveille, Don Morrison and Frank Guy from Millinocket; Jimmy Gardner, Jack Nicholson, Jerry Brewer and Lawrence Nadeau from East Millinocket, and Orion Moody from Madison. It should be kept in mind that this was only up to 1951. Some of these men added to their records after that date, and there were of course a number of men who came too late on the scene to get into the above list who were present at many conferences later on.

These numbers do not mean very much, except that they indicate that these people were either leaders, or men trusted by a majority of those who were active in their respective locals at different times or over a period of time. We say it this way advisedly, because unfortunately, except in the very small locals, most of the members couldn't care less -- except when things did not go to their liking. In which respect, we suppose, they were, and are, no different from any other electorate, but while the make-up of the membership was constantly changing, as were economic and social conditions, there was a third force; internal politics; and the local situations that sent Harry Andrews to Boston 11 times were quite different from those which sent Bert Goddard 13 times in the same period.

Not all of the Company's employees were "trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty,

brave, clean and reverent", as we remember the Boy Scout Law. Some of them had all of these virtues; some had none of them; and there were all kinds in between, and the delegates represented the body of the Company's workers. There were a few, from time to time, who had tunnel vision, seeing only their own particular interests, and there were a few who were outright trouble-makers, but some of these mellowed. One such, a virulent critic of the Company, who attended a number of conferences, spent half an hour with the writer, after they had both retired, heaping praise upon it. For the most part, they were good, upstanding, some outstanding citizens. From the ranks of those who attended conferences up through 1951 came Town officers and members of the State Legislature. Many, too many to name, moved into the Management as Foremen and Superintendents, and one, Thomas Simpson, became a Service Representative extraordinary, attached to the Sales Department. Four that we know of; Clarence Harmon, John Mackin, Fred Morris and Hollis Ward, became International Vice-Presidents of their respective unions, and all of them, especially the last, were active and influential in negotiations with Great Northern during the period of which we have written and later. One became an Industrial Relations Manager for another large firm in the industry, and while we anticipate just a little, the Company's Manager of Personnel at the time this is written, James R. Adams, was a Mechanical Trades delegate just after the period we have been discussing. Two of the men whose names are on Great Northern Labor Agreements as delegates before 1951, George Rogers and Martin Roach, became Presidents of other pulp and paper companies. There may be more that we should mention, but this is enough to indicate the overall caliber of the men who over the years represented the Company's employees in negotiations.

We have indicated that according to our information some of the early conferences were pretty rough. The fact that at the ten meetings between 1912 and 1926, when the five-year agreement was made, there were only a handful of men who represented their locals more than twice may represent either cause or effect. By the 1930's after which time the writer has some personal knowledge of what went on, conferences were in general decorous. There was always tension; a labor negotiation is by definition a forum for conflicting views, but there was much respect. As time went on and delegations began to contain more veterans, there was less restraint and more familiarity, but this did not breed contempt, as the old saying goes. The deep-rooted mutual consideration and pride in accomplishment grew stronger, if anything, after the shared experiences of the great depression.

There were many anxious moments on both sides, of course; meetings were broken off more than once to allow things to cool down; some agreements were unanimous on the union side only grudgingly, a hazard of joint bargaining; and there was even a near fist-fight between one of the mill Superintendents and a delegate, but the word use of the word "strike" during negotiations was almost unheard-of. We do not of course know what went on in union caucuses, or in general union meetings, but if a strike vote -- which is not a vote to strike -- was taken by any organization at any time in this period, the writer does not know of it. There was, on one occasion, a serious difference of opinion with the Paper Makers, with implications of a walk-out on their part, but John P. Burke rescued this situation in a manner reminiscent of the early days, by declaring that such action was not justified, and

that his Pulp Workers would not honor any picket line under the circumstances. By and large, however, negotiations during the writer's time, in the period of which we write, were what is called "amicable", and there were very few times, after the signatures were on the agreement that there were not good wishes and handshakes all around. There was to his recollection only one time when the employees as a whole really felt that they did not get a fair shake, and only one time when the management felt that it had been pushed too far. To his knowledge there were no work stoppages arising from local disputes that were not minor affairs, ended almost as soon as someone could get there to straighten things out, and it is a fact that from the time the first agreement was made until nearly ten years after the end of the period of which we are writing no grievance of any kind went to arbitration. Perhaps all this was because, in John P. Burke's words in an interview for this story: "There were really no issues between 1925 and 1952"; but if there were no issues, it was because the unions and the Company were basically of good will toward each other. There were any number of things that could have been made into issues if one or the other had wanted it that way, but no man ever lost a day's pay to gain a concession.

Further on, negotiations got much more hairy than they had ever been in this period. Nevertheless, the contractual relationship between the Great Northern Paper Company and its employees remains unbroken in 1974, and while that is a resounding credit to later managements, later International officers and later delegates, the foundation for "peace with honor" was laid in these good old days.