ICELANDIC SETTLEMENTS IN MANITOBA
AND OTHER POINTS IN AMERICA
WITH A BRIEF OUTLINE OF ICELANDIC HISTORY

by

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CHAPTER 1.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

1. The Country

At the time Ari Thorgilsson, Iceland's first historian, was writing his account of the settlement of Iceland, it was calculated that it took seven days' sailing from Norway to Iceland, four days from Iceland to Greenland, and five days from the south of Iceland to Ireland.[1] More accurately described,[2] Iceland lies between 13°22' and 24°35' West Longitude and between 63°12' and 66°33' North Latitude with the north-east and north-west points of the coast skirting the Arctic Circle. The length of the island is about 294 miles and the width 194, while the area is calculated to be 40,437 square miles. For its size, the length of the coast line is long, being approximately 3730 miles.

The island itself is of volcanic formation. It is mountainous, a large portion of the island being a plateau or tableland most of which is barren and uninhabitable. Fjords are numerous, these accounting for the long coast-line. The interior is cut up by valleys which, in the main, are the only parts of the country which are inhabited, only one-quarter of the area at most being habitable.

Approximately 5200 square miles are covered by glaciers and snow fields. These are concentrated from the north-west to

the south-east so that from this point the rivers flow to the sea on each side. Of the snow fields in Iceland the largest are Vatnajökull, Hofsjökull, Langjökull, and Mýrdalsjökull, while more than 120 glaciers are known. The chief rivers are Markarfljót, Thjórsá, Ölfusá, Hvitá all flowing to the south-west, Heradsvötn, Blanda, and Eyjarfjardará to the north, and Lagarfljót to the east. In the south are the lakes Thingvallavatn and Thorisvatn. Ljósavatn and Mývatn in the north fill a depression between lava fields while the Fiskivötn, a group of small lakes, are for the most part crater lakes.

On the island there are over 100 volcanoes. Some have been active from time immemorial. Others have been active only once in the history of the country. From these volcanoes have issued quantities of lava now covering huge unbroken fields. The eruptions of the volcanoes have at times brought disaster upon the country. As an instance of this may be cited the outbreak of Krabla in 1783, which brought about a loss of 53% of the cattle, 77% of the horses, and 82% of the sheep of the country. This was followed by a famine which carried off 9500 people, a fifth of the entire population. Further distress is often wrought by the eruptions when the mountains are covered with ice and snow which melts and pours down the mountain sides into the valleys causing floods, as well as by avalanches and snow slides.

In Iceland volcanic areas are often the seats of earthquakes. These are for the most part confined to three regions:

firstly, a region between Skjálfandi and Axafjörður, secondly, a region at Faxaflói, and thirdly, a region in the south between Reykjanes and Mýrdalsjökull. An earthquake in 1896 destroyed 161 farms and damaged about as many more. The country abounds with hot springs, geysers, and sulphur springs.

The country being an island, the climate is milder than would have been expected in this latitude. Climatic conditions of the interior, due to elevation, approach continental climate, variation in temperature in winter and summer being considerable. On the coast the temperature does not vary greatly north and south. For example, the mean annual temperature at Eyrarbakki in the south of Iceland is 38.3° F. while at Akureyri in the north it is 36°F. The difference in temperature in winter and summer on the south and west coast respectively is 32° and 48.2°, and 35.6° and 50°. The rainfall is heaviest in the south and east ranging from 49.4 inches and 43.6 inches to 14.6 inches in the north. On the east coast mists and fogs are frequent. Often drift ice comes in from the north which blocks the coasts on the north not infrequently until late in summer.

Vegetation is rather scant. At the time the island was colonized, it was covered with trees but now these, mainly birch, are to be found only in a very few places. Heather grows abundantly and a large variety of small flowers deck the valleys and mountain sides. Animals on the island are few. Occasionally polar bears reach the coasts on ice floes. Foxes are numerous. On the coasts

seals are plentiful and the coast waters as well as the lakes and streams teem with fish. Migratory birds come there in the spring making bird life very abundant during the summer season. The eider ducks, a source of considerable revenue to the country, inhabit in great number the islands around the coast. Domestic animals have been brought to the island. A descendent of one of these is the famous Iceland pony, a horse small of build yet sturdy and sure-footed, an excellent saddle horse for a mountainous country. This pony has been found very valuable in the coal mines in England. Cattle and sheep are the mainstay of the rural population. The sheep, on account of the surroundings, produce a wool of excellent quality.

2. The People

Teutonic race is the name given to those populations of Europe which speak one or other of the various forms of the Teutonic languages. These populations, before the discovery of the Americas[s], Australia, and New Zealand, included the majority of the inhabitants of the British Isles, Germany, Austria Hungary, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium.

"Scandinavia" comprising Norway and Sweden, "by reason of its geographical remoteness from the rest of Europe, and also because of its rigorous climate and the infertility of its soil, contains naturally one of the most highly individualized populations of Europe."[3] At the time of the migrations from Norway to Iceland, it was the place where the Teutonic race was found in its greatest purity.

The differentiating physical characteristics of the Teutonic race are the invariable dolichocephalic feature, tallness, long oval face, aquiline nose, blondness, blue or light gray eyes, and flaxen, tawny, or sand colored hair. The colonists from Norway were independent, freedom-loving men, intolerant of domination, men of high estate, aristocrats by birth and innate tendencies.[4]

Previous to the migrations to Iceland vikings from Norway had visited the Shetland Islands, Scotland, and Ireland and settled there. Some of these settlers also went to Iceland. No doubt some of the inhabitants of these countries went too.[5] Thus there is a slight admixture of Celt in the population. Since the close of the settlement period, migrations to Iceland have been practically negligible. Hence Iceland now in all likelihood takes the place of the Scandinavian peninsula with regard to purity of the Teutonic race for it is isolated and hence not subject to mixture with people of neighboring countries.

3. Early Settlements

About the middle of the 9th century, vikings from the Scandinavian countries visited countries both to the east and to the west of them. The vikings from Sweden went for the most part east, establishing themselves in Novgorod which became for a time the seat of Swedish kings. The Norwegians and Danes, on the other hand, turned westward. Nor did they confine themselves to any one region for Germany, France, and England, the

last two in particular, they made the goal of several of their expeditions.[6] The Danes conquered the greater part of England and established a kingdom there which reached its pinnacle under the able direction of Canute; likewise they established themselves in Normandy. The Norwegians steered their course in another direction, going north-west to the Islands of the West as they were often called--the Shetlands, Orkneys, and Hebrides--and Ireland and Scotland.[7] Ireland was the seat of the first kingdom founded by Norse vikings to the west.[8]

Harald the fair-haired ascended the throne in 860 when but ten years of age. He at once met with opposition from the subject Kings within Norway. He vowed that not until the day when all these lords had submitted to him would he again cut his hair. This he was able to do when the opposition encountered in the south-western districts was finally broken at the naval battle of Hafursfjörður in 872. When he had gained the submission of all Norway, Harald demanded a tax on the land and confiscated the holdings of the farmers.[9] From this time viking expeditions were undertaken for reasons totally different from those formerly. Rather than submit to Harald, many left for the Islands to the West, and from there raided Norway in the summer. Later Harald conquered these islands with the effect that the viking establishments disbanded and many of the vikings turned to Iceland.[10]

The nature of the discovery of Iceland has not been ascertained but it is surmised that ships going to the Western

Islands were thrown out of their course by storms and thus the Faroe Islands discovered and thence Iceland, which was the first step in the discovery of the American continents. When first vikings visited Iceland, they found Irish monks there who had soughtisolation and seclusion from worldliness as early as the beginning of the 8th century. When the Northmen began to frequent the island they left.[11]

The first known Northmen to come to Iceland were Naddoddur and Garðar Svavarsson. According to Landnámabók, a chronicle of settlement in Iceland, the first to come to the island was Naddoddur who had intended to go to Norway from the Faroe Islands but was thrown out of his course. He came upon a large tract of uninhabited land. Before he left in the fall heavy snow fell so that he called the land Snowland.[12] About the same time Garðar Svavarsson, a Swede, sought this distant land. He sailed around it and discovered it to be an island.[13] It was due to the praise that these two early visitors of Iceland gave the country that Flóki Vilgerðarson with his followers sailed there with stock and lumber; doubtless their intention was to settle there. It was he who gave the present name to the island. Once when he walked up a mountain he saw in the distance a fjord frozen over so he called the country Iceland and the fjord Ísafjörður. Of the country he saw none except the bad aspects but his companions were of a different opinion.[14]

Next Hjörleifur Hródmarsson and Ingólfur Arnarson, outlaws from Norway, went to Iceland in 874.[15] On their second trip

they took two ships with them, taking their plunder and live stock. Previous to this Hjörleifur had made a viking raid on Ireland and brought back ten Irish slaves whom he took with him to Iceland. The slaves conspired against him and his free men, murdered them, and, taking their wives prisoners, fled with them to the Westman Islands. Ingólfur discovered this and avenged his friend's death. Ingólfur is the most noted of all the early pioneers for of these he was the first to settle there permanently. He established himself in the southern part of the country at the present site of Reykjavik.[16]

After the battle of Hafursfjörður, and after Harald had conquered the Western Islands, but not until Ingólfur Arnarson had settled in Iceland, when knowledge and information regarding this hitherto unknown region became general, Iceland became the destination of many who loved liberty and freedom too well to submit to the King of Norway.[17] From the year 860 on to 900 a steady stream of settlers came to the island. It is not until after 930 that the influx of colonists ceased altogether and the entire island was settled. The earliest settlers in the country took large tracts of land but as the numbers increased unclaimed land became scarce so that rules had to be set regarding the amount that could be appropriated. It was agreed that a man could appropriate no more land than he, assisted by his ship-mates, could circumvent in one day by fire.[18]

Strong, courageous, independent were many of the early settlers. Some traced their ancestry to royalty while one of

their number, Geirmundur heljarskinn, had been a district king in Norway as well, and one Audur djúpúdga, had been queen in Scotland. Another was Hrollaugur Rögnvaldsson, brother of the first Duke of Normandy. With them they took to Iceland freemen and slaves.

CHAPTER II.

SETTING UP OF THE REPUBLIC

1. Political Progress of the Settlements

The king of Norway, Harald the fair-haired, viewed with dislike and apprehension the fact that the settlers of Iceland did not owe him allegiance. Futile were his attempts to establish his sovereignty there. As the island became settled great need was felt for one system of laws throughout the entire country. Local Things had been organized at Thórsnes and Kjalarnes.[19] but as yet the country had not an accepted code of laws. In 924 Ulfljótur, who had come to Iceland from Norway in 905, was sent back to study law there. Upon his return in 927, after he had made a study of conditions in Iceland, his body of laws was accepted and the Al thing established.[20] This early code was known as Ulfljótslög. It was decreed by this constitution[21] that a central assembly, called Al thing, should meet once a year for two weeks. Its functions were legislative and judicial. A lögsögumadur (a speaker) whose duty it was to relate and declare the laws, was elected every three years and could be re-elected. His duties were two-fold for when the legislature was in session he was the speaker of the assembly and when the courts were sitting he was the presiding judge. He also announced all the laws made by "lögretta." "Legretta" was the law-making and law-interpreting body with functions equivalent to our assemblies and courts. In it originally sat thirty-six godar and the lögsögumadur who was its president. Besides this each godi was

accompanied by two men who, however, had not voting power. Godar were those men who had erected temples of worship on their estates. It is evident that usually they were men of wealth and influence within their districts. They performed duties of priests, presided at sacrifices, and announced oracles. When Althing was established the country was divided into twelve Things with three godords in each, that is, the territory administered by a godi, making a total of thirty-six in the country. These divisions were not geographical for any man could become a follower of any godi within that quarter, after the country was thus divided, and, on the other hand, a godi was privileged to accept none except those he desired. Thus was founded this smallest of northern republics whose millennial anniversary will be celebrated in another year.

The year 965 the land was divided into quarters. In each there were nine godar except in the North quarter where there were twelve. To compensate this preponderance the other three were privileged to appoint to Althing three extra men from each quarter. To "Lögrétta" each godi brought two men making a total of one hundred and forty-four. Besides these the lögsögumaður was the presiding official and after Christianity was accepted to this number were added the two bishops. Each quarter had three local assemblies with the exception of the North quarter which had four.

The local assemblies called vorthings were held each spring. These were social gatherings too, but, chiefly, they

exercised the local government. They were presided over by the three godar. Some of their functions were similar to those of our courts. Cases were heard and judged but the decisions had to be unanimous. Appeals could be made to another court known as the quarter court or else directly to Althing. Althing was the central government of the entire country. It assembled once a year for two weeks in the latter part of June. It also represented the highest social gathering of the country. There, as in the two lower courts, decisions were unanimous. As cases on which no decisions were reached became very numerous, a supreme court,[22] fimtardomur, was established by Skafti Thoroddson, the speaker, and Thordur Gellir, at the beginning of the 11th century, 1004, in which the majority could pass verdict. After Althing was over the godar called meetings (Thing) at home to acquaint their people with the new laws, the dates set for holy days for the next year, and the time of meeting of the next Althing if earlier than customary.[23]

From the year 1022 on to the union with Norway various attempts, both subtle and unscrupulous, were made to gain sovereignty over Iceland. In 1024 the King, St. Olaf, of Norway asked that he be given Grimsey but the request was refused for there he could have established a military base, sailed to Iceland, and thus realized his objective.[24] Three

years later he despatched Gellir Thorkelsson to Althing to request the Icelanders to accept the laws of Norway and pay a tribute to the King while he held several men from Iceland as hostages. Althing refused.[25] The King then became preoccupied at home so the matter was dropped for a time. Though a governor had been sent to Iceland from Norway as early as 1247,[26] it was not until 1264 that a tribute was paid and not for another two years that this was accepted by the entire country.[27] The union between Iceland and Norway was one between Iceland and the King of Norway as distinct from the kingdom of Norway.[28] 1268 saw serious attempts made to force the Icelandic people to contribute to the Norwegian army, but they were unanimous in their decision to refuse to do so, and with that the matter was dropped.[29]

In 1387 with the death of King Ólafur Hákonarson, Queen Margret of Denmark, his mother, became the Queen of both Denmark and Norway. Through her efforts Denmark, Norway, and Sweden became parties to the Kalmar Union of 1397, which lasted until the reformation. Iceland suffered most through this union from lack of intercourse between it and Denmark. Sailings were irregular and government supervision neglected so that the country was not far removed from anarchy at the time. Conditions improved after the accession of Kristján I in 1449.[30] In 1523 Kristján II of Denmark was deposed and fled the country, the Kalmar Union thereby being dissolved. His uncle Friðrik I

become King of Denmark and Norway.[31] In 1563 the King of Denmark decreed that the royal bailiff, who, in virtue of his office was ruler of Iceland, should appoint twenty-four men to constitute the highest court to which appeals could be made from the decisions of the Lögmenn. This was keenly resented for up to this time the highest courts had been in Iceland.[32]

Absolutism was established in Denmark in 1661 and Norway was helpless to resist. The next year the King invited the church dignitaries, lawyers, and sheriffs of Iceland to meet at Thingvalla. The King's representative, Henrik Bjelke, did not arrive until after the appointed time. At the next meeting, under show of arms, he gained the acceptance of Iceland of the absolute authority of the King and the country gave up its last vestige of independence. It seems that they were promised that they could retain their old laws.[33]

The close of the 17th century ushered in several changes in the government of Iceland. In 1683 revenue was given to one man called royal tax collector (landfógeti). He managed the king's holdings in Iceland, collected taxes and fines, and supervised the king's fisheries at Sudurnes. His duty it was also to enforce the Icelandic trade act. The year following the office was divided, one being that of the royal tax collector and the other that of the royal governor (stiftamtmadur). Under the jurisdiction of the latter came the courts and church. In 1688 a resident official was appointed as representative of the royal governor. From now on all Icelandic affairs came under two

departments in Copenhagen which were responsible to the king alone. Before this time they had been in the hands of one man who had been personally responsible to the king. Althing came to be of very little consequence and in a few years the general opinion was the king was the only source of authority in Iceland. The result was that Althing ceased to meet as a legislative assembly in 1798, and the judiciary was moved to Reykjavik.[34] The Congress of Vienna in 1814 in attempting to adjust state boundaries in conformity with national aspirations united Norway and Sweden under one king. In making the adjustments Iceland was completely forgotten and as a result remained with Denmark.

In 1843 Althing was revived but in name only. It comprised twenty members elected in Iceland and six appointed by the king, and existed now merely in an advisory capacity though it was free to express the wishes of the people. In 1848, when Fridrik VII came to the throne, the shock of the French Revolution of 1848 had just sent a shudder through the monarchies of Europe. He deemed it advisable for his personal safety to grant a constitution. In it he promised, in accordance with enlightened views of the day, some changes with regard to Iceland which were, however, slow to materialize. The ensuing struggle with the government brought to the forefront Jon Sigurdsson,[35] a young student of languages and Icelandic history at the University of Copenhagen, who became the leader of the Icelandic nationalistic party. Finally in 1874 largely through

his efforts the labors of that party bore fruit when the King granted Iceland a constitution.[36] This was, however, but one of the stepping stones towards home rule. Of the members of the upper house one half were appointees of the King and hence in his control. Matters of interest to Iceland only were still governed from Denmark. The Minister (Rádgjafi), an appointee from Denmark, was irresponsible to Althing. Jón Sigurdsson aimed at home rule. Not until 1904 when the liberals came into power in Denmark did Iceland achieve this. Hannes Hafstein became its first prime minister.[37] In 1918 greater freedom in relations between the two governments was realized when all connections with Denmark were severed save that both still retained the same king though each is a separate kingdom.

2. Social Conditions of the Settlements

During the settlement period and, indeed, on to union with Norway, Iceland carried on trade with foreign countries. In the early history of the country, the godar had the right to regulate or forbid trade between their men and foreigners. The Kings of Norway too at times assumed this authority on the behalf of Iceland and after the union the aim was to dispose of all competition in trade. About 1350 the country was leased to the chairman of the executive council in Denmark who collected taxes and supervised trade, the latter of which he endeavored to make profitable for himself. Others were allowed to trade with Iceland only after obtaining special permission from the king, by paying

a duty of five per cent on goods, and by giving the King one-quarter of the freight load of the ship for his commodities. A direct consequence of this was the irregularity of shipping during the 14th century.[38]

At the beginning of the 15th century English seamen began frequenting the shores of Iceland to trade and to fish. As trade with Norway had dwindled to almost nothing the inhabitants were practically compelled to trade where trade was offered despite laws to the contrary. Until attempts were made by Norway and later by Denmark to stop trade with England, better conditions of trade prevailed than in the preceeding years, but once their opposition was aroused it was Iceland that suffered.[39]

Efforts to control completely the trade of Iceland culminated in 1602 in the sale of the privilege to trade there by the Danish King to his officials in Copenhagen. In spite of regulations intended to prevent abuse of the privilege, Iceland suffered from increased prices and scarcity of necessary commodities. Finally in 1619 the King drew up a price list of goods shipped to Iceland.[40] As the 17th century advanced, trade regulations became stricter and more attention was paid to enforcing them. Considerable illegal trade with England sprang up at this time but was practically stopped by imposing severe punishments for infringements. In 1684 a new price list much higher than the former was drafted. Lumber for ships was now so high in price that sea-faring became prohibitive. The country was divided into districts and no one could trade with

any merchant outside of his district.[41]

In 1743 a company was organized to trade with Iceland. This event inaugurated a trade period worse than any Iceland had yet seen. The monopoly was driven to its limits; necessary imports were scant while tobacco, wine, and other luxuries were plentiful; lumber was rotten, flour and other foods spoiled, and iron defective but prices exhorbitant. Finally in 1756 the company brought in mouldy flour but many were glad to get even this for it is estimated that 1100 died from starvation that year.[42]

From 1764 to 1774 the trade of Iceland was in the hands of the Almennaverzlunarfjelag, a Danish trading company. Things went from bad to worse until it was no better than its predecessor. At the end of that time the King again became responsible for the trade. Through the untiring efforts of Jón Eiriksson, member of the King's advisory council, and Skúli Magnússon, the royal tax collector in Iceland, trade in Iceland was opened to all servants of the Danish King.[43]

During the Napoleonic wars Iceland suffered through interruption of her trade. In 1810 England, however, resumed trade relations with the country. This consideration did little to improve matters for the ships coming to Iceland were few and prices prohibitive.[44]

When Jón Sigurdsson appeared on the stage of politics, trade was still a monopoly of Denmark. He aimed to obtain for his country nothing short of complete freedom of trade. This aim he finally realized in 1854.

Not all the hardships the Icelandic people have had to contend with have come from difficulties in trade. The natural elements time and again have proven capricious and unrelenting.

During the 14th century several volcanoes were active causing inestimable damage to property. In several cases entire districts were destroyed. Earthquakes also took their toll as also did eruptions. In the wake of these disasters followed famine and plague. From the ash that fell in 1341 stock died in great numbers. Six years later an epidemic of small pox carried off the entire population of some districts. In 1374-5 people died from starvation by the hundreds. Thus to the close of the century the country was devastated by plague and famine.[45]

Nor was the opening of the 15th century more benign. Coming from the East and after taking its toll in the countries along the Mediterranean, towards the close of 1348 the Bubonic Plague had swept away over one half of England's population. Over half a century later, from 1402-5, Iceland was visited by the plague which took a toll of one-third of the population of the country.[46] In some districts not one person was spared to relate the tragic story. The end of the century was marked by volcanic eruptions and epidemics from which died a large percentage of the population.[47] Likewise the closing years of the 16th century and beginning of the next century saw eruptions, epidemics, and general hardship follow in the wake of each other. During these years of privation 9000 died from starvation.

Courage and hope failed. References are to be found in the poetry of the time to these years of exceptional hardship.[48]

The middle of the 18th century is marked by hardship. Katla erupted in 1755 with great violence. Fifty farms were destroyed and stock also perished from this. In 1766 Hekla became active; noonday became dark as midnight for ash fell heavily. Again farms were laid bare. All this was as nothing compared with the eruption of Krabla which began on June 8, 1783, with a rain of ash and sulphur. Four days later lava poured down filling lakes and covering the surrounding land. 28,00 horses, 11,000 cattle, and 200,000 sheep were lost in this disaster. Then during the years 1784-5 it is estimated that more than 9,000 people died from the epidemic that followed so that the population was reduced to 40,000 when the disease abated.[49]

3. Literary Activity

The one hundred years following the close of the settlement period are known as the saga period for during this period took place most of the stirring events which supplied material for the sagas. These stories were handed down orally for generations and finally written. Several of these stories were of a genealogical nature for many had talent for tracing the ancestry of families. These stories centre around individuals living during the settlement period and tell of their feuds and accomplishments. Many doubtless are authentic but around others

has been woven a mass of legendary material.

Runic writing was in use in Norway at the time Iceland was settled. This they used in their early writing. After the country was converted to Christianity the alphabet used in Latin replaced the former method of writing. Outside of sacred literature the laws written by Hafliði Másson are in all probability the first lay writing in which the Latin alphabet was used. About 1140 an anonymous scholar compiled an Icelandic alphabet in which he used some of the Latin and runic letters and added others as he saw necessary.[50]

Some of the best sagas are Njála, Grettissaga, Egilssaga, Gunnlaugssaga, and Laxdæla. Most of the old sagas were written at the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th.[51] Not only did the Icelandic story tellers relate matters of local interest, but they turned to writing the stories of the Kings of Norway and many were employed by the King for this purpose alone. The most noted of these is Heimskringla, a story of the kings of Norway from the earliest times to the days of Sverrir, King of Norway, written by Snorri Sturluson. As a historian he surpassed all preceeding and contemporary writers by his judicious selection of material, accuracy, and introduction of method into his writing. He also wrote a prose synopsis, known as the Prose or younger Edda, of the Poetic or elder Edda attributed to Semundur fróði.[52]

During the 14th century writers were chiefly interested in writing biographies of the bishops and priests, adventure

stories, and tales of chivalry. They also for the first time versified the old stories.[53]

From the 14th century on literary activity was fast on the decline. The old literature was transcribed but the new literature was for the most part composed of hymns, versification, and eulogies of the saints.[54] The year 1540 saw the New Testament translated into Icelandic by Oddur Gottskálksson, and published[55] just fifteen years after William Tyndall's translation appeared in print, while in 1584 Bishop Guðbrandur Thorlákssen published his Icelandic translation of the Bible twenty-seven years before the King James version which appeared in 1611. He also published a great deal of sacred literature.[56]

The reformation in Iceland ushered in a reawakened interest in the history of the country. Collection of the old manuscripts came into vogue at this time as well as the transcription of these. Denmark and Sweden vied with each other in the collection of runic writings and manuscripts in Iceland for they had discovered that there were the original sources of their early history. They came to employ Icelandic scholars for the purpose of translating these. Denmark instituted a government office for the collection and translation of old manuscripts.[57]

Writing of poetry continued to claim considerable attention during the 15th and 16th centuries. The best of these poets is Hallgrimur Péturssen,[58] the greatest hymn writer Iceland has produced. A selection of his hymns[59] has recently

been translated into English by C. Venn Pilcher of the University of Toronto.

Towards the close of the 18th century interest in literature and intellectual pursuits was revived with renewed vigor. Icelandic students abroad came into contact with contemporary literature on the continent so that through them came the romances of this period. Societies for the advancement of learning were established. In the next century Icelandic literature reached new heights. Some of the writers of this era were Bjarni Thorarinsen, the first of the romanticists, Sveinbjörn Egilsson, the philologist, Jónas Hallgrimsson the geologist, Konrád Gislasen, Valdimar Briem, and Matthias Jochumsson.[60]

The first quarter of the 20th century produced several poets of the first order such as Thorstein Erlingsson, Gudmundur Gudmundsson, Hannes Hafstein, Einar Benediktsson, Einar H. Kvaran, and Stephan G. Stephansson.[61] The last named, however, came to Canada in 1873 when twenty years of age and wrote all his poetry in this country.[62]

4. Religion

When colonization began in Iceland, Christianity was unknown in Norway with the result that Norse mythology, a form of worship common to all the Teutonic peoples, was the accepted faith of the great majority who immigrated to Iceland. Some few from the Western Islands had been converted to Christianity but

in most cases they themselves or their children reverted to their former faith. Hence for nearly one hundred years the country worshipped the Ásar, god of Ásatrú as this faith was called in Iceland.

Though Odin in Scandinavian mythology, was the "Alfadir" who knew all things and would survive when this earth and the lesser gods or Æsir had become extinct, this faith was in essence polytheistic for the chief gods were twenty-four in number. This form of worship embraced a philosophy of the origin of the universe, of the lives of the gods, and of man's destiny after death. Magnificent yet tragical in its conception, the undercurrent is the struggle of the benign forces of nature against the evil. Had the colonists been converted to Christianity before they came to Iceland it is questionable whether the sagas would have attained the high degree of interest which they did.

Temples known as hofs were erected in which the gods were worshipped and sacrifices made to them. The godar as a rule were responsible for them and for the execution of the services. Images carved in wood of the gods held in highest esteem comprised the decoration of the interior of the temples.[63]

In 981 the first missionaries came to Iceland. These were Thorvaldur Koðránsson, a native of Iceland and a bishop from Germany by the name of Fridrik. They endeavored to accomplish their aims peaceably but Thorvaldur once lost his

self-control and killed two men because some had begun doubting the sincerity of their mission. They then in 986, were forced to leave the country.[64] Next Stefnir Thorgilsson, another Icelander, was sent by King Ólafur Tryggvason of Norway, who was deeply imbued with the missionary zeal. His methods, both warlike and unscrupulous, proved to be his undoing.[65] The King then sent Thangbrandur[66] to Iceland, a man whose past had been anything but Christian so that from the beginning indications were that the mission would prove a failure.[67]

Christianity was finally accepted in Iceland through the efforts of the converts of Thangbrandur. These were Gizur, the White, Teitsson and Hjalti Skeggjasson, both godar in the island. Hjalti who had been exiled for blasphemy the preceeding year ventured to return just before Althing met and together they presented their case there. The gathering divided into three groups; those who wished no change, those who sponsored Christianity, and those who were more or less indifferent. For a time the country was faced with civil war. The leaders decided to refer the matter to Hall from Sidu who declined but referred the matter to the lögsögumadur, Thorgeir Ljósvetningagodi. His decision was that Christianity should become the religion of Iceland. Those who wished could worship in the old way secretly but by law the country accepted Christianity in the year 1000.

The first bishops of Iceland were all from foreign countries such as England, Norway, and Saxony. Ísleifur Gissurarson who was sent abroad for ordination for bishop was the

first Icelander to qualify for the position. He served as bishop of Iceland from 1056 to 1080 at Skálholt. His son, Gissur Ísleifsson succeeded him. Through his efforts a tithe was by law set aside as a tax for the support of the church in 1096. In 1106 a second bishopric was established at Holar, the first bishop there being Jón Ólafsson who changed the names of the days of the week with the effect that Iceland is the only Teutonic country where the names of the week days are not derived from the names of the gods. The bishopric at Skálholt was moved to Reykjavik in 1785 and the two diocese were united in 1801 under the Bishop of Iceland. At the headquarters of each of the sees clerical schools were founded at the time of their inception.

During the 15th century the Roman Catholic church gradually lost its hold on the people. The clergy had lost sight of its aim as servants of the church. Through laxity of morals and general lack of integrity of character they forfeited the position of spiritual leaders and advisors of the people.

About the time when the Roman Catholic church had reached its lowest ebb, some of the literature of the reformation reached Iceland through students from the European universities. Secretly the new movement was fostered until finally one of the bishops was converted to the new order though he outwardly kept his alliance with the Roman Catholic church. Kristján III. of Denmark, became King just about this time and he, by proclamation, replaced Roman Catholicism by Protestantism in September 1537. He

supported the new faith because by the old he had no claim to the throne. Though at first opposition made itself felt, it soon died away. Jón Arason, bishop at Hólar, who with his two sons was beheaded at Skálholt, November 7, 1550, was the last Catholic bishop in Iceland. Since then Iceland has been exclusively a Protestant country.[70]

CHAPTER 111

CAUSES FOR EMIGRATION.

1. Climate

As has already been stated, the climate of Iceland is warmer than is to be expected in this latitude. The winters are mild but the summers are rather cool. In the mountains snow storms are not infrequent in the middle of summer. More than this, the proportion of dull days as compared with days of sunshine is very high. Thus, besides having a soil which is not conducive to intensive agriculture, there is neither sufficient warmth nor ample sunshine, both of which are essential to abundant and healthy growth of grain.

During the 19th century the north coasts of Iceland were icebound until the latter part of the summer for cycles of several years each. It is estimated that during this period the entire coasts were free from ice only one year out of four or five. In 1883, for example, drift ice settled around the north and east coasts of Iceland so that a ship to sail from Saudarkrók the last days of June did not leave until August 4th.[71] During the years the coast was icebound the country was unnaturally cold and consequently little growth.

As mentioned before the natural elements such as volcanoes and earthquakes were ruthless in their destruction. In 1875 the eruption of Dyngjafjall in the east part of the country wrought the destruction of several districts in the neighborhood.[72] The

next year, a large group came from this area to America. The capriciousness of weather conditions made farming, in particular, as a means of earning a living very uncertain. The winter of 1858-9 is noted for being one of exceptional hardship as were also the years 1881, 1882, and 1883. In his reminiscences of the settlement in Nova Scotia, Gudbrandur Erlendsson relates that when asked why he and his fellow-countrymen had come to America he had promptly declared it to be due to general impoverished condition of the country.[73]

2. Economic Conditions of the Country

At the beginning of the 19th century, Europe was still in the throes of the Napoleonic wars. In the summer of 1807 England seized the Danish fleet with the effect that Iceland was cut off from communication with the outside world. In 1810 England permitted trade with Iceland but ships coming to Iceland from there were few and came irregularly so that imports were scarce and high in price. To aggravate these conditions came bank failure in Denmark. Currency depreciated in value. In Iceland this was reflected by heavy financial losses which in some cases spelt ruin.

Though peace came in 1814 the countries of Europe did not recover for many years from the exhaustion occasioned by the war. Revolution continued to raise its head here and there in Europe for the next half century. The arrangements made at the Congress of Vienna were doomed to failure. Europe

had to be reconstructed. The union of Norway and Sweden was only temporary. Belgium derived only political, economic, and religious disadvantages from its union with Holland. Governments in France came and went. Germany and Italy continued to undergo political reorganization for several years. Not until political stability had been achieved did these countries begin to prosper or develop into modern nations. Thus this condition was not peculiar to Iceland.[74]

In Iceland a struggle for freedom of trade occupied the attention of the people for several years. Trade was a monopoly of the officials of the Danish crown. A direct consequence of the monopoly was a very serious lack of necessary commodities accompanied by high prices which made national welfare impossible. Though Iceland, through the efforts of Jón Sigurdsson, won freedom of trade in 1854, some time passed before the new system was adjusted to conditions. One factor responsible for the improvement of conditions was the fact that formerly trade had been entirely in the hands of disinterested foreigners but from this date on it was gradually taken over by the Icelandic people themselves or residents of the country.[75]

Iceland was without a bank until in 1885 when the Landsbánki was established. Seventeen years later, in 1902, its second bank, Islandsbánki, was founded. The banks have facilitated and made possible the development of trade which

the latter part of the last century witnessed.[76] The various improvements brought about under the new system did not come before despair and discontent regarding conditions had set in so that any change seemed acceptable.

3. Political

In searching for political reasons for the migrations from Iceland in the last century, it is impossible to single out any particular cause and say that this specific reason was responsible for the movement. An air of general distress and despondency had settled over the country as a whole because for several years conditions had been difficult and discouraging. At this time the struggle for self-government was going on. The general attitude in parts of the country at least was that unless the requests would be granted, the people would all migrate from Iceland and leave the country for the King of Denmark to do with as he saw best. If the worst happened, then Brazil and North America were looked upon as havens free from the oppressions of despots. The prevalent view was that even if successful the struggle would be futile in that improvement of conditions of the majority would be very doubtful. Foreign government was blamed for the many ills of the country. Relief, however, did come in 1874 when Iceland was granted a constitution. Expectations for a prosperous future were uppermost now. But in the wake of this momentous achievement followed years of privation and

hardship. This series of national disasters, particularly around the year 1880, revived interest and hope in the possibilities of migrating to the New World. As has been seen, trade had been in the hands of the Danish crown and Iceland had suffered more and more as time went on through this. When freedom of trade was achieved, conditions did not change for the better over night: long intervals passed between sailings, markets were few, prices of home products low, and prices of imported commodities proportionately high.

It is evident that it was not a desire for a greater share in the government that impelled the people to leave Iceland. Some went to Brazil which was then an empire. Others went to the United States which was a republic. The largest number, however, came to the Dominion of Canada. Several made Manitoba their goal in 1875 which had been granted provincial status only five years prior to this. Furthermore, when the people had once come to America, they moved back and forth between Canada, and the United States, not because they were dissatisfied with their respective governments but because they hoped to be able thereby to improve their welfare.

It was neither religious intolerance nor persecution that was responsible for the emigration from Iceland. The Lutheran church, which is the state church of Iceland, had

become very tolerant. Persecution for religious opinions have been unknown there lately.

4. Social

The French Revolution made itself felt in Iceland in a way different from that in most other countries. Institutions were not swept away to have others reared in their stead. Following the revolution of 1830 in France and several other European countries, all northern Europe was again shaken to the roots by a movement for freedom and progress.[77]

Four Icelandic students, Tomas Semundsson, Jonas Hallgrimsson, Konrad Gislason, and Brynjolfur Petursson together edited and published an annual periodical from 1835 to 1847 to awaken the interest of the people in freedom and learning. As a result of the awakening and restlessness following the revolutions of 1830 many now desired to see the outside world and discover what possibilities might exist there for improvement in their conditions of living. It is this spirit of adventure which urged some to go to South America and others to North America. It was with breathless eagerness that news of these distant lands were awaited for from the reports of those who had direct knowledge they drew their conclusion.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA

1. Utah

The year 1850 or thereabout two young Icelandic men, Thorarin Hafliðason and Guðmundur Guðmundsson, from the Westman Islands, went to Copenhagen to study one of the skilled trades. While there they were converted and became missionaries for the Mormon faith. This, to begin with, became the primary motive for migration to Utah.

In 1855 the first Icelandic group to leave for America went to Spanish Fork in Utah near the centre of Utah valley.[78] No further migrations took place for several years. In 1872 two of the colonists paid a visit to their native land on behalf of the Mormon organization in the hope of converting and inducing others to join them. This reawakened interest in Utah and, incidentally, in America. From 1872 until the year 1892 almost every year saw new additions, though not always large in number, from Iceland. 1896 marks the end of the migrations to Utah out of sympathy with Mormonism; from that date on several made this their destination even if not interested in Utah as the headquarters of the Mormon church. Since 1892, though the settlement continues to flourish, migrations to it may be said to have ceased completely.

2. Brazil

Though an attempt had been made in 1860 to induce

people to go to Brazil, the movement proved abortive. It was therefore not until in 1863 that the first group left. Four men from Thingeyarsýsla, Jón Einarsen, his son Jón, Jónas Hallgrimsson, and Jónas Fridfinnsson, comprised the party. July 11th, 1863 they sailed on the merchant ship Johanna from Akureyri and landed at Copenhagen on the 20th of the same month where they remained until August 6th. From there they went by steamer to Kiel. Thence they travelled by the sail boat Caroline. Not until the 14th of October did they at length dock at Rio Janeiro. Once there they soon established themselves at the settlement Dona Francisca not far removed from that city.[79]

Two years later an attempt was again made to revive interest in emigration to Brazil. Some one hundred and fifty indicated their desire to go but when gratuitous passage, which had been promised, could not be secured the movement to Brazil, but not to other parts of the American continent, subsided. On the contrary, it had the effect of stimulating interest in emigration to North America and in particular to the United States and Canada.[80]

Again in 1873 it was reported that those desiring to settle in Brazil could obtain free transportation but by that time interest in Brazil for purposes of settlement had spent itself. This is witnessed by the fact that though almost four hundred went to Canada and the United States that year, only about thirty went to South America.[81] Since that

date migrations to Brazil have been negligible.

3. Washington Island

In 1865 a Dane who had been employed for several years as clerk at Reykjavik, Hafnarfjörður, and lastly at Eyrarbakki left for Milwaukee, Wisconsin.[82] Of his experiences there he wrote to his former employer, G. Thorgrimsen, at Eyrarbakki. In words of high praise he told of the many good features of his adopted country, among others mentioning what a source of wealth Lake Michigan would prove to anyone wishing to turn to fishing. Though no doubt he was too optimistic in his reports he deserves credit for realizing the possibilities to be found in America.

On May 12th, 1870 three young men left Eyrarbakki for America.[83] At Reykjavik they were joined by a fourth. These pioneers were Jón Gislason, Guðmundur Guðmundsson, Árni Guðmundsson, and Jón Einarsson, the first named being the leader of the group. All attempts, subtle and devious as they were, proved unavailing in the effort to induce them to relinquish this mad project as it was considered to be. From Reykjavik they took passage on the Diana to Copenhagen. On June 3rd they embarked on the steamer Pacific to Hull and from there travelled by train to Liverpool where they embarked on the Allan steamship Austrian. The 18th or 19th day of June they docked at Quebec and after a wearisome journey on freight

trains they finally reached Milwaukee on the 27th of the same month. The fare from Copenhagen to Milwaukee was 94 rix-dollars equivalent to approximately $53.58.

During the remainder of the summer the four immigrants, having secured employment, remained in Milwaukee. In the autumn all except Jón Einarsson, who came there later, made their way to Washington Island. This island, called by the Indians Pottawatomie, is situated in the north-west end of Lake Michigan. The island is small, being only about twenty-eight square miles in area.

When the first Icelanders came to the island only six to eight farmers had preceeded them there. In reality the number of residents was greater than this for it had been inhabited along the shores for several years past by fishermen. They were not a progressive population for no improvements were made. On the other hand the farmers gradually cleared away the forest, replaced the first crude log houses by frame structures, built good roads, and erected four school houses on the island.[34]

The numbers on the island were slightly augmented in 1871 by a small party from the southern part of Iceland. The next year a group of fourteen from Eyrarbakki came to the island. From time to time until 1895 settlers from Iceland continued to come to Washington Island.[35]

Several emigrants from Iceland gathered in Milwaukee,

Soon they realized that Wisconsin would not be a desirable place for all future settlers from Iceland. As early as 1873 some of their number had gone west to Nebraska and inspected land along the Missouri Burlington Railway which was offered for sale on very favorable terms. No homesteads were to be had in the eastern part of the state but were available in the western part. As this was far from a railway, settlement there was deemed inadvisable. In the effort to find a site suitable for their needs,[86] a meeting was called in 1874 where Sigfús Magnússon was chosen to inspect land in Iowa and Nebraska along the Burlington Missouri Railway. He was accompanied by Jón Halldórsson. After going through these states they bought farms near Firth, a town about twenty miles from Lincoln, Nebraska. They wrote to their friends in Milwaukee giving them a detailed description of the place. Many decided to follow them the next spring. However, when grasshoppers destroyed the corn crop many lost interest in the movement. During the winter of 1874-5 Jón Ólafsson, in company with Ólafur Ólafsson, went to Alaska with an eye to settlement there. On his return he wrote a book on his experiences there entitled "Alaska" published in Washington, D.C. 1875, which is in all likelihood the first Icelandic book published on this side of the Atlantic. On his return from this expedition Ólafur Ólafsson was still

determined to go to Nebraska when migration to Winnipeg and New Iceland commenced. He then advised following the stream to western Canada which many in Milwaukee did.

Though a few have made their homes in Nebraska the movements towards settlement there and in Alaska were still-born.

4. Ontario

a. Muskoka

In the month of July 1873 a group of almost two hundred people had gathered at Akureyri ready to sail for America. This is the first large group to leave Iceland.[87] Not being well informed about America the destination had not been decided upon. The preceeding year Rev. Páll Thorláksson, then a student, in company with Haraldur, his brother, and others had gone to Milwaukee. During the winter of 1872-3 letters from him with others translated from Norwegian had appeared in Norðanfari. Hence Milwaukee for many became the logical place for the proposed settlement.

While awaiting the ship to take them to Scotland, a few meetings for the purpose of disposing of the vital question of their destination were called. While it was generally conceded that it would not be to the advantage of the group to drift apart, it was revealed that some had already committed themselves to going to Milwaukee. Some wished to make their

new homes in Nova Scotia while others wished to penetrate into western Canada. Finally it was agreed that the entire group excepting those going to Milwaukee should go to Ontario where employment and free land were reported to be plentiful. As leaders of the party were chosen Ólafur Ólafsson, Friðjón Friðriksson, and Baldvin Helgason.

This group, reduced to one hundred and fifty-three, left Akureyri on the evening of the 4th of August on board the Queen bound for Scotland. At the port due to lack of accomodation, between twenty and thirty turned back but most of them came to Canada in the fall of that year. The steamer docked at Granton, Scotland, August 10th, and two days later, the 12th, the party resumed its journey this time on the Manitoban belonging to the Allan Steamship Company, and arrived at Quebec the 25th of the same month. The same day they went by train to Toronto, arriving there on the 27th. On condition that they reside two months in Canada the immigrants were offered free railroad transportation from Quebec to whatever point in Ontario they wished to make the centre of their settlement. In Toronto after a sojourn of two days devoted to gaining information as to what district would best serve their immediate and future interests, it was decided to go to the Muskoka district reported to have ample unclaimed land as well as considerable employment.[88] The group departed August 29th and arrived at the town of Rosseau the following

day. To their surprise and disappointment, the district of their choice had little land and less employment to offer. After inspecting land both to the north and to the south of Rosseau they believed the site south of Rosseau along the Rosseau River to be desirable and forthwith decided to make it the centre of their settlement provided the government build a road from Rosseau through the district selected the following year. Two weeks later word came that the request had been granted whereupon many filed applications for homesteads. Some obtained temporary employment clearing the way for a road to the settlement. By the time the road was completed the season was so far advanced that it was too late to move to the homesteads until the next spring. With the majority lack of funds made it necessary for them to obtain work during the winter. Two members of the group, Baldvin Helgason and David Davidsson, bought in partnership a farm of two hundred acres with buildings to which they moved that fall. They bought some stock and made hay for it after the 8th of October.

Though, during the winter the group drifted apart in the search for employment, most of its members continued to look upon Rosseau as their headquarters and the place where they would settle when their circumstances improved. The post office in the Icelandic part of the settlement was called Hekkla.

In the spring of 1874 Sigtryggur Jónasson, on a land inspection trip, visited the colony at Muskoka.[89] He had come from Iceland in 1872 and settled in southern Ontario and is therefore in all likelihood the first Icelander to come to Canada. In the summer of 1874 he was despatched by the Ontario government to meet a large group of Icelandic immigrants landing at Quebec. He took this group to Kinmount where a railroad was being built and therefore employment easily obtained. The next year he visited his fellow countrymen at Muskoka. While there he called a meeting with a view to inducing them to move to the district now commonly known as New Iceland. He then offered all those wishing to settle in Western Canada, the Kinmount group included, gratuitous transportation. Practically all the Icelanders excepting those who had already settled on their farms and those who went to Nova Scotia left for the West. From 1880 to 1884 the remaining Icelandic settlers left Muskoka in considerable numbers for Pembina County, North Dakota, until in 1899 only five families remained.

b. Kinmount

On September 23rd, 1874, the liner St. Patrick brought directly from Iceland to Quebec 365 prospective settlers from Iceland.[90] The steamer was met by the pilot accompanied by Jóhannes Arngrimsson and an agent of the Dominion Government.

The agent wished to induce these people to settle in Canada and not in the United States as had been their intention.[91] Until they had been assured that their rights to citizenship would not be restricted in any way and that they would be privileged to retain their language and nationality, they would give no promise. At a meeting called on board the ship an agreement including others these stipulations, was drafted and approved by the group. If accepted its members, on the other hand, agreed to settle in Canada. Evidently, incredible as it appears, the agent undertook to accept this agreement on behalf of the government. The current opinion at this time seems to have been that the United States was a republic organized on democratic principles but that Canada was not. The difference, they believed, might be reflected in their respective institutions. Therefore they wished to arrive at an understanding before they committed themselves to settling in Canada. Given this assurance, the group without delay proceeded to Kinmount.

At Kinmount the government erected temporary shelters for the immigrants.[92] Two of these were 20' by 70' and two of them 20' by 35'. These proved to be too low and did not provide sufficient accomodation. A second storey was added to the two larger ones and later two others 20' by 35', one of which had two storeys, were erected. These houses were built of logs with moss and clay plastered in the crevices.

plank floors, and board roofs. The government also provided ten cook stoves for these.

The group was divided at Toronto, one leaving for Kinmount on October 9th and the other following on the 12th. Of the distance of one hundred and two miles the first eighty-eight miles were covered by rail to the town of Cobakank. The remaining fourteen miles the men walked while a sufficient number of wagons was provided for the women and children. In order to reach Kinmount in one day the groups left Toronto at eight o'clock in the morning.

The government agreed to provide work at $1.25 per day during the summer and $1.00 during the winter for those who desired employment. As the demand for work was considerable the remuneration was reduced to .90¢. The group remained during the winter in the shelters provided by the government.

5. Nova Scotia

Shortly after the Icelandic settlers had arrived at Kinmount they were visited by Johannes Arngrimsson, immigration agent of the Nova Scotia government.[93] The purpose of his visit was, on behalf of the government he represented, to induce the immigrants to make their homes in Nova Scotia. His insistence had the effect of making many dissatisfied for they had come to see that prospects of a prosperous future at Kinmount were very doubtful. Four of their number left for Nova Scotia with the agent that same fall while their number

was increased to approximately eighty the next spring.

The site reserved for the Icelandic colony, situated about thirty miles inland, is known as the Mooseland Heights in the Mosquodoboit Valley.[94] Each family was granted one hundred acres of land, one of which was cleared and a log cabin erected in the clearing. The first two years a road constructed by the government to the settlement provided employment. The settlers showed great diligence at clearing their farms but once cleared the farms did not prove the gold mine they had been represented to be. Every acre of land had to be cleared of heavy forest but when cleared the land proved to be rocky and the soil poor.

The number of settlers was increased by additions from Iceland so that at the time its population was greatest it is estimated that it counted about two hundred residents.[95] They retained the Icelandic custom of giving their farms names as they had done in Iceland. Reports of the prosperity of their countrymen in North Dakota and Manitoba convinced them that it would be to their advantage to go West. They went to various places but the majority established themselves in North Dakota and New Iceland. This settlement, named by the Icelanders Markland, was destined as the first to extinction. The government of Nova Scotia made no attempt to prevent the settlers from leaving because it had come to see the futility and hopelessness of the situation for them.[96] It facilitated and hastened giving

titles to the land in order that the settlers could sell before they left if they had the opportunity. The migration from there during the years 1881 and 1882 again left this district deserted.

6. Minneota

The year this settlement was established saw also the birth of three others, all in Canada, namely Markland, Winnipeg, and New Iceland. The settlement at Minneota is in Lyon, Yellow Medicine, and Lincoln counties in the south-western part of the state of Minnesota, about one hundred and fifty miles south-west of St. Paul.[97] The town of Minneota where several Icelandic immigrants settled is situated approximately in the centre of the colony. Several have also settled in the town of Marshall. Besides this there are two Icelandic farming communities, one north-east of Minneota called the East Settlement and the other to the west called the West settlement. In the colony all told are from twelve to fifteen hundred Icelandic residents.

The first Icelandic settler in this community was Gunnlaugur Petursson.[98] In 1873 he had left his native country and settled in Iowa County, Wisconsin in a Scandinavian settlement. Here he lived for a year and a half. About that time a movement for Scandinavian migration from Wisconsin to western Minnesota arose. In May 1875 Gunnlaugur Petursson with his family moved west. The distance of five hundred miles was covered on a wagon drawn by a single ox. After some inspection

he selected a farm seven miles north-east of Minneota, finally moving to it on July 4th. This proved a judicious choice for the land was suited to either grain growing or stock raising. The next year, 1876, he was followed by some of his neighbors from Wisconsin. The next two years the numbers were increased by additions directly from Iceland.

During the first years of the influx of Icelanders to Lyon County, immigrants of other nationalities were also coming there. By 1878 homesteads could no longer be procured in that county. Therefore that year they turned to Lincoln County.

The land in this particular settlement is a treeless prairie. This made it more difficult in the first years when means were very limited than in some of the other pioneering districts as firewood and all material for the houses had to be purchased.[99] Early the farmers began planting shelters around their buildings with the result that the general appearance of the district has been completely altered.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT IN MANITOBA

1. New Iceland or Gimli

The New Iceland colony is situated between 50°38' and 51° 15' North Latitude and 96° 38' and 97° 10' West Longitude. In length north to south it is approximately forty-two miles and in width east to west less than eleven miles. In addition, to it belong two islands in Lake Winnipeg north-east of the settlement, namely, Mikley eighteen miles long and about six miles wide and Engey a small island in area about one hundred and sixty acres. This site was at the time of the first influx of Icelanders into western Canada in the District of Keewatin which was administered separately from the North West Territories from 1876. Later when the province of Manitoba was enlarged New Iceland came within its boundaries. The New Iceland reservation was only a small part of what came to be known as Gimli County. This is seventy miles in length by twenty-three miles where its width is greatest. New Iceland was set aside for an Icelandic colony for twenty years, this privilege not being revoked until 1896.[100]

As has previously been mentioned a group of Icelandic immigrants, chiefly from the northern part of Iceland, landed at Quebec September 23rd, 1874, and settled at Kinmount. During their first winter in Canada employment had been obtained at building a railroad passing through the town. As was obvious this was only temporary. It then became apparent that Kinmount

was not desirable for an Icelandic colony primarily because other nationalities were not excluded from settlement there and because the land proved to be unproductive. John Taylor, a Canadian, acquainted with the conditions of the settlers with a view to establishing a colony in Manitoba, appealed for financial aid for them to Lord Dufferin who was at that time governor-general of Canada. At a meeting[101] called May 30th, 1875 among the Icelanders Sigtryggur Jónasson, Einar Jónasson, Skapti Arason, and Kristjan Jónsson were elected to go west with John Taylor as manager of the expedition to inspect land for the proposed settlement. On the way a sixth, Sigurður Kristoferssón, from Milwaukee, joined them. They left on July 2nd and reached Winnipeg on the 16th of the same month. After consulting the agent of Dominion Lands regarding tracts available for settlement, they decided that the most feasible ones would be on the prairies a considerable distance west of the city of Winnipeg, and another on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg. They set out forthwith to inspect these tracts, none of them knowing much about agricultural farming but, being already acquainted with the severe winters and knowing the strained circumstances of most of the proposed settlers, they decided against the prairie tract. The wooded regions on the west side of the Lake had the advantage of shelter, logs for material from which to build houses, plenty of firewood, ~~and~~, what they considered good soil once the forest was cleared not thinking ofagriculture but sufficient meadow land for a few head of cattle and, foremost,

the Lake itself where they were told was fish in abundance. Viewing it from this standpoint this site seemed very feasible. most of the proposed settlers being partly destitute, employment being scarce, wages low, and the people knowing only manual labor with the exception of stock farming and fishing in which they were proficient. Not understanding the nature of the soil, the heart-breaking task of clearing the forest, the almost impossible task of drainage, and building roads, they were full of enthusiasm when they returned to Winnipeg and in their report of their countrymen when they returned to Kinmount.

On the 21st of September, 1875, about two hundred and fifty left from Kinmount for the place which came to be known as New Iceland.[102] All except those who had already gone or decided to go to Nova Scotia came west. Their numbers were augmented by the majority of the settlers from the Muskoka district and by some from Milwaukee. At this time the railroad north of Lakes Huron and Superior had not been constructed so that the route taken was as follows: From Toronto to Sarnia they went by train. From there they travelled by boat to Duluth where they again entrained this time travelling as far west as the Red River to Fischer's Landing. Here they again resorted to boats by means of which they travelled down the river as far as Winnipeg. Here they once more changed boats, this time proceeding on board a fleet of nine flat bottom boats fastened together in groups of three. Early on the morning of October 17th, they left Winnipeg. The outlook was not promising. Spectators

declared that should the weather become stormy a watery grave must await one and all. After a long and tedious journey, they reached the mouth of the Red River whence the steamer Colville, which belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, towed the boats that same day to Willow Point. After a journey of almost five days from Winnipeg and one month from Kinmount, the first Icelandic pioneers of western Canada stepped on shore in New Iceland at a point near the present site of the village of Gimli. This was about four thirty o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-first day of October, 1875, the last day of summer as the seasons were reckoned in Iceland.

As the season was far advanced no time was lost in making preparations for the coming winter.[103] On the 23rd of October work was commenced on the first house where Gimli now stands. This was the house of Fridjon Fridriksson. While these were being built the people lived in tents. Thirty houses including a school, store, and warehouse were built.[104] The houses were made from logs squared on one side and plastered with clay on the outside. In size as a rule they were twelve feet wide and sixteen feet long in two rooms and in height only one storey. The roofs were made from rails with grass or hay and turf or clay piled on top. Lumber could not be procured so that floors were a luxury. Usually these houses boasted only one window but occasionally they had two, one of which was placed at the gable end and the other at one side near the door. Building during the winter was difficult.

Snow two to three feet deep had to be shovelled away before work could be commenced. When it is remembered that these houses were frequently without floors, it is readily understood the cold suffered until the frost was out of the ground must have been almost beyond endurance.

Some of the settlers were anxious to secure their homesteads at once in order to establish their permanent homes without delay. At this time New Iceland had not been surveyed excepting Township 19 in Range 4, east of the Principal Meridian. In order to avoid confusion arising from several claiming the same farm, the settlers themselves set to work to survey the district from the northern limit of township 19 twelve miles north of the present site of the village of Arnes.

New Year's Day, 1876, found many of these settlers scattered over this surveyed land, most of it having been claimed as homesteads. Small log houses were being built in the clearings which were being cut in the virgin forest to make the new home site a little more inviting as a future home. Most of these were only partly built while others were completed to the extent that the families had already moved in and taken possession. Where there were no houses under construction the men diligently worked at clearing for their new homes and at the same time they were strengthening their claims to the land they had selected.

This first winter the Icelandic pioneers spent in the west was very severe, by some claimed to be the coldest in their

early pioneer days in Manitoba. The lake was frozen over before the end of October and was not free from ice on the 24th of May the next spring. Most of these settlers were fishermen as well as farmers and in selecting the site of the settlement the committee had decided the Lake would be of immense benefit as a source of food supply. Many of them had brought nets from Iceland. This supply had been augmented by nets purchased after they came to America. Unfortunately they discovered that the mesh of the nets b ought here was too large and the mesh of the nets brought from Iceland was too small so that the catch of fish was almost negligible. This had been the chief source of food supply upon which they had depended. Many were penniless, no employment to be obtained, and no shelters over their heads excepting the crude logs cabins they were trying to build after snow was falling.

Had it not been for the assistance of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, the early history of the settlement would have been more tragic than it was. To this first group an advance of $15,000.00 was made. To those who came from Iceland in 1876 it advanced $5,000.00 for transportation from Quebec to Winnipeg. A further advance of $8,000.00 was made to them in Toronto to enable them to purchase necessities and meals to Winnipeg. $9,000.00 were loaned for three months' provisions and transportation expenses from Winnipeg to New Iceland. That same year in the month of October $18,000.00 were loaned to buy provisions to tide them over the winter. In April, 1877, $25,000.00 were advanced to

make possible the purchase of grain for seeding, implements, nets, stoves, provisions, two hundred and fifty head of cattle, and other necessities. Thus in the first three years of the settlement its resources were augmented to the extent of $80,000.00 by the Dominion Government. According to the terms of the loan the first payment on principal fell due five years from the date of the last advance. It was to be paid entirely at the end of ten years, that is, in 1887. Though these stipulations were made it now appears that the government looked upon the loan as a gift for no attempt was ever made to collect it,[105] though many of the settlers paid their loans.

The government appointed John Taylor as its agent to supervise its affairs, particularly the distribution of the loan in New Iceland, for the winter of 1875. The next year Sigtryggur Jonasson also became its agent. They were chiefly concerned with the purchase of supplies and distribution of the loan. The autumn of 1876 a grant of $10,500.00 for the purpose of building a highway throughout the entire length of New Iceland indirectly aided the settlers by providing employment during the winter. In the course of the winter nine townships of the tract reserved for the Icelandic colony were surveyed.

Of the Icelandic settlements in America the one at Gimli was unique in its organization of a system of local self-government.[106] As the settlement was beyond the boundary of the province of Manitoba, provision for local government had not been made at

this time. At a meeting called on the 4th of January, 1876 at Gimli a committee of five called the "Town Committee" (bæjarnefnd) was elected. The duties of this committee were limited to distribution of the government grant and supervision of the general welfare of the settlers. Those elected were Ólafur Ólafsson, Friðjón Friðriksson, Jakob Jónsson, Jóhannes Magnússon, and John Taylor. As the members left for their respective farms the committee gradually ceased to function.

About New Year, 1877, the need of some form of government had come to be a subject of vital interest to the community. As a result two meetings were called shortly after the first of the year, one at Gimli and the other at Riverton (Íslendingafljót). At each a committee of five was elected to draft a constitution. At a public meeting called for the entire settlement, February 5th, these were presented, compared, and co-ordinated and the new constitution adopted by a majority vote. According to the terms of the constitution the settlement was divided into the following districts: Víðinesbygð (Willow Point), Árnesbygð (Arnes) Fljótsbygð (Riverton), and Mikleyarbygð (Big Island). (Bygð = district). On the 14th of the same month, as provided for in this constitution, public meetings were called in each of the districts. Each elected a committee of five called the district committee (bygðar nefnd) one of the number being chosen district superintendent (bygðar stjóri). The following were the first district superintendents: Björn Jónsson for Willow Point, Bjarni Bjarnason for Arnes, Jóhann Briem for Riverton, and Jón Bergvinsson for Big Island.

A week later, February 21st, all the district committees met at Sandy Bar (Sandvik) for the purpose of electing a municipal superintendent (formadur or thingradsstjóri) and vice municipal superintendent (vara-formadur or vara-thingradsstjóri) for the entire settlement. For these offices were elected Sigtryggur Jónasson and Friðjón Friðriksson respectively. The settlement coming under this system of government was called Vatnsthing (the Lake municipality). To the jurisdiction of the thingráð (municipal council) fell matters of public interest and affairs pertaining to the settlement as a whole. Among others it required, firstly, that each resident over the age of twenty-one contribute annually two days' work on the roads or in lieu of this pay two dollars; secondly, that adequate assistance be provided for widows and dependents without anyone to support them; thirdly, that widows with families be given the right to homestead which right was recognized when the colony was opened to other nationalities for settlement and that they be provided with help to do the required work prior to granting title thereto; and, finally, that a committee of five in each district be elected to supervise sanitation and give instruction and information on fire prevention. Affairs requiring the approval of the inhabitants were left to the local bodies in the four districts. This body of laws may be seen in Framfari I 8, New Iceland's first newspaper. They were passed at a public meeting called at Sandy Bar, January 11th, 1878.

The year 1883 New Iceland, then a part of the Province

of Manitoba, was by statute entitled to municipal government. The district then came within the Municipality of Gimli or the County of Gimli. Advantage of this privilege was not taken until 1887 when, largely through the efforts of Sigtryggur Jónasson, the first Municipal Council was elected in the customary manner. The following were elected: Jóhann Briem for reeve, Jóhannes Helgason, Thorgrimur Jónsson, Guðlaugur Magnússon, and Kristján Kernested for councillors. The council appointed Jóhannes Magnússon assessor and Guðni Thorsteinsson secretary treasurer.

Though on the surface it may not be obvious yet a fundamental similarity exists between the form of government established in New Iceland and that in use in rural districts in Iceland.[107] When they began to work out a system for their use in their adopted country they took as a working model on which to base their system the one with which they were directly acquainted.

Among the afflictions with which the pioneers had to contend was sickness. The first winter, 1875-6, some deaths resulted from scurvy. In September that same year a disease, the nature of which for some time was not discerned, made its appearance in the settlement. It proved to be a mild form of smallpox.[108] That it was not severe is witnessed by the fact that in the homes where it made its appearance not more than approximately one-third fell victims to it. Six months passed before the epidemic abated. Among the Icelanders, young people and children for the most part contracted the disease. Before the quarantine was removed it had taken a toll of one hundred

and two lives. When it is considered that the "large group" as it is commonly called, numbering in the neighborhood of twelve hundred immigrants had just arrived, that accomodation was at a premium, and that the disease was not diagnosed until it had spread throughout the settlement, the wonder is not that the number of victims reached this figure, but that it was not very much greater. The origin of the disease in this settlement was traced to a youth who had come there with the "large group." It was believed that he had contracted the disease in Quebec and from that single case it had spread through the settlement.

The government of the Province of Manitoba placed the entire settlement in quarantine. Soldiers were stationed at Netley River, November 27th, to prevent intercourse between New Iceland and Manitoba. Those who had not already had the disease were detained at the border for fifteen days and if, at the end of that period, symptoms did not develop, they were allowed, after taking the necessary precautions by means of disinfection, to resume their journey. Those who had recovered from the disease could proceed after going through the process of disinfection. Letters going outside the settlement were first dipped into a solution of carbolic acid.

Through the efforts of the agents the Dominion government in December, after the epidemic had been raging for two months, sent a doctor to the settlement. About the same time the Manitoba government despatched two others to the aid of the sick. Before the doctors arrived a warehouse which the

government had erected at Gimli was turned into a temporary hospital. The doctors remained three or four months when a fourth who remained there long after the epidemic had last manifested itself, took their places. From June 18th to 30th the provincial government and the agents of the Dominion Government, John Taylor and Sigtryggur Jónasson, had the entire district disinfected by washing the interior of the residences with lime water or burning sulphur in them. Not until almost three weeks later, July 20th, was the quarantine at last lifted after having been in force two hundred and twenty-eight days. In all it is estimated that the expenses incurred by the government during the epidemic amounted to $20,000.[109]

Early in May, 1878 five men, Jóhann P. Hallsson, Gísli Jónsson, Sigurður Jósúa Björnsson, Árni Thorlákson, and Benedikt Jónasson left New Iceland on a land inspection tour to Dakota.[110] Three of them returned but left again for Dakota within a few days with their families and whatever possessions they had. Others followed them that same year. The next year a group larger than the preceeding one left.

Two years later, in 1881, migration from New Iceland to Argyle, an Icelandic colony in the municipality of Argyle, commenced. For eight years until 1886 a steady stream continued to pour from New Iceland to Winnipeg, Argyle, and Dakota. That year a few made their way to a new settlement being opened not far from the present town of Churchbridge which they called Thingvalla. By the time the movement had spent itself about

fifty of the four hundred families in New Iceland remained.[111] At the same time families were moving in, some coming from other settlements but mostly from Iceland so that when the exodus subsided the number increased rapidly again and the settlement was extended north-west of Riverton to Arborg and Vidir and to-day is among the most populous of the Icelandic settlements in America. In estimating the number of Icelandic residents in the district from Matlock north through Vidir, it would not be exaggeration to place the figure at five thousand.

The Dominion Government had two townsites surveyed in the Icelandic settlement, one at Riverton and the other at Gimli. At Gimli a good sized village was laid out. All streets were one chain wide and the lots were a chain wide and two chains deep. The survey of this townsite was "approved and confirmed at Ottawa on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1899 by Edouard Deville, Surveyor General of Dominion Lands, and of record in the Department of the Interior," an extraordinary procedure for laying out townsites in western Canada.

In 1877 just about two years after the first Icelandic pioneers in Manitoba had arrived they were honored by a visit September 15th, from Lord Dufferin, the governor general of Canada.[112] In his address to the colony he expressed his faith in their enterprising character and prophesied for them a prosperous future in New Iceland. This, however, has not been fully realized. Progress has not been rapid and the difficulties

to be faced have been greater than could be surmised on a hurried visit. During the course of his address he expressed it as his view that "the three arts most necessary to a Canadian colonist are the felling of timber, the plowing of land, and the construction of highways, but as in your own country none of you had ever seen a tree, a cornfield, or a road, it is not to be expected that you should immediately exhibit any expertness in these accomplishments; but practice and experience will soon make you the masters of all three, for you possess in a far greater degree than is probably imagined, that which is the essence and foundation of all superiority-intelligence, education, and intellectual activity. In fact I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement, which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes; and I am informed that there is scarcely a child amongst you who cannot read and write. Secluded as you have been for hundreds of years from all contact with the civilization of Europe, you may in many respects be a little rusty and behind the rest of the world; nor perhaps have the conditions under which you used to live at home -- where months have to be spent in the enforced idleness of a sunless winter -- accustomed you to those habits of continued and unflagging industry which you will find necessary to your new existence; but in our brighter, drier, and more exhilarating climate you will become animated

with fresh vitality, and your continually expanding prosperity will encourage you year by year to still greater exertions. Beneath the genial influences of the fresh young world to which you have come, the dormant capacities of your race, which adverse climatic and geographical conditions may have somewhat stunted and benumbed, will bud and burgeon forth in all their pristine exuberance, as the germs which have been for centuries buried beneath the pyramids and catacombs of Egypt are said to excel in the exuberance and succulence of their growth the corn seeds of last year's harvest. But as sun and air and light are necessary to produce this miracle, so it will be necessary for you to profit as much as possible by the example and by the intercourse of your more knowledgeable neighbors."

2. Winnipeg

In 1875 when John Taylor and Sigtryggur Jónasson in company with four others came west to inspect land for the proposed Icelandic colony, they passed through Winnipeg. In all likelihood as far as can be ascertained from records they were the first Icelanders to visit this coming metropolis of the west which then numbered 3031 residents.

First of the groups of Icelanders to reach Winnipeg was the group which left Kinmount September 21st, 1875. It comprised approximately three hundred individuals. Though New Iceland was their destination some secured employment in Winnipeg and therefore did not proceed north. The first year

very few, however, remained in the city for the majority desired to keep the group intact now that they had reached the last outpost of civilization.[113]

The next summer, 1876, the number of Iceland residents increased slightly. A few came to Winnipeg to secure employment to tide them over until the day when they expected their farms would be yielding returns.[114] During this summer a large group of immigrants, often referred to as the "large group", came directly to Winnipeg from Iceland. Though the majority went to New Iceland several remained in Winnipeg. Those who remained sought employment either because their funds were low or because the young people knew that for them it was essential to learn the language and customs of their adopted country which they realized could be accomplished with the least difficulty by remaining in direct contact with the English speaking population. In the majority of cases women were able to secure work as domestics. For men it was more difficult to obtain employment. Some worked at unloading the boats which plied between Winnipeg and Fischer's Landing, Minnesota. The remuneration was small being only twenty cents per hour. In spite of that, employment was not refused when it could be obtained. Occasionally it happened that some worked on the boats but the treatment was unbelievably harsh so that it was resorted to only as a last resource. As a rule

no one was known to make a second trip though the wages were forty dollars per month. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was constructing at this time a railroad between Selkirk and St. Boniface. The wages paid were fifteen cents per hour for a ten hour day.[115] Here some of the Icelandic immigrants were employed.

The first Icelandic residents in Winnipeg lived on the banks of the Red River on what they called the Hudson's Bay Company flats which were north of the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and also near Point Douglas. Those who had means bought lumber and erected small shanties. These were the first residences of the Icelanders in Winnipeg. Those who were without means dispensed with roofs over their heads. The former site belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company and it was for their leniency that they were allowed to remain there until 1879. Later the Northern Pacific Railway established its yards there.[116]

Those among the Icelanders who made Winnipeg their headquarters were few in number until the summer of 1877. After the smallpox epidemic many lost faith in New Iceland and left. Others came for the summer in search of employment to retrieve their depleted finances. Unemployment among men particularly was prevalent until 1879.

In 1879 several left from New Iceland to Dakota. Going there, they passed through Winnipeg. This awakened many in Winnipeg to the fact that of the two farming was more

dependable than intermittent employment. As a result several went to Dakota during the course of summer.

1880 inaugurated a new era in the lives of the Icelandic residents in Winnipeg. The first five years had been devoted to establishing themselves in their adopted country. They had been difficult; unemployment was rampant; depression rested like a heavy cloud over conditions in general.

During the early years of the Winnipeg colony the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railroad was under construction. This railway gave access to the immense unsettled region to the west. Winnipeg was fortunately situated approximately half way between the east and west coasts. This brought upon Winnipeg an epoch-making wave of prosperity hitherto not experienced in its history. In 1879 the City had been connected with Minneapolis and St. Paul by means of a railroad constructed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to Emerson. With the coming of the transcontinental railroad to Winnipeg land values increased with great rapidity. Speculation was rife. The Icelanders had become sufficiently acquainted with conditions to take their place in the general trend of the times. Real estate was bought and sold in rapid succession for purposes of speculation during the summer of 1881. This attracted many from the Icelandic settlements for it was the first opportunity they had seen in their adopted country where wealth seemed to be awaiting those who had the courage and foresight to claim it. Many of the enlightened as well as the

venturesome had assembled in Winnipeg. This facilitated social intercourse so that Winnipeg became established as the social centre and was fast gaining as the intellectual centre of the Icelandic movement in Canada. This again proved to be an attraction which drew many more to the city with the result that the Icelandic speaking population of Winnipeg was growing faster than in any of the Icelandic settlements. In November of that year the Icelanders organized a stock company to carry on real estate on a larger scale than they had hitherto been able to do individually. This wave of prosperity, however, was of short duration for in the spring of 1882 the river flooded the surrounding country.

At Emerson the Canadian Pacific Railway, was forced to resort to transportation by boat over the flooded areas. This proved an obstacle if not a deterrent to many who were on their way to Manitoba. Settlers were expected by the hundreds to the West that summer. Those who had left early to reach the west before spring opened were caught in the grip of the inundation. Many brought stock and were obliged, when the flood prevented further progress, to buy hay at $80.00 a ton at Emerson and $100.00 at Brandon to save it from starvation. With this depression soon gained sway. With depreciation of the value of real estate, a natural consequence was the depreciation of the value of the shares of the Icelandic stock company.

Finally its holdings were divided among the shareholders and the company with that ceased to exist.

As the centre of the Icelandic settlements in America Winnipeg continued to hold its own. As Icelanders came west some members of the groups frequently chose to make their new homes in Winnipeg. Again as migrations from the older settlements continued to take place to unsettled districts, their numbers were often further augmented. Since the close of the century it has beyond doubt been in every way the centre of the Icelandic communities in America.

2. North Dakota

The Rev. Páll Thorláksson who had come to America in 1872, then a student, though not at first in favor of settlement in North Dakota, may rightly be called the founder of the Icelandic settlement in Dakota territory as it was then called. He has left to posterity an account, which he dictated on his death-bed shortly before he died, of the first years of this settlement.

The first direct acquaintance Rev. Thorláksson had of the Red River Valley was in the fall of 1876.[117] In Norwegian newspapers received in the Icelandic and Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin where he served as pastor, it was reported that that year one thousand Icelanders were coming to America to make their homes in the proposed New Iceland colony in northwestern Canada. The Norwegian synod appealed to him to visit

them to attend to their spiritual needs. On his way there he travelled through the Red River Valley going from Fischer's Landing. (now Fischer). Minnesota to Winnipeg and thence to the colony. Though no doubt latent for a time, it was on this journey that the idea of settlement in Dakota was first suggested to Rev. Thorlaksson. The captain of the boat on which he travelled lamented the fact that this group of Icelanders should pass through the unsettled Red River Valley to New Iceland which he, even at that early date, considered very unpromising. He went so far as to suggest that Rev. Thorlaksson should attempt to persuade them that it would be to their advantage to move once more. This he did not consider sound policy for they were about to receive aid from the Dominion Government and, further, experience had not proven New Iceland undesirable for settlement.

For a year and a half Rev. Thorlaksson dwelt at intervals in the colony. He travelled throughout and beyond the limits of the entire settlement. By the end of that time he was convinced that the climb to financial independence would be slow and tedious. Indeed in the settlement many had become discouraged after the smallpox epidemic.[118] He was convinced that a better location for a colony could be found. With this purpose in view Rev. Thorlaksson took passage on the Lady Ellen, April 27th, 1878 to Winnipeg.[119] Three days later he was followed by Johann P. Hallsson, his son Gunnar, and Magnus Stefansson. In Winnipeg they were joined by Sigurdur Josua Bjornsson and Arni Thorlaksson. Their intention had been when they left Gimli to inspect land in

the vicinity of Lyon County, Minnesota. This plan miscarried, for while in Winnipeg Stefansson met Mr. Hunter, editor of the Standard. He directed him to Dakota Territory particularly the tract just south of the border which he represented as being well suited to grain growing. Though Rev. Thorlaksson could not be dissuaded from the first plan, without further delay Stefánsson and Björnsson departed for this region. Rev. Thorlaksson was detained in Winnipeg for a few days. But instead of proceeding directly to Minnesota he, in company with Hallsson, his son Gunnar, and Árni Thorláksson went to Pembina to discover how those who had gone before them had been impressed. They met at Pembina, Stefánsson and Björnsson having returned from inspecting the land to the west. That a site for a colony had been found they did not doubt in the least and such was their praise that the next day Rev. Thorláksson and those accompanying him left to see it for themselves. They inspected all the territory later known as the Icelandic settlement in Dakota, going as far west as the Pembina Mountains. From there Rev. Thorláksson went to Minnesota while his companions continued the inspection. When he returned there remained no doubt in his mind that of the two, Dakota should be chosen in preference to Minnesota, primarily for two reasons, firstly, from New Iceland access to Dakota was less difficult and, secondly, this particular region in Minnesota had no forests.[120]

Two members of the land inspection group settled near

Cavalier. Hallsson, his son, and Björnsson returned to Gimli May 19th. A few days later, on the 24th of May, they with Benedikt Jónsson left again taking with them the few cattle they had. The next day their families left on board a York boat.[121] After a few days' sojourn in Winnipeg they proceeded, June 4th, on board the Manitoba, arriving at Pembina the next day. Early the following morning the journey was resumed on wagons one of which was drawn by horses and the other by oxen. The men walked. This first of the pioneer expeditions to Dakota exercised considerable influence in paving the way for the coming exodus across the border.

During the next winter no further departures were recorded except for purposes of land inspection. But with the coming of the spring the movement was revived with renewed vigor. Before leaving New Iceland many questions had to be considered such as leaving behind the labors of the past two or three years, the problem of the government loan, churches in process of construction, and the recently covered graves of their departed ones. To dispose of the question a public meeting was called[122] by the municipal superintendent, Ólafur Ólafsson. At this meeting Rev. Thorlaksson urged all who saw before them a comfortable future to remain but for those who were doubtful it was their duty to themselves and their descendents to find a place that would. This he followed by a description of Dakota. The meeting elected him and Ólafsson to

draft a description of New Iceland and an address to the Dominion Government about the migration from there. This was signed by one hundred and thirty householders. Needless to say this address was not well received, as was to be expected. As the Winter advanced the numbers wishing to migrate had continued increasing but the fall saw only fifty families in Dakota. Though the distance of one hundred and sixty miles had in most cases to be covered on foot it proved no greater an obstacle to these wishing to leave than the opposition met with at the hands of the government agents and their friends. Further, what resources they had brought with them to America had gradually dwindled away so that in a sense their position was more pitiful than when first they set foot in Canada.

The first winter the colonists spent in Dakota was exceptionally severe. During its course several homes were discovered without food or the means to secure any. Broken in health though he was, it usually fell to the lot of Rev. Thorláksson to solve the difficulties encountered. He secured loans from neighboring farmers by personally assuming responsibility for payment and gifts from members in the Norwegian synod.[123] During the winter of 1879-80 Haraldur, Thorláksson's brother, gave his cattle as security to Yerxa, a merchant in Pembina, for which at two different times he obtained provisions

to the extent of almost four hundred dollars to carry the settlers through the winter.[124]

Early in the spring of 1880 Rev. Thorlákssen went to Minnesota partly seeking medical aid for himself and partly with a view to securing further aid for his compatriots. A merchant in Northfield, Minnesota, Harald Thoresen by name, loaned him one hundred barrels of flour and thirty-four head of cattle. Rev. Thorlákssen secured as many more from Norwegians in the district. All this the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway transported free of charge to Pembina. The cattle were loaned to him for two years with ten per cent interest. Some were distributed in the district. Others Rev. Thorlákssen sold at a profit and used the funds thus obtained to pay off debts he had contracted in order to assist the settlers. In July he went forth again to buy cattle and solicit funds for the district. He secured this time eighty-five cattle, sixty-five sheep, all on credit, and some money.[125]

The fall of 1880 was the turning point for the settlers.[126] Several who had come from Lyon County, Minnesota and Shawano County, Wisconsin were in fair circumstances, others had secured employment during the summer, and some had had fair crops. Thus for the next winter their circumstances were not uncomfortable.

The first colonists had settled near Cavalier[127] and what is now Hallson,[128] Mountain,[129] and Gardar.[130] The year 1880, on account of a flood in New Iceland, a large number

emigrated. Even those who had been opposed to leaving were at last convinced that the land was too low and that the day would come when they would have no other choice. With this event the last opposition had spent itself.[131] For the most part they settled at Hallson and Mountain and a few at Gardar. Several from Shawano County came to the last named place. In 1881 the first colonists came to Eyford[132] a place about half way between Mountain and Gardar. The next year the pioneers in Nova Scotia also came to Dakota.

At the time of the first migrations to North Dakota there were three methods in use by which land could be claimed and the same individual could avail himself of the three. Applications could be filed for title for land under what is commonly known as Homestead and Pre-emption. One of the requisites for those wishing to avail themselves of these opportunities was three years residence on the place in question before title was granted. The third system was that called Tree Claim whereby the applicant agreed to plant six thousand trees and if these at the end of three years were doing well he was given title.[133]

As the years passed the methods of farming progressed apace with improvement of the circumstances of the residents. Every year saw more land under cultivation than the preceeding year. The scythes first used for mowing hay were gradually replaced by mowers. Red River Carts made way for four wheeled wagons just as horses took the place of oxen. As means increased, so the standard of living changed.

Within ten years this district which in 1879 had numbered but fifty families came to be the most populous Icelandic settlement in America.[134] From that date poured streams of settlers from it to Minnesota, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, once again seeking pioneering life in unsettled districts.

On March 12, 1882 death claimed the founder of the colony, the Rev. Páll Thorláksson.[135] When it is considered what difficulties he met and surmounted on behalf of the settlement it can only be surmised how keenly must have been felt throughout the settlement his untimely death.

In 1878, at the time of the exodus from New Iceland to the prairies of North Dakota, Pembina received its first Icelandic settlers.[136] Pembina, at this time, was a resting place on the journey to the plains to the south-west whither the majority were going. Some remained in the town of Pembina while others filed on homesteads in the neighborhood.

The point in the village at the confluence of the Red and the Pembina River, was claimed almost exclusively by Icelanders. Some made their homes in the west end of the town, which locality was popularly called Siberia because of its unsheltered and unprotected location from the penetrating north winds.

In numbers this settlement reached its zenith in the last decade of the 19th century. In all likelihood there were in the neighborhood of sixty families in the town it-

self and from ten to twelve on farms in the vicinity. Gradually their numbers ~~had~~ dwindled until now few remain.

The Mouse River colony situated thrity miles south of the Turtle Mountains in North Dakota in a Valley by that name which runs from south-east to north-west was founded in 1886. Through it flows the Mouse River. On each side of the river two or three miles in width and about one hundred miles in length is found choice meadow land.[137]

In 1886 the first Icelandic settlers arrived at Mouse River. The first pioneers as long as land was obtainable filed applications for homesteads along the river. The number of families who have settled in this district is about sixty. Jóhann Breidfjörd was the first of these pioneers. Early in November, 1886, Breidfjörd, in company with six others from Akra, North Dakota, came to inspect land there. Of the group he was the only one who remained, the others proceeding east to the mountains.[138]

As is usual in districts on the outskirts of civilization, the first years for the pioneers of Mouse River were difficult. The first task before them was the erection of shelters over their heads. In many of the early houses the walls were made of turf as well as the roofs, while others were made of clay. In the latter instance a frame of poles was first erected, and then on each side rails were nailed. The space between the two walls of rails was filled with a mixture of hay and clay. Inside and outside the walls were

washed over with lime. Some used turf roofs for these buildings but where means permitted shingle was used. If properly constructed, these houses were warm but required constant repair. Log houses were also erected in the early days of the settlement.[139]

For living the pioneers at first had to seek employment outside their own farms to augment their income. This was natural as few had means with which to buy the necessary number of cattle. The land, they found, particularly well adapted to grazing. For work in the harvest fields, which was scarce, the remuneration was small, a dollar and a half per day. The women, during the absence of their husbands remained in charge of the farms and worked at spinning and knitting. In this way the settlers frequently earned sufficient amounts to carry their families through the winter by exercising the strictest economy. About the beginning of the century many turned their attention to grain growing, but after a few years reverted to stock raising and dairying again, for the experiment of raising grain had proven too costly.

In 1905, a wave of prosperity set in. Prior to this date the nearest market had been twenty miles away. This year two railroads were constructed one passing through the southern part of the settlement and the other just north of it. With these came markets, at an average distance of six miles. The district changed completely. Good buildings re-

placed the clay and log houses. Roads in the district are everywhere in good condition.[140]

4. Argyle

The exodus from New Iceland had commenced as early as 1878. It was not, however, until 1880 that any of those departing from this settlement made their way to Argyle. That year only six inspected and applied for homesteads in this district for themselves and others. Their homesteads were in Township 6, Range 14, West of the Principal Meridian. In New Iceland the summers of 1878, 1879, and 1880 had been very wet reaching a climax in the last year when the meadows were flooded. Again that fall floods damaged hay stacks. The outlook was very unpromising for by this time most of the farmers had some stock, mostly cattle.

The next spring the first group left from New Iceland and after travelling for seventeen days reached their destination. The journey of two hundred miles was made on oxen to Winnipeg, thence to Portage la Prairie, and then on south west to the site chosen for the new settlement. The first year there were only six families, three in the west and three in the east part of the colony. Again in 1882, a virtual stream poured into the settlement. One of the first pioneers in this locality related that one night his prepossessing house, 11' by 13', sheltered twenty-eight souls.[141]

Sigurdur Kristoferesson was the first of the Icelandic pioneers to file claim to land and his was also the first log

house built by the Icelandic settlers in this district.

Many of the settlers came to Argyle almost destitute but soon their circumstances improved. All the first homes here, as in all the early settlement, were built from logs, without floors, and with sod roofs. As a rule the farmers helped each other in preparing and building the houses. The first year they also began breaking their farms which yielded bountiful returns the following year. The first years implements were scarce and oxen used for all work. Some brought Red River carts with them but others fashioned their own which, to say the least, were very clumsy.

During the early years, as in most pioneering districts, distance from markets proved a handicap. Carberry at a distance of thirty-five or forty miles was the nearest town in the early days of the settlement. The roads there were poor so that grain was hauled either to Manitou or Brandon at a distance of approximately fifty miles. In 1886 the railroad reached Glenboro, just north of the colony and Cypress River nine miles east of the former.[142]

5. Icelandic Settlements Around Lake Manitoba

The Icelandic settlement east of Lake Manitoba comprises Townships 18, 19, and 20 in Ranges 2, 3, and half of Range 4, west of the Principal Meridian, although this tract, particularly Township 18, is not exlusively an Icelandic settlement. The eastern part of the settlement is called

Shoal Lake (Grunnavatnsbygd). The western part known as Swan Lake (Alptavatns Bylenda), reaches on the south into Township 18 and on the east adjoins the Shoal Lake district. On the north it reaches into Township 20. North-west of it again is another settlement in Township 22, Range 8, 9, and 10 stretching north-west along the Lake into Township 25 and east to Dog Lake in Range 8. The south-western part of this settlement is called Siglunes and the northern portion the Narrows.[143]

Swan Lake is the oldest settlement in this area. The occasion for settlement here is as follows: In the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 the number of Icelanders in Winnipeg had greatly increased. The city had then insufficient employment to meet the demands made upon it by the rapidly increasing population. This was particularly noticeable during the winter months. Many to whom the future appeared gloomy and disheartening considered leaving the city for rural communities. A current topic of conversation came to be conjectures as to which would be the most desirable location for settlement. As a result, this movement culminated in Freeman B. Anderson and Björn J. Lindal being delegated by the Dominion Government to inspect land for a proposed colony. First they inspected land in the vicinity of Moose Mountain and in the Qu'Appelle valley. On their return they reported this as undesirable. Forthwith they left again, this time to inspect land between Lake Manitoba and Shoal Lake. At this time the Hudson Bay Railway was making preparations for the construction

of a railroad from Winnipeg into this district. This summer the land was dry. The soil appeared fertile with a good growth of grass. They reported it as suitable for mixed farming. The belief that here stock-raising on a large scale, later to be replaced by grain growing, would be profitable as well as the belief that this district would be connected in the near future by railroad with the distributing centre of the west, was with many a leading factor in selecting this district as the site for their new homes.

In the spring of 1887 four men, Arni M. Freeman, Henrik Jónsson, Ísleifur Guðjónsson, and Jón Sigfússon, left for the proposed settlement with a view to selecting their homesteads if conditions proved to be as they had been represented. The fruit of their observation was an article published in Heimskringla giving a concise description of the country they had inspected.[145]

The decade from 1890 to 1900 was one of continuous influx of settlers to the Swan Lake district. With assurance of a railway given by the government and construction of highways, prospects brightened.[146] The first pioneers were able to secure very little employment beyond their own farms but in later years those able to leave their homes went to the grain growing districts such as Argyle and North Dakota and worked there during harvest.[147]

The construction of the railroad on which work had been commenced when the first pioneers ventured into this district

was discontinued in its midst. This was a keen disappointment to them for they had gone there believing it would follow them shortly. In 1904 finally the railroad reached Oak Point. In 1907-08 this was extended twenty miles, to Lundar, with the intention of extending it later north-west of Lundar, which plan has materialized.[148]

As mentioned before several settled at Swan Lake and, believing their choice to be an auspicious one, they made their homes there. Settlers continued to come there for the next three years. Prospects for the future were very promising. However, the summer of 1890 the rainfall was very heavy. The low lands were for the greater part under water. The farmers were unable to cut hay on what had been their meadows with the result that the supply for the coming winter was insufficient for much of the meagre supply rotted on account of the flooded condition. The spring following the district was under water again to the extent that it was believed that it would be impossible to do any haying that summer. It was then that the inhabitants came to the conclusion that it would be to their advantage to find farms less prone to floods. This they believed could be found eight to twelves miles north of the first settlement near Shoal Lake. Two of their number had gone there the first year of the flood and were pleased with conditions. All except two families moved to this district and these followed the next year. Thus some of the pioneers at Swan Lake became the pioneers at Shoal Lake.[149]

Some of the early settlers in the Swan Lake districts moved from there north-west along Lake Manitoba where it was reported that land of good quality could be secured and that the Lake teemed with fish. This was the district at the Narrows. Their first years in this part of the colony proved very difficult. They were beyond the outskirts of civilization. Roads had as yet to be constructed so that Indian trails were the only guides they had in going and coming from the outposts of civilization, a distance of sixty to seventy miles. Few if any, had horses when first they came there and very few had oxen so that means of transportation presented an obstacle in going to the market place.

For livelihood the pioneers here turned to stock raising. Many fished though in the first years this was unprofitable, the fish selling at a very low price but had to be hauled to Westbourne, the nearest town, or Delta and Neeburn one hundred miles distant. At the time this district was settled the land was dry and the water in the lake low. A few years after they came there, the lake overflowed its shores. This was a sad disappointment and had the effect of causing many to leave without delay. This district was again dry in 1911 but in 1913 was under water again.[150]

1900 witnessed considerable agitation for a railway from Oak Point to the Narrows. Delegation after delegation waited upon the government. On one occasion the delegation numbered one hundred. This time it was assured, that within two years the road would reach the Narrows and, further, that

the Lake would in part be drained so that the inhabitants in the vicinity would not be inconvenienced by floods. As a direct consequence of this last promise, migration to the Siglunes and the Narrows districts and even as far north as Moose Horn Bay was again resumed. Another cause for this is the fact that after the year 1902 the level of the lake fell steadily. It is current belief among the Indians in this district that for ten consecutive years the level of the lake rises and for an equally long period gradually recedes. What foundation this has in fact is not known but from observation since the Icelanders came to the district it has been noted that its level rose in 1892 but began to recede in 1902 and to rise again in 1912.[151]

The year 1894 was marked by a considerable exodus from the Icelandic colony at Churchbridge which had been settled a few years prior to this. Some of them made their way to the west shore of Lake Manitoba, a few making Big Point their destination.[152] This group formed the nucleus from which grew the settlement here. When at its height it numbered approximately forty families. This colony is situated on the south west shore of Lake Manitoba in Townships 16 and 17, Ranges 8 and 9 west of the Principal Meridian.

The first years of their sojourn here the residents followed stock raising and dairying. In later years, since the railroad reached Langruth in 1908, they have turned their

attention to grain growing with success. In almost all cases, however, the two are combined.

During the first years of the colony the farmers marketed their produce at Westbourne a town twenty-two miles south of the southern limits of the settlement and at Gladstone at a distance of thirty miles west of the colony.[153] In 1908 just before Christmas, the first train arrived at Langruth on the Oakland branch from the main line of the Canadian National Railway at Portage la Prairie. About seventeen miles north of the colony is another railway. The residents along the lake front make Amaranth, a small town on this railroad, their business centre. Intercourse has further been facilitated by drainage and the building of good highways.

CHAPTER VI*

WESTERN SETTLEMENTS

1. Thingvalla Colony

The Thingvalla settlement is situated in Townships 22 and 23, Ranges 31, 32, and 33 west of the Principal Meridian in Saskatchewan, about two hundred and fifty miles north-west of Winnipeg. It was founded the year 1885 by Helgi Jonsson.[154] He appealed to the Canadian Government for permission to select a site for an Icelandic colony. He was at the time merchant at Shellmouth a town about sixteen miles from the settlement. Survey had at that time been made for a railway to pass through Shellmouth and this district. However, during the winter 1885-6, while the railway was under construction, the plans were changed and the road passed the proposed settlement fifteen miles south of Shellmouth at Millwood.

The first Icelander to homestead at Thingvalla was Jon Magnusson in the year 1885. The next year he was followed by two others--Einar Jonsson and Bjorn Olafsson--while in the spring of 1886 fifteen families moved there. That year the railway under construction had reached Solsgirth so that from the end of the road the distance to be travelled on oxen was only sixty miles.

*At the outset the intention was to follow this chapter by another devoted to statistics regarding this movement but as this material at the Public Archives at Ottawa will be available shortly, it was not considered advisable to include this at this time.

During the summer six families came from Iceland and in the autumn two families. During the course of the winter of 1886 the railway reached Langenburg so that the distance from the colony to a railway was from six to ten miles. The winter 1886-7 was passed in cutting and preparing logs for erecting buildings on their farms the next summer.

Before long the farmers commenced breaking their farms though they had not an adequate supply of implements. The summers during this period were dry and the fall frosts came before the harvest was reaped. More than this, the summer of 1892 was exceptionally dry with the result that crops and hay failed and difficulty in procuring water both for man and beast was encountered. This resulted in some of the pioneers again striking out this time going to Fishing Lake and White Sand River for haying. In the fall they returned for their families and stock. Thus commenced the exodus from Thingvalla Colony. Between twenty and thirty families left in the spring for Lake Manitoba. Though the harvest of the year 1893 was bountiful the migrations continued. In 1894 about twenty families joined those who had already departed.

About 1888 a small town by the name of Churchbridge[155] in the Thingvalla settlement had its origin. The town was organized through the efforts of the Churchbridge Colonization Company and the Episcopal Church. This company built houses

for the pioneers and loaned money to purchase stock and agricultural implements.

During the construction of the Manitoba and North Western Railway, now the Canadian Pacific Railway, the railway company loaned money in small amounts to the settlers as capital on which to start farming.[156] Later a company called the Canada Settlers Loan and Trust Company, loaned mortgages on farms to the extent of $300.00 to $400.00 to assist those just beginning to farm in the community. These loans were advanced only to those within a specified distance from the railroad.

2. Vatnabygdir

Early in the summer of 1891 two farmers from Thingvalla colony went west in search of a district suited to agriculture.[157] They inspected the territory around the lakes, Foam Lake and Fishing Lake. They were Ingimundur Eiriksson and Kristján Helgason. They drove the distance of one hundred and fifteen miles on horses. Very pleased with the trip, their enthusiasm stirred several at Thingvalla to the extent that four families moved west the latter part of the summer. At this time the Canadian Pacific Railway, Manitoba and North Western as it was called, reached only as far as Yorkton so that the entire distance was travelled on oxen. These first pioneers in the Vatnabygd (Settlements of

the Lakes) settled at Fishing Lake each where personal preference dictated. This choice was fortunate in many ways. In it the settlers found sufficient forest for building purposes and firewood. They also found ample grazing for their stock and sufficient meadow land for their needs. From the lakes they had fish and could also resort to hunting game. Nor did their hopes prove to be without foundation. In their first years there they prospered beyond their most optimistic hopes.

Vatnabygð[158] is the largest rural Icelandic settlement in America. From east to west it is forty-eight miles in length from Range 10 to 19 west of the second Meridian. From north to south the width varies from twelve to twenty-four miles, from Township 29 to 34. The portion of this area reserved through the efforts of Tómas Pálsson, the agent of the Dominion Government, for Icelandic settlers is forty-eight miles long and on the average ten miles in width, a total of 480 square miles. In this area are eight hundred and sixty-six actual homesteads. Besides this the settlers have purchased land from both the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company. Conservatively estimated, there are approximately twelve hundred farms in this area. Of the residents on this tract about two-thirds are Icelandic or about eight hundred families. The writer of the historical sketch of this settlement, Friðrik Guðmundsson, counted the residents in the three centre Townships in this area. In these

on the average he found 4.5 residents to the home. From this he calculated that in the colony were thirty-six hundred Icelanders. In this he did not include those who lived in the towns nor those who had neither taken homesteads nor lived on farms there.

During the first years of the Icelandic pioneers in this district, the settlers coming into the district were few in number. By 1908 after seventeen years this colony saw the close of its settlement period. The colonists in this district came chiefly from Thingvalla, North Dakota, Minnesota, and Winnipeg. Though many came with limited resources many, on the other hand, were in comfortable circumstances. They brought with them what was of even greater value to a district of pioneers; they had been trained in the school of experience in the settlements whence they came.

Some years after this colony was established the railroad was extended to Sheho. In 1908 and 1909 the Canadian Pacific Railway extended it throughout the centre of this district to Saskatoon. The railway divided the settlement north and south so that it is not far for the residents to markets. In the Icelandic colony are seven towns, being from east to west Foam Lake, Leslie, Elfros, Mozart, Wynyard, Kandahar, and Dafoe. Granted local government in 1909 the first, third, fifth, and sixth are seats of municipal offices.[159]

The west part of the Vatnabygd was settled later than the east part.[160] This part comprises the settlement in Ranges 16, 17, and 18. The territory west of Range 17 was reserved for German settlement exclusively. Natural barriers moved the boundary of this settlement farther west so that as a result Township 18 was settled by Icelanders. The year 1905 this district was opened for settlement to all nationalities. Shortly after this a few Icelanders from Argyle came there with a view to establishing an Icelandic colony there. This became the centre of the settlement at Kandahar.

3. Icelandic Settlement in Alberta

The first movement towards Icelandic settlement in Alberta commenced in 1888. One family had moved to Calgary the preceeding year. This pioneer was Ólafur Goodman whose father and brothers followed him shortly. The first group of Icelandic settlers to Alberta came chiefly from North Dakota.

The reasons for migrating once more were entirely economic. The Icelandic settlers in North Dakota both from New Iceland and Iceland had come to Pembina County with very limited means. In order to purchase the implements necessary to cultivate the soil, many resorted to mortgaging their farms and, in some instances, any other possessions they had. The risk being rather high, the loans were secured only at an exhorbitant rate of interest (twelve per cent). Farming was

in its infancy at this time so that in place of being able to meet the interest payments and reduce the principal, interest continued to accrue. At last conditions were such that many envisioned themselves devoting the remainder of their natural lives to the mortgage companies. As a last resort they forfeited their mortgaged possessions and left with a view to trying pioneer life in unsettled regions once more. The districts in the vicinity of the Icelandic settlement in North Dakota were being rapidly settled at this time. Their only choice was to leave to points where homesteads could be secured. Hence once more they turned to the Canadian West.

In March, 1888, a meeting was called to discuss the question of selecting another district suitable for an Icelandic colony. It was decided that someone should be elected to leave within a short time on an inspection tour. At the meeting it was revealed that the majority were particularly interested in some place on the Pacific coast near the Rocky Mountains. The meeting delegated Sigurdur J. Björnsson to select the site for the settlement, his expenses being paid by contributions from those intending to go. After travelling on the Pacific coast and Victoria Island, he returned by way of Calgary. There he met Ólafur Goodman, who had recently returned from inspecting land around the Red Deer River. He was very favorably impressed and had filed application for a homestead there. He recommended to Björnsson this tract for an Icelandic

colony. Finally he decided to go there to see for himself what this district had to offer. He inspected three townships and, of these, had two reserved for an Icelandic settlement, namely: Township 36 Range 1, and Township 36 Range 2. One of these had been surveyed. From there he resumed his journey back to Dakota where he arrived during the first days of May.[161]

Many were keenly disappointed that the site selected was not on the Pacific coast but, rather than abandon the group, they relinquished this plan. On the 24th of May the journey to Alberta was commenced on wagons to the boundary and from Gretna on train. After a delay of almost two days in Winnipeg the group entrained for Calgary on May 29th. On arrival there the members dwelt for several days in the immigration quarters while horses and wagons were secured to convey the people and the baggage they had brought with them to the site of the proposed colony. The group finally left towards the middle of June. After a tedious journey for six days covering a distance of approximately eighty miles, they arrived at Red Deer River. Now the greatest obstacle to be overcome was encountered. The river was high at this time and no bridge across it. Finally a barge was built from some lumber which had been brought from Calgary. On this the people, their baggage, and the wagons were conveyed to the other side, and the horses pulled behind while the cattle swam across. This was on the 27th day of June. The original

group to come to Red Deer comprised thirteen families and four single men, in all about fifty people.[162] These, excepting two families and one man from Winnipeg, were from Dakota.

Employment closer than Calgary could not be secured. As implements, oxen, and horses were indispensible the men were forced to leave their farms and obtain work there. As a result little progress was made on the farms during the first two years. As time passed some became discouraged and convinced that the settlement had in store for it a dismal future on account of cold seasons, early frosts, dry seasons in which lakes and rivers became dry and stock perished, no railroad to the district, no markets for their produce, and no grants for schools. Several left in the summer of 1892. The poet Stephan G. Stephansson composed on this occasion "Á skilnaði". (At parting).[163] For a time it appeared that the settlement was doomed to extinction. However, of those who remained, time has vindicated their faith in the possibilities of the district.[164]

4. Pacific Coast

On the north-west corner of the United States is situated the Point Roberts peninsula[165] in Whatcom County in the state of Washington. In size it is approximately three miles in length and varies from one to two miles in width. Though adjoining Canada this projection belongs to the United States. The residents therefore make Blaine,

though fourteen miles distant and separated from it by Boundary Bay, their business centre.

When first Icelanders came to this point it was inhabited by a few American residents. It was the intention of the American Government at this time to reserve this point for a military camp. The inhabitants apparently expected to remain there only temporarily so that improvements were not made. Log cabins were erected and in some cases the forest around them cleared away. The residents readily sold their doubtful claims to the Icelandic settlers. The majority, if not all the Icelandic residents here, bought their farms. Soon after they arrived they petitioned the Federal Government to reserve this tract for colonization purposes. While year after year they continued to send petitions to Washington, they worked diligently at establishing themselves permanently there. Finally the Federal Government despatched one of its servants, Mr. Elliot by name, to investigate the case. Through his efforts in 1908 the point was opened to settlement, first opportunity for filing claims to the land being granted to those already there.

The first Icelandic settlers came to Point Roberts in 1893 from Bellingham and other points on the coast.[166] Having heard reports of it, four Icelandic men visited it and, being very favorably impressed, made their homes there. The west coast has of late years attracted the attention of people from all over America, particularly those living in the mid-west.

who have been seeking a milder climate. The Icelandic people, as well as others, have been searching for a permanent place of residence where the elements show more clemency so that the number of residents in Blaine and other points on the coast has been augmented from various districts on the continent. Now in this vicinity it is estimated that twelve hundred Icelanders reside.

Blaine, a town situated on the north-west corner of the United States was granted town charter in 1891. Following this the growth was rapid with the result that indications were that it would become a large centre. Reports of the prosperity here in 1897 drew Icelandic settlers to Blaine.[167] Never at any time in the history of the Icelandic influx to Blaine was there a united movement towards settlement there. The first and only large group, which came from Selkirk, had been preceded by other Icelandic settlers. Land here has never been available for homesteading purposes which may account for the fact that a united effort towards establishing a colony there was never made.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

1. Churches

First among the organizations established by the Icelandic emigrants when they came to America were churches. With the early groups coming to the Western Hemisphere they do not occupy a prominent part until after 1875, with the exception of the Mormons in Utah. All the settlements in America having their origin in 1875 early in their history made some arrangements for religious services. In Markland through the efforts of Brynjolfur Brynjolfsson, father of Skapti Brynjolfsson, at one time senator in North Dakota, who by common consent was among if not the greatest orator among the Icelanders in the Western Hemisphere, and Magnus Brynjolfsson, states attorney for Pembina County, services were conducted on holy days in the homes of the colonists. This duty usually fell to his lot as also did officiating at the burial of the dead.[168]

In the Icelandic colony in Minnesota in 1878 the first societies were formed. The aim of the first organization was to procure books and periodicals for a library, secure a plot for a cemetery, and make arrangements for religious observance in the homes.[169] Later this organization with its dual function was divided into two, one of which was called the Framfarafjelag (Progressive Association) to attend to the

spiritual needs of the community and the other called the Lestrarfjelag (Reading Circle) to be responsible for the library and the encouragement of learning within the district.

Shortly after local government had been established in New Iceland by the pioneers themselves, discussion arose regarding the necessity for the organization of congregations within the settlement and the erection of a sufficient number of churches or schools to meet the requirements of the colony.[170] A meeting was called at Riverton April 27th and 28th, 1877 where it was apparent that the majority desired to call a minister and were prepared to meet the expenses involved in the erection of churches. The autumn previous Rev. Páll Thorlákson, representing the Norwegian Synod, had offered his services to the colony without remuneration. Though he more than once renewed this offer, his arrival was delayed until some despaired. As a result the decision reached was that the Icelanders establish their own synod. At this meeting committees were elected to make final arrangements and also to discover the attitude of the other districts towards the project. The residents at Big Island and the majority in the Willow Point district followed Riverton. Some in Willow Point and several at Arnes considered the reasons for ignoring Rev. Thorlákson's generous offer inadequate. Here appears the first dissension among the Icelandic element in America on questions of religion. Consequently two synods were organized, one of which was called

Hid lutereka kirkjufjelag Íslendinga í Vesturheimi (The Lutheran Synod of the Icelanders in North America) and the other Himn islenski lutereki sofnudur í Nýja Íslandi. (The Icelandic Lutheran Congregation in New Iceland). In the former were five congregations and in the latter three. To the former was called Rev. Jón Bjarnason who arrived at the settlement November 8th. Together the congregations in this synod counted a membership of one hundred and thirty families. At Gimli he established a school where his wife gave instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, singing, and religion. Another school was also established at a farm house called Lundi at Riverton. These, however, were soon replaced by the public schools of the province. At the request of a call from one hundred and twenty families, Rev. Thorlaksson arrived at the settlement October 19th, 1877. In the spring he again joined his congregation in Wisconsin. After an interval of about six months he again returned but left in the spring for Dakota whither had departed many of the members from his congregation. This time he left New Iceland for the last time for the few years that remained to him did not permit another visit.

After the appearance of ministers representing the two organizations, the religious differences became more acute than before. According to common report the Dominion Government loan and unemployment built New Iceland only to be wasted again by the Norwegian synod and the smallpox epidemic. What foundation there is for this cannot readily be ascertained, but the fact

remains that the exodus to North Dakota now took place and the Icelandic Lutheran Congregation of New Iceland, ceased to exist.[171] The congregations belonging to the synod also ceased to function but were revived though in some cases with altered names.

As the number of Icelandic pioneers increased in North Dakota, the necessity for some form of social organization became increasingly acute. The first steps towards this end were taken November 24th, 1880 when Rev. Thorlákson called a meeting[172] to consider the organization of a congregation. At this meeting, with Rev. Thorlákson presiding and Stephan G. Stephansson as secretary, the conclusion reached was that a congregation be organized which they called the Park Congregation. The constitution which Rev. Thorlákson had drafted for his use in New Iceland was accepted with minor alterations. With the same object in view a second meeting was called the last day of November at Mountain. Having agreed to organize a congregation, the meeting passed the same laws as the first. This is the extent of the accomplishments in this direction until after the New Year. The third meeting was called at Tongue River which later became Hallson January 2nd, 1881. This group accepted for the foundation of its organization Rev. Thorlákson's constitution in New Iceland without any changes. These congregations flourished for about a year when their pastor and leader died. This disheartened and discouraged the members with the result that the organizations

were practically dormant until the fall of 1883 when Rev. Han B. Thorgrimsen took Rev. Thorlaksson's place in the colony. At Mountain his predecessor had made preparations for the construction of a church by having oak logs felled and he himself gave a plot out of his farm for a cemetery for the church. It was on this plot that in 1884 was erected the first church among the Icelandic residents in America. Before he left the colony in 1886 to become pastor among the Scandinavians in South Dakota, Rev. Thorgrimsen had organized four new congregations in this colony. About 1885 a congregation was formed and a church erected in the Icelandic colony at Pembina.[173]

During the fall of 1884, Rev. Thorgrimsen first suggested the union of all the Icelandic churches on the continent into a synod.[174] With this in view, he called a meeting of the congregation at Mountain December 2nd, 1884 which elected a committee to draft a constitution for the proposed union in collaboration with committees representing the other congregations in the district. This congregation extended invitations to representatives of the various congregations in North Dakota, Winnipeg, and elsewhere to meet there from January 23rd to 25th, 1885. Here the constitution for the synod, later to be presented to the various congregations for acceptance or rejection, was discussed. This is the organization meeting of Hin evangelska kirkjufélag Íslendinga í Vesturheimi.

(The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America). When presented to the congregations at Mountain and in Minnesota, the constitution was rejected because women were allowed to vote and were given the privilege of being elected representatives for the conferences. This was brought for discussion before the first conference which met June 24th, 1885, in Winnipeg, where it was decided to leave this optional with the congregations. At this conference Rev. Bjarnason was elected president. At this meeting it was also decided that the synod edit a monthly periodical, Sameiningin, which is the oldest existing Icelandic publication in America. Through the efforts of the synod numerous other publications have appeared since that date. As time went on the congregations within the synod increased in number. In 1919 the largest number up to that date was reached, namely, a total of fifty-eight though in this number were included congregations which for all practical reasons have ceased to exist.

Among the various undertakings of the Lutheran synod foremost stands the one of making accessible instruction in Icelandic to those wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity.[175] In the autumn of 1901 instruction in Icelandic was for the first time available at Wesley College under the supervision and, for the most part, at the expense of the synod. The instructors in Icelandic at Wesley College have been three: Rev. Fridrik J. Bergmann, 1901-1909 and 1913-1918, Rev. Runólfur Marteinsson

1909-1913, and Prof. Skuli Johnson from 1918 until in 1927, when he accepted a position on the faculty of the University of Manitoba. From 1913 to the present time instruction has also been available at the Jón Bjarnason Academy, a private school which the Lutheran synod erected in 1913. Instruction in Icelandic at Wesley College has from that date been entirely at its own expense and responsibility. From 1905 to 1909 Icelandic was also taught at Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter, Minnesota, the instructor there being Magnus Magnusson from Cambridge, England.

In Winnipeg about 1877 the first Icelandic religious services were conducted. The first Icelandic minister to pay Winnipeg a visit beyond doubt was Rev. Thorlaksson who, on his way to his compatriots in New Iceland, visited his friends in Winnipeg. He visited the colony here again in 1877 but, as far as is known, he did not conduct services on either occasion. In the fall of 1877 Rev. Bjarnason, on his way to New Iceland to become pastor for the Icelandic community there, was delayed in Winnipeg. During his sojourn he conducted a service Sunday October 21st, 1877 for the Icelandic residents in Winnipeg in the school belonging to the Grace Church. As in New Iceland, the Icelandic people living in Winnipeg divided, one group following each Rev. Thorlaksson and Rev. Bjarnason. Early it was apparent that the latter had the larger following. He, therefore, organized a congregation called the Trinity Church, August 11, 1878.[176] After Rev. Bjarnason's departure to Iceland

the Winnipeg congregation was without a pastor until 1884 when he returned[177] with the exception of a short interval when Rev. Halldór Briem served it from the spring until mid-summer in 1882 when he too returned to Iceland. During the first three years of Rev. Bjarnason's absence, no attempt was made to organize a congregation. In the spring of 1883 on the 8th of April an attempt to revive the organization met with success. Some of the members undertook to conduct services during the absence of a pastor in the colony until the arrival of Rev. Bjarnason in August 1884. From the date of its inception this congregation flourished. Just about this time it changed its name to Hinn fyrsti Lutherski safnuður i Winnipeg (The First Lutheran Church in Winnipeg.)

As the membership in the congregation had increased many times over, in 1886 a lot was purchased and in September of the following year construction of their first church building was commenced[178] with a view to opening it for the services at Christmas. This church is the first in the Icelandic settlement on this continent to be dedicated. This was on December 18th, 1887. This building met their requirements for the next seventeen years.

Rev. Bjarnason, the first pastor of this congregation, early in his career became sponsor for the foundation of an Icelandic College directed by the Lutheran synod to prepare Icelandic students for the ministry.[179] The first contribution towards the realization of this object he also made.
At the church conference which met June 21st to 25th,

1887, a motion to the effect that he be voted the sum of $100.00 in appreciation of his services in connection with the publication of the Samsining, was carried. In accepting the gift he explained that he intended to make this sum the first contribution towards a fund for the purpose of establishing a college belonging to the synod. It was as a temporary measure while this aim was not realized that instruction in Icelandic both at Wesley College and Gustavus Adolphus College was given. Not until the fall of 1913 was this college erected. At the synod which met June 26th, 1914, the college was named the Jon Bjarnason Academy as a tribute to Rev. Bjarnason, who had passed away June 3rd shortly after seeing the dream of his life at length materialize.

Due largely to the conservative spirit prevalent in the early church organizations in North Dakota, a group became early in its history estranged from the Lutheran church.[180] For those who wished greater tolerance in religious opinions an organization called Hid islenzka Menningarfelag (Ethical Culture Society) was founded, its aim being also to keep its members informed on the modern discoveries of science, and to awaken appreciation of modern literature and fine arts. This organization was founded in the home of Stephan G. Stephansson. The charter members were twelve in number including Skapti and Magnus Brynjolfsson, Olafur Olafsson, Björn Péturssen, Einar Jonsson, Arngrimur Jonsson, Jakob Lindal, Björn Halldorsson, Svein Björnsson, Brynjolfur Brynjolfsson, and Stepan G. Stephansson. It was the aim of the organization to hold lectures

every Sunday when it could be arranged for its members and those interested. It was also the intention of the founders that similar societies be organized in each of the Icelandic settlements and that these be organized into a union or, more likely, into a federation. This organization exercised inestimable influence on Icelanders both within and beyond the limits of this settlement. Early it organized a community circulating library and until 1892 gave public lectures. By that time many of the promoters of the society had left the colony. Early this organization came into conflict with the synod. This society is the direct ancestor of the Unitarian church movement among the Icelanders in America.

Though a compromise had been reached between Rev. Thorlaksson's followers and those of Rev. Bjarnason, many were dissatisfied with the changes and concessions made and therefore did not join the churches sponsoring this movement. Others resigned following the first meeting of the synod.[161]

At the time of this incident it appears that considerable intercourse was taking place between the Scandinavians in Minnesota and the Icelanders in North Dakota. In 1881 the poet Kristofer Janson had become a minister of the Unitarian faith among his countrymen in Minneapolis and Hanska. Björn Péturssen, former member of Parliament in Iceland and graduate of the Beesastad College, came to know Kristofer Jansen. Shortly after this Péturssen began writing and lecturing in Winnipeg and North Dakota on the fundamentals of the Unitarian faith. Wishing to

establish an organization promoting liberal thought, he discontinued farming in order to devote all his time to this end. He then made his home in Winnipeg where he hoped to organize a congregation which would later become the centre of this new movement. From 1887 to 1891 he gave lectures here and translated and published five articles, three of which were written by Kristofer Janson and one by Dr. Minot J. Savage. He organized a congregation called Hinn fyrsti islenzki Unitarasofnudur i Winnipeg (The First Icelandic Unitarian Church in Winnipeg) in 1891. The charter members numbered approximately forty. Though not an ordained minister, Péturssen served as pastor for this congregation during its first years. Until in the fall of 1891 services were conducted in Assiniboine Hall. On Christmas Day, 1891, the first service was conducted in the church the congregation had erected that fall. September 25th, 1893 the congregation lost its pastor and founder, Björn Péturssen. His wife, Jennie Elizabeth McCaine Péturssen, took his place until the following spring when she left for her former home in New Hampshire. For a time Jón Ólafsson, poet and at one time editor of Heimskringla, lectured for the congregation.

In 1887, Rev. Magnús J. Skaptason came to Canada from Iceland to become minister of the churches in the New Iceland settlement. In 1891 he and all the congregations ih the colony, with the exception of the one at Riverton, withdrew from the synod, religious controversy being the cause. For the second time in its short history the colony was divided on questions of religion.

Rev. Skaptason was called to the Unitarian congregation in Winnipeg August 1st, 1894 which post he occupied until 1899 when he moved to the Moseau colony in Minnesota which was then being settled. Rev. Rögnvaldur Petursson, a graduate of the Meadville Theological College in Pennsylvania, became minister of this church in the spring of 1903 which post he occupied for six years and resumed again from 1915 to 1922. Of inestimable value to the community was a society [183] organized within this congregation to give public lectures to promote liberal thought and tolerance. Fundamentally its principles were similar to those of the Menningarfélag established in North Dakota and, its first president having been president of the older organization, it was considered appropriate that this new organization be called Menningarfelag also.. Among others responsible for the organization of this society were Skapti B. Brynjólfsson, its first president, Dr. Thorbergur Thorvaldsson Professor of Chemistry at the University of Saskatchewan, Hannes Petursson, and Stefan Thorson. During the nine years of its activity, the society delivered in all eighty public lectures on various subjects. Among others, it gave form to the movement on this side of the Atlantic that a fund be established for the purpose of commemorating Jon Sigurdsson's centenary.

June 16th to 18th, 1901 representatives from New Iceland, Winnipeg, North Dakota, and Swan Lake settlements met at Gimli and organized there the Icelandic Unitarian Conference in Western Canada. Among those chiefly responsible for its inception

were Rev. Skaptason, Thorvaldur Thorvaldsson, and Einar Olafsson. In this conference were at the time of its foundation ten congregations. For the next ten years, 1904 to 1914, it published in Winnipeg an annual periodical called Heimir.

On November 11th, 1889 Rev. Hafsteinn Pétursson arrived from Reykjavik to become pastor of the Icelandic congregations in the Argyle colony for which service he was ordained February 9th, 1890. He served as pastor in this community until the close of 1891. It was at this time that Rev. Bjarnason's ill-health left him temporarily incapacitated. As a result, Rev. Fridrik J. Bergmann, pastor from 1886 to 1893 of all the Icelandic churches in North Dakota and from 1893 to 1903 of the southern part of the community, edited the Sameining for the year 1902 and conducted services at intervals in the Lutheran church in Winnipeg during Rev. Bjarnason's absence.[184] As he served several congregations in North Dakota at this time, Rev. Hafsteinn Pétursson was engaged to assist him in Winnipeg. The following year the latter was engaged to take Rev. Bjarnason's place until the time when he would have recovered sufficiently to resume his duties. This he was able to do early in 1894. Having been engaged for the year, the congregation then decided to have him conduct services at some convenient point in the city, Mulvey school being secured for this purpose. During the year he organized a branch congregation of the older organization. This body joined the Lutheran synod in 1906. In 1901 Rev. Pétursson returned to Iceland. Rev. Bjarni Thórarinsson, who had come from Iceland in

1900, was engaged as pastor of this congregation for two years. At the end of this period Rev. Bergmann became its minister, which office he occupied until his death on April 11th, 1918. As the result of religious controversy which divided the members of the Lutheran synod, Rev. Bergmann with his congregation in Winnipeg, the congregation at Brown in Manitoba, three congregations in North Dakota, three in Saskatchewan, and one in Alberta withdrew in 1909 from that organization. After Rev. Bergmann became pastor of this congregation, known as the Tabernacle church, its membership increased until it had outgrown the building it had erected for its use on Sargent Avenue and Furby Street. In 1913 the building of its new church, the largest Icelandic church in America, on Victor Street near Sargent Avenue, was completed. At Rev. Bergmann's request, Jón Helgason, bishop of Iceland, came to Winnipeg July 13th, 1914, to dedicate the new church. For seven years, from 1906 to 1913 Rev. Bergmann edited a periodical called Breidablik in connection with the church.

After the congregation lost its pastor in 1918 it continued to function until 1921 when, faced with financial difficulties, it disintegrated. Its members joined the two existing Icelandic churches. The majority, however, amalgamated with the first Icelandic Unitarian Church under the name of the First Icelandic Federated Church of Winnipeg.

A fourth congregation called Skjaldborg, was organized in Winnipeg in 1909 as a protest against the liberal tendencies of Rev. Bergmann who had just withdrawn from the Lutheran synod. The members of this congregation were few in number and the

organization never influential.

2. Societies

The desire to remain in contact with each other burned deep in the hearts of the early Icelandic pioneers in America. This may be ascribed as one of the primary motives for the organization of societies among them. The first to be founded in Winnipeg was the Íslendingafélag[185] (The Icelandic Society) organized September 6th, 1877, to maintain and uphold the honor of the Icelandic nation in the Western Hemisphere. Its first president was Jón Thordarson and its secretary Arngrimur Jónsson. The methods of realizing the aims of the organization were firstly, to keep in touch with all Icelanders in America, secondly, to give public lectures for the benefit of those established in Winnipeg, and, thirdly, to provide instruction in the English language, manners and customs prevalent here, and in Icelandic. It also undertook, when its circumstances permitted, to assist the sick and the destitute. Soon after its organization the society established a Sunday school to which the parents sent their children for instruction in Icelandic and the usual elementary subjects. Many parents sent their children to this school in preference to the public schools where their children, because they could not speak English and were clad differently from their Canadian schoolmates, were looked upon as foreigners. An equally acute need was felt for instruction for those children who had reached the age of fourteen when they came to America. It was for this element that, largely through the efforts of Magnús Paulsson and Guðmundur Björnsson, a school was established during the winter. Instruction was provided in writing,

arithmetic, Icelandic, and English. With an attendance of about forty pupils during that winter, it carried on again the following winter. In 1878 the name of the Icelandic Society was changed to the National Society of Icelanders in America. In 1881 the society was revived under the name of Framfarafelag Islendinga i Vesturheimi (Progressive Association of Icelanders in America).

The school established for the younger generation of Icelanders in Winnipeg survived with difficulty until in 1881 when it appeared to be doomed to extinction. It was at this critical period that the Icelandic society assumed responsibility for it. The first year it did so at an expenditure of $252.50. The next year the society agreed to engage the services of one teacher for twenty-five pupils or less and another if the attendance passed this number. A nominal fee of $2.00 per month was charged this year but those unable to meet this were not denied instruction. During the winter of 1883-4 Baldvin L. Baldvinsson conducted the school. He had attended night school in Toronto and completed a course at a military college there.

The year of the revival of the society was momentous in its history as the year in which it undertook to erect a hall for its requirements. One of its members, Helgi Jonsson, gave the society a lot for this purpose. With this advent interest in social life among the Icelanders reawakened. Several societies such as the Ungmennafelag (Young People's Society), Malfundafelag (Debating Society), Songfelag (Glee Club), and the Islenzka Kvenfelag (Icelandic Ladies' Aid) which came to be the most noted of these, were organized at this time. Unique among immigrants was the service extended by the Framfarafelag to its compatriots when they were coming to this country. Individuals received as many as they could into their homes in order that it would not be necessary for them to remain at the immigration quarters. At an expenditure of $160.00 it despatched in 1882 one of its members to meet a group of immigrants on their way to Western Canada.

The next year Baldvin L. Baldvinsson met a group at

Quebec. From this date until 1894 he was immigration agent for the Dominion Government during which period he estimates that he brought to Canada approximately 6000 Icelanders. The Islenzka kvenfelag played a conspicuous part in the reception extended to the Icelandic immigrants arriving in Winnipeg.

For a period of ten years the Framfarafélag remained active. Then the First Icelandic Lutheran Church in Winnipeg was organized with the result that many of its members devoted their services to the church. For some years the congregation used the hall until it erected its first church in Winnipeg. Finally the hall was sold in 1891 and the society with that ceased to function. The proceeds from the sale were donated in 1903 to the building fund of the College the synod planned to erect and the building fund of the Good Templar Lodges among the Icelanders in Winnipeg.

An organization of outstanding enterprise was Hid Islenzka kvenfelag in Winnipeg[186] organized during the summer of 1881, in all likelihood the first society of this nature among the Icelanders in the New World. Its purpose was to promote the spiritual and physical well-being of the Icelandic immigrants. The charter members were eight in number. For several years this group of women worked diligently. Early in its career it contributed to the building fund of the Framfarafélag $64.00 and later gave it $60.00 on condition that it be privileged to use the hall for its meetings. Towards maintenance of the school under the auspices of the Framfarafélag it contributed $122.00 and to the poor $60.00. In addition,

one of the charter members, Guðrun Jónsdóttir gave to the school fund half of her wages of $15.00 per month. Further, it assisted two young girls to the extent of $87.00 to obtain instruction in singing. Prior to the organization of the society a fund for the purpose of erecting a memorial to Hallgrimur Petursson, the celebrated hymn writer, was being raised in Iceland. To this the society gave $50.00, the first gift made by the Icelanders in America to a project on the other side of the Atlantic. Among other activities, it undertook to cook at the immigration hall meals for those of the 1883 group who were detained there.

For the next two years until 1886 this society continued to function but, as in the case of the Framfarafélag, its members divided after the organization of the Lutheran congregation. After that the members opposed to this either resigned or became inactive with the effect that after 1890 it ceased to exist.

A literary society was organized among the younger generation of Icelandic men in Winnipeg in 1882 through the efforts of Björn Stefán Brynjólfsson. This society was called The Oriental Literary Society.[187] The aims of this organization were to encourage the reading of good literature, acquaint its members with literature on this side of the Atlantic, and to cultivate liberal views. The following summer the founder of the organization left for North Dakota and with his departure the society disintegrated.

In 1888 Friman B. Anderson founded Hid islenzka thjódmenning-

arfelag (The Icelandic Culture Society), for the purpose of promoting vocational and cultural study. On the vocational side the aims were to promote technical and economic education, secure employment, assist young people wishing to learn the skilled trades, and establish an insurance fund. On the other side, the aims were to establish a school, library, and reading rooms. The comprehensive aims of the society surpassed the collective ability of its memebers to realize them.

August 22nd, 1884, through the efforts of the islenska kvenfelag, was the inauguration night of the first Icelandic temperance society in America.[188] At the meeting Rev. Bjarnason urged people to join but among the thirty who joined were only seven men. Later the society numbered about eighty members. Though the organization was not large it exercised considerable influence throughout the Icelandic settlements. Societies were founded in North Dakota, Glenboro, and other points. Though Rev. Bjarnason impressed people with the necessity of supporting the temperance movement the period of existence of these societies was of short duration, namely to 1889, largely because the movement had been identified too closely with the Lutheran church and controversy over questions of religion made its appearance.

In 1886-7 among those who came to Canada were some who had been identified with the Good Templar movement in Iceland. Through their efforts was founded the Lodge Hekla.[189] The charter members were twenty-four in number. As the members wished meetings to be conducted in Icelandic the Good Templar

constitution was translated into Icelandic. Dissension divided the members of the Lodge with the effect that those favoring the Lutheran Church and following Logberg, one of the Icelandic newspapers in Winnipeg, withdrew and founded the Lodge Skuld. The two lodges cooperated on erecting a hall on McGee Street and Sargent Avenue in 1905 for their use. As early as 1890 a Juvenile Lodge was organized but may be said to have ceased to function until the hall was built when it was revived.

Controversy over questions of religion again divided the members of the Chapter Skuld. Some of its members withdrew and formed a new Lodge called Island. When this lodge was at its height its members numbered less than one hundred. As its organizers dispersed it lost strength finally ceasing to function in 1911 when the majority of its remaining members joined the Lodge Hekla.

Besides assisting the sick and those in need the lodges were in the main responsible for the Icelandic school conducted for children from 1916 to 1919. From that date the Winnipeg division of the Icelandic National ~~Patriotic~~ League has assumed the responsibility.

That the Icelandic lodges have been influential within and beyond their own circles is witnessed by the fact that its members have occupied several offices in the Manitoba and Western Canada Grand Lodge. Representing these bodies have been elected representatives to the Grand Lodge conferences

Ingvar Bjarni Buason to Stockholm in 1902; his widow, Gudrún Buason, to Washington, D.C. in 1908, to Antwerp in 1910, and to Hamburg in 1911, and Arinbjörn S. Bardal to Christiania 1914, and to Copenhagen in 1920.

On March 25th, 1919, was organized in Winnipeg largely through the efforts of Dr. R. Petursson, J. J. Bildfelt, A.P. Johannsson and others The Icelandic National League. The aims of this organization are to promote good citizenship, to support and encourage the maintenance of the Icelandic language and the study of Icelandic literature, and to promote cooperation between the Icelandic nation and their compatriots in America. The aims of this society are perhaps best recognized when compared with those of The United Scottish and Sons of England organizations in Canada. Branches of this organization are to be found in the majority of Icelandic settlements in Canada. The League holds a convention in February of each year to discuss matters relating to the affairs of the organization. At these lectures are given by the most noted speakers both from our population in Canada and from Iceland. Since its inception, Dr. R. Petursson has been editor of an annual periodical, Timarit, which it publishes.

3. Newspapers and Periodicals

The various literary activities among the Icelanders in America have been of paramount importance in retaining their language and traditions and in keeping them in contact with their compatriots in their old country. The first effort in

this direction was made in 1877.[190] when a printing company called Prentfélag Nýja Islands (The Printing Company of New Iceland), was organized. The first paper, called Framfari, appeared September 10th, 1877, the first Icelandic newspaper in America. It was published at Riverton for a period of two years. Other newspapers and periodicals appeared in New Iceland such as Dagsbrún 1892-7, Svafa 1895-1904, Bergmál 1897-1901, Baldur 1903-1910, Ný Dagsbrún 1904-6, and Gimlung 1910-1. The Icelandic pioneers during their first winter in New Iceland wrote by hand and distributed throughout the colony a newspaper which they called Nýi Thjódólfur. /7

Though the first literary productions appeared in New Iceland, Winnipeg came to be the logical centre for this enterprise. In 1880, when Framfari ceased to appear, it was deemed by some desirable to establish a newspaper in Winnipeg. As a result of the failure to organize a company for this purpose, Helgi Jónsson undertook personally to publish a newspaper which he called Leifur,[191] the first Icelandic newspaper to appear in Winnipeg. He continued its publication for three years from May 5th, 1883 until June 4th, 1886 when for financial reasons he was forced to discontinue.

After Leifur ceased to appear, the next newspaper to make its appearance was Heimskringla,[192] now the oldest existing Icelandic weekly on this side of the Atlantic. It was organized through the efforts of Friman B. Anderson, a graduate of the University of Manitoba in 1885 who had written several articles for Leifur, Eggert Jóhannsson who had been in fact, if not in

name editor of Leifur, and Einar Hjörleifsson, author, who had come to America in 1885. The first number of the new paper appeared September 9th, 1886. The paper was established with a view to presenting to the Icelandic population in America a survey of matters of outstanding interest in the departments of government, employment, and learning. For reasons of financial inability after the fourteenth number appeared the paper was discontinued for an interval of two months, the fifteenth number appearing April 7th, 1887. Again from the end of May, 1897 until October 4th, 1897, the paper did not appear. In the fall of 1919 the owners of the paper incorporated it under the name of the Viking Press Limited. The paper and the press it purchased from Baldvin L. Baldvinsson. In politics the newspaper supported the Conservative party in Canada and the Democratic party in the United States. It favored the emigration movement from Iceland to America.

Early in the history of the Icelandic settlements in America, the residents divided into two distinct groups. One supported the Conservative party, the Democrats, and the liberal church. The other supported the Liberal party, the Republicans, and the orthodox church. Therefore, shortly after Heimskringla made its appearance, many were dissatisfied with it and wished to found another newspaper. As a result they established a newspaper which they called Logberg.[193] the first number appearing January 14th, 1888. This is the largest Icelandic weekly newspaper which has appeared in America. In January, 1911, after

enlarging its printing establishment, it was incorporated as The Columbia Press Limited.

Cradled in Manitoba and fostered to sturdy growth in Winnipeg, the influence of the Icelandic newspapers in the lives of the Icelandic element of the populations of Canada and the United States is beyond estimation. They have proved to be a bond of unity between the various settlements. They have been the medium through which have been transmitted projects and undertakings of the Icelandic population to the most isolated of their settlements. In them has also appeared for the first time about half of all the poetry of the Icelandic poets. Stephan G. Stephansson, Kristinn Stefansson, and J. Magnus Bjarnason. Of greater importance than this is the fact that the newspapers have been the means through which the language has been retained.

In 1918 Dr. Sigurdur J. Johannesson established an Icelandic semi-weekly which he called Voröld. It occupied a unique position in the fact that it was opposed to conscription and communistic in spirit. It was also independent from the controversies with which the two Icelandic weeklies were concerned. Its existence, however, was limited, the last number appearing in 1920.

In February, 1893, Mrs. M. J. Benedictson established a monthly periodical, Freyja, advocating the suffrage of women. It was published first in Selkirk and later at Winnipeg, appearing for the last time in 1911.

Various other Icelandic periodicals have appeared in Winnipeg and other points but those already mentioned are the ones

of the greatest significance.

4. National Celebrations

In 1874 one thousand years had elapsed since the first Northmen had come to Iceland. This event was duly celebrated in Iceland. The Icelandic immigrants in Milwaukee endeavored, likewise, to honor appropriately the occasion.[194] This is the first celebration of this nature among the Icelandic element on this side of the Atlantic.

For the next few years, while immigration among the Icelanders was at its height, the movement towards a national celebration was not attempted again.[195] July 19th, 1888, an article appeared in Heimskringla in which the author, Eggert Jóhannsson, urged the Icelandic people to unite in having an Icelandic celebration[196] among themselves at some central point where residents of the various Icelandic colonies in America could meet. Public interest had to this date not been sufficiently aroused so that arrangements for a celebration that year were not made.

Jón Ólafsson, editor of Lögberg, who came to Winnipeg April 20th, 1890, urged the Icelandic residents in Winnipeg to unite in an effort to hold a celebration that year on August 2nd which to that time was generally accepted as the date for this event. Preparations for the Icelandic Celebration on the following August 2nd were commenced without delay. The program included speeches and poetry, sports and a parade. This is the first undertaking in this direction among the Icelanders in

Winnipeg. It drew the attention of Canadian neighbors to this small national group which, however, now numbered approximately one-tenth of Winnipeg's entire population.

Some disagreement over the date on which it should be commemorated resulted in the celebration being held earlier the following year on June 18th, in Dufferin Park. After the event dissatisfaction arose over the change of date and also the change of name of the celebration which was called this year and the year following Thóðhatíð Vestur Íslendinga (Icelandic National Holiday), in place of Íslendingadagur.

The third celebration was held the first of August and the fourth on the second of August. One of the papers, Heimskringla supported this date while the other, Lögberg, supported some date in the latter part of June. As the newspapers divided on this issue, so each of them had its group of followers. On April 14th, 1897, a public meeting was called to dispose once for all of the question of the date of the national celebration. The choice was limited to one of three days. The first was June 17th, the date of Jón Sigurðsson's birth, the second, the Thursday between the 11th and 17th of June, believed to be the date on which Althing met, and the third the second of August, the date of the millennial celebration in Iceland. At the meeting the majority favored August 2nd but the losing group continued agitation. In the rural districts some supported one date and some the other. The result was that the committee in charge of the celebration the preceeding year called a meeting where this matter was

brought before the public again. For the second time public opinion favored August 2nd for the celebration. It was not until after the beginning of the century that differences were forgotten and this became the accepted date for the celebration.[197] In recent years some of the international figures secured as speakers for the occasion have been Jon Helgason, Bishop of Iceland, Gudmundur Kamban, dramatist, Einar Jonsson, sculpter, Halldor Hermannsson, librarian at the Fiske Library, Cornell University, Ithica, Einar Benediktsson, author, and Dr. Agust Bjarnason, dean of the University of Iceland.

In the fall of 1915 the Great War had been waged for more than one year. Icelanders early took their place among the Canadians going overseas. That fall some had already gone to England and others reached France. Various societies within the congregations of Winnipeg were collecting gifts to send that coming Christmas to the Canadian soldiers overseas. That a similar service be extended to the Canadian soldiers of Icelandic extraction was the suggestion of Steinunn Stefansson who, with Hannes Peturson, president of the Young People's Society of the Unitarian church approached the Bandalag of the Lutheran church and some of the members of the Tabernacle church. A committee[198] of six was formed by each of these bodies sending two representatives to it. The committee so formed remained solely in charge of this matter for the first year. It is estimated that at least one hundred Icelandic men had gone overseas. The aim of the committee was to send each a parcel valued at not less than $10.00 carriage charges

not included. Following this successful enterprise several Icelandic societies with a similar object in view were organized during the course of the War. Among these the Jon Sigurdsson chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was the largest and the most influential among the Icelandic citizens in Winnipeg. To this organization the committee discharged its offices and the balance of its funds. The Jon Sigurdsson chapter published a book with a biography of all the Icelanders engaged in the War. According to this 1287 men, of whom 989 were from Canada, and 16 nurses enlisted their services, a tribute to the extent that the Icelandic element has assumed its duties of citizenship in Canada.[199]

As has been mentioned before, 1930 is the millennial anniversary of the organization of the Icelandic legislative assembly, Althing. A celebration on a scale to this date unknown in Iceland has been proposed for the occasion. A committee appointed by the government in Iceland in 1926 has assumed responsibility for the celebration. In 1926 a letter was sent by the parliament in Iceland to the executive of the Icelandic National League addressed to its president requesting the League to assist its committee in organizing a participation in the celebration. At the annual convention of the Icelandic National League a committee was elected [200] which has now, by a letter from the official committee in Iceland, been authorized to act on its behalf. This committee since its election has been occupied with preparations for participation in this celebration.

It has completed arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Canadian Pacific Steamships Limited for transportation and the chairman of this committee, J. J. Hildfell, and its treasurer, Dr. R. Peturesson, have recently returned from Iceland where final arrangements were completed. It is now proposed that an all-Canadian tour will be made in June, 1930, to the home country under the auspices of this committee and the League. Auxiliary committees are now working in all the Icelandic settlements for a general participation throughout Canada. Sponsored by the Canadian Council of Education and the Union of Canadian Clubs, an Icelandic lecturer, Arni Palsson, the state librarian at Reykjavik, has been secured to travel through the Dominion of Canada on a lecture tour during the winter of 1929 and 1930. An educational campaign conducted largely through articles written for the leading magazines in Canada and the United States will be undertaken to acquaint the Canadian and American people with the origin, the early history, the explorations, early navigation, the old and modern literature, and the settlements abroad of the Icelandic people.

This celebration, as has previously been mentioned, commemorates the establishment of the first legislative body of the Teutonic race in Europe. It is not only of educational value but of great historical significance to all the English speaking people as many of their old laws and efforts at self-government can be indirectly traced to the code of laws

instituted by this ancient assembly.

Iceland, as to numbers, is the smallest nation in Europe but its contribution towards the progress of the human race, particularly in its efforts at self-government, is among the largest contributed by any nation. Its old sagas and chronicles which have been mentioned give better insight into the characteristics of the Teutonic race on and before the year 1000 than any chronicle preserved from that period.

Time, as only time could, has proven the far-sightedness and wisdom of the early Icelandic settlers in selecting western Canada and the mid-western states for settlement.[201] The streams of emigrants from Europe were then filling the vacant spaces of the North American continent. It was largely a matter of choice where the waste was settled and it was doubtful if any place could be selected which was better suited to the characteristics and hardihood of the Icelandic people. Thrift and diligence were their chief assets and that is all this country demands of the immigrants and for both these qualifications they are richly regarded. Looking back through the long corridor of years old and young alike bless the happy chance which brought them to this country.

A P P E N D I X

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ICELANDIC SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

1855 Spanish Fork, Utah.

1872 Washington Island, Wisconsin.

1873 Shawano County, Wisconsin, disappeared after 1879.

1873-1876 Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

1873 Muskoka, Ontario. Hekkla post office.

1874-1882 Markland, Nova Scotia.

1874 Firth, Nebraska.

1875 Gimli, Manitoba.

1875 Minnesota, Minnesota.

1875 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

1876 Minneapolis, Chicago, and New York.

1878 North Dakota.

1880 Argyle, Manitoba.

1881 Duluth, Minnesota.

1882 Grafton, North Dakota.

1885 Gloucester, Massachusetts.

1885 (about) Selkirk, Manitoba.

1886 Sayreville, New Jersey.

1886 Thingvalla, (Churchridge) Saskatchewan.

1887 Swan Lake, (Alptavatns), Manitoba.

1887 Tantallon, (Vatnsdala), Saskatchewan.

1887 Brandon, Manitoba.

1887 Markerville, Alberta.

1887 Melita settlement in western Manitoba at Bardal, and Crescent, Manitoba, and Antler, Saskatchewan.

1887 Grand Forks, North Dakota.

1890 (about) Keewatin, Ontario.

1890 (about) Winnipegosis, Manitoba.

1890 Okanagan, British Columbia.

1890 Vernon, British Columbia.

1890 Warrenton, Sheridan, and Portland, Oregon.

1891 Foam Lake, Saskatchewan.

1891 Mouse River, North Dakota.

1893 Roseau County, Minnesota.

1893 (about) Seattle, Washington.

1893 Point Roberts, Washington.

1895 Brown, Manitoba.

1895 Vancouver, British Columbia.

1897 Piney, Manitoba.

1897 Blaine, Washington.

1898 Swan River, Manitoba.

1900 (about) California settlements.

1905 Smith Island, British Columbia.

1905 Prince Rupert, British Columbia.

1907 Maidstone, Saskatchewan.

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Melsteð, Bogi Th. op cit. Hjönleifur Hródmarsson "átti tiu irska praela, sem hann hafði tekið a Islandi....."

6. Jónsson, Jón, op. cit 5
Nordmenn og Danir ráku aftur á móti hernad vestur á boginn, til Pyzkalands, Frakklands og Englands.....
Kvedur einna mest að vikingaferdum Dana vestur til Englands og Frakklands."

7. Jónsson, Jon, op. cit 6

8. Jónsson, Jon, op.cit 7
Bogi Th. Melsteð op. cit. 5

9. Jónsson, Jón, op. cit 10
"Jafnframt því, er Haraldur konungur lagði Noreg undir sig, tók hann ódulin af vandum og let þa greida sér landskuldir af jördum þeim, er þeir höfdu átt frá alda ödli og engan skatt eda skyldur af goldid.

10. Jónsson, Jon, op. cit 11
Bogi Th. Melsteð op. cit. 13
"Til þess að koma i veg fyrir þetta, safnadi konungur lidi og fór vestur um haf og herjadi um eyjarnar við Skodland; lagdi hann þar undir sig og drap þa vikinga, sem hann nadi til, en flestir þeirra komust þó undan og fóru margir þeirra til Islands."
Eftir þetta (Um 880) fóru landnámsferdirnar ad tídkast til Islands....."

11. Melsteð, Bogi Th. op. cit. 6
Jón Jonsson op. cit. 12
Ari Þorgilsson, op. cit. 25 f "Enn ádr Island bygdist af Noregi, váru þar þeir menn, er Nordmenn kalla Papa;

þeir váru menn kristnir, ok hyggja menn, at þeir hafi verit vestan um haf, því at fundust eftir þeim bækr írskar, bjöllur ok baglar, ok enn fleiri hlutir, þeir, er þat mátti skilja, at þeir váru Vestmenn; þat fannst í Papey austr ok í Papili; er ok þessa getið á bókum enskum, at í þann tíma var farit milli landanna."
Ari Þorgilsson op. cit 5 þa vǫro hér menn cristner, þeir es Norþmenn kalla papa. en þeir fóro síþian á braut, af þui at þeir vildo eigi vesa hér við heiþna menn, oc létu epter bœcer irscar oc bjöllur oc bagla, af þui mátti scilia, at þeir vǫro menn irskir."

12. Jónsson, Jón op. cit 12
Bogi Th. Melsted op. cit. 5
Ari Þorgilsson op. cit 27 Svá er sagt, at menn skyldu fara ór Noregi til Færeyja; nefna sumir til Naddoð víking; enn þa rak vestr í haf, ok fundu þar land mikit.... Þeir fóru aftr um haustit til Færeyja; ok er þeir sigldu af landinu, fell snær mikill á fjöll, ok fyrir þat kölluðu þeir landit Snæland."

13. Jónsson, Jón, op. cit 12
Bogi Th. Melsted op. cit 5
Ari Þorgilsson op cit 27 "Maðr hét Garðarr Svavarsson, Sænskur at ætt; hann fór at leita Snælands..... Garðarr sigldi umhverfis landit, ok vissi, at þat var eyland."

14. Melsted, Bogi Th. op. cit 6
Jónsson, Jón op. cit 13
Ari Þorgilsson op. cit 28 ff "Þa gekk Flóki upp á fjall eitt hátt, ok sá norðr yfir fjöllin fjörð fullan af hafísum; því kölluðu þeir landit Ísland, sem þat hefir síðan heitit..... Þeir sigldu um sumarit eftir til Noregs. Ok er menn spurðu af landinu, þa let Flóki illa yfir, enn Herjólfr sagði kost ok löst af landinu; enn Þorðólfr kvað drjúpa smjör af hverju strái á landinu..."

15. Þorgilsson, Ari op. cit 32

16. Melsted, Bogi Th. op. cit. 9
Jón Jónsson op. cit. 13 f
Ari Þorgilsson op. cit. 30 ff

17. Melsted, Bogi Th. op. cit. 13.
Jón Jónsson op. cit. 15

18. Þorgilsson, Ari, op. cit 197. "Þeim mönnum, er síðar kómu út, þóttu hinir numit hafa of víða land, er fyrri komu, enn á þat setti Haraldr konungr þá hinn hárfagri, at engi skyldi víðara nema enn hann mætti eldi yfir fara á degi með skipverjum sínum."

19. Jonsson, Jon, Islandssaga 23 f

20. Melsteð, Bogi Th. Þættir úr Sögu Íslands 27
"Lögsaga hans hófst 930 og það ár var því löggjafarstarfi Ulfljóts lokið og alþingi að öllu leyti komið á stofn."
Jón Jónsson op. cit. 24
Ari Þorgilsson op. cit. 6
Ari Þorgilsson, op. cit. 238
"Enn þá er hann (Ulfljótur) var nær hálfsextugr at aldri, fór hann útan ok var þrjá vetr með Þorleifi frænda sínum; þeir samanskrifuðu lög þau, er hann hafði út ok þá váru kölluð Ulfljótslög. Enn er hann kom út, þá var sett alþingi, ok lǫfðu þá allir ein lög hér á landi, ok váru þau nokkurn veg samin eftir Gulaþingslögum."

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26. Jonsson, Jon op. cit. 125

27. Jonsson, Jon op. cit. 130

28. Jonsson, Jon, op. cit. 141 "Islendingar fyrir sitt leyti játa konungi land og þegna og ǫfinlegan skatt, en konungur heitir þar á móti, að láta Islendinga ná friði og íslenzkum lögum, að 6 skip skuli ganga af Noregi til Islands 2 sumur hinn nœstu, en þaðan frá sem konungi og hinum beztu bǫndum þyki hentast landinu, að erfðir skuli upp gefast fyrir íslenzkum mönnum í Noregi, hversu lengi sem staðið hafa, að landaurar skuli upp gefast, og loks að Islendingar skuli hafa slíkan rétt í Noregi, sem þeir hafa beztan haft."
Bogi Th. Melsteð op. cit. 265 f

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30. Jonsson, Jon, op. cit. 185 ff

31. Jonsson, Jon, op. cit. 217

32. Jonsson, Jon op. cit 237

33. Jonsson, Jon, op. cit. 259 f

34. Jonsson, Jon, op. cit. 280 f

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