

LEADERSHIP AND POWER
IN AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY.

by

GUSTAV TRYGGVASON
B.A., University of British Columbia, 1964

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

May, 1969

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and Study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology & Sociology
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date June 6, 1969

ABSTRACT

One of the significant problems investigated by social scientists in recent years is the question of how power is used in the community. The presence of power has generally been taken for granted, with the main research and analytical effort being concentrated on identifying and explaining the actions of those members of the community, i.e., the leaders, who are thought to possess power. Their ability to operate effectively within the community is generally interpreted as a reflection of their use of power, i.e., their ability to impose their will upon others, with or without having to overcome direct or indirect opposition in the process of doing so.

Such studies as have been carried out have usually been conducted in communities which are easily identified as communities, such as a city or a town. There are, however, other types of communities, one of which is the ethnic community or sub-community. Ethnic communities, such as those generally found in Canada, are a result of the desire of the members of specific ethnic groups to continue to share some or all of their activities with people of the same origin. In such communities the actions of the leaders may be based on several factors, none of which is comparable to the power which leaders in other types of communities

may possess or are believed to possess.

Extensive field work was conducted in the Icelandic ethnic community in the Greater Vancouver area, beginning in the fall of 1965 and continuing for some three years. Data was gathered initially through interviews with the members of this community and subsequently by direct observation of and participation in the activities of this community and its leaders.

The analysis of the data obtained indicates that the leaders of such a sub-community do not and cannot rely upon an ability to impose their will upon others. Put in other words, the leaders of such a sub-community lack power. Their ability to operate effectively is largely a result of the fact that their actions vis-a-vis the community are restricted to those which will receive voluntary support from the members of the community.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I INTRODUCTION	1
II THE MIGRANTS	7
Introduction	
The Primary Migration	
The Secondary Migrations	
III THE CULTURAL DEFINITION OF THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY	27
General Comments	
The Ethnic Community as a Cultural Community	
The Icelandic Ethnic Community in Vancouver	
The Members of the Community	
IV THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY	59
Introduction	
The Community's Membership	
The Congregation and the Auxiliary	
The Icelandic Old Folks Home Society	
The Ladies Aid Solskin	
The Strandin Chapter	
Patterns of Participation	
V LEADERSHIP AND POWER IN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY	147
Leaders and Officers	
Selected Profiles	
The Leaders and the Community	
Conclusions	
VI THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP AND POWER	223
Introduction	
Research Methods	
The Concept of Power	
Power in the Community	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	242

LIST OF TABLES

NUMBER		PAGE
I	Icelandic Immigration to Canada, 1872-1902.	12
II	Icelandic Immigration to Canada, 1906-1918.	13
III-1	Icelandic Immigration to Canada, 1919-1925.	16
III-2	Icelandic Immigration to Canada, by ports of origin, 1926-1945.	17
IV	Icelandic Immigration to Canada, by ports of origin, 1946-1965.	19
V	Canadians of Icelandic origin, showing partial distribution by specific provinces, 1881-1961.	26
VI	Certain Characteristics of the Icelandic Canadian Population, 1881-1961.	61
VII	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Community's Members: 1963-1966.	63
VIII	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Core Members: 1963-1966.	64
IX	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Congregation's Members: 1963-1966.	76
X	Generation-Origin Groupings of Core Members, Withdrawals, and New Members: 1963-1966.	77
XI	Generation-Origin Groupings of Auxiliary Members: 1962.	83
XII	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Society's Members and Life Members: 1963.	97
XIII	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Aid's Members: 1963-1966.	103
XIV	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Association's Members: 1961-1966.	124
XV	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Core Members, Withdrawals, and New Members: 1963-1966.	127
XVI	Generation-Origin Groupings of the Official and Participatory Members: 1966-1967.	130

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The study of leaders and their power has attracted considerable attention among social scientists since the publication of Floyd Hunter's book, Community Power Structure (1953). Those who have investigated this particular phenomenon have tended to be divided into two opposing schools of thought - schools divided both in the manner in which they approach this phenomenon and in the conclusions they reach about it. The relative merits of these opposing views will be examined in detail in a subsequent chapter. It can be said, however, that these two schools appear to share a common feature which tends to weaken the validity or accuracy of the various interpretations which have been drawn from the studies in question.

Readings in the available literature have left the writer with the impression that those researchers who have investigated the phenomenon of leadership have a tendency to forget that the position of a 'leader' can only have an operational existence if there is a certain group of non-leaders or followers who are available to be led. There is a tendency to give little or no consideration to the possibility or the probability that the manner in which the group has

become a group may determine the nature of leadership in that group. The effect which the historical development and growth of the group has in determining or limiting the variety or types of leadership options has not been given its rightful place in analysis. As a result many studies of leadership have an air of unreality for they seem to suggest that the leaders examined are isolated from and quite independent of the people they are supposedly leading.

If the historical development of the group into a group has an effect on the type of leadership pattern evident in that particular group, it is possible that the differences in the conclusions reached in other studies are due, not to errors in research methods or to errors in analysis, but to the fact that the communities studied differ so extensively in their internal composition and development that the emergence of different types of leaders or leadership patterns was inevitable. It is safe to assume that there is no law, whether made by nature, man or social scientists, which stipulates that all communities must have the same kind of leaders or the same type of leadership pattern. Since different communities exist it is equally safe to assume that different kinds of leaders and different types of leadership patterns exist also, even within the same national society.

The testing of such an hypothesis regarding the origin and the continued existence of a variety of leadership patterns requires studies which consider a much greater quantity and variety of data covering much longer time periods than has been the case up to now. This study provides one such attempt to give a detailed, in-depth analysis of the development of a certain community and the leadership pattern peculiar, but not unique, to it. The community in question is an ethnic community, one of a number of such sub-communities found in some societies. The ethnic sub-community, as a type of community, comes into being as a result of the migration of people from one society into another. Its development is affected by a variety of factors, such as the time of migration, rates of migration, characteristics of the migrants, and so on. These and other factors influence the original creation and subsequent development of the ethnic community.

It appears to be the case that an ethnic community can only be a sub-community which exists within a larger community - such as a city - and of which it is an integral part. Because of this structural limitation the ethnic sub-community may not provide a useful test of any theories or hypotheses relating to the nature of leadership and

power distribution patterns in the larger community. In the larger community the actions taken by a leader or leaders, however he or they may be identified, can have a considerable effect on the lives of the led, whether or not they are aware of the leader's existence and whether or not the led are aware of and agreeable to the actions taken. In the ethnic sub-community, and possibly in other sub-communities, the actions of a leader can, generally speaking, only have an effect on the led if there is a prior and continuing commitment on their part to regard themselves as members of that particular sub-community.

The 'members' of the larger community, such as a city, are in a sense captive members, for their mere presence is the proof of their membership, whether or not that membership status is, directly or indirectly, a relevant controlling factor in their lives. But the sub-community, such as an ethnic community, lacks this essentially territorial component and must, as a consequence, depend upon the personal commitment of its members on a continuing basis. This personal commitment is basically a voluntary action and as such is easily influenced or changed by a number of factors which do not operate, at least not with the same effect, in the larger community. The voluntary nature of membership in the sub-community is crucial

for its main operational effect is to place severe restrictions on the power of the sub-community's leaders. The exercise of their power can easily destroy the personal commitment of the members and once that commitment is gone the sub-community ceases to exist. This relative absence of power may reduce the value or usefulness of any analysis of leadership within such a community.

This study will attempt to give a detailed analysis of the historical development of a particular ethnic community, namely the Icelandic ethnic community which exists in the metropolitan area of the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, and the leadership patterns which appear within it. In order to do so it is necessary to give some attention to the history of the primary migration of people from Iceland to Canada and to the secondary migrations which led some of these migrants, or their descendants, to the Lower Mainland. This will, in turn, provide the starting point for an analysis of the ethnic community which these people established, as well as an analysis of the factors which influenced the development of the leadership patterns which are evident in it. Once this is accomplished it will be possible to examine the existing literature, giving particular attention to the two main schools of thought,

to see if this study provides a new insight into the study of leadership as a general phenomenon.

CHAPTER II

THE MIGRANTS

Introduction

The history of emigration from Iceland to Canada can be divided into three quite distinct periods. The first period begins in the early 1870's and lasted until the end of the first World War. It was during this period that the bulk of all emigrants left Iceland and the overwhelming majority chose Canada as their new homeland. The second period began at the end of the first World War and continued to the end of the second World War. During this period the rate of emigration from Iceland dropped considerably and the United States replaced Canada as the first choice of the emigrants. The third and final period began at the conclusion of the second World War and continues to this day. During this period emigration from Iceland appears to have increased, at least temporarily, but the proportion of emigrants which came to Canada continued to decline. From being the first choice of emigrants during the first period Canada fell to third place during the third period, considerably behind the United States and Denmark and barely ahead of Sweden. The conditions which affected or created this particular pattern of over-all emigration seem to have been different in each of these periods. The effect of these varied conditions

is evident both in the total size of the emigrating groups and in the features which tend to characterize these groups as distinct groups.

The Primary Migration

The Main Period: 1872 - 1918.

The principal and perhaps the only important causal factor involved in the pattern of emigration in the first period was the extremely poor condition of the island's economy, which could best be described as being not just stagnant but stagnating. In the three or four decades preceeding this first period of emigration the population increased from 46,000 to 72,000 (Thorsteinsson, 1921, p. 13). But during this period of rapid population increase the economy remained as it had been for centuries - primitive in technology and poor in productivity (Bjornson, 1963). Agricultural production in particular was just sufficient to provide a subsistence level of existence and due to the primitive nature of the technology in use production was especially sensitive to adverse weather conditions, as far as crops were concerned, and to epidemic diseases, as far as livestock was concerned. On a number of occasions during these years the partial or complete destruction of food crops and livestock due to these conditions brought the islanders to the brink of mass-starvation,

a fate prevented only by foreign charity (Gudmundsson, 1955; 1956, passim; J. Helgason, 1937, p. 210).

Although the Icelanders might have possessed the desire and the ability to re-organize or modernize their economy they were prevented from doing so by the political status of their homeland. For several centuries the island had been an integral part of the Danish Kingdom and responsibility for its administration lay with officials of the Danish government in Copenhagen. Every decision, no matter how minor, had to be referred to them for action. An extreme example of the extent of their control is the case of the leaking roof of the official residence of the Bishop of Iceland, an incident which took place during the 1830's. From the time that the roof began to leak it took two years for these officials to authorize repairs (H.E. Johnson, 1943). A comparable time lag was evident in decisions of greater importance.

The winds of change which swept through Europe during the last century eventually gave rise to political agitation aimed at obtaining local autonomy in political and economic matters in Iceland. This campaign was initiated and maintained largely by Icelanders residing in Copenhagen. These individuals were instrumental in obtaining a number of concessions in the political sphere but these tended to be of such

a minor nature that little change occurred in the island's basic position. Among their achievements were the restoration of the Icelandic parliament, the Althing, as a consultative assembly in the 1840's; the extension of press freedom to Iceland in the 1850's and the promulgation of a constitution in 1874. But the Danish government retained control over all fiscal and economic policies so that the effect of these concessions on conditions in Iceland was slight. Control over these important policy areas was not turned over to the Icelanders until 1884, but by then it was too late to halt the wave of emigration which erupted without warning in the early 1870's.

Mention might be made, at this time, of two migrations which occurred before 1870. The first, in the 1850's, involved a number of Icelanders who had been converted to Mormonism by Icelandic students who, in turn, had been converted by missionaries in Copenhagen. These people appear to have been subjected to some persecution because of their religious beliefs (Gudmundsson, 1956, pp. 213, 215) and left the country to settle in Spanish Forks, Utah (Thomas, 1943). The second, in the 1860's, involved a society which was established to promote mass-emigration to Brazil. Several hundred people joined the society and the Brazilian Imperial

Government apparently agreed to supply the prospective settlers with transportation. The promised ships never arrived but a few people made the journey on their own. The extreme distances involved and the transportation difficulties prevented any major move to Brazil and most of the original settlers eventually returned to Iceland or went to North America (W. Kristjanson, 1950).

'Eruption' is perhaps the best one-word description of the wave of emigration which began in the 1870's, even though the beginning was modest: four single men to the United States in 1870 (Walters, 1953, p. 41) and one man to Canada in 1872 (Lindal, 1953). But in 1873 a group of 183 persons came to Canada, followed by a group of 375 in 1874. From then on emigration increased by leaps and bounds, encouraged in part by letters which described the new land and life in glowing terms (Walters, 1953, p. 34) and in part by the determined efforts of some of the early emigrants who returned to Iceland as immigration agents for the Canadian government. The latter appear to have been driven by a desire to rescue their fellow countrymen "from the dark and desolate inhabitation (sic) and poverty stricken communities of...(their) poor and lonely native island!" (Freeman, 1892)

Data on the number of Icelandic emigrants to Canada have been gathered from a variety of secondary sources for the years 1872 to 1902. These figures are given in Table I, below.

TABLE I
Icelandic Immigration to Canada,
1872-1902.

1872	-	1	1887	-	2000
1873	-	183	1888-		
1874	-	375	1893	-	5000
1876	-	1300	1900	-	1003
1878	-	200	1902	-	230

Sources: Christopherson, 1901;
Gibbons, 1938; Gudmundsson, 1955;
B.K. Kristjansson, 1961; Lindal,
1962.

These sources indicate that the total number of Icelanders who migrated to Canada during this period was just over 10,000. This figure can be compared with that given in another report which uses Icelandic census data to place the total number of emigrants from Iceland between 1870 and 1900 at 12,308 (A. Helgason, 1965).

Canadian government reports providing statistical information on immigration by Icelanders or those of Icelandic origin to Canada are readily available beginning in 1906. The relevant figures for the balance of this first period are given in Table II.

TABLE II
Icelandic Immigration to Canada,
1906-1918.

1906	-	168	1912	-	205
1907	-	46	1913	-	231
1908	-	97	1914	-	292
1909	-	35	1915	-	145
1910	-	95	1916	-	15
1911	-	250	1917	-	9
			1918	-	3

Sources: Canada Year Book, 1907 -
1919.

The total number of Icelandic immigrants in the balance of this period, according to these figures, is 1591. These figures do not, however, indicate how many of these immigrants came directly from Iceland to Canada. Beginning around 1900 there was a considerable secondary migration of Icelandic settlers from North Dakota to Saskatchewan and Alberta (B.K. Kristjansson, 1961, 1964, passim; Walters, 1953, passim; Lindal, 1955, passim). It is not possible to give exact figures on the size of this secondary migration but it might be noted that a study of the American born in Canada, based on Canadian census data, showed that in 1921 there were 1008 residents in the three prairie provinces who, though they were recorded as being of Icelandic ethnic origin, had been born in the United States (Coats and Maclean, 1943, p. 112, Table XLI).

The emigrants of this period seem to have been a cross-section of Icelandic society as it

was at this time. All occupational groups - farmers and fishermen, ministers and businessmen, writers and journalists - appear to have been well represented, as were all age groups. Most of these emigrants left Iceland with their families. Kristjansson (1961) provides brief life histories of numerous Icelandic-Canadians and Icelandic-Americans, including 1104 immigrants. Of these immigrants 878, 79.5%, travelled in nuclear family groups and an additional 89, 8.0%, in partial family groups. Only 137, 13.2%, were single persons, travelling alone or with some other group.

The economic conditions which provided the major incentive to the emigrants began to change after 1884 but several years passed before these changes had an effect on emigration, which continued at a very high rate during the 1880's and 1890's. A national bank was established in 1885 and cash transactions began to replace the barter system which had existed for centuries (Thorsteinsson, 1921, p. 83). A beginning was made on the construction of a road network and of harbour facilities (Malmstrom, 1958, p. 191). The government began to allocate growing amounts of money for the improvement of agricultural techniques and productivity. Most of this money was channelled through agricultural co-operatives and priority was given to improving

livestock, fencing ranges, providing irrigation facilities and the introduction of machinery. Between 1876 and 1900 government expenditures for these purposes increased from 2400 kronur per year to 42,000 kronur and by 1910 these expenditures amounted to over 228,000 kronur (Thorsteinsson, 1921, pp. 59 - 63).

At the same time steps were taken to reorganize and modernize the fishing industry. Previously fishing had been a part-time occupation of some farmers, whose equipment consisted of open row boats and hand lines. Some 3200 row boats and 38 decked vessels made up the fishing fleet in 1876. Excess fish production, which amounted to 5100 tons in that year, was the island's primary export commodity. During the 1880's and 1890's these row boats were replaced, more or less gradually, by a fleet of decked sailing vessels. Their day was a short one. The first steam-powered vessel was acquired in the 1890's and the first trawler in 1904. By 1922 the sailing ships had been largely replaced by steam and motor-powered vessels. The development of centralized fish processing plants proceeded at the same time and these plants, and their allied service industries, were able to absorb both the workers displaced by the mechanization of the agricultural industry and the new workers

entering the labour force for the first time. As a result of these and other changes in the island's economy the economic pressures began to decline after the turn of the century and as these pressures declined the incentive for emigration declined as well.

The Second Period: 1919 - 1945.

Emigration to Canada resumed after the end of the war but the numbers involved were quite small compared to the pre-war figures. The available official statistics are reproduced in Tables III-1 and III-2, below. Two tables are used since the figures for 1926 and subsequent years indicate the ports of origin from which immigrants entered Canada.

TABLE III-1
Icelandic Immigration to Canada,
1919-1925.

1919	-	12	1923	-	21
1920	-	11	1924	-	27
1921	-	50	1925	-	49
1922	-	37			

TABLE III-2
Icelandic Immigration to Canada,
by ports of origin, 1926-1945.

Year	USA*	OFP**	Year	USA	OFP
1926	22	53	1936	6	6
1927	22	30	1937	2	1
1928	18	28	1938	5	3
1929	23	24	1939	8	-
1930	28	6	1940	4	-
1931	17	25	1941	4	-
1932	10	-	1942	5	-
1933	6	1	1943	4	1
1934	10	-	1944	4	1
1935	12	1	1945	6	1

* Entering from United States ports.

** Entering from other foreign ports.

Sources: Canada Year Book, 1927 - 1946.

The improved economic conditions in Iceland at the beginning of this period removed the principal incentive for emigration on the part of large groups. However, it is likely that the economic or occupational situations faced by particular families or individuals often led to a decision to emigrate. During the latter portion of this period, on the other hand, economic conditions were so poor that even those who wanted to emigrate could not do so and after the war began there were further obstacles to emigration.

During this period there appears to have been a significant increase in the proportion of single males and single females among the emigrants. In this connection it might be noted that Canadian immigration reports for the years 1926 to 1931 show

that just over 20% of all immigrants from Iceland in these years were females classed as domestic servants.

The Third Period: 1946 -

Emigration from Iceland after the second World War was influenced by certain factors which had not been present previously. One of these was the effect or the result of the stationing of foreign troops in Iceland during the war and their return after the beginning of the Korean War. Many of these soldiers married Icelandic women and took them, and their Iceland-born children, abroad after their tours of service were finished. Between 1953 and 1960 over 40% of all emigrants were the Icelandic wives and Iceland-born children of such foreigners, most of whom were American soldiers (Utflutningur, 1962). During these years (1953 - 1960) over 50% of all Icelandic emigrants went to the United States while only 9% went to Canada. And many of the latter subsequently went to the United States.

The available figures of immigration by Icelanders into Canada during this period are given in Table IV.

TABLE IV
Icelandic Immigration to Canada,
by ports of origin, 1946-1965.

Year	USA*	OFF**	Year	USA	OFF
1946	12	3	1956	-	41
1947	7	14	1957	5	56
1948	4	8	1958	9	43
1949	7	3	1959	7	23
1950	4	13	1960	2	12
1951	5	18	1961	2	5
1952	10	35	1962	3	1
1953	2	52	1963	6	12
1954	11	39	1964	1	16
1955	6	19	1965	6	3

* Entering from United States Ports.

** Entering from other foreign ports.

Sources: Canada Year Book, 1947 - 1966.

There are certain characteristics of the emigrants, or rather the immigrants, of this period which are worth mentioning. In many cases these individuals were not strangers to international migrations and many were, by birth or naturalization, citizens of countries other than Iceland. Of the fifty immigrants of Icelandic ethnic origin in 1954 only 32 were Icelandic citizens and the others were British, Danish, German and American citizens. Twenty five of these immigrants came from Iceland and the others came from Australia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. In 1956, although thirty eight of the forty one immigrants were Icelandic citizens only twenty two of them came to Canada from Iceland. The others came from Denmark,

Finland, Norway and the United Kingdom.

While many immigrants of Icelandic ethnic origin came to Canada from countries other than Iceland there were many immigrants of non-Icelandic origins who came from Iceland. Between 1954 and 1956 there were twenty five immigrants from Iceland of non-Icelandic origins. These included individuals of British, Swedish, Norwegian, Lithuanian, Irish, German, Maltese and Swiss origins. It might be noted in this connection that between 1961 and 1967 only two immigrants from Iceland came to Vancouver. Both of these immigrants were Moroccans who had spent several years in Iceland before coming to Canada. And both, incidentally, speak Icelandic with a fluency which embarrasses many members of the local Icelandic community.

Many of the families which emigrated from Iceland to Canada after the war did not plan to stay in Canada permanently or changed their views after arriving. In 1961, for example, there were sixteen families of post-war immigrants in Vancouver but by 1967 only four of these were still in the city or its suburbs. Two had moved to other parts of the province, five had returned to Iceland and five had gone to the United States.

It might be noted that for many of these

families the decision to leave Iceland was prompted by business and/or other difficulties faced by the head of the family. Several left bankrupt businesses and heavy debts behind them and in one case and possibly in more cases the family head seems to have attracted the attention of the Icelandic police, perhaps with justification. In view of the fact that many of these individuals had failed to adjust themselves to life in Iceland, whatever the reason for that failure, it is not surprising to note that many of them failed to adjust themselves to life in Canada. Many of those who went into business found out that business firms operate quite differently in Canada, so much so that several of these persons went bankrupt once again and, more often than not, escaped their debts by returning to Iceland.

Actions such as these tended to offend the older immigrant and older native born groups in the community for such actions detracted from the 'good reputation' which they had built up for themselves and their fellow Icelandic-Canadians. These groups were understandably cool towards all new immigrants until the latter proved that they too were 'good' Icelandic-Canadians.

The Secondary Migrations.

The first settlement established by the Icelanders in Canada came into being largely by accident. In 1873 a group of 183 persons left Iceland with the intention of settling in Wisconsin. For some reason the group went by ship from England to Quebec City, instead of to New York, and began an overland train-journey to the United States. While still in Canada, however, the group was visited by an immigration agent who talked most of the settlers into staying in Canada. This group settled near Rousseau, Ontario. In the following year a larger group which was on its way to Nova Scotia was similarly diverted to Kinmont, Ontario (W. Kristjanson, 1943). Both settlements were short-lived for the promised work on railway construction did not materialize and the land the settlers received was either useless or of a type with which they were not familiar. In 1874 two groups from these settlements, one with about 125 persons and the other with about 40, moved to Nova Scotia where they settled as originally planned. Neither of these groups, one of which settled near Halifax and the other near Lockeport, was able to establish itself successfully and by 1882 both had disbanded, with most of the settlers going to Manitoba and North Dakota (Cronmiller,

1961, p. 231).

Those of the original settlers who did not go to Nova Scotia moved to Winnipeg in 1875. A party of some 250 persons reached the city that fall and was greeted by a large crowd which came to see what the 'Eskimos' looked like (Walters, 1953, p. 53). About half of this group remained in Winnipeg and the rest moved north of the existing provincial boundary to an area on the south-west shore of Lake Winnipeg, where the Dominion government had created an exclusive reserve for them (Laxdal, 1961). Here they established the settlement of New Iceland (Somerville, 1945), a settlement which is generally, and probably erroneously, regarded as the 'mother settlement' of all Icelandic settlements in North America. In addition to giving the settlers exclusive rights to the land in the reserve the Dominion government provided them with a loan of \$80,000, which was to be used to buy equipment and seed. This loan was never repaid.

The 'mother settlement' turned out to be not so motherly. Two years after the Icelanders arrived New Iceland was hit by a combination of epidemics, floods, droughts and food shortages - events which were in part caused by the settler's inability to use the land given him properly and

profitably (Vanderhill, 1963). Many of the settlers moved to other locations and founded other communities. New settlers came to New Iceland, either to settle permanently or temporarily, but their numbers were never great enough to use all the land which had been allocated for them.

New Iceland served, to a certain extent, as a centre to which many new immigrants came before they decided where to go. However, by far the majority of the new immigrants stopped in Winnipeg and, if they moved, moved directly to the desired location. Numerous small communities were established by the Icelandic immigrants at Selkirk, Vigar, Brown, Argyle, etc., (Jonasson, 1901). By the mid-1880's small groups had reached the then North-West Territories, where they settled in the Churchbridge-Tantallon and the Quill Lakes areas. A few years later the first settlers were establishing themselves in what was to become the province of Alberta. Here the Markerville-Innisfail area near Red Deer became the major Icelandic settlement.

The first Icelandic immigrants to settle in British Columbia did so in 1887, near Victoria. By the early 1890's there were a number of families in Victoria but beginning in 1894 many of these moved to the new Icelandic settlement on Point Roberts in Washington state. Other immigrants reached the

Okanagan in the early 1890's, the Princeton area in the late 1890's and the Crescent Beach region shortly after the turn of the century. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to establish isolated Icelandic communities in the province. The first was established in 1913 on Smith Island, in the estuary of the Skeena River, and the second was begun about 1915 on Hunter Island in the FitzHugh Sound area. The Hunter Island community broke up during the 1920's and the Smith Island community broke up in the 1940's.

The principal centre for Icelandic settlement in the province was the metropolitan area of Vancouver. The first immigrant arrived during the 1890's and by the turn of the century there were possibly 100 Icelanders residing in the city. The later movement of Icelandic immigrants and their descendants to the city was a gradual migration involving individuals and families who participated in the general movement of people to the province after the turn of the century.

Although there was a tendency for the immigrants as a whole to settle initially in Manitoba it was only a short time before they and their descendants began to spread further west and after the turn of the century there was a further movement to the eastern provinces. Some indication of the

present distribution of Canadians of Icelandic ethnic origin is given in Table V, below. Particular attention should be paid to the figures for British Columbia, as these give a fairly rough indication of the growth of the Icelandic ethnic group in the metropolitan area.

TABLE V
Canadians of Icelandic origin, showing partial distribution by specific provinces, 1881-1961.

Year	Canada	Man.	B.C.	Ont.	Other Prov.
1881	1,003 ¹	773	- ²	57	173
1901	6,057 ¹	-	177 ²	-	-
1911	7,109 ¹	5,135	247	145	1,582
1921	15,876	11,043	573	137	4,123
1931	19,382	13,450	858	326	4,747
1941	21,050	13,954	1,478	817	4,801
1951	23,623 ³	13,649	3,557	1,371	5,046
1961	30,623 ³	14,547	5,136	2,313	8,627 ³

Sources: Canada Year Book, various years.

- Notes:
1. These figures cover only those born in Iceland (see table VI).
 2. This figure is for 1902. B.C. Bureau of Provincial Information, Population of British Columbia According to Electoral Districts, 1902. Victoria, B.C. King's Printer, 1902.
 3. It has been pointed out by Ruth (1965) that the figure for the total number of Icelandic Canadians is not correct. The error was due to enumerators in Quebec marking Icelandic when they should have marked Irish, the French versions of these two names being almost the same. The figures for the total number and the number in the other provinces should be reduced by about 2,400 to correct for this.

CHAPTER III

THE CULTURAL DEFINITION OF
THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

General Comments

Studies of community leadership and/or power distribution patterns do not usually attempt to give or to develop a specific definition for the term community. Such a definition is not usually needed, however, since these studies have generally dealt with entities which are easily identified as being communities, such as a rural area, a town or a city. Such an approach gives a practical definition of a community as being an entity which has definite and known territorial boundaries. Given such a definition, the identification of the community's members is a relatively simple task for obviously the members are those persons who live within the prescribed territorial boundaries. But since any community will, from time to time, play hostess to non-residents it may be desirable to distinguish between the residential members who actually live in the community and the visiting members who may be present from time to time on a regular or irregular basis. Obviously, these two groups of members will have different interests and will accordingly play quite different roles in the operation of the territorial community.

The ethnic communities which are found from time to time in urban centers in North America are not, generally speaking, based upon the identification of a specific territory as being the location of their community. There are undoubtedly some exceptions to this general rule, and one thinks in particular of some Negro sub-communities and the isolated communities established by some small religious sects, but usually the ethnic community does not occupy a specific territory and only such a specific territory.

The absence of this territorial element makes it difficult to identify the members of the ethnic community, without whom, of course, there would be no community. It is necessary to develop non-territorial criteria which can be used to establish the population boundaries of such a sub-community. An easy way out of this dilemma is to fall back on population statistics which classify people in terms of ethnic, religious or racial affiliations. Each of these characteristics refers to different qualitative standards (Ryder, 1955) but despite these differences they are frequently lumped together without explanation. Canadian immigration statistics generally classify immigrants in terms of 'ethnic origin' (such as

Belgian, French or Italian) but some are identified in terms of 'religion' (Jewish) and others in terms of race (Negro, North American Indian). Population statistics are usually reproduced in much the same manner.

The identification of the ethnic community's members would be a simple task if such statistics could be used for such a purpose. And it is easy to point to writers who have used these statistics in such a manner. This approach is particularly used by Canadian writers who accept the idea of the 'cultural mosaic' as a valid concept. According to this idea Canadian culture consists of the separate and distinct cultures of all resident ethnic groups, each of which is contributing its share to the new Canadian culture. Such a view is expressed in and supported by the writings of ethnic historians (Lindal, 1955; 1967; Ramsay, 1958), other observers of the ethnic scene or the 'cultural mosaic' (Gibbons, 1938; Patterson, 1955); government publications (Some Notes on the Canadian Family Tree, 1960) and in studies whose approaches are or seem to be more scientific (Lawless, 1959; Walhouse, 1961; Vallee, et al., 1964).

But such an approach to this problem of identifying the members of the ethnic community is not

particularly useful. Playing with the idea of the 'cultural mosaic' is probably good for morale, especially if one wishes to use it to cast direct or indirect scorn upon the 'melting pot' which allegedly operates south of the border. It takes more than words, however, to give reality to the concept of the 'cultural mosaic!'

A community is an organized entity and as such represents a method whereby certain common interests can be achieved. In the larger community, such as a city, those common interests need not be generally understood or accepted in order to be in operation. In a city, for example, it is in the common interest that law and order be maintained, and this can be done even though the members are not generally aware of and in agreement with the methods being used to achieve this objective. The sub-community is similarly an entity organized in order to realize certain interests which are common to some individual members of the larger community. Such particular interests are in addition to or take the place of some of the interests of the larger community. But because the sub-community's interests are the special interests of the few, then the prior and continuing actual recognition and acceptance of those interests is a necessary pre-

condition for the emergence of the sub-community.

The ethnic community is a sub-community which is organized in order to achieve certain interests or objectives. Those interests may involve a desire, on the part of some or all members of a group which can be identified as being ethnic group X, to preserve all or some part of their 'cultural' heritage. Specifically, these X's may wish to preserve a religion, a language, eating habits or life ceremonies which are associated with the society from which they or their ancestors came. Or there may be a desire to provide some mutual support to individual X's on a group basis, with such support taking the form of insurance and/or welfare schemes, such as those associated with the Sons of Norway organizations. Or there may be an attempt to give the X's, as a group, political power in the larger community, as was the case with some of the early organizational efforts associated with Ukranian settlers in Canada (Kaye, 1957). But whatever the specific nature of the interests involved, the prior and continuing recognition, acceptance and support of those interests is a necessary pre-condition for the emergence and continued existence of the ethnic sub-community.

The member of the ethnic community, in

order to qualify for membership, must give continuing proof of his acceptance of and support for the community's special interests by actually participating, to a greater or lesser degree, in the activities which represent the attainment or the maintenance of those interests. The organized, ongoing and, in a sense, goal-oriented nature of these activities requires that they be managed by or through the medium of organizations which are designed to serve general or particular interests. The required kind of participation, therefore, is some degree of involvement in one or more of the organizations whose collective membership establishes the population boundaries of the ethnic sub-community. Given such an approach the identification of the ethnic community's members becomes a relatively simple operation, involving the identification of the members of these ethnic organizations or associations.

The Ethnic Community as a Cultural Community.

It seems reasonable to say that the phrase 'the ethnic community' implies the existence of a distinct cultural group whose members, in their habits and life customs, share cultural and/or social features or standards which are qualitatively

different from those evident in the host community. Such a belief, as was noted earlier, is implicit, both overtly and covertly, in the writings of many observers, such as the studies by Walhouse (1961), an examination of the contributions of ethnic groups to the cultural geography of Vancouver, and Lawless (1959), an analysis of the attitudes of the leaders of ethnic groups to the process of cultural assimilation affecting their peoples.

It is apparent that the initial establishment of ethnic associations, such as those established in the community examined in this study, was motivated by a desire to perpetuate cultural and social standards which were not those of the dominant or host group. The Icelanders, especially the early immigrants or some of them, believe and believed themselves to be an extraordinarily literate people - and they honoured this belief by establishing literary societies such as Ingolfur in Vancouver. The principal objective of such groups was the establishment of libraries of Icelandic books to be used by their members. An extension of this particular belief was the establishment of Icelandic language publications which specialized in the presentation of scholarly appraisals of Icelandic history and literature. The simultaneous

development of numerous, and usually short-lived, Icelandic-language newspapers was a further result of this belief, though not necessarily only this belief. The Icelanders also believed themselves to be a very religious people - and so they established congregations in which the Icelandic version of the Lutheran faith could be propagated.

Such organized activities permitted the continued display and use of such other cultural items as Icelandic food and the Icelandic language. But even in this period of initial activity there were at least two conditions which made the ultimate failure of these efforts to preserve and perpetuate their culture inevitable and unavoidable.

In the first place, these activities never attracted the support of a majority of the early immigrants and their first native-born descendants. It appears that the perpetuation of these cultural differences, within the framework of the ethnic community, was not an important element in the lives of most of the early immigrants and their descendants.

It is possible that the bitter factionalism which marked the early attempts by the immigrants to establish viable communities antagonized many potential members to the point where they refused

to have anything to do with these attempts. The bitterness of those disputes is illustrated by the following quotation from a letter written, in English, by an Icelfander in Winnipeg, in 1892, to a friend who was working as an immigration agent in Iceland.

"Here in Winnipeg, things are running much the same as usual. The two opposing elements in our Icelandic society, are still at each others throat, and will be, so long as the malignant spirit, at the head of our opponents, continues to be the guiding star of that organization. We are...at a considerable better advantage now than we used to be, for the simple reason, that some of those who have hitherto managed to parade the country in their sheep clothing, have at last been unmasked. Even O___ has been keeping his soiled lips much closer together of late than he used to do. "Every dog has his day" and I am inclined to think, that he has had his. There is great jollification here among our friends, over the recovery of Mr B___, which seems now to be almost certain. He appeared in our Church...and made a very touching speech. His reappearance on the scene seems to have carried consternation into the hearts of the enemies of our church. "Logberg" (one of the Icelandic-language newspapers) is getting along fairly well I think, it manages to make both ends meet, and that is all. I am afraid that Hkr. (Heimskringla - the opposing newspaper) is nearly in the soup by this time, and I do really believe, that by the time you reach Winnipeg again, you may have the chance of placing a wreath on her grave. In Politics things are very quiet...!" (Freeman, 1892)

Such factionalism was not a permanent condition but one which occurred from time to time, usually as a result of disputes among the leaders. The history of the local Icelandic community was marked by at least three periods of major internal conflict, the first of which occurred in the 1920's. One of the important issues of that time was the question of whether or not an Icelandic community hall should be built in Vancouver. The leading supporters of that project were the then President and Secretary of the Ladies Aid Solskin, while the major opponent was the Aid's treasurer, Mrs R. After a long and bitter struggle Mrs R prevailed, and her opponents withdrew from any further participation in the community's activities.

The early 1940's also witnessed major disputes, many of which revolved around the establishment of the church congregation and in which Mr E played a particularly prominent part. In view of the changes which took place in the community's associational structure at this time it is not surprising that these disputes were both numerous and bitter. Nor is it surprising to note that many active members withdrew in the course of these disputes and because of these disputes and their outcome, some for all time and others for shorter

periods. Some of the latter were later to return and play a prominent part in the disputes which raged almost continuously throughout the decade of the 1960's.

This most recent era of controversy began with an internal struggle for control of the Home Society and may yet end in the same way. As was the case with the earlier episodes these disputes were partly responsible for the loss of some members, particularly from the church congregation and from Strondin, though in both cases the losses have been partly recouped in recent years. This era was, however, marked by a very significant development - the decline of the community's unity. In each of the earlier periods of stress there was a loss of members but associated with this there appears to have been a consolidation of the remaining members, in the sense that more of the surviving members held multiple memberships and as a result the community was integrated to a greater degree. But the disputes of the 1960's divided the community into three distinct groupings - the church congregation, Strondin (later the Icelandic Canadian Club) and the Home Society - Solskin group. These had different effective memberships and different officers, and the more recent developments in the recruitment of new members and officers have tended

to intensify and exaggerate this division to the point were a restoration of effective community - in the sense of members with effective multiple memberships - seems unlikely.

This membership problem is related to the other condition affecting the survival of the ethnic community as a cultural community. The founders and charter members of the Icelandic associations established locally acted on the basis of their acceptance of the reality of their cultural distinctness. However, these individuals learned, sooner or later, that they were not only a minority within a minority but that they were also a dying breed. While it may have been possible for them to maintain different cultural features in their own lives, they were not able, directly or indirectly, to arrange for the perpetuation of those differences in the community.

The Icelandic immigrants and their descendants were quite early scattered among peoples of other origins, in particular people of English origin, both in Manitoba and elsewhere. They lived in an environment which was English in language and customs, which they had to adopt to a growing degree in order to live. Obviously, the adjustments which were necessary were made at the

expense of their original cultural habits. The long-term result of such a process is, inevitably, complete cultural assimilation.

Apparently the only way in which assimilation could be avoided is for the immigrant group to isolate itself physically and as completely as possible. This the Icelandic immigrants did not do, and as a result the eventual disappearance of their distinctness in cultural terms is only a question of time and death.

It is possibly to their credit that the early participants in these Icelandic ethnic associations both recognized and accepted their fate, albeit reluctantly. Furthermore, because of the intimate connection which they had created between their cultural distinctness at the personal level and their ethnic associations and communities, they assumed that the latter would disappear with the former. Mindful of the heroism of their Viking ancestors they stoically accepted the burden of carrying their culture and their communities to their graves.

Perhaps because it was such an integral part of their own lives they mis-understood or did not see the potential importance of their shared ethnic origin. That is to say, they were not Icelanders just because they reflected the culture

and society of Iceland, or thought they did, but also because they were of Icelandic origin, by virtue of the fact that they or their parents had been born in that country. The fact of that origin could not be affected by the process of cultural assimilation. As the cultural distinctness which marked the members of the Icelandic ethnic group or the Icelandic ethnic communities began to decline, as it had to, the importance of that element of shared origin became greater and greater until it became the essence of the differences between them and all other Canadians. They might share everything with their fellow Canadians - language, religious habits, food tastes, reading habits, etc. - but only they were of Icelandic origin.

This element or idea of shared origin or ancestry is the principal building block of the ethnic community of the future. That community may involve religious, social and charitable activities organized and shared in a format which is indistinguishable from that evident in any community in the country. But the members sharing those activities are generally of Icelandic origin and they base their participation upon a desire to share certain activities with other individuals of that origin.

At the time that this study began the Icelandic ethnic community in Vancouver had already reached this stage, even though the members were not really aware of it. The associations which operate within it all use English - the church congregation and the Home Society since they were established, the Ladies Aid Solskin since 1958 and Strondin since 1963. The library which had been such an important element in the life of the community for so many years was gathering dust in the Home. The Icelandic version of the Lutheran faith, upheld until the merger of 1963, had been replaced by a new version, but no one had taken any particular notice of that event.

The information obtained from the interviews conducted did not suggest that the members of the associations could be described as being members of a distinct cultural group. However, it was obvious that these people were proud of their origin, an origin they shared with other 'good' Icelanders. The 'good' Icелander was one who participated, to a greater or lesser degree, in one or more of the associations, while those individuals of Icelandic origin who did not participate in such a manner were not 'good' Icelanders, regardless of how much they might revere the fact of their origin.

The activities which these 'good' Icelanders shared were not activities which were or are unique to them, but these are activities which they share as 'good' Icelanders. This is why the membership issue in the church could become such an important issue, once it was suggested that the rights of 'good' Icelanders to participate in the activities of an Icelandic organization were being questioned. The doors had to be kept open to all of them at all times. Similarly, the details of how Strondin was to be re-organized in 1967 could not, in themselves, become an issue because the rights of the good Icelanders to participate were not being questioned by the proposed changes.

The Icelandic Ethnic Community in Vancouver.
Early Developments: 1908 - 1917.

The historical development of the Icelandic ethnic community in Vancouver has been reconstructed from the accounts of informants and from documents in their possession and in the possession of the active associations. This community traces its beginnings to the establishment of the Literary Society Ingolfur in 1908. The initial and basic reason for the establishment of this association was the desire of some individuals to establish a central library of Icelandic books

which the members of the Society could use, in exchange for an annual membership fee of \$1.00. In later years the Society began to host social functions such as dances and card parties. The Ladies Aid Solskin frequently co-operated in these social gatherings after it was established in 1917. The Aid was set up by several women who used to meet as a sewing circle to make small items of clothing for Icelanders serving in the Canadian Forces overseas. After the war the Aid changed its activities to meet the demands for increased social activity in the community. One project which its members worked on for several years was the establishment of an Icelandic community hall in Vancouver. This project failed to materialize, due in part to the lack of interest among the community's male members and in part to the stubborn opposition of the Aid's treasurer, Mrs R.

The second decade of the century also saw the establishment of an Icelandic Lutheran congregation, which was served by the pastors of the Icelandic Lutheran church in Blaine, Washington. A fourth group organized at this time was a small, and short-lived, club which sponsored picnics and climbing expeditions to the North Shore during the summer months.

It is difficult to judge how many of the Icelandic residents of the city of that time were active in these associations. Some of the 'old timers' recall that there were only 70 to 80 people involved around 1920, at which time census figures suggest that there were between 400 and 500 residents of Icelandic origin. The charter membership of Solskin was about 30 and by 1923 the total membership had increased to 41, although seven of these members lived in other provinces or in the United States. A list, compiled from the city directory, containing the names of twenty nine Icelanders living in the city in 1909 was once shown to several women who have lived in the city and been active in the Icelandic community since 1904-1906. Only four of these names were recognized by them, although several others were added at their suggestion. It appears, therefore, that even at this early stage the ethnic community represented the interests of only a minority of those of Icelandic origin.

First Period of Re-organization: 1935 - 1946.

The over-all associational structure established between 1908 - 1917 remained unchanged until the mid-1930's. Then there came a decade of re-appraisal and re-organization, during which a

number of changes took place in the associations which made up the community and in the activities which these associations carried out.

The Lutheran congregation which was established in 1917 was disbanded in the early 1930's and several years passed before any efforts were made to revive it. In 1941 the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, in co-operation with the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church, sent a missionary pastor to Vancouver to see if a new Icelandic Lutheran Congregation could be organized. This task took several years and the congregation was not formally established until March, 1944. It appears, however, that a heavy price was paid for the completion of this project.

Three new associations were established in 1937 and 1938, each of which had between 30 and 50 members. These were, respectively, a mixed choir, a social club for young Lutheran women named Ljomalind and a social club for young people named Isafold. When the congregation was established the director of the choir, who was also the first president of the congregation, led most of the choir's members into the church. In addition, the congregation established a Women's Auxiliary which took a heavy toll of the membership of Ljomalind.

As a result the choir disappeared as an independent association and Ljomalind, after struggling for a few years, ceased to operate, though it was never formally disbanded. In both cases there were a number of individual members who were not interested in joining the church or any other association and they withdrew from the community.

The social club Isafold also had a short life. Many of its members left the city during the war years while serving with the armed forces and those who remained behind were unable to continue its activities. Negotiations were entered into with the members of the Literary Society Ljomalind and in 1946 these two associations were merged under the name Strondin. The new association became affiliated with the Icelandic National League, which was, and still is, centered in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Within a few years the new association fell under the wing of the church congregation, sharing the same members and later the same facilities.

A fourth new association established in the 1930's was the Icelandic Badminton Club. Like its predecessor, the hiking club, it was short-lived.

The final act in this period of re-organization was the establishment of the Icelandic Old Folks Home Society, in January, 1946. The members

of the Ladies Aid Solskin appear to have played an important, if not the dominant, role in the negotiations which brought this new association into being. The primary objective of the new society was the establishment of a home where the older members of the community could spend their last days.

It is again difficult to determine the population of the re-organized community, but it does not appear to have been very large. The charter membership of the church, which absorbed most of the members of the choir and Ljomalind, was about 120. The charter membership of Strondin was well under 100 and the membership of Solskin was lower at this time than it had been in 1923. The initial membership of the Home Society appears to have been around 130. Such evidence as is available suggests that there was a considerable over-lapping in the memberships of these associations so that the total population of the community was not much over 200. The number of residents of Icelandic origin appears to have been around 1000 and growing rapidly, so that once again it is safe to assume that the interests of the ethnic community were the interests of only a minority of all potential members.

The activities of the community underwent some change during this period but the changes

appear to have been mainly changes of degree rather than changes in kind. The new congregation had a larger membership than the first congregation but its activities, with the exception of the choir and possibly the Women's Auxiliary, were not new. The merger between Ingolfur and Isafold led, eventually, to a reduction in the new association's activities since the largely social activities associated with the younger members of the latter were not maintained for long by the older members of Ingolfur. The Home Society presented new problems in fund raising and management but these were from the beginning the primary concern of the few persons who were officers of the Society.

There was one new element which had a long-term effect on the community. The community had been and still was an ethnic community and its activities were concerned, at least in theory, with preserving a certain cultural identity. However, these years saw the first significant inclusion of non-Icelanders in the community, particularly in the membership of the church and to a lesser extent in the membership of the Home Society. Both of these associations used English as their operating language, partly because of the presence of these 'foreigners' and partly because of the need to meet

certain conditions associated with the incorporation of both groups under the province's Societies' Act. The growing presence of the non-Icelanders and the spread of English as the community's first language had the long-term effect of refining and reducing the purely cultural implications of the community. The decline of the purely cultural implications of the community was furthered by the fact that the Icelandic members were, to a growing extent, born in Canada and unable, therefore, to maintain the distinctly Icelandic cultural features of the community simply because they had not acquired them to the same extent as the original immigrants.

Second Period of Re-organization: the 1960's.

The 1960's, the period which is of particular interest to this study, was another period of re-appraisal, of both associations and purposes. There were a few changes in the community's associational structure, though some of these changes were changes in name only. For one thing, the Icelandic Lutheran Synod gave up the struggle to maintain its independence and opted, with some reluctance, for full membership in the newly formed Lutheran Church in America. Technically, therefore, the congregation ceased to be an Icelandic

association (the name of the congregation was changed from the Icelandic Lutheran Church to the Lutheran Church of Christ) but it and its members, after a period of uncertainty, continued to act within the community. The Home Society successfully completed a major expansion involving the construction of a new home with room for sixty residents. It was, however, faced with a problem in the fact that an increasing proportion of its residents were of non-Icelandic origins. The Ladies Aid Solskin continued to work closely with the Home Society and had in fact become its unofficial auxiliary. The Aid adopted English as its operational language in 1958, in an effort to attract new members.

One new association was established in 1960 but was active for only a few years. This was the Icelandic Male Choir, which relied heavily upon new immigrants for members; when most of them moved away the group was unable to continue.

For the social-cultural society, Strandin, the early years of the 1960's were years of turmoil as opposing factions fought for control. This matter was not settled until 1965 and was followed by a period, which lasted two or three years, when drastic changes were formally introduced, both in its structure and its activities. The name was

changed to the Icelandic Canadian Club of British Columbia, and the club's relations with the Icelandic National League in Winnipeg were severed in a manner which left considerable ill-feeling on both sides.

It was noted elsewhere that the period of re-organization which began in the mid-1930's and ended in the mid-1940's left the community relatively well-integrated at the membership level. There was a large body of members who participated in the activities of all the three major associations (the church, Strondin and the Home Society) and smaller groups were selective in their participation. There was, in addition, a considerable degree of unity in the community's leadership corps, with a number of individuals holding offices in more than one association at the same time. This unity of membership and purpose lasted until the late 1950's, when two factors combined to break that unity and almost wrecked the community.

One of these factors was the participation of the new post-war immigrants in the community, particularly in Strondin. The other factor was a bitter dispute between two opposing factions, one centered in the church and the other in the Home Society. The origins of this dispute can be traced to an event which occurred in the management of the

Home in 1951-52, and possibly even further way, in time, than that event. The combined effect of these two factors, over a period of years, split the community into three different and relatively distinct groups which had little to do with each other and whose leaders were often not on speaking terms. The effect of these and other events will be examined more fully in subsequent chapters dealing with the members of the community, its leaders and the issues which faced them.

The Members of the Community General Comment

It was previously suggested that the population of the ethnic community consisted only of those people who take an active part in the activities of the community, as these activities occur in or involve one or more of the community's associations. Continuing from this statement it is possible to distinguish three types, or levels, of participation. The first level is that of leadership and includes only those individuals who occupy recognized official positions in one or more of the existing associations. The second level is the level of official membership, which covers those individuals who maintain an official membership in one or more associations, whether or not this type of membership leads them to take an active part in the activities involved. The third level

is the level of participatory membership and includes those individuals who, though they take an active part in what is going on, do not, for one reason or another, maintain an official membership in any association.

The Leaders

The size of the leadership corps in the Icelandic community is largely determined by the number of executive positions available in the active associations. During the period under study these totalled 41 (42 after 1967) and were distributed as follows: a ten-member Board of Directors for the Home Society; a six-member Executive Committee for the Ladies Aid Solskin; a twelve-member Board of Trustees for the church congregation; a six-member Executive Committee in the church's Women's Auxiliary and a seven-member Executive Committee for Strondin (later an eight-member Board of Directors for the Icelandic Canadian Club). The actual number of individuals involved is not as high in any one year as the number of positions since a few persons still hold offices in more than one association.

The Official Members

The status of official membership is obtained

only by those individuals who meet certain specified conditions for membership in one or more of these associations. The most important of these conditions, and usually the only one, is the payment of membership dues on an annual basis. The Ladies Aid Solskin, the church's Women's Auxiliary and Ströndin charged annual dues of 50¢ or \$1.00 a person. The constitution of the church set out the qualifications for membership and these included both religious and financial criteria. Members had to accept certain religious doctrines and had to make 'contributions of record' towards the congregation's expenses. Official membership lists generally contain only the names of those who pay the required dues.

The only association which created a problem in this regard was the Home Society. The Home Society's constitution set the cost of an annual membership at \$2.00 and that of a life membership at \$25.00. It further directed that a membership list was to be maintained. These regulations relating to membership were never acted upon, and the officers of the Home Society took the view that all Icelandic Canadians were members of the Home Society and entitled to participate in all discussions and decisions. The only public meetings this association holds are the annual general meetings,

and these set records for brevity and silent participation on the part of the attending members.

It is possible, however, to use the Home Society's financial records to identify those persons who should be regarded as its members because their donations to the Home Society meet the financial criteria for membership. The examination of those records produced a list containing the names of 163 persons who qualified for membership in 1963, with a somewhat smaller number qualifying in 1964. The required information for later years was not available. The 161 persons who were members in 1963 included 127 life members - individuals who had made a donation in excess of \$25.00 on one occasion - and an additional thirty persons who made donations during the year which exceeded \$2.00 but which were under \$25.00. The other four members were directors who, although they did not qualify for membership according to these financial criteria, obviously have to be included. The proportion of life members, 79% in 1963, increased slightly in the following year, to 83%, due to a drop in the number of persons making annual donations.

It should be noted that the officers of these associations have not, generally speaking, placed a very strong emphasis upon the need for people

to maintain an official membership in any association. These officers share a rather general view which states that it is not possible to force people to pay annual dues and that those who are interested must be allowed to participate fully in the activities of the associations, whatever the status of their membership. It is evident, however, that most members, and especially most potential official members, do not share this view. The members generally feel that they must pay their dues before they can participate to any extent in the management of these associations, yet few attempts are made to get them to pay such dues and when they make the first move they often meet with little encouragement.

The Participating Members

The extent of the participating membership is not known, for rather obvious reasons, but the meager evidence available suggests that it may be as large as the official membership. The officers of these associations generally claim a much larger membership than is indicated by the official lists. Officers of the congregation, interviewed in 1965, were generally unanimous in claiming a membership of around 370, even though the official list for that year contains only 247 names. Similarly, some of the

officers of Strondin interviewed at this time claimed a membership of around 300, even though the official list for 1965 contains only 108 names.

Some useful data was gathered on this point during 1966-1967, after the writer was elected, by acclamation, to the post of Secretary on Strondin's Executive Committee. At his suggestion a guest book was obtained and put into use at the public meetings held by Strondin between April, 1966, and April, 1967. During the time in 1966 that the book was in use it was signed by some 340 persons, of whom 265 lived in the metropolitan area. About 18% of these persons were official members of Strondin that year and about 42% were official members of other associations in the community. But around 40% of the participants were not, and generally had never been, official members of any Icelandic ethnic association in Vancouver or elsewhere.

These participating members are an important element for two distinct reasons. First, these individuals are all potential official members and should a membership drive be initiated they would be the first persons to be picked up. Some of these people do become official members in one or another association but they do so on an intermitent basis since they are given little encouragement to develop

a stable membership history. The second and more important reason is the fact that the participating membership is the primary source for new officers. Vacancies which occur in the community's office structure are generally filled by the recruitment of new officers from the participating membership rather than from the official membership.

The Non-Icelanders.

It was noted previously that the first non-Icelanders entered the community during the 1940's. Few to begin with the non-Icelandic members accounted for just under one-fifth of the official members during 1963 - 1966 and their numbers grew in later years. These individuals were usually married to Icelanders who were members of the community. Their presence contributed to the reduction of the importance attached to retaining the community as a cultural community. But their presence and the extent of their contributions to the community are generally not fully recognized by the Icelandic members, who tend to assume, at least publicly, that all good things come only from 'good' Icelanders.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

During this study interviews were conducted with more than half of all the official members. These interviews produced a large quantity of data regarding certain characteristics of the community's population which could be treated in a statistical manner. This included information on the generational level and origins, in terms of birthplace, of a large number of official and, as it turned out, participating members. This data has been analyzed, from both the viewpoint of the community as a whole and for each of the active associations, and the results of this analysis will be presented in subsequent sections.

Four different groupings, based on generation and origin, were identified. The first consists of the older immigrants (OIM) who came to Canada during the first period of immigration. The second consists of the newer immigrants (NIM) who came during the third period of immigration. Two immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1920 were assigned to the older immigrant group. It was also decided that those members of the older immigrant group who were five years old or under at the time of their arrival in Canada would be assigned to the older native-born

group. This decision was based on the fact that these children were brought up in communities which were not specifically Icelandic communities, an experience which would tend to eliminate the cultural differences, if any, between them and the first Canada-born children of earlier immigrants.

The third group, the older native-born (ONB) group, includes those individuals who, in their respective families, were the first Canada-born generation. The fourth group, the younger native-born (YNB), includes those individuals who are in the second (third, etc.) native-born generation in their respective families. Besides these four groups of Icelandic ethnics there is a fifth group composed of those individuals of non-Icelandic (NI) origins who, for one reason or another, are official or participatory members of the community.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the community's population in these terms it is useful to reproduce and review certain facts about the Icelandic Canadian population in general. Table VI, below, provides the figures available on the growth of this population, how many of them were born in Iceland and the number who claim Icelandic as their 'mother' tongue.

TABLE VI
Certain Characteristics of the
Icelandic Canadian Population,
1881 - 1961.

Year	Number	Born in Iceland	Icelandic Mother Tongue
1881	1,003	-	-
1901	6,057	6,057	-
1911	7,109	7,109	-
1921	15,876	6,776	-
1931	19,382	5,731	-
1941	21,050	4,425	15,510
1951	23,623	3,239	11,207
1961	30,623*	2,142	8,993

Source: Canada Census, 1961.

* See Table V, note 3.

These figures indicate that the Icelandic Canadian population is basically a Canadian-born population - in 1961 the proportion born in Iceland was only about 7%. These immigrants, in turn, are mainly those who came to Canada during the first period of immigration. About three quarters of all the immigrants in the local community's official membership came to Canada before 1920. The proportional distribution of this total population between the four generation-origin groupings may be of the following order: OIM - 5.5%; NIM - 1.5%; ONB - 30% and YNB - 63%. This possible distribution may also be valid for the local Icelandic Canadian population.

The decline, between 1941 and 1961, in the

proportion who claim Icelandic as their 'mother' tongue should also be noted. The 'mother' tongue is the language which is learned first and is not necessarily the language which is spoken at the time that the Census was taken. The Icelandic Canadian population is basically an English speaking population and the proportion who can speak Icelandic correctly is small. It might be noted in this connection that the Ladies Aid Solskin recorded the minutes of its business meetings in Icelandic from 1917 until 1958. But from the very first page the quality of the language is very poor and the change to English was long over-due.

The Community's Membership

The results of the analysis of the official membership of the community is given in Table VII, following, for the years in 1963 and 1966.

TABLE VII
Generation-Origin Groupings of
the Community's Members: 1963-66.

	1963	1966
Combined Listed Memberships	640	469
Actual Number of Members	459	368
Analysis based on data for	63.8%	71.5%
Older Immigrants	21.1%	18.2%
Newer Immigrants	7.8	8.7
Older Native Born	33.1	31.9
Younger Native Born	20.4	22.8
Not Icelandic	17.6	18.2

Changes in the proportional distribution of the community's members during this period were relatively slight, despite a 19% decline in the total membership, from 459 to 368, and despite the fact that just over 40% of the official members in 1963 were not official members merely three years later.

Most of the members - 71.9% in 1963 and 78.5% in 1966 - maintained an official membership in only one association. The other members, who held an average of 2.4 membership in 1963 and an average of 2.3 memberships in 1966, can be regarded as the community's core members, by virtue of those multiple memberships. That does not mean, however, that these members were active participants in more than one association. The generation-origin groupings of these core members are quite different from those of the over-all membership, as is shown in Table VIII, following.

TABLE VIII
Generation-Origin Groupings of
the Core Members: 1963-66.

	1963	1966
Number of Core Members	129	79
Analysis based on data for	81.1%	87.3%
Older Immigrants	31.4%	28.8%
Newer Immigrants	9.5	4.3
Older Native Born	40.0	46.3
Younger Native Born	9.5	13.0
Not Icelandic	9.5	7.2

The position of the older immigrant and older native-born groups becomes clearer when the obvious differences in the distribution of the four generation-origin groupings, in the community as a whole and the core membership in particular, are examined. These two groups, which account for just over half of the total official membership (54.2% and 50.1%, respectively), account for some three quarters of the core members (71.4% and 75.1%, respectively). To put these figures in the proper perspective it is necessary to examine the membership histories of the individuals in question. To a large extent these members first joined the community in the 1940's and the early 1950's. And at that time these two groups accounted for the overwhelming majority of all the members and these members tended to participate in all the major associations within the community. Furthermore,

the older immigrant and older native-born members have continued to participate in these various associations, at least to the extent of maintaining official memberships in all of them.

The cohesion of the community at the membership level began to decline in the late 1950's, due to the increased participation of the new immigrants and the younger native-born groups. These individuals tended to be rather particular in their interests and tended to join and support only one association. The new immigrants were initially involved in both the church and Strondin but in the 1960's they began to concentrate their participation in the latter association. Different groups of the younger native-born began to participate in the activities of the church, the Ladies Aid Solskin and Strondin. These members were generally oriented towards particular associations and not towards the community as a whole. The decline in the community's cohesion was furthered by the fracturing of the community's leadership corps into three relatively exclusive and more or less mutually hostile groupings.

The Congregation and the Auxiliary

It was noted previously that the first Icelandic Lutheran church was established in 1917 and

that it was disbanded in the early 1930's, due to "the departure from the Community of some of its leaders" (Felsted, 1956) In 1941, the Icelandic Lutheran Synod, in cooperation with the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church, sent a pastor to Vancouver to determine whether a new congregation could be established among those of the residents of Icelandic origin who still adhered to the Lutheran faith. His first report on his work painted a rather gloomy picture. He noted, among other things, that a major effort to organize a Christmas service for children, in cooperation with "one of the neutral organizations among the Icelanders in Vancouver", was a failure because "not a single child came". He estimated that there were possibly 700 people of Icelandic origin in the city, of whom 100 were interested and about 200 others were likely prospects. But he also noted that "a very large number of our people have never come near our services, (they) stay away religiously deliberately". Despite his misgivings the pastor, assisted by a few laymen, persevered and in March, 1944, the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Church of Vancouver was formally established, with a charter membership of about 120.

Services for the new congregation were held in

a Danish Lutheran Church until 1956. The regular services were always in English with special Icelandic services conducted once or twice a month. During these early years the attendance figures were relatively stable, the English services being attended by an average of about 70 persons and the Icelandic services by about half this number. The congregation's membership grew rather slowly, reaching 140 in early 1950. Many of the new members tended to be newly recruited officers and members of their families.

A building programme was initiated in the latter half of 1955 and completed in the summer of 1956. In the spring of that year a membership drive was initiated and by the end of 1956 the members of record numbered 262. This sharp increase in the total membership did not produce a significant increase in the average attendance figures. Attendance at the English language services grew slowly to an average of about 90 in the early 1960's but during the same time the Icelandic language services were gradually phased out. The number of members attending these Icelandic services declined steadily during these years and after the expulsion of the last Icelandic pastor, in 1963, they were no longer presented on a regular basis.

It was noted above that the Board of

American Missions had participated in the establishment of the congregation. The Board's initial share in these activities was mainly restricted to giving financial aid to cover the pastor's expenses. This aid was intended to be on a short-term basis until the congregation was large enough to support itself. But the congregation failed to grow, either in size or wealth, and the Board was obliged to not only maintain but to increase the financial aid it was providing. The gave considerable moral and financial support to the building programme, and to the membership drive, in the expectation that these efforts would eventually make the congregation self-sufficient. These expectations were not fulfilled. The increase in the official membership failed to produce a significant increase in actual attendance and although donations increased these failed to keep pace with the increasing costs of operation. Instead of being able to reduce and to eventually withdraw its financial support the Board of American Missions found itself obliged to give endless amounts to keep the congregation in operation.

The original cost of the church, depending on which report is accepted, was to be between \$30,000 and \$50,000. The actual cost was just under \$80,000, of which half was to be met by donations and free labour pledged by the members. The balance was provided by

five mortgages, one (for \$8,000) held by the Royal Trust Company and the other four by the Board of Missions. The mortgages provided by the Board had to be increased in 1957 since a quarter of the pledges made by the members were not paid. In an attempt to correct this situation the officers of the Board of Missions literally forced the officers of the congregation to initiate a series of special fund drives to raise more money. These efforts were only partially successful. The congregation was never able to raise enough money in any one year to cover its expenses for that year and the Board of Missions was obliged to provide financial aid on a permanent basis.

The year 1963 saw a major merger involving several Lutheran churches which joined together to form the Lutheran Church in America. One of the major parties to this merger was the United Lutheran Church, which acted on its own behalf and on behalf of several smaller affiliates. One of these affiliates was the Icelandic Lutheran Synod. The Icelandic Synod had been affiliated to the United Lutheran Church since 1940 and was not in a position to object to a full merger. The Synod's position was spelled out in a letter written by its president to the Vancouver congregation, shortly before the merger was completed.

"As to the proposed merger, there is not much alternative and the results of these negotiations are fairly certain, namely that we will all go into this thing together...If we decide not to merge, we will be able to continue for a while, or until there are vacancies in our pastoral offices. In such a cases, our churches would not be able to get a minister, no one would look our way..."

For the Icelandic Synod, and its members, it was a "matter of Christian duty and practical necessity to join this merger" (Eylands, 1962)

The local congregation had been kept informed of these negotiations but it took some time before the merger had a significant effect. The revised approach to theology was adopted without question, even though this meant the abandonment of the features peculiar to the Icelandic version of the Lutheran faith. A new constitution was also accepted, under which the congregation's office structure was re-organized. The Board of Deacons was eliminated, the Board of Trustees increased in size and a limit placed on the number of consecutive terms (two) any one trustee could serve. The congregation was also given a new name - the Lutheran Church of Christ. These changes were made without major difficulties, partly because they were expected and had been accepted as necessary. But the members, especially those who held offices in the

congregation, were not prepared for, nor willing to accept, the next major post-merger event - a determined effort by the new Synodical authorities to break the ethnic integrity of the congregation.

The Lutheran Church in America is the product of a long series of mergers between the Synods established by various groups of immigrants but it does not look with favour upon congregations which use a language other than English in their services or which draw their members largely or mainly from one ethnic group. The local Icelandic congregation used English in its services and in its business affairs but most of the members were of Icelandic origin and those who were not tended to be married to persons of that origin. These members were scattered all over the Lower Mainland, from Squamish to Langley, and this was contrary to the Lutheran Church's preference for congregations whose members entered such congregations because they lived in its neighbourhood. In addition, the Lutheran Church was much stricter than the officers of the Icelandic congregation in the implementation of the regulations concerning membership.

The last Icelandic pastor to serve the congregation was appointed to his post in early 1962. He was provided by the United Lutheran Church and

arrived with specific instructions to change these conditions. His attempts to do so miscarried badly and lead him into a bitter dispute with the trustees, the members of the congregation and even the members of the other associations in the community. The trustees took the lead in criticizing him, first in private and then in public, and in the end he was simply ostracized. The pastor suffered the anger of the community for a little while but late in 1963 he accepted his defeat and left his post.

The difficulties created by this dispute had a severe effect on the congregation. There was a sharp decline in the extent to which its members participated in both religious and social activities. This decline in support was particularly evident in the congregation's worsening financial situation and the annual deficits grew sharply. And, understandably, the treatment given the pastor did not improve the already poor relations between the congregation and the headquarters of the Western Canada Synod of the Lutheran Church, to which the congregation adhered following the merger of 1963.

A new pastor was appointed by the Synodical office in Edmonton in the fall of 1964. He, like his predecessor, was instructed to do something to reduce the importance of the congregation's ethnic

identity. He, however, was initially more cautious than his predecessor and survived for a longer time

His first task was to attempt to correct the congregation's steadily worsening financial condition. The budget prepared for his first full year (1965) projected expenditures of about \$14,000, with the expected deficit being about \$2,000. But a mid-year review indicated that the deficit would be at least \$4,000 and could go much higher. In an effort to reverse this trend the pastor initiated a special fund drive in the fall of 1965 through which the actual deficit was reduced to just over \$1500. In addition to discussing the church's financial difficulties with the members he discussed their own participation in the congregation's activities. These meetings with the members convinced him that a third of more of the listed members were not interested in the church and, furthermore, they did not really care whether or not their names appeared on the membership roll. Many, if not most, of these members did not meet the financial criterion for membership and few intended to change this. The pastor decided that he could begin to carry out the instructions given him by the Synod by having these individuals removed from the membership roll. This he was eventually able to do but his success marked his own

defeat. Thereafter he was unable to influence the course of future events or to save himself from the fate which befell his predecessor.

The writer attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees held early in 1966 at which this membership issue was discussed. It was in many ways a very curious meeting. Following the opening prayer the pastor read a "sad and shameful tale" dealing with the fate of Lutheran churches established in Burma by immigrants from India. These immigrants refused to abandon their native languages and customs and refused to admit Burmese citizens to membership in their congregations. As a result these immigrants were eventually expelled from Burma and this was followed by the expropriation of their possessions. The scene of the story then shifted to North America and the many ethnic congregations which acted in the same manner as these Indian congregations. Such actions were described as being contrary to Christian ideals and all the congregations concerned were urged to open their doors and their arms to Lutherans of other origins.

The pastor's request for comments on this tale was at first met by a strained silence, which was finally broken by Mr U, who remarked: "Yes, it is very true!" But that remark, which was not addressed

to any specific item in that tale, was the only verbal reaction from the trustees.

The pastor then tabled a list containing the names of twenty six members and requested that they be removed from the membership list on the grounds that they did not only not qualify for membership but that they did not want to be members. Several of the trustees, including U, came out with remarks which generally supported both the pastor's reasoning and his request. However, before a formal vote was taken one of the trustees, Mr I, began to criticize this action. Noting that most of the members named were of Icelandic origin, he pointed out that the church was an Icelandic church which must always keep its doors open to people of Icelandic origin, whether or not they paid their dues. "It is their church and they must feel free to come to it whenever they need to or want to!" Mr I's intervention silenced all the other trustees, who sat and listened while he and the pastor debated the issue for nearly half an hour. In the face of I's determined opposition and in the absence of any support from the other trustees the pastor retreated and suggested that a decision on this matter be deferred to the next meeting.

Although his plans were blocked at this

time the pastor was eventually successful in having the names of these and other individuals removed from the membership roll. This is shown by the figures reproduced in Table IX, below, which provides an analysis of the congregation's membership, in terms of generation-origin groupings, for the years 1963 - 1966.

TABLE IX
Generation-Origin Groupings of the
Congregation's Members: 1963-1966.

	1963	1965	1966
Number of Members	242	247	171
Analysis based on data for	66.1%	61.5%	73.1%
Older Immigrants	15.6%	14.5%	16.0%
Newer Immigrants	8.1	10.5	2.4
Older Native Born	30.0	25.6	30.4
Younger Native Born	26.2	23.0	25.6
Not Icelandic	20.0	26.3	24.8

The total official membership of the congregation declined by just over 30% in a single year. This decline was due largely to the pastor's efforts to eliminate the non-participants and the low-participants from the official membership. These efforts, in turn, were a part of a long-term project to eliminate the ethnic element in the congregation's composition and image. But the success of this first step made the latter and more important objective virtually unattainable. Table X, below, provides an analysis, in terms of generation-origin groupings, of three types of members: those who remained members

throughout this period (core members); those who withdrew during this period (withdrawals) and those who joined during this period (new members).

TABLE X
Generation-Origin Groupings of
Core Members, Withdrawals, and
New Members, 1963-1966.

	Core Members	With- drawals	New Members
Number of Members	124	129	47
Analysis based on data for	69.2%	52.7%	57.2%
Older Immigrants	22.0%	4.4%	-
Newer Immigrants	2.3	20.6	-
Older Native Born	40.6	16.1	11.1
Younger Native Born	17.4	33.8	40.7
Not Icelandic	17.4	25.0	48.1

The members who were most anxious to preserve and protect the congregation's ethnic identity tended to be concentrated among the older immigrant and older-native born individuals, while the members who took a more moderate stand on this issue, or who considered it to be a very minor matter, tended to be concentrated in the younger native-born and non-Icelandic groups. The first two groups accounted for over 60% of the core members while the last two accounted for about 60% of the members who withdrew from the congregation. The pastor's successful campaign to reduce the size of the congregation, as the first step in a campaign to reduce the importance of the congregation's ethnic identity, turned out to be a

pyrrhic victory. The membership was effectively reduced to a hard core of members who rejected his long-term goal while the groups whose support he needed, and could expect to have, were subjected to a virtual purge. The new members, it is true, were drawn almost entirely from these two groups (the younger native-born and the non-Icelandic) but, partly because they were new members, they could not be expected to take an important part in the congregation's affairs right away. In addition, most of these new members were recruited by the older members, whose ethnic patriotism was being aroused by what they saw as an attempt to destroy the congregation's image. To defeat that attempt they sought new members, using slogans which appealed to the ethnic patriotism of the non-members. "This church is the Icelandic church and it is going to stay that way! We must be proud of our Icelandic heritage and must do everything to protect it! Such was the motto coined by Miss M., a lady who moved from the obscurity of ordinary membership to the position of a leader during, and as a result of, this struggle over the congregation's image.

The success of this campaign to reduce the membership to an effective and participating membership marked a turning point in the pastor's career.

In the first two years of his stewardship he had moved cautiously to build a personal following in the congregation and had made attempts to groom some new officers to replace the trustees he had, in a sense, inherited with the job. He appeared to be succeeding in both tasks, but the supporters he had gained abandoned him largely because of his refusal to budge on the membership issue.

When he was interviewed, the pastor indicated that he had prepared himself for his task by reading all the available accounts dealing with the Icelanders in Canada, particularly those accounts dealing with their church organizations. As a result of these readings he expected to find that the members of the congregation were members of a distinct cultural group, whose language, customs, etc., were different from those of English Canadians. But he found a congregation whose members preferred to use English instead of Icelandic and who shared, or appeared to share, the customs, attitudes, etc., of English Canadians. He noted that no one had objected when the Icelandic version of the Lutheran faith had been replaced by the version adopted by the founding convention of the Lutheran Church in America. He noted that the Icelandic language services had always been poorly attended.

and that no one appeared to regret their passing. What he saw and heard convinced him that he had been wrong in expecting to find a group whose culture was in some way different from his. He became convinced that the ethnic congregation and its image was a phantom which would disappear when exposed. He further concluded that a move such as the one he was planning on the membership question would arouse no opposition. Unfortunately, his analysis was based on the wrong premise and his failure to understand that initial error lead him to mis-interpret what he saw and heard.

He erred when he assumed that the congregation's ethnic image would be based on real cultural differences, such as those of language, customs, attitudes, etc. He expected, in effect, to hear the members justify their ethnic image on the basis of visible or audible cultural criteria. He gave no consideration to the possibility that they would base their perception of their ethnic image or identity on non-visible or inaudible criteria. He failed to understand that their feelings of ethnic identity were not derived from the fact that they spoke Icelandic - which relatively few did - but from the fact that they were of Icelandic origin, by virtue of the further fact that one or more of

their ancestors had been born in Iceland. This very important factor was one which the pastor could neither see nor hear and as a result his misinterpretation of the situation was almost inevitable.

The pastor's success was based on the technicality that the individuals whose names he wanted removed from the membership list did not meet the financial requirements for membership and could be removed automatically, with or without the approval of the trustees. Although many of the trustees had indicated, both in private and in public, that they did not, at least, oppose his actions they began to change their minds when Mr I made his opposition known. Other members of the congregation, including Miss M, began to take notice of what was going on, and their general reaction took the form of a membership drive aimed at former members, as well as potential new members, who would be inclined to support a defense of the congregation's ethnic image. Mr E, long regarded as the congregation's most influential lay member, abandoned the pastor, whom he had been supporting in a somewhat nominal fashion, once he saw what the members were doing and took command of their efforts.

The change in the pastor's position was

relatively sudden. As late as the summer of 1966 he believed that he was on good terms with the members and the trustees except for Mr I, whose opposition he tended to dismiss as unimportant. Then, virtually overnight, conditions changed. On returning from a short vacation he found the trustees, under E's leadership, united against him and doing everything they could to undermine his actions. The general membership, which had been at least well-disposed towards him, was in a hostile mood. The members, particularly the leaders, were 'out for blood' and waiting for an excuse or an opportunity for a showdown.

The first major clash under these changed conditions took place at the congregation's annual meeting in January, 1967, in connection with an attempt initiated by the pastor to have the Women's Auxiliary disbanded.

The Auxiliary was established in 1944, with a charter membership of 23. From the beginning its members concentrated on fund-raising activities, such as bazaars, teas, food-sales, etc. The success of these gatherings was in part due to extensive participation by persons who were not official members of the congregation but who gave it limited support by attending such functions. Within a few

years the Auxiliary's earnings, from these and other essentially social activities, were between \$2,500 and \$3,000 a year. Direct cash donations to the congregation often accounted for between 10% and 15% of its budget. In addition, the Auxiliary spent large sums on furnishings and fixtures for the church, which was completed in 1956.

The membership of the Auxiliary grew from 23 in 1944 to a high of 46 in 1953. Thereafter it declined to 23 by 1962. An analysis of that membership, in terms of generation-origin groupings, is presented in Table XI, below, for that year.

TABLE XI
Generation-Origin Groupings
of Auxiliary Members, 1962.

	1962
Number of Members	23
Analysis based on data for	74.0%
Older Immigrants	23.5%
Newer Immigrants	-
Older Native-Born	52.9
Younger Native-Born	-
Non-Icelandic	23.5

The founding fathers of the Lutheran Church in America apparently did not approve of sub-congregational organizations which devoted themselves to raising money. Such organizations were supposed to concentrate on spreading a knowledge of the Lutheran faith amongst their members. This was particularly needed after the merger in 1963, when a new version of

the faith was adopted.

The last Icelandic pastor tried to have the Auxiliary's social and fund-raising activities terminated or at least reduced, but he was unsuccessful. His successor was able, however, to have those activities reduced to providing the refreshments for the occasional congregational meeting. His success was in part due to the fact that the trustees, especially E, were afraid that they had gone too far in treating his predecessor as they did and, fearing reprisals from the Synod, looked the other way.

The Auxiliary's members were of two minds about this development. Some of the younger members supported this change because they felt that they had done more than their share of the work in the past. But the older members were not in favour of this change, though they did not make an issue of their opposition. To a certain extent their lives had revolved around the work they had been doing in and for the Auxiliary and they were disturbed and unhappy over their sudden state of unemployment or under-employment.

The reduction in its activities eventually had an effect on the membership, which declined slowly as the members who ceased to participate were not replaced. In mid-1966 the pastor suggested that

the Auxiliary should be disbanded because of its declining membership. His proposal incurred little overt opposition to begin with, in part because Mrs L, the Auxiliary's president, agreed with his reasoning and his decision.

It was at this point that Miss M noticed that something was amiss with that part of her world which embraced the Icelandic Lutheran Church. She had been a member for many years but, like most of her fellows, did not really pay much attention to the congregation and its activities. It was there, and had always been there, to be used by her and other 'good' Icelanders when the need or the urge to do so was present. Now, however, things seemed to be changing, and the grapevine was full of gossip and rumours. 'Good' Icelanders were being driven away from 'their' church, they were being refused the use of the church and its services. The Auxiliary was to be disbanded, its members and their good works forgotten. Clearly, the character of their church was under attack and it had to be defended. Miss M, among others, responded to the challenge.

The motion to disband the Auxiliary was presented to the annual meeting and supported by the pastor and Mrs L. Miss M delivered an angry rebuttal, denouncing this attempt to destroy an

Icelandic organization. She promised to organize a drive for members to restore its strength and activities. The members of the congregation, their ethnic patriotism aroused, easily defeated the motion, delivering a public rebuke to the pastor.

In the following month the storm broke. In the space of three weeks the pastor gave the church's top leaders, E and I, cause to feel personally insulted by incidents which involved their sons and then outraged the membership by refusing to permit the funeral services for a participating member to be held in the church.

The sons of the two leaders were at that time members of the church's choir. The first incident involved I's son, who was to sing a solo during a church service. He asked the pastor for permission to stand beside the organ during his performance. The pastor refused to permit this and I jr. then not only refused to sing but withdrew from the choir and the congregation. A week later E's son did give a solo performance but the pastor failed to thank him. E jr. then withdrew as well. The fathers of both chose to feel offended by the pastor's actions but before they could protest the third incident occurred.

An Icelandic woman, who was a member of

the Unitarian church, died, after expressing a desire to be buried from the Icelandic church. During her lifetime she had occasionally attended services in that church and had often supported the activities of the Auxiliary. Accordingly, she was regarded as a member of the Icelandic church and entitled to its services when she wanted them. The pastor refused to grant her wish on the grounds that she was not only not an official member of the church but a Unitarian instead of a Lutheran. Although his objection carried the day it failed to prevent a very angry reaction from the members. A number of them made a point of informing all the other 'good' Icelanders, both inside and outside the congregation, of the shocking treatment given to one of their fellow Icelanders. On the Sunday following her funeral, from a local funeral parlour, a special meeting of the Board of Trustees was held, at which E delivered a sharp lecture to the pastor, citing many instances of his unacceptable actions and warning him that he had better mend his ways or suffer the consequences. The Board further decided, at a regular meeting held a few days later, that the restrictions placed on the Auxiliary were no longer in force and that the ladies could resume their traditional activities whenever they wanted to do

so.

The membership drive launched by Miss M did not attract many new members, other than herself and some members of the T family. However, all the old members came back ready and willing to resume their activities. Thus they did with a vengeance, once the Board of Trustees gave their approval. Several teas, food-sales, etc., were planned and held, beginning in March, 1967, and the Auxiliary soon regained its former position and popularity.

The pastor was badly shaken by the continuing decline in his fortunes. It became obvious to him that he had not understood the reality of the congregation's ethnic image, as it was viewed by the members, and that he had over-estimated the amount of support he had within the congregation. He had also badly under-estimated the extent of I's influence over the other trustees and the members of the congregation. His opposition silenced those of the trustees who were beginning to support the pastor and turned what could have been a minor administrative decision into an issue with an immense emotional value to the members. Once they were aroused the congregation's other top leader, E, switched sides and, assuming command, brought the fight to a successful finish.

The pastor, of course, remembered what had happened to his predecessor after he had run afoul of the congregation's leaders. Not wishing to suffer the same fate he, without the knowledge of those individuals, sought and found a new position and then tendered his resignation, effective in August, 1967. He was eventually replaced, in March, 1968, by a pastor discovered by E. The new pastor, an immigrant from Germany, could be expected to avoid any further attempts to crack the congregation's ethnic integrity, not only because he was an immigrant but also because the Synodical authorities, having failed in two separate attempts to do that, threw in the towel.

The congregation's leaders were quite pleased with their success in this dispute. The fight to preserve the congregation's ethnic image convinced them, and many others, that the congregation was the only 'real' Icelandic association in Vancouver. Twice in four years its identity had been challenged and twice it had been successfully defended. The fact that throughout this period the congregation's financial problems continued unabated was an incidental matter which would be corrected in time, as it was.

In August, 1968, the Synod suggested that

the congregation might solve its financial problems by agreeing to share the church and its facilities with another congregation, such as the local German-speaking congregation which was about to lose its church to a re-development project. E initiated the necessary negotiations with the officers of that congregation, and by March, 1969, he had reached an agreement with them, under which the two congregations would share the available facilities, the services of the pastor and some of the costs involved in operating a church.

The Icelandic Old Folks Home Society

During the 1940's a number of Icelandic communities in Canada and the United States established homes where the members of the older generation could spend their last years. Such homes were built in Mountain, North Dakota; Blaine, Washington and in Vancouver. The initiative for the local home came to a large extent from the members of the Ladies Aid Solskin. These women and other members of the local community worked to develop wide-spread interest in and support for such a project. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the Icelandic Old Folks Home Society in January, 1946.

Two years passed before the Society was able to purchase and renovate a house in the Shaughnessy area of Vancouver, at a cost of some \$30,000. Just over one-third of the cost was covered by a grant from the provincial government, about \$8,000 was collected in donations from the Society's supporting members and the balance was in the form of a \$10,000, interest free loan from the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod. The Synod, which owned a similar home in Gimli, Manitoba, at first insisted that the local home should be owned by the local congregation. The leaders of the Society refused to accept this condition, as they wanted the home to be at least formally independent of the congregation. The pastor and the president of the congregation, who was also the president of the Home Society, attended the Synod's annual convention in the spring of 1948 and requested, successfully, that the loan be granted without any conditions.

The home, which opened in October, 1948, had accommodations for twenty residents and was fully occupied within a very short time. Consideration was given, as early as 1949, to building a new home but the suggestion was shelved, due, in part, to the high cost involved, until the late 1950's. Then the suggestion to build a new home was revived, the main

proponent being the Society's vice-president, Mr D. His motives for reviving this project at this time were mixed, to say the least. On the one hand, there was a demand for space which could not be met in the existing home. But on the other hand, the promotion of this project at this time (1957 - 58) gave D an opportunity to avenge himself against E, the leader of the congregation. D believed, possibly with reason, that he had been misused and abused by E in the years following the financial scandal which hit the Home Society in 1952. The promotion of this project at this time would undermine the efforts being made by E and the other officers of the church to raise enough money from the community to meet their financial obligations to the Board of American Missions.

A bitter struggle for control of the Home Society ensued, and lasted for the next three years. When this dispute began, in 1957, the 'church contingent' held seven of the ten seats on the Home Society's Board of Directors, while D's faction consisted only of himself and two other directors. D made a bid for the presidency in 1958 but was decisively beaten by the incumbent 'church' candidate, though he himself retained his own seat on the Board. He continued to press the attack

within the Board and at the same time built a large personal following in the rapidly growing new immigrant group in Strondin. This group carried D's faction to a complete victory, though he himself did not ascend to the presidency.

The final clash in this dispute took place at the Home Society's annual meeting in January, 1960. D was nominated for the presidency but declined and threw his support behind another director, Mr P, who defeated the church candidate, SE. SE was at that time the vice-president and top leader of Strondin. A year later D repaid his debt to the new immigrants by helping them organize a coup which ousted SE and all of his supporters from the offices they held in Strondin.

Once the question of who was to control the Home Society was settled, the construction of the new home moved rapidly ahead. The sod-turning ceremony was held in 1961, during the visit of the President of Iceland to Vancouver. Actual construction began in the following year and the home was ready for occupancy in the spring of 1963. The new home, built on a lot acquired from the city, could accomodate sixty residents and provided limited quarters for the staff. The cost was just

over \$200,000. The provincial government provided a grant of about \$80,000, a mortgage of \$50,000 was arranged and the balance came equally from donations and the sale of the old home.

It was noted elsewhere that the initial membership of the Home Society appears to have been around 130. These persons were members largely by virtue of the donations which they had made to the Society and for most of them the act of donating was the total extent of their participation in its affairs. The ordinary members were given no opportunity to take a more active part in implementing the decision to establish such a home, and that decision was in any case made prior to the formal establishment of the Home Society. Only two public meetings are normally held in any year, the annual general meeting in January and the home's annual birthday party in October. The first of these meetings is a business meeting and it has rarely attracted a large audience. For example, the annual meeting held in January, 1954, was attended by only eighteen persons, ten of whom were directors of the Home Society. The birthday parties have usually attracted a greater number but these gatherings were social gatherings only.

This situation changed temporarily in the

late in the 1950's as a result of the struggle for control of the Home Society. The vice-president made his bid for control using the rapidly growing new immigrant group in Strondin. Few of these people qualified for membership in the Home Society in accordance with its own regulations concerning that status. However, since the Home Society was established the officers have taken the position that anyone who attended the annual meetings was a member and therefore entitled to vote on all and any issues brought before those meetings. The new immigrant group simply out-numbered and out-voted the 'church contingent' and its supporters at the annual meetings in 1959 and 1960.

While the number of people participating at this time increased, their participation was both restricted and short-lived. Once the 'church contingent' had been voted out there was nothing for them to do, unless they wished to stick around to give formal approval to the decisions being made by the new leadership regarding the construction of the new home. Few were interested in such limited participation and attendance at the Society's public meetings, especially the annual general meetings, declined. In recent years these meetings have attracted an average of about 40

persons, most of whom are the directors of the Home Society or officers of Solskin, their spouses and a few close friends.

It is possible, of course, that the non-office holding members of the Home Society could have taken a more active part in its affairs, particularly as these were directly concerned with the home's residents. Such a development was precluded by the role assumed by the Ladies Aid Solskin. From the beginning the Aid assumed the position and some of the duties of an auxiliary to the Society, but retained its own distinct identity. The members of Solskin organized such activities as were organized for the benefit of the residents. But since Solskin continued to organize activities for its own members and supporters the programme developed for the residents was very restricted in scope, consisting of small monthly birthday parties, held during the winter months, and an annual Christmas party. The members of the Home Society and the members of the other associations were not encouraged to provide any further services or activities for the residents of the home. The residents have, in fact, become the forgotten people, who are expected to show proper gratitude for their beds and their seats in the dining room.

The Society's constitution states that individuals can become members by paying annual dues of \$2.00 or by purchasing a life membership for \$25.00. The Home Society's financial records were examined in order to determine the identity of the persons who met either of these conditions by donating an equal amount to the Society. This group of members was expanded by the addition of these directors who did not meet the financial criteria for membership. In this manner it was determined that the members numbered 161 in 1963 and 157 in 1964. Table XII, below, shows the generation-origin groupings of these members and, separately, of the life members for 1963.

TABLE XII
Generation-Origin Groupings of the
Society's Members and Life Members, 1963.

	All Members	Life Members
Number of Members	161	126
Analysis based on data for	71.6%	72.2%
Older Immigrants	25.8%	25.2%
Newer Immigrants	3.5	-
Older Native-Born	47.5	53.8
Younger Native-Born	8.5	7.7
Non-Icelandic	14.7	13.1

The Home Society's membership, defined in the manner described above, was a relatively stable group. Life members accounted for 78% of all members in 1963 and this proportion grew slightly, to 83%,

in 1964 as a result of a decline in the number of annual members. Just over half (50.9%) of all the members in 1963 had membership records (or records of donations) extending to 1950 or earlier, while just 11% had first joined (or donated) in 1960 or later. The changes which took place in this over-all membership in later years were largely a result of changes in the composition of the Board of Directors.

It should be noted that the members are drawn largely from the older immigrant and older native-born groups. The distribution of these members, in terms of generation-origin groupings, is quite similar to the distribution of the core members of the church, although only 23% of the Home Society's members were also members of the church. The younger native-born members account for a rather small proportion of the total membership but they hold a growing number of directorships. D was the only director from this group in 1960 but by 1968 six of the ten seats were held by younger native-born members. The new immigrants, their role in the dispute of the late 1950's to the contrary, have never taken an active interest in the Home Society. Very few have become members by virtue of their donations

and only one of their number has ever held a seat on the Board of Directors.

The Ladies Aid Solskin

During the first twenty five years of its existence the Aid settled into a fixed routine of activities, which centered on monthly card parties and an annual bazaar and food sale. The net revenues from these activities were used to provide group outings for the members and to provide a limited amount of assistance to needy members of the Aid and, to a much lesser extent, to needy members of the other associations. In the early 1940's some of the members began to talk about a new project - the construction or acquisition of a home for the benefit of the older members of the community, including themselves. As time passed the Aid became deeply involved in the discussions underway in the community and, to encourage others to think of this project in favourable terms, the officers of the Aid promised to donate \$1,000 to a building fund, if and when such a fund were established. When the Icelandic Old Folks Home Society was finally established in January, 1946, two of Solskin's officers were among the first seven elected and appointed directors of the Home Society and its first president was the

husband of the then president of Solskin, Mrs K.

The Aid fulfilled its promise and then proceeded to allocate most of the net earnings from its activities to the same cause. It became closely identified with the Home Society and when the first home was opened the Aid moved in along with the residents. The home's meeting room, such as it was, was taken over for its activities, which were increasingly being conducted for the long-term benefit of the Home Society. The Aid's donations to the Home Society, over the next twenty years, amounted to some \$15,000. In addition, the Aid furnished the quarters which it had appropriated in the old home and later repeated this action in the new home. The auditorium of the new home is generally regarded as being as much the Aid's property as it is the property of the Home Society, and any other group which wishes to use it must have their permission, as well as the permission of the Board of the Home Society.

The Aid was a well-established and relatively successful association at the time that the Home Society was organized. Most of its members had been active participants for a number of years and it had developed a regular schedule of activities which received considerable support from its own

members and other individuals within the community. When the Aid moved into the home it did not abandon either these activities or those supporters but began to use them for the ultimate material benefit of the Home Society. The Aid also assumed responsibility for organizing such activities as were organized for the direct benefit of the home's residents. But because their schedule was already a demanding one they could not provide more than a very restricted programme for the residents. The position and the roles assumed by the Aid's members in the operations of the home and the Home Society prevented the general membership of the latter from taking a more active part in those operations.

It was noted previously that the Aid grew out of an informal sewing circle organized by a few women during the first World War. These women were friends before they formed the sewing circle and once they had decided to continue their activities in a more formal manner they recruited other members from among their non-member friends. A group of some 25 to 30 women formed the core membership and most of them were present when the Aid celebrated its fourteenth anniversary in 1947. Perhaps a dozen of these original members were also present when the Aid celebrated its fiftieth anniversary

ten years later.

The fourtieth anniversary marked the end of an era for the Aid and its members. Most of the members had grown old with the Aid and it was becoming quite difficult for them to do all the work they had assumed. Accordingly, they decided to recruit a new generation of members who could maintain the schedule of activities which had been developed in an earlier time. And, in order to accomodate these expected members, they changed the language of operations from Icelandic to English. Initially the recruitment of new members was restricted to the daughters of the original members and, somewhat later in time, to the wives of the younger directors of the Home Society. These new members, in turn, began to recruit some of their friends during the 1960's. At that time some of the daughters of the non-Icelandic residents of the home began to take an interest in the Aid and were admitted to membership in it.

The following table, Table XIII, provides an analysis of the Aid's membership during the years 1963-1966, in terms of generation-origin groupings.

TABLE XIII
Generation-Origin Groupings
of the Aid's Members: 1963-1966.

	1963	1964	1965	1966
Number of Members	47	57	58	57
Analysis based on data for	72.3%	71.9%	77.1%	75.4%
Older Immigrants	41.1%	39.0%	36.3%	37.2%
Newer Immigrants	2.9	2.4	2.2	2.4
Older Native-Born	29.5	29.2	25.0	23.4
Younger Native-Born	20.5	21.9	22.7	23.4
Non-Icelandic	5.9	7.3	13.6	13.6

As was the case with the associations examined previously, the bulk of the members are drawn from the older immigrant and older native-born groups. But many of these members do not take an active part in the Aid's affairs, simply because they are not physically able to do so. The younger native-born and non-Icelandic members have taken over most of the work and now occupy all of the offices as well. But their entrance into the Aid has not resulted in the introduction of any new policies, nor is it likely to do so. The new immigrants have taken virtually no part in the operations of the Aid, largely because few of them formed friendships with the existing members.

No major or unexpected changes took place in the Aid's membership in the years after 1966. A few members continued to be recruited, mainly from the younger native-born group. Among them were several members of the T and H families, most of whom were

recruited to fill vacant offices on the Aid's Executive Committee.

The Strondin Chapter of the Icelandic National League.
(The Icelandic Canadian Club of British Columbia)

The establishment of the social-cultural association, Strondin, in 1946 was the result of negotiations between the officers of the literary society, Ingolfur, and the social club, Isafold. The then president of Ingolfur played a key role in these negotiations. He, as well as others, apparently believed that these two groups could operate more effectively together than either of them could alone. In addition, he wanted to establish a group in the city which would be large enough and active enough to take an important part in the activities of the Icelandic National League, which had its headquarters in Winnipeg. Although the new association was established it failed to live up to his expectations in its local activities and, although it became an affiliated chapter of the League, it did not take an active part in the operations of the League.

The new group's failure to live up to those expectations was due largely to the fact that the two parent groups had little in common with each other and were not able to either merge their different interests

or to develop a new programme of activities which could overcome those differences. The members of Ingolfur were generally drawn from the older immigrant and older native-born groups and their main interests were cultural ones, such as the continued use of the language and the library. The members of Isafold were drawn largely from the younger native-born group and they had established Isafold as a social club. During the war years many of Isafold's members were absent from the city and few of them resumed their memberships after they returned. As a result the members of Isafold who entered the new association were a distinct minority and their interests were not the interests of the majority. An uneasy peace prevailed for a few years but it was, inevitably, broken.

The original executive committee of Strondin was divided, more or less equally, between the last officers of the two parent groups. But these two groups of officers did not and could not reach a permanent agreement on what activities should be organized for the members. The impasse which resulted was finally broken when the former officers and members of Ingolfur closed their ranks and removed the former Isafold officers from their positions in Strondin, at the annual meeting held in January, 1949.

Among the officers removed at this meeting were D, then the treasurer, and C, then the president. The new officers were, without exception, members of the congregation and several of them were then, or would soon become, officers of the congregation.

Under the direction of the new leadership Strondin quickly reverted back to the kinds of activities associated with Ingolfur. Icelandic was the only language used in its operations and the library once again became the center of attention - its preservation, expansion and use was the primary objective of the association. Public gatherings, which were held two or three times a year, usually featured lectures on the history and literature of Iceland and the history of the Icelandic Canadians, with the frequent addition of poetry readings and films. Such activities offered little inducement to the members of the younger native-born group, even if they could understand the language being used. In fact, such activities appealed to only a small proportion of the available older immigrants and older native-born individuals.

During the 1950's Strondin became intimately associated with the church congregation. Most of the members were also members of the congregation, as were all of the officers. Several of the officers

were also members of the Board of Trustees or the Board of Deacons and the pastor who served the congregation during the 1950's was an officer of Strondin for a period of six years. The association was, not unexpectedly, generally believed to be a group operated for the further benefit of the members of the congregation.

This state of affairs began to change in the late 1950's as a result of the participation of the new immigrants. The number of new immigrants in Vancouver grew very rapidly, particularly after 1957, and they tended to concentrate their participation in the community in this one association. However, they did not find the existing programme of activities very appealing, partly because they did not think that these activities reflected the society which they had left so recently. In any case, they proved to be more interested in purely social activities, such as dances, but they were not able to convince the existing membership that such activities were either desirable or practicable. These two groups were not able to resolve their differences and possibly did not make a determined effort to do so. Events which occurred elsewhere in the community made a negotiated settlement of this problem unnecessary, at least for the new immigrants.

It was noted earlier that the young native-born leader, D, had organized the new immigrants into a bloc, which was then used to overthrow the church contingent on the Board of Directors of the Home Society. The high point of this particular dispute took place at the Home Society's annual meeting in January, 1960, at which P was elected president. His opponent, SE, was a former trustee of the church and, more importantly, the most influential leader of Strondin. He had led the group which had taken command of the association in 1949 and since then his leadership had not been challenged. But a year after he was defeated in his bid for the presidency of the Home Society he was defeated, along with all of his colleagues, when he presented himself for re-election as the president of Strondin. D and his new immigrant allies simply stacked the annual meeting and voted in an entirely new slate of officers, which included D and F, the up-and-coming new immigrant leader. A mini-election, made necessary by the resignations of two other new immigrants elected without their prior knowledge and consent, later added C and another new immigrant, J. SE took his defeat rather badly and refused to surrender the association's records and the library and legal proceedings had to be instituted before these were finally turned over to the new leaders.

The newly elected officers took office under the slogan "new men with new ideas!" They were not, however, required to substantiate their claims right away since events elsewhere took command of the situation. The President of Iceland made a State Visit to Canada and his itinerary included visits to his main Icelandic Canadian constituencies in the country, one of which was in Vancouver. Strondin was designated as his host during his stay in the city. The banquet arranged in its name and in his honour was the largest public gathering ever held in the community, with 350 persons in attendance. The association basked in the glory and the publicity which it received for its part in this affair. But behind the glow of public success, in the private world of the leaders, the reputations of influential leaders had been damaged by actions which they had performed or with which they were associated. Other equally influential leaders felt insulted as a result of those same actions and began to plot revenge. Strong alliances began to crumble and new ones were being formed. A dispute between the leaders was beginning and, in time, that dispute would rock the association and the community to its very foundations.

External events and their effect continued to influence and shape the course of events in the

years after the President's visit. In 1962 the Icelandic Embassy in Washington arranged a concert tour for an Icelandic pianist, which included a performance in Vancouver under the auspices of the association. Also in that year an official of one of the major Canadian airlines suggested that the association should sponsor a charter flight to Iceland. The officers accepted this suggestion and also accepted the offer of a local travel agency to handle the bulk of the work involved in such a project. The flight was successful, due largely to the participation of recent Icelandic immigrants to the United States. One hundred and ten persons, two thirds of them American residents, joined for the trip to Iceland in the summer of 1963. Another flight, involving about 70 persons, was arranged for the following year. These flights were the first charter flights to Iceland and added considerably to the association's prestige but they did not have a substantial effect on its local activities as few of the travellers were or became active participants in its on-going programme.

During 1964 the association also played host to the Icelandic Ambassador to the Canada and to the Icelandic Prime Minister. But again these events began outside of the community and the

association was only reacting to external stimuli. Once again, as had happened on earlier occasions, the success of the public gatherings held in honour of these visitors did not reveal the growing dispute between the leaders. And within the association itself a palace revolution was brewing.

The numerous successful events of the past four years had built F's reputation to the point where he eclipsed every other officer of the association and was the equal, in reputation, of any other leader in the community. But his public reputation bore little relation to his reputation among some of his fellow officers, in particular J and H. Each of these events had been, in their opinion, marred by errors of omission and commission for which F was held responsible. They further believed, or chose to believe, that F was only interested in building his personal power and influence. They were further convinced, or chose to be convinced, that F would not pay any attention to the growing number of signs - such as declining official membership and actual attendance figures - which indicated a declining interest in the association and which threatened its long-term survival. And, in their opinion, F was not producing enough new ideas and was unwilling to listen to those suggested by others, including, of course, those suggested by

J and H. They decided that F must be removed, for the good of the association. And having decided they acted.

The key to their success lay in their control of the nominating committee, of which J was the chairman, and in their ability to stack the annual meeting in January, 1965. Five officers, including F and D, were denied re-election. Since they were not informed that they would not be nominated for re-election until a few days before the meeting, and since J warned them that the bloc he had organized was big enough to out-vote any other bloc which could be organized in such a short time, they did not even try to contest the election. But because the manoeuvres which preceded the meeting were not publicly known their failure to resist gave the event the appearance of an orderly transfer of positions and authority. This appearance of an orderly transfer was furthered by the fact that F was elected to represent the association of the annual convention of the Icelandic National League, which was to be held in Winnipeg in February, 1965. Up to this time this position had been largely an honorary one, given as a reward for services rendered. The delegate was sent at the association's expense, to join in the convention festivities. On his (or her) return he would give a report on his trip

and on the League's activities. This report rarely attracted much attention since the officers of the association were not very interested in the League, nor had the League been very interested in Strondin until quite recently. As Strondin gained in prestige in the years after 1961 the League began to request, and later to demand, that the association live up to an earlier agreement to become a full chapter. This status would require a payment to the League, from the chapter, of a membership fee of \$1.00 for each of its members. The officers of the association had been increasing the membership payments they were making to the League, from \$7.00 in 1961 to \$40.00 in 1964, but they were in no hurry to meet the League's demands, though they planned to offer a compromise solution at a later date. Such an offer was to be made in the course of a gradual re-organization of the association.

Once again events which occurred outside of the local community took command of the association's destiny. F went to Winnipeg, but on his return he reported that he had been elected a member-at-large of the League's Executive Committee and had also been made the League's Special Plenipotentiary, with full responsibility for and control over all of the League's activities in Vancouver and, at a later time,

in Seattle.

The association's officers had not had time to digest this announcement before he made another, more startling statement. He informed them that he had been appointed to serve as the Icelandic member of the Ethnic Organizations Sub-Committee of the Provincial Centennial Commission. As such he was under instructions to organize a committee which would work with him to ensure that the Icelandic community would participate in the coming centennial celebrations. Having gone to some lengths to remove F from the scene the leaders of Strondin were, to put it mildly, a little disturbed at this turn of events.

Their response was slow in coming, for they were at the same time trying to respond to an even bigger blow than F's reappearance on the scene. Although they faulted F for the mistakes he made or was supposed to have made during his tenure as president they did appreciate and value the immense prestige which had accrued to the association in those years. In their eyes it was the largest and most active Icelandic association in North America. They expected that its great prestige would survive, and help it survive, until the association could be reorganized in a way which would put substance behind

its reputation. Accordingly, they were not prepared for the sudden and unexpected emergence of a new Icelandic association in Seattle, which almost overnight proved itself to be even bigger and more active than the Vancouver association.

Icelandic ethnic organizational activity in Seattle dated back to the year 1900, when the literary society Vestri was founded. Its activities, over the years, were similar to those of Ingolfur and of Strondin before 1961. Since these activities only appealed to a few it was never a very large group, as far as membership was concerned, and it began to decline after the second World War. It failed to attract the members of the younger native-born group for the existing members refused to change the nature of the society's activities. It also failed to attract any of the post-war immigrants, who failed to see a connection between the society they had just left and the activities supported by Vestri.

Although the younger native-born Icelandic residents of Seattle were not interested in the cultural activities provided by Vestri they were interested in maintaining social relationships with each other. Unable to change Vestri they organized their own club, the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle. After careful planning by a group of very able charter

officers, the Club was launched in a blaze of publicity in the fall of 1964. The effort expended was well rewarded for by mid-1965 the Club had over 300 official members (at a time when the Vancouver association had only about 100) and an extensive and well-supported programme of activities.

Far from being the masters of their own fate, the new leaders of Strondin felt themselves to be under attack from both within and without their community. As the year advanced, the pressures from both sides grew. F began to issue orders to them, both in his capacity as the League's representative and as the Icelandic member of the Ethnic Organizations Sub-Committee. And the Seattle Club continued to grow bigger and became even more active until, or so it was thought, its growing prestige completely eclipsed that of the Vancouver association.

The leaders of Strondin reached a temporary accommodation with F. The instructions he was issuing in connection with the visit of an Icelandic actor, to be held under the auspices of the League in the spring of 1966, were accepted. His suggestion for the establishment of a centennial committee composed of representatives of the various Icelandic associations was also accepted but the slate of members he proposed was rejected. Instead H selected the members of the committee and staggered the representation so

that the association had a majority of the members. H also selected the committee's chairman, giving the position to a new officer, V. But at the same time as they reached this accomodation with F the leaders of Strondin, H and J, decided that he would have to be taught a lesson for continuing to interfere in the association's affairs. Furthermore, they decided that the League would have to be equally punished for its attempts to interfere in those same affairs through him.

Having reached a temporary accord with F the leaders of Strondin, H and J, accompanied by T1 and V, journeyed to Seattle for a meeting with the officers of the Icelandic Club. Their mission was to learn the secrets that had propelled that club to its great and growing success. Those secrets, as explained by their hosts, were simple.

An Icelandic association which wanted to attract members from the younger native-born group had to be an English-speaking association with an English name. It must provide an extended programme of social activities, particularly dances, and operate a number of limited interest programmes for small groups within its membership. As many members as possible must be deeply involved in operating the the association and this goal could be achieved, as

they had achieved it, by dividing the work as much as possible and assigning each separate task to a different member or sub-committee. Publicity was very important and was best achieved by the introduction of a monthly newsletter, which would be distributed to members and non-members alike. Every activity must be evaluated and those which failed to contribute to the furthering of the club's interests must be eliminated. An example of such an unproductive activity was the maintenance or acceptance of an affiliation with the Icelandic National League, where the costs involved far exceeded the benefits received.

The leaders of Strondin were already aware of some of these lessons and had decided to accept any and all advice given them by the officers of the Seattle association. But, in their turn, they suggested that because these two groups were organized largely for the benefit of people of Icelandic origin it would be necessary to retain some cultural activities or to develop a new policy on that question. They suggested that these two associations should adopt a joint policy of inviting Icelandic entertainers to visit their respective cities and to entertain their members. The very successful tour recently completed by an Icelandic actor, under the

auspices of the League, indicated that such an activity would be well supported. But the tours to be arranged under this new policy would specifically exclude Winnipeg from the itinerary in favour of the cities on the Pacific Coast. This suggestion was met with enthusiasm and adopted without much discussion.

Three months later a second joint meeting of the officers of these associations was held in Vancouver, at which the question of relations with the League was fully discussed. The League's representative, F, was present and requested that both associations immediately accept full membership in the League. The officers of both associations rejected this request as too costly in view of the low return expected. The president of the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle pointed out that such a step would cost his group about \$400 in membership fees, plus the costs of sending a delegate to the annual convention. Strondin, in turn, would have to pay about \$150 in membership fees, plus the costs of the delegate.

Both clubs agreed on a compromise solution, under which they would accept affiliate status and would pay up to \$50.00 per year in dues. At their suggestion, F agreed to inform the League's officers

of this offer, with copies of his letter to them being sent to both associations. He also promised to inform both associations of the League's reaction as soon as possible. But, as events turned out, F did not inform the officers of the League of this compromise offer.

The leaders of Strondin, H and J, did not enter the discussions with open minds. They had already decided to end the association's affiliation with the League. They were convinced that F had guaranteed that both associations would accept full membership in the League and were certain that he would not inform the League's officers of any compromise offer, for fear of compromising his own reputation with those individuals. It was, therefore, important for their plans to extract a promise from him to inform the League of the compromise offer, which they had no intention of accepting, and equally important for those plans that he would not fulfill that promise.

During the summer of 1966 a committee, composed of H, J and V, drew up a detailed plan for the re-organization of the association. Under this plan the name was to be changed from Strondin to the Icelandic Club of British Columbia. The affiliation with the League was to be ended, in an indirect

manner by prohibiting any financial ties with any other organization. The membership dues were to be increased, the official year changed from a calendar one to a fiscal one, ending on August 31st., and the time of the annual meeting was changed from January to September. The monthly meetings of the Board of Directors were to be open to the members and their participation in decision-making was to be encouraged. Several other changes were included in the new constitution presented to the members attending the annual meeting in January, 1967, and approved by them, on a secret ballot, by a vote of 32 to 6. The association's new name was subsequently changed to the Icelandic Canadian Club of British Columbia.

The formal reorganization of the association was followed by a period of increased activity. The open business meetings were often well attended. The number of social gatherings was increased, as was the variety of such meetings. Dances were held for the general membership and limited interest programmes, such as card parties and film shows, were held for smaller groups within that membership. The newsletter, which had been introduced on a regular basis in 1966, became more elaborate and was distributed to an ever-growing number of addresses. But this period of increased activity

was relatively short-lived for the officers soon found out that it took far more of their time and energy than they were able or willing to give to it. Eventually they began to reduce this over-all programme to more manageable proportions. The open business meetings were eliminated, as were most of the limited interest activities. The circulation of the newsletter was eventually restricted to the official members only. Even the number of dances held during the year was reduced somewhat. But the reduction of the club's programme did not have an effect on the membership, which grew year by year, reaching the 300 mark in early 1969.

One innovation which the officers did not want to borrow from the Seattle Club was the very elaborate office structure set up by its founders. The club had a Board of Trustees, a Board of Directors and some twenty sub-committees. After a lengthy discussion of this matter the leaders of the Vancouver association decided to adopt a compromise solution. The office structure of the reorganized club included a Board of Directors and six standing committees.

But having made a decision on this matter they were unable to implement it. They convinced themselves that they would not be able to find enough

able and willing workers to fill all the positions which had been created. Accordingly, they made no effort to activate the standing committees. Only one of these standing committees ever became active, and then only because it had been set up before the association was reorganized. The failure to act more decisively on this matter was later hailed as foresight. In 1968 the Seattle Club collapsed with as much speed as it had originally appeared. The immediate cause of that collapse was a dispute over policy among the officers which effectively paralyzed its operations. The officers of the local association were of the opinion that the very elaborate office structure had facilitated the emergence of several opposing factions whose differences were not reconcilable.

During these years the composition of the official membership, viewed in terms of generation-origin groupings, changed to a greater degree than in any other association. Originally drawn almost entirely from the older immigrant and older native-born groups, the character of the official membership began to change in the late 1950's, due initially to the large-scale participation of the new immigrants. The new immigrants, by and large, tended to concentrate in this association, with only token and generally

short-lived participation in the other associations. Those members of the new immigrant group who rose to positions of leadership and influence within the community tended to do so only through their participation in this association, particularly after the coup of 1961.

Table XIV, below, provides an analysis of the changes which occurred in the composition of the official membership between 1961 and 1966.

TABLE XIV
Generation-Origin Groupings of
the Association's Members, 1963 - 1966.

	1961	1963	1965	1966
Total Members	83	278	108	159
Local Members	83	159	98	109
Analysis based on data for	63.8%	78.6%	72.3%	85.0%
Older Immigrants	34.4%	30.9%	25.7%	18.7%
Newer Immigrants	22.2	13.6	11.4	23.0
Older Native-Born	27.7	31.2	30.0	29.6
Younger Native-Born	7.4	12.0	22.8	24.1
Non-Icelandic	1.8	8.8	10.0	4.4

The size of the official membership grew steadily in the following years (1967, 1967-68, 1968-69), reaching the 300 mark in the last year indicated. The proportion of these official members drawn from the younger native-born and non-Icelandic groups increased from 28.5% in 1966 to 51.6% in early 1968-69.

After 1961 there was a gradual shift in the nature of the activities supported by the association.

Readings in poetry were phased out in favour of a greater number of dances, two of which were held in commemoration of important Icelandic holidays. The first, in February, commemorates the Thorrablot, a major festive day, and the second, in June, commemorates Iceland's Independence Day. The library, which had been the center of attention for so many years, was given to the home, at D's suggestion. In 1963 the Executive Committee changed the language being used from Icelandic to English, mainly to accommodate H, who threatened to resign if the committee continued to use a language he could not use. He was supported by J, who maintained that this change would have to be made to accommodate future officers who could not use the Icelandic language.

But the changes which were made during this period were made largely in response to pressures exerted by various groups and individuals. No attempt was made to produce and implement a co-ordinated programme of new ideas. The blame for this failure was placed on F by H and J and became another reason justifying his removal from office. But H and J, in turn, were not able to produce their own programme in their own time since they were forced to act quickly, both to counter F's continued attempts to maintain his influence and to meet the threat, to the

association's prestige, posed by the Seattle Club's emergence. They felt obliged to act to end F's career and to adopt a programme similar to the one which had been so successful in Seattle.

The new programme, formally adopted in January, 1967, was designed to appeal to the younger native-born group and their non-Icelandic spouses and friends. In addition, a number of limited interest activities were introduced. Eventually, however, the failure of the leaders to recruit enough officers to activate the sub-committee structure forced them to eliminate the limited interest activities and to concentrate on the social activities planned for the younger native-born group. But, with the exception of the new cultural policy, which had its first test in 1967, the constituent elements of this programme had been introduced in a piece-meal fashion between 1961 and 1965. As a result the reorganization carried out in 1967 did not involve the introduction of new policies as much as it was an effective consolidation and rationalization of the changes made in earlier years.

Nevertheless, the officers generally believed that the changes evident after 1967 in the composition of both the official and participatory membership were a direct result of the reorganization

of that year. But Table XIV shows that the membership was already beginning to change before 1967 and it is likely that the trends evident would have continued, regardless of the actions taken or not taken in connection with the name, the affiliation with the League and so on.

Some support for this interpretation is given in Table XV, below, which provides an analysis of three types of members: those who remained members during the years 1963-1966 (core members); those who withdrew during these years (withdrawals) and those who joined for the first time in the same period (new members).

TABLE XV
Generation-Origin Groupings of
the Core Members, Withdrawals, and New Members,
1963-1966.

	Core Members	With- drawals	New Members
Local Members	45	151	64
Analysis based on data for	93.3%	56.3%	84.3%
Older Immigrants	33.3%	28.2%	9.2%
Newer Immigrants	21.4%	10.5%	20.3%
Older Native-Born	26.1	34.1	22.2
Younger Native-Born	16.6	11.7	35.1
Non-Icelandic	2.3	15.3	9.2

The older immigrant and older native-born groups provided about 60% of the core members but less than a third of the new members. The younger native-born and non-Icelandic groups, which accounted

for less than a fifth of the core members, provided just under half of the new members. At the same time over 60% of those who discontinued their memberships were from the older immigrant and older native-born groups. It is difficult to say, however, what proportion of these members withdrew because they were unhappy with the changes underway in the association's activities. Many of these members joined in 1963 and 1964 in order to qualify for participation in the charter flights of those years. Most of them had not been members before these flights and very few maintained their membership status after the flights were over. Some of these people, when interviewed, stated, quite bluntly, that they had no interest in the association, for that matter they could not see why anyone would have an interest in it, and they themselves had joined only because the IATA regulations governing charter flights stipulate that only members of a sponsoring group could join a charter flight.

Further evidence that the membership began to change drastically before 1967 is provided by a comparison of the official and the participatory memberships. During 1966 and the early part of 1967 an effort was made to record the names of all those attending the public gatherings held by the association.

The first public gathering attended by the writer, after he had been elected to the association's Executive Committee in February, 1966, was a dinner-dance held the following month. This dance was attended by some 160 persons. During conversations with the association's other officers, on the night in question and on subsequent occasions, it became evident that the officers were familiar or acquainted with only a minority of those who had attended. This, it should be noted, did not cause them any worry. But the writer suggested that it might prove useful to know who was actually attending the association's public gatherings - such participants might be interested in becoming official members, if they were not official members already. At his suggestion a guest book was obtained and used at most of the public gatherings, other than business meetings, held between April, 1966, and April, 1967.

An analysis of the data obtained in this manner is presented in Table XVI, following, which provides a comparison of the official and participating memberships. The latter, of course, includes some of the official members.

TABLE XVI
The Generation-Origin Groupings of the
Official and Participating Members, 1966-67.

	1966		1967	
	Off.	Part.	Off.	Part.
Number of Members	159	340	134	165
Local Members	109	265	125	165
Analysis based on data for.	85.%	79.0%	87.5%	88.6%
Older Immigrants	18.7%	12.8%	22.9%	10.2%
Newer Immigrants	23.0	14.7	11.9	9.3
Older Native-Born	29.6	25.1	19.3	24.8
Younger Native-Born	24.1	25.6	28.4	28.2
Non-Icelandic	4.1	21.8	16.9	27.3

A more detailed analysis of this data provided some interesting findings. The official members of the association accounted for only 18% of the participants during 1966 and a slightly higher portion in the early part of 1967. Furthermore, less than half (about 40%) of the official members ever attended any gathering hosted by the association during the period covered by the data. In both years they appear to rank a poor third behind individuals who belonged to other associations in the community and other individuals who belonged to none. In later years, as conditions became more stable, more of the official members began to participate in such activities and by 1969 they were beginning to provide a majority of all participants at some public gatherings. But at the same time there was a steady increase in the number of non-Icelandic participants, many of whom were official

members, and there were gatherings in 1968 and later were the non-Icelanders accounted for 40% or more of all participants.

In general the analysis of the participating membership indicates that the shift in the group characteristics of the association's effective supporters was already well established before the reorganization of 1967.

The leaders publicly justified this reorganization on the grounds that it was necessary in order to attract the younger native-born individuals. But their motives were not quite as simple, or as pure, as those public statements indicated. The desire to change the name was largely a reaction to the fact that the officers of the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle gave much of the credit for their success to that English name. A number of other changes, such as the increase in the membership dues, the change in the time of the annual meeting, the reorganization of the office structure and the introduction of the principle of limited tenure for the directors, were all borrowed from that Club, simply because they were thought to be, and were stated to be, among the other elements which contributed to that success. Similarly, the decision to sever the ties with the Icelandic National League was largely a by-product of

the continuing dispute between F and the association's leaders, H and J. Before 1965 these two men had not been too interested in the League or in the ties between the association and the League. But they were willing to discuss the question of future relations up to the moment that F was made a director of the League and given control over its activities on the coast. H and J were incensed at what they regarded as an unwarranted attempt by the League to interfere in their affairs through F. Both had to be and were, punished.

The proponents of these changes did not think it necessary to consult with the members, whether official or participatory. Their decisions were largely a response to pressures which they alone felt and the opinions of the members were of little interest to them. Nevertheless, they did go through the motions of consulting the members by calling a special general meeting, which was held in November, 1966. Ostensibly the meeting was called to give the members an opportunity to examine and discuss certain tentative proposals being considered by the officers in connection with a revision of the present constitution. But in fact there was nothing tentative about any of these proposals, which were contained in a completely new constitution. The decisions

involved had been made months earlier and none of them were considered negotiable. The real purpose of the meeting was to give the leaders a public forum in which they could humiliate and discredit F to the point where both his reputation and his will to lead were destroyed. Careful planning for that objective paid handsome dividends, and after this meeting F was rarely seen at any public meeting held by or under the auspices of any of the associations in the community.

Patterns of Participation

The names of the ordinary members interviewed in the initial stages of this study (1965-66) were drawn from the membership lists which had been obtained up to that time. The interviews which were conducted had two main objectives. First, they were designed to provide personal data which could be treated in a statistical manner. This included information on such points as birthplace and birthdate, occupation, marital status (and spouse's ethnic origin, if non-Icelandic), migration history, record of participation in Icelandic and non-Icelandic associations, and so on. Second, these interviews were designed to provide information on the extent to which these individuals identified themselves or could be identified as being

members of the ethnic community. This was to be accomplished indirectly by determining the extent of their knowledge of three points: the history of the community and/or the associations, the identity of the community's leaders and their awareness of the important issues, if any. It was thought that the more knowledgeable the members were on all or any of these points the greater their sense of belonging to a community would be.

It did not take very many interviews to establish the fact that the ordinary members of the community generally had little detailed knowledge of either the history of the community or the history of the associations within it. Some simply knew nothing, while others had vague, and usually erroneous, opinions. No specific statement could be accepted unless verified by numerous witnesses and, if possible, by documentary sources. Most of the members did not know when a given association had been established, why it was established or who had established it. Few had any but the vaguest notions as to what had happened prior to the time they had first joined, assuming, of course, that they were able to remember when they had first become members. Nor were they much better informed about the events which had occurred after they had

joined. They were aware of some of the highlights of recent years, such as the construction of the church, the visit of the President and the construction of the old folks home, but they lacked any detailed knowledge about these and other events.

The ordinary member's lack of historical knowledge is not necessarily an unexpected finding. There is, after all, no reason why such an individual should have or needs to have such knowledge, particularly when little or nothing is done to give him an opportunity to acquire such knowledge. The lack of such knowledge does not bar him from participating quite extensively in the affairs of these associations and this community. After all, it takes no knowledge and little initiative on the member's part to give mumbled consent or to raise his hand, along with thirty other people, to approve a decision which has not been fully explained and which is barely understandable.

The officers of the associations were generally more aware of the history of the community and the associations than the ordinary members. There were, however, three distinct groupings among these officers, insofar as the depth of their knowledge was concerned. The group which possessed the greatest quantity of knowledge consisted of individuals

who had been officers for twenty years or longer. Their detailed knowledge of the past was, in part, a by-product of their intimate personal connection with those events. The passage of years, not unexpectedly, tended to result in versions which were biased in one way or another. Another group consisted of those individuals who had just recently been elected to their positions. These new officers, who were often new members as well, were frequently so busy performing their duties that they had no time, and often little desire, to learn about past events. They tended to rely on the often biased versions of their seniors, who were in some cases the victorious survivors of epic but unpublicized disputes. But although such new officers were not always obtaining a very accurate picture of the past they were usually learning modern history by participating in its creation.

The officers of Strondin were particularly prominent in this group. Two separate purges of the association's officer corps, one in 1961 and the other in 1965, had brought into office individuals who had only recently become members of the association. Their knowledge of the association's past history was very meager and consisted largely of a rather one-sided view of the most recent events,

coloured in a way which discredited F and his actions.

There was a third, rather small, group of individuals, some of whom were then in official positions and some of whom had recently vacated such positions, usually after serving only for a year or two. These individuals were no better informed than the ordinary members. Their tenure, past and present, in their official positions had not given them any real knowledge of what was going on.

The interviews indicated that although the ordinary members were not well informed as far as the community's history was concerned they did know, or felt they knew, who the leaders were. But the number of individuals they identified as leaders was small, rarely more than two or three and quite often only one. These nominations were usually in the form of very definite statements, such as "D runs the home", "Mrs R runs Solskin", or "E is the church". On the basis of these nominations it appeared that the top leadership of the community consisted of E, I, F, D and Mrs R. It appeared that E, on the basis of the number of nominations he received, was the community's single most influential or powerful leader. In addition, a number of other persons - J, H, O, C, Mrs K, B, Mrs D, Mrs F, U and P - seemed

to form a second echelon on the basis of the nominations they received. But subsequent analysis indicated that the reputations of these leaders were not always related to the reality of their respective situations.

It was noted earlier that most of the members of the community were members of only one association and that their effective or actual participation was restricted to one association. Even those individuals who had official memberships in two or more associations tended to restrict their actual participation to only one of these, while their official memberships in the other associations was merely a token of support. Because of their tendency to restrict their effective participation the members, by and large, were ignorant of the realities of the community and they tended to nominate the leaders of their association as the leaders of the community. When the nominations made were compared with the associational affiliations of the nominators the single group of top leaders was broken into several separate groupings.

The leaders associated with the church were E and I; those associated with Strondin were F and D; those associated with the Home Society were D and Mrs R, and the Solskin leaders were Mrs R and Mrs K. A

similar regrouping of the second rank of leaders was also in order. The appearance of a hierarchical, single grouping of the leaders was a direct result of the bias introduced by the differences in the sizes of the memberships of these associations. The church had the largest effective membership and as a result E and I received by far the highest number of nominations. On the other hand, the effective memberships of the Home Society and Solskin were rather small and D and Mrs R received far fewer votes than either of the church leaders, their relative ranking in the over-all leadership group being boosted by the nominations they received from members of other associations.

The members interviewed tended to regard F and D as the top leaders of Strondin. These interviews were conducted as much as a year after these two men were removed from their offices but the fact of their removal had not yet been fully comprehended by the membership. This was partly due to the fact that H and J had failed to publicize the fact that they were now in command and the members were generally under the impression that F was still the president and that D was still in office. In fact, several years passed before it was generally realized that there had been a change of command in this

association. But by the time that the mass of the membership had learned that F had been succeeded by H, the latter had, in turn, retired and been succeeded by J. And by the time that the members had learned that change J had also retired and been succeeded by S. The rate of turnover in the leadership of Strondin (later the Icelandic Canadian Club of British Columbia) was so high, particularly at a time when the leadership of the other associations remained basically the same, that the members were usually out-of-touch with reality, as far as reality concerned the identity of the association's top leaders.

The individuals nominated by the members were usually able to provide a more detailed description of the office structures of their associations and provided a more complete listing of the individuals who, by virtue of their official positions, were in a position to influence the course of events. But even the leaders tended to think primarily in terms of the particular association they were affiliated with and, as a result, they were no better informed than the ordinary members as to the extent and the composition of the leadership or officer corps of the other associations. They knew the top leaders of those associations, or at least they knew who they

were, but they did not know the identities of the other less prominent officers of those same associations.

Since the late 1950's the leaders of the community had been engaged in a continuous struggle for control over the policies and the futures of the associations. During this struggle control over each of the major associations - the church, Strondin and the Home Society - had been divided between different groups of leaders and each such group had its own ideas and opinions as to what the future of their association should be. There was no longer any effective communication between the associations, or the leaders, and each was going in its own direction. The leaders continued to praise community co-operation in public but the policies they implemented in private were implemented in the expectation of gains for their association and it was of no interest to them if those policies tended to damage or weaken the ability of the other associations to implement their policies.

The leader (or leaders) of one association could not express too great an interest in the activities of the other associations because such an expression was bound to be interpreted - often deliberately so - as an unwarranted and unjustified

attempt to interfere in matters which did not concern him (or them). Few leaders were willing, any longer, to risk the eruption which would result and most, by a mutual if unspoken agreement, left his colleagues alone and concentrated on his own affairs and the affairs of the association he led. And because the leaders avoided not only confrontations but contacts as well they were not in a position to learn too much about the leaders of the other associations - nor were they really interested in such information any longer.

The information produced in the interviews conducted at this time (1965-66) generally gave the impression that this was a peaceful little community. Such a picture was painted by the ordinary members and by the officers. Many of the latter went to great lengths to describe how well they got along with each other, how easily they all agreed on a common course of action, and how they all worked, each to the best of his ability, to maintain the spirit and the principle of community co-operation. But cracks appeared in this peaceful scene quite early and they widened considerably after the writer became an active participant in the activities of these leaders. Only then did the extent of the

disputes between the leaders, and their effect, gradually become evident. And at this time (1966) a number of these disputes were rapidly approaching the stage where a public explosion was inevitable and unavoidable, despite the fact that the leaders were really reluctant to quarrel in public. The leaders generally agreed that their disagreements had to be solved in private for they feared that a public dispute would antagonize or disturb many members to the point where they would simply withdraw from the community. But sometimes their disagreements could not be resolved in private, either because the differences were too extreme or because a private solution was not really wanted, and either or both factions would choose to finish in public what they had started in private. And such a finish invariably had the feared effect on the membership.

Given such an attitude on the part of the leaders and the officers together, it is not surprising to note that the members were not generally or continuously aware of anything which could be described as an important issue. Insofar as they knew, the community was usually at peace with itself and this condition permitted them to act within it as they desired. And what they

desired was an opportunity to meet their fellow Icelandic Canadians and to share a cup of coffee and the latest personal gossip with them. They generally did not want to be directly involved in the often onerous task of keeping the associations in operation - that, after all, was what the officers were supposed to do. Accordingly, they had little desire to get involved in the disputes which might arise between those officers.

But because not all disputes could be resolved in private the members could not avoid all contact with the important issues of the day. If a dispute was thought to be insoluble, within the limits of the traditional method of handling such affairs, or if, for some reason, a private solution was not desired, then one or both of the factions involved would decide to refer the dispute to the members for their decision. This would be done at the regular annual meeting or a special general meeting. Such meetings are usually very poorly attended and the outcome of any votes taken by those attending can be manipulated rather easily, often by as few as a dozen persons acting together on prior instructions. The decision is often made so quickly that the members do not realize that an important issue has been settled and it may take

some time before they fully understand the meaning of the events they witnessed. By then, of course, it is too late to object, if the decision was or is not acceptable to them. They were there and by their presence became associated with the particular decision in question.

The principal benefit the members receive from these associations is the opportunity given to them to meet and talk with friends and acquaintances, who do not only just share a common ancestry with them but who have often shared their lives since childhood. The remembering and reviewing of past events with such friends, as well as an exchange of information about the more recent events in their lives, is one of the principal reasons for their participation in such gatherings. Such exchanges can be and are held at any public gathering. But the general meetings, which are held to approve decisions taken on routine or special matters pertaining to the operation of the associations, provide relatively little time for such exchanges. Such meetings have a tendency to be very long, since the officers generally want to have the formal approval of the membership for every minor or major decision or action they have taken or plan to take. The members, accordingly, stay away from

such meetings quite deliberately, except for the few brave souls who risk being caught in the cross-fire, should the leaders be fighting again.

There was, or appeared to be, a considerable difference in the extent to which different individuals were attached to or had a sense of belonging to the community or one of its associations. The officers, especially the leaders, had a very high and often a very personal commitment, serving a worthy cause with with selfless devotion and humility. "Some one must do it and no one else will!" But the ordinary members, by and large, were not as deeply or as continuously committed to the community, since the benefits they sought and received could be, and often were, obtained outside of the community.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP AND POWER IN THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Leaders and Officers

The minutes of the annual general meeting of the Women's Auxiliary of the Icelandic Lutheran Church, held in November, 1950, contains the following description of the elections held that year:

"At this time of the meeting the election of officers commenced. The president stepped down and asked Mrs S__ to take the chair, which she did, and the annual struggle commenced.

"The Executive all resigned and no one wished to take over. Mrs U was the unanimous choice for president and was pressed into service with Mrs GJ as vice-president."

Matters improved somewhat over the years, as the following excerpt from the minutes of the Auxiliary's annual meeting in October, 1959, indicates:

"There were no elections necessary as the same executive willingly accepted their offices for another term."

The minutes of the annual meeting of Strondin, held in January, 1963, describe how J introduced a more democratic method of electing the association's officers. Instead of presenting a single slate of nominees for the seven positions on the Executive Committee and the nine sub-committee positions, he presented the nominees one by one,

inviting further nominations from the floor for every position. No further nominations were made, and those nominated by J were elected by acclamation. One dissenting vote was cast against one of these nominees. The secretary, nominated for re-election, voted against himself.

The chairman of the nominating committee presented a full slate of nominees for the Board of Trustees to the members attending the annual general meeting of the Icelandic Lutheran Church in January, 1964. The nominees were all elected by acclamation. One of the new trustees was Mr GB, who was not present at the meeting. By an unfortunate oversight the chairman of the nominating committee had forgotten to tell Mr GB that he was to be nominated for a seat on the Board of Trustees. By an equally unfortunate oversight he forgot to tell Mr GB that he had been elected to that seat. Some time later Mr GB was asked by the Board's senior member why he was not attending the Board's meetings. Mr GB, in return, wondered why he should be attending those meetings. The balance of their conversation was probably not without its humorous overtones, as Mr GB insisted that he was not a trustee and his colleague insisted that he was. Mr GB finally persevered, but only

with great difficulty and in the face of a determined opposition.

The Ladies Aid Solskin celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in November, 1967. In recognition of their past services the Board of Directors of the Home Society honoured them with a banquet. One item on the programme required the president of the Home Society to introduce the Aid's present officers to the audience. He encountered no problems until he came to the position of the vice-secretary. He did not know who the vice-secretary was, nor apparently did anyone else since his request that she identify herself was met by a dead silence. There followed an extended period of whispered conversations as those present searched their ranks for the missing officer. This search was brought to an abrupt end when one of the searchers jumped up and shouted: "It's me!"

The president of the Home Society stunned the members attending the annual meeting in January, 1968, by declaring that ill-health forced him to decline nomination for a ninth consecutive term in office. Only after overcoming strenuous objections from those present was he able to call for nominations for the post of president. Three such nominations were made, the candidates being D, O and

T2. The latter two demanded that they be allowed to decline nomination and the position went to D by acclamation. The next position to be filled was the directorship being vacated by Mrs R, her term having expired. She was not present, but she had sent a letter to the meeting indicated that if no other candidate could be found she would accept nomination for re-election. The members accepted her offer and elected her, in the usual manner, to her seventh consecutive three-year term.

Election time has not always been as peaceful or as lacking in general interest, as the above-described events might indicate. As recently as 1961 there were two opposing slates of nominees for the executive positions in Strondin, although the election itself was no contest. Similarly, there were opposing candidates for the vacant seats on the Home Society's Board in 1958, 1959 and 1960, though, of course, the outcome of the elections was predictable.

The position of an officer in one of these associations is not a highly desired one. Because the official work force is small and the quantity of routine house-keeping duties great, his life can be a difficult one. He must be ready and willing to

give an almost unlimited amount of his time and energy to help deal with the one hundred and one tasks which must be performed in order to keep the associations in operation. These tasks are continuous and often onerous, requiring frequent meetings with his colleagues and solo performances, often several times a month. In addition to the time he must give in private he is under an obligation to attend every public gathering held by the association of which he is an officer.

Although his position is not always an envied one, it is, for the associations and the community, a very important one. When the community is defined in terms of its constituent associations, those associations must be kept operational. They are kept operational by the combined efforts of the individuals who occupy the offices which constitute the office structures of the associations. Only those individuals who hold such official positions are accorded the right, by their colleagues and, to a lesser extent, by the members, to act as leaders or to share in the formulation and implementation of policy.

It is, of course, conceivable that the officeholders represent only the formal leadership, with real or effective control being exercised by non-

officers behind the scene. But this is not the case in this community.

There is a shortage of potential or actual officeholders, and this shortage is a continuing problem for all of these associations. This shortage is partly due to the fact that the members, by and large, participate in the activities of these associations for the personal benefits they receive in the form of opportunities to meet friends and acquaintances. Generally they do not have a desire to take part in the activities which enable these associations to operate.

The office structures of these associations have been reduced to a minimum in size, usually a board or executive committee with six to twelve members. Despite the minimal size, it has often been the case that not enough officers or potential candidates for office have been found to fill all the available offices, even when a potential candidate was offered a position but freed of any obligation to take an active part in the activities of his colleagues. GB was not the only person to be elected to an office without his prior consent, nor was he the only person to be urged to retain his office without an obligation to perform the duties which might be attached to it. If he had accepted this offer, the

other officers would not have had to engage in yet another tiresome search for a successor.

Because there is a shortage of acceptable officers or potential candidates for office, it is not surprising to note that any individual, regardless of his membership status, who expresses more than a passing interest in the business affairs of these associations becomes a potential candidate for office. Whether this potential is translated into actual election to an office or an appointment to an office depends upon other factors, especially the assessment made by the leaders of his (her) potential effect upon the association and, more importantly, upon their own status as leaders.

Miss M had been a relatively inactive member of the congregation for several years prior to the time (mid-1966) that she began to object to the planned dissolution of the Women's Auxiliary, an organization which she had never joined or supported to any extent. Her objections were based on the grounds that an Icelandic organization simply could not be permitted to die, and she promised to see to it that new members would be brought in to give it a new lease on life. Her objections and promises angered some of the Auxiliary's officers, such as Mrs L, who felt that she had no right to interfere

in an organization which she had never supported. But Miss M was giving voice to the growing fears of most of the congregation's members, whose ethnic patriotism was being aroused by I and E. Her objections carried the day at the annual meeting in 1967. But her objections also carried her into office as the Auxiliary's treasurer. Once in office she became so absorbed by the quantity of work which had to be performed that she was never really able to mount the promised drive for new members.

The writer's activities during 1965 were interpreted by the leaders of Strondin as indicating the existence of a personal interest which transcended any other interests. Because of the purges carried out in earlier years, they were in an even more difficult situation than the leaders of the other associations, and they offered him as many positions as he cared to accept. In a matter of months he was elected, by due democratic process, to serve as the secretary of the Executive Committee and as the senior delegate to the Scandinavian Central Committee, and was appointed the chairman of the centennial committee, the chairman of an ad hoc public relations committee, the secretary of an ad hoc by-law committee and the secretary of the Scholarship Committee. By his service in these and other capacities he, in the

course of time, became as prominent and, by reputation, as powerful a leader as H and J. In time, in fact, the threesome of H, J and V (the writer) was recognized as a clique, known unofficially within a small circle as the Unholy Trinity, which was, by reputation, so powerful and influential that no individual or association within their sphere of interest could challenge them and feel his or its future to be secure. But, not unexpectedly, their reputation lived longer than the reality.

The writer made it clear, or tried to, that he accepted these positions because they might prove useful for the purposes of this study. It was assumed that the process of leadership could best be studied by close observation of and controlled participation in the deliberations and activities of the leaders. These individuals, however, declined to accept that reason as a real one, at least they declined to do so for the benefit of their public, and in time the writer was literally paraded by H and J as living proof of the success of the new policy they developed during 1966 and formally introduced in 1967.

The positions accepted permitted a very close scrutiny of the operations of the leaders in this association and gave almost unlimited access to the operations of the other associations in the

community (via the centennial committee) and, to a lesser extent, to the operations of the leaders of other ethnic communities (via the Scandinavian Central Committee).

In these two cases the expression or appearance of an interest in the business affairs of the associations in question brought Miss M and the writer to the attention of the leaders of these associations. Given the shortage of officers, that interest made them potential candidates for office. And once it was established that their interests and opinions were not contrary to those of the leaders, or were thought to be neutral in the current disputes, the way for nomination was open and election to office was guaranteed. Once in office each of these individuals had a choice between operating as an officer, by performing only those duties which by tradition or formal description were attached to their offices, or moving towards the status of a leader, by taking advantage of the opportunity to perform additional duties. Both, each for his or her own reasons, chose the latter path.

There are considerable differences between the position and status of officers and leaders in such a community. The leaders are usually the individuals who played a major or a dominant role

in the original establishment of one or more associations and have remained officers of such associations since then. Because of the role they played in the original establishment of the associations the leaders are usually the individuals who formulated the policy or policies which govern the operations of those associations and who supervise the on-going implementation of those policies. The officers tend to be individuals recruited by the leaders, for shorter or longer periods, to aid in the implementation of these policies. Such officers are generally limited to performing certain specific tasks while no such limits are placed on or exist for the range of duties or tasks which are or may be performed by the leaders.

The leaders tend to be visible to the members to a far greater degree than the officers. This high visibility is the result of a complex of factors, some of which are more important than others. The fact that the leaders were the chief or among the chief organizers of the association means that their membership records usually antedate those of the other members and officers. The latter cannot recall a time when the leaders were not there in their respective positions. The duties performed by the leaders in effect put them on display

before the members during public gatherings while the officers, though present, do not appear as prominently. And because the officers generally do not perform in offices or work situations which are visible to the members they tend to be unknown by the latter. Their relative lack of visibility tends to exaggerate the visibility of the leaders and tends to create the impression that only the latter have a part to play in the activities which keep the association in operation.

This sharp division between the leaders and the officers is maintained, in part, by the relatively poor development of any formal means of spreading information amongst the members of the community. At the time that this study began none of the associations issued a newsletter, or a comparable instrument, on a regular basis. Specific events, such as the initiation of a charter flight or the calling of a general meeting, were sometimes publicized by means of a short newsletter or post card. Such announcements generally provided a minimum of information and generally gave only a final decision without any explanation of the deliberations, if any, which led to it. The leaders did not think it was necessary to provide a more detailed or a more continuous presentation by such

Formal means and tended to rely on an informal verbal grapevine to a much greater extent. But the grapevine tends to be very selective in the kinds and quantities of information transmitted, as well as in the speed with which such information is transmitted. And insofar as it is effective it tends to emphasize the roles of the leaders by transmitting messages regarding on-going or future events which are specifically associated with one or more leaders and which do not mention the other individuals who might have played a part in the formulation of the message.

The newsletter issued by Strondin, on a monthly basis, beginning in the spring of 1966, did not effectively change or increase the amount of information given to the members of the community. It was generally restricted to announcing the dates and locations of future public meetings to be held by this and other associations. The use of names, of leaders, officers or members, in connection with such events was deliberately restricted. This restriction was, in theory, intended to de-personalize the events in question but, because some names had to be mentioned as sources for tickets and/or further information, its actual effect was to emphasize the roles of the leaders who organized and

supervised these events. The newsletter became a means whereby the roles of the association's leaders were given a particular prominence, while the roles of the association's other officers, as well as those of the leaders and officers of the other associations, were either not mentioned or were de-emphasized.

The high positions of the leaders are not due solely to the fact that they generally control and can manipulate the community's information services, such as they are. The leaders have also achieved their positions by doing more for the associations, or appearing to have done more, over a longer period of time than anyone else. The five individuals nominated as top leaders had been officers for an average of 23.8 years, or 28.2 years if F is excluded. But the ten second-rank leaders, on the basis of the nominations, had been officers for an average of only 10.6 years and the twenty three other officers for an average of 5.3 years. The top leaders, with the exception of F, had been the leaders for so long and had done so much to earn their positions that no one, least of all they themselves, questioned their right to those positions.

The attitudes of the top leaders are not

without importance in explaining their positions. D attained the presidency of the Home Society in January, 1968, after P was obliged to retire because of poor health. He was asked by the writer how long he expected to retain his new position. He replied by telling a story about a woman who had asked him some years earlier, how long he planned to retain the vice-presidency of the Home Society, an office he had held for so long that it was generally believed that he was the only person to have held it. His reply to her was allegedly in the following form: "A murderer gets a life sentence for his crime and I hope to get the same for mine - which is being only humble enough to serve!"

His fellow leaders did not use quite such an analogy, nor did they proclaim their humility quite as loudly as he did, but they share his attitude. To them it is only right that they should both reign and rule - after all, somebody had to do it and no one else would. The fact that they used their control over the recruitment of new officers to ensure that no competitors appeared on the scene was not a subject to be discussed in public or in private.

Elections are usually held every year or every three years and they can be quite humorous for

an observer. The individuals about to be re-elected, especially the leaders, move about complaining, at length and with apparent bitterness, about the long and hard years behind them and the others which stretch before them. They wonder why no one wants to succeed them and suggest, to their listeners, that they would only be happy to step aside for anybody else. Their complaints are often addressed to individuals who are trying to let it be known, by word and by deed, that they would like to be officers. But such efforts are not noticed by the complaining officers, who complain right up to the moment when they are nominated for re-election by the chairman of the nominating committee. Then, resigned to their fate, they accept yet another term by acclamation.

Selected Profiles

The leaders of the community have shaped it into its present mold by the parts they have played in its history. It has moved as they have acted and the constituent associations have become, if they have not always been, the creations and the creatures of the leaders. The life and history of the community can be described in terms of the life

histories of its leaders, as is shown by the following profiles of the five nominated top leaders.

Leader E

E was born in Manitoba, in 1900, and is of the first native-born generation. He left school before completing his education and worked at various jobs before joining the Hudson's Bay Company in 1937. The Company sent him to its offices in Vancouver and he worked there until he retired in 1962. At the time of his retirement he was the Company's chief comptroller for its operations in British Columbia and Alberta.

E's career as a leader in the local Icelandic community began as soon as he arrived in Vancouver. He became involved in the establishment of the Icelandic Choir in 1937 and was elected by its members to serve as its director. He continued to direct it after it was merged, at his suggestion, with the church congregation in 1944 and is still its director at the present time (1969). The choir's fortunes have changed through the years as his own personal interest in it has changed. His interest and the choir's activities were at a high point in early 1967 when the pastor offended his son by not thanking him properly for performing a solo number during a church

service. There was, accordingly, an element of genuine anger in E's reaction to an event which not only hurt a member of his own family but which damaged an organization which was intimately connected with him.

E was appointed, in the fall of 1941, to head a committee of laymen organized to help the pastor, who was working to re-establish the Icelandic Lutheran congregation in Vancouver. When the congregation was formally set up, in March, 1944, E joined the Board of Trustees and has remained a member of it since then. He served as the president of the Board in 1944-45, again in 1948-50, when the congregation's charter was being revised, and then in 1956, when the construction of the church was completed. At the same time (1956) he was the chairman of the Building Fund Committee and was responsible for raising, or trying to raise, enough money from the community to meet the congregation's financial obligations to the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church. In between sessions as the president of the Board he has served as its vice-president, serving in this latter capacity for nineteen years. In 1965 the charter of the congregation was revised again and the vice-presidency of the Board, then held by E, became the highest lay office

in the congregation.

E played a leading role in defending the congregation's ethnic identity when that identity came under attack in 1962-63 and in 1966. But before the latter incident he appeared to have changed his own opinions on this matter and did indicate that the pastor's actions on the membership question had his support. But I's campaign to preserve the church's character as an Icelandic organization received an immediate response from the members, and E changed his opinions again. He became the chief defender of the congregation as an ethnic congregation and the pastor's principal critic. When the pastor resigned E sought out and hired a replacement and then initiated negotiations with another congregation which produced an agreement concerning the sharing of the Icelandic church by both congregations. This agreement had the further effect of solving the congregation's perennial financial difficulties and gave E's prestige a major boost.

Although he has been primarily concerned with the congregation, E has taken an interest in the other associations in the community. He was involved in the negotiations which preceded the establishment of the Icelandic Old Folks Home Society and served as a member of its Fund Committee and as the chair-

man of a committee which selected a name for the home. He took a deeper interest in the Home Society's affairs during the 1950's and served on its Board, as the representative of Strondin, for several years. During this time he appears to have tried to establish a more direct and firm control over its operations by arranging the election of a number of directors who were members and usually officers of the congregation.

In June, 1944, E was appointed to serve as the first diplomatic representative (Honourary Vice-Consul) in Vancouver of the newly established Republic of Iceland. He served in this position until 1955, when he resigned at his employer's request. On his recommendation the position was then given to U, who was then a trustee of the congregation and the chairman of its Building Committee. E was awarded the Order of the Falcon in 1957 by the Icelandic Government in recognition of his services as the Vice-Consul.

In 1961 E became the chairman of the committee established to prepare a reception for the President of Iceland, who visited Vancouver during his State Visit to Canada. E's service in that capacity further increased his reputation and his public standing in the community. However, his manner of operating the committee angered many

people, among them several of the officers of Strondin. They felt that he had manipulated the necessary arrangements to benefit himself and his friends. Their anger was increased when, at the banquet arranged in the President's honour, E delivered a welcoming address which, in their opinion, was a lengthy catalogue of his own achievements and contributions to the community. His position was not improved when he, unintentionally, insulted the President during the course of that welcoming address. E made some remarks about the Order of the Falcon which he had received and the President felt or chose to feel that those remarks were a deliberate insult. After he returned to Iceland he took steps to ensure that the leadership of the local community learned that he had been insulted. E's reputation among his fellow leaders, particularly among the leaders of Strondin (other than F), already damaged by the events which occurred during the President's visit, took a beating from which it never recovered. But because the members of the community never learned of this incident his public reputation, particularly among the members of the congregation, remained as high as ever. They could see, in the arrangements made for the visits of other distinguished visitors (such as the Ambassador and the Prime Minister in 1964), that he was being snubbed

by his colleagues but they never knew why. He continued to be the most prominent leader of the congregation, a man whose long and devoted service gave him a first claim on their loyalty and support, such as it was.

Leader I

Leader I was born in Manitoba, in 1912, and is of the second native-born generation. He is an electrical engineer and has been employed by the B.C. Hydro and Power Authority (formerly the B.C. Electric Company) since his arrival in Vancouver in 1946.

Leader I arrived in Vancouver in 1946 as a member of the armed forces and remained in the city after demobilization. He joined the congregation in 1948 and was elected a member of the Board of Trustees in 1950. Leader I was originally nominated by E, then the chairman of the nominating committee, for the position of secretary. His immediate predecessor in that office had successfully opposed E on a key issue and had suffered the fate of all rebels.

The issue concerned the name to be given to the congregation under the revised constitution being prepared at that time. E favoured the name Grace Lutheran Church and at his suggestion the Board of Trustees recommended this name to the members attending

the annual meeting in January, 1949. The secretary, who had apparently not taken a part in the Board's deliberations on this issue, objected to this name on the grounds that the church, being the Icelandic church, should be clearly identified as the Icelandic church. At his suggestion the members of the congregation advised the Board to reconsider and bring back a name which reflected that fact. The Board did as requested but two months later, at a special general meeting called for this purpose, they recommended that the church be named the Grace Lutheran Church. The secretary objected again, for the same reason, but then presented a motion to the members which would name the church the Icelandic Lutheran Church. This motion was accepted, apparently without an actual vote. E took his defeat with grace but eight months later he declined to nominate the secretary for re-election to another term. The nomination was given to Leader I.

Leader I served as the Board's secretary for seven years. During this time he took part in the planning of the congregation's building programme and in the planning of the associated fund and membership drives. In 1957 he succeeded E as the president of the Board of Trustees and held this position until 1965, when a revised constitution gave the office of president to the pastor. During his term of office

Leader I was deeply involved in a continuing effort to place the congregation's finances on a sound footing and in a number of special drives designed to raise enough money to meet the financial obligations incurred during the construction of the church. These efforts generally did not achieve their objectives and by the time that Leader I turned his office over to the pastor the congregation's financial difficulties were extreme. But the fact of those difficulties did not reflect on his position or reputation as a leader.

Leader I continued to serve as a member of the Board after he gave up the presidency. He worked with the new pastor during 1965, while the latter was making his try at resolving the financial problem. This effort was partly successful since the proposed deficit for 1965 was reduced, by a special drive, from \$4,000 to \$15,000, in a budget totalling some \$14,000. But their co-operation came to an end when the pastor began to enforce the constitutional regulations governing membership. Leader I objected to this step and insisted that as an Icelandic organization the church must never do anything which might make the potential members think they were not welcome. When he failed to deter the pastor he sought the support of the congregation's members.

He based his appeal to the members on

patriotic grounds. As members of an Icelandic organization they could not stand aside and let that Icelandic character be attacked or undermined. The members responded, generally because they accepted his interpretation of these events. But some of them were already disturbed and angry and needed little encouragement from him. There were members of the Auxiliary who were not willing to accept the planned dissolution of their group. There were members of the Board of Deacons, abolished in 1965, who felt that they had never been properly thanked for their past services by the new pastor.

As soon as it became evident that the members of the congregation were being aroused by Leader I and his campaign, E, who had been rather inactive for about a year, stepped in and took command. Leader I took a back seat during the critical years which followed, when E successfully defended the congregation's image, obtained a new pastor and then solved the perennial financial problems. Having solved all the problems E stepped aside and, in March, 1969, Leader I resumed the leadership of the congregation, at least in the formal sense by accepting, on E's nomination, the highest lay office, that of vice-president of the Board of Trustees.

Leader F

F was born in Iceland in 1924 and emigrated to Canada in 1958. The immediate cause of his decision to leave Iceland was the bankruptcy of the construction firm he had established. He continued to work in this line after he came to Vancouver and eventually established a small and thriving business.

F was the first of the new immigrants to achieve the position of a top leader and the first to lose it. He joined Strondin in 1958, shortly after his arrival, and was among those who asked for less poetry and more dancing. He was unable to do anything on his own to achieve this objective until after he became allied with D. After the successful conclusion of his fight to wrest control of the Home Society away from the congregation, D supported the efforts of F and others to seize control of Strondin. This was done at the association's annual meeting in January, 1961. F, on D's nomination, was elected its new president.

The first of the many problems F encountered began immediately. The deposed leader, SE, refused to surrender the association's records and the library. After trying and failing to reason with SE privately F sought legal assistance. Private efforts by the

lawyer proved equally unsuccessful and a law suit was initiated. Only then did SE surrender the records and the library. F's conduct in this unfortunate incident was observed by many, some approved but others, among them J, did not.

Another of his early problems was caused by the resignations of the other two new immigrants elected in January, 1961. Both were elected without their prior knowledge and consent and both refused to serve in the positions to which they were elected. A mini-election had to be arranged, at which J, a new immigrant, and C, one of the association's founding officers, were elected.

In the spring of 1961 F was advised that the President of Iceland would be visiting Vancouver and that Strondin was to be in charge of the preparations for his visit. The Executive Committee of Strondin decided that F should chair a reception committee, to which the other associations would be invited to send a single representative. Among those who accepted the offer were H, then the president of the Icelandic Male Choir, and E, who arrived at the first meeting of this committee accompanied by seven of the Trustees of the church. F, on his own authority, turned the chairmanship of the committee over to E. F was aware of the incidents which occurred before

and during the President's visit but he did not place any particular blame for these events on E, nor did he support those of his colleagues who did.

The years of F's presidency were marked by a series of public successes which built his prestige as well as that of the association. He appears to have paid considerable attention to his relations with the members and with some of the community's other leaders, especially E and D. But he did not give as much attention to his relations with the other officers of Strondin, particularly J and H, who became Strondin's treasurer, on J's suggestion, in 1963. As time passed they became quite disturbed over mistakes he made or was alleged to have made in connection with specific events and the effect these mistakes had on the association. They were also becoming convinced that F was more interested in building his own career as a leader than in putting the association on a stable basis. F apparently never realized the extent of their feelings, even though there had been arguments over various matters, such as the manner in which H and J had deliberately excluded E from the arrangements made in connection with the visits of the Ambassador and the Prime Minister in 1964. Possibly he felt secure because his good friend J was, as he had been for several

years, the chairman of the nominating committee.

A few days before the annual meeting in January, 1965, J informed him that the slate of nominees to be presented to the members for their approval was ready. This slate excluded F, D, C, and two other officers. It was expected that the new slate would be unopposed but F could expect to be nominated as the delegate to represent the association at the annual convention of the Icelandic National League, which would be held in February in Winnipeg.

F accepted this turn of events, there was little else he could do given the fact that the meeting was only a few days away and the additional fact that his opponents were well prepared. But he was not quite ready to abandon his position as a leader, and this became evident when he accepted two new positions offered to him, by groups outside the community, on the grounds that somebody had to accept these positions and no one else appeared to want them. One reason why no one else wanted them was the fact that no one else knew of their existence until F announced that he had them.

The first of these positions was that of a member-at-large and Special Plenipotentiary of the League's Executive Committee, which carried with it direct responsibility for and control over the League's

activities in Vancouver and Seattle. The other position was that of the Icelandic member of the Ethnic Organizations Sub-Committee of the Provincial Centennial Commission, in which capacity he was to supervise the participation of the Icelandic community in the coming centennial celebrations. The new leaders of Strondin, H and J, were not pleased to see him reappear after they had gone to considerable lengths to remove him from the scene. But for the moment they were obliged to work with him.

They accepted his request to set up a committee to work on the community's centennial projects but selected the committee's members on their own. They also co-operated with him in preparing a reception for an Icelandic actor, who was to tour several Canadian and American cities under the auspices of the League in the spring of 1966. But they accepted this situation with reluctance and acted only because they believed they had no other choice. They could not refuse to participate in the coming activities, nor could they refuse to receive a visitor from Iceland.

As time passed H and J became increasingly bitter over the manner in which F was continuing to interfere in their affairs and in the affairs of the association they controlled. They decided to act

against him in a more forceful manner, partly to protect their own positions and to give emphasis to the fact that they and not he commanded its affairs. Having decided, they waited for an opportune moment.

Their opportunity came during their preparations for the association's annual meeting in January, 1967. This meeting was to approve a plan for reorganizing the association along the lines of the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle. The actual preparation of this plan had been completed during the summer of 1966. The two key issues, or the two potential key issues, were the changing of the name from an Icelandic name to an English name and the termination of the association's ties with the League. The leaders assessed the reaction which these and other changes might produce among the members and concluded that there would be no opposition unless someone deliberately organized an effort to block the introduction of this plan. F was judged to be the only person who might want to do so and, furthermore, if he did so he could be expected to base his objections on patriotic grounds. That is to say, he could be expected to insist that an Icelandic association, because it was an Icelandic association, should have an Icelandic name and should be affiliated with the Icelandic National League.

Such an objection, based on the grounds of ethnic patriotism, might arouse the members to the point where they would defeat any attempt to reorganize the association. Evidence was available, however, which, if revealed, would tend to discredit F if he made such an attempt to block their plans.

The leaders had in their files a copy of a letter written and signed by F in 1961, in his capacity as the president of Strondin. This letter was addressed to a local catering firm and in it F had translated the association's name from Strondin to the Icelandic Canadian Society. Obviously, any attempt on his part to object to the planned change, from Strondin to the Icelandic Club of British Columbia, on the grounds of ethnic patriotism would be undermined by the revelation of his own action on this matter in an earlier time. Similarly, if he were to object to the termination of the ties with the League he would have to explain why he, as the League's official representative, had failed to inform the League's officers of the terms under which the association might retain its present status as an affiliate chapter.

The leaders decided to use this information against him, for the purpose of discrediting him, before the annual meeting. A special general meeting

was called, for November, 1966, ostensibly to give the members a chance to discuss some proposed amendments to the present constitution of the association. The leaders were not very interested in the opinions that the members might have but they did want an audience for their actions against F. His attendance was guaranteed rather simply by giving him just enough information, and misinformation, about their proposals to arouse his interest.

The meeting itself followed the script prepared by the leaders to such an extent that it appeared that F had had a part in writing it. The proposals brought forward by the leaders covered eight typewritten pages but the discussion centered on the first article of the proposed new constitution, which dealt with the name, and the last article of the by-laws, which dealt with the ties with the League.

H initiated the discussion over the name by noting that an English name was required both for the benefit of the younger native-born members who did not know what Strondin meant, as a word, and also for the benefit of the firms the association had to deal with, such as catering firms. F responded to the latter suggestion by stating that the association was for the benefit of Icelanders,

not for the benefit of non-Icelandic firms. H then pulled out the letter F had written, described its contents and asked F to explain why he had thought it necessary to change the association's name for the benefit of a non-Icelandic firm. From this point the meeting became rather heated and the language which was used, particularly by F after he began to realize what was happening, was not the kind of language normally heard in public meetings in this community.

The events which occurred at this meeting could not, in themselves and by themselves, achieve the desired goal of destroying F's position as a leader, whatever the damage done to his reputation. That depended, to an extent, upon the assessment made by F of the damage done to him by these events. His assessment may be indicated by the fact that after this meeting he virtually ceased to participate in the community's public activities and, more importantly, he made no further attempts to act in either of his two positions. The leaders of Strondin, their control publicly demonstrated, then proceeded with their plans.

Leader D

D was born in Manitoba, in 1913, and is of

the second native-born generation. He did not finish his grade school education, being obliged to go to work at an early age. He served in the armed forces during the war and was stationed in Vancouver. He remained in the city after demobilization. He is a carpenter by occupation.

D's career as a leader, or at least as an officer, began in 1946, when he entered the first executive of Strondin as its treasurer. He was nominated for the position by his good friend C, who as the last president of Isafold automatically received the vice-presidency of the newly established Strondin. C became the president of Strondin in mid-1946, after the original occupant of that office left the city. C retained his new office until 1949 and D retained the treasurer's position until the same year. Both were among the officers removed by the group led by SE.

D became a member of the Home Society in 1947, by virtue of a \$25.00 donation. He worked on some of the Home Society's subcommittees and after the home had been purchased, in 1948, he worked on the renovations needed, free of charge. Largely as a reward for these services he was elected a director of the Home Society in January, 1949, the same month in which he lost his office in Strondin.

The elected directors of the Home Society, other than the president, are elected to serve three-year terms. In the last year of his first term, 1951, D was elected, by the members of the Board of Directors, to fill the vice-presidency, which was left vacant when the incumbent moved out of the city. In January, 1952, D was re-elected as a director and, subsequently, as the vice-president. The new president elected at this annual meeting, LS, fell ill shortly afterward and remained ill throughout his one-year term. Effective responsibility for his duties devolved on D.

D was almost immediately presented with a very difficult problem. The matron of the home had exceeded her authority and hired an accountant to look after the Home Society's House Account, which she, as the matron, controlled. The Board ordered the matron to dismiss the accountant and also conducted a routine audit of the House Account. The matron refused to dismiss the accountant she had hired but since the audit had revealed no errors the Board did not press the matter. But shortly after this occurred one of the directors learned that the matron had cashed some large cheques, made out to and by herself, in a local department store. As these cheques were drawn on the House Account the Board ordered a special audit. This audit, which was not completed, revealed losses amounting to several hundred dollars. The matron was

fired immediately and was replaced by Mrs K, who resigned from the Board to accept the position.

The Board was faced with the problem of what further action should be taken against the matron. They wanted to recover the money which had been lost but they did not want to take any public action, partly because the Home Society's public reputation might suffer as a result of such action. But they were also reluctant to act publicly because the matron had many friends and potential supporters, among them her cousin E. D suggested that this affair should be settled directly, and in private, by himself and E. The Board agreed and D informed E of the evidence against the matron. E examined this evidence on his own and then repaid the known losses from his own funds. The entire affair was effectively hushed up and D was quite satisfied that he had handled this very delicate matter in the best way possible. His opinion changed abruptly when he was made the scapegoat for the entire affair.

E joined the Board in the following year, 1953, as the representative of Strondin. He also engineered the election of a friend as the Home Society's president and placed a member of the congregation in one of the vacant directorships. The following year, 1954, he was able to arrange the election of two more

members of the congregation to the Home Society's Board. And, in January, 1955, D, his second term having expired, was denied an official nomination for re-election.

D was understandably bitter at this turn of events. He felt that E had mistreated him and abused him without cause, particularly in view of the fact that he had, by his actions, saved E's family from the embarrassment which a public action against the matron would have caused. He was determined to avenge himself for that mistreatment. He attempted to regain his seat on the Home Society's Board on his own but failed to achieve this in either 1955 or 1956. He finally succeeded in 1957. He had no sooner regained his seat before he revived the old plans for building a new, and bigger, home.

D made a bid for the presidency of the Home Society in 1958 but was decisively beaten by the incumbent, CE, a former trustee of the congregation. He continued to promote the plans for the immediate construction of a new home and the initiation of a drive for funds. The latter proposal could not help but antagonize the leaders of the congregation, who were trying to raise enough money from the community to meet the financial obligations which had been incurred in connection with the construction of the

church. Any other project requiring large amounts of money would only make their task more difficult. The leaders of the congregation then negotiated an agreement with the directors of the Home Society under which the latter agreed to take no action on any plans for expansion until after the congregation's financial difficulties were resolved. The Board of the Home Society, dominated by the seven members who were members of the congregation, accepted this agreement over D's objections. Other events, however, played into his hands.

At this time the new immigrant group in Vancouver was a large one and growing rapidly. Many of these immigrants had originally left Iceland because they were not able to adjust to life there. Not surprisingly, many of them failed to adjust to life in Vancouver. Their failures, which were often rather public in character, not unnaturally, offended the older immigrant and older native-born members of the congregation and Strondin. They saw the good reputation established by the Icelanders in Canada endangered by the antics of these newly arrived immigrants. And, being offended by them, they tended to let the new immigrants know the nature and the extent of their feelings in a variety of ways. The new immigrants, not unnaturally, were, in turn, offended at the treat-

ment they were receiving. D noted what was happening and took advantage of their anger.

Since it was established the directors of the Home Society have operated on the assumption that all Icelandic Canadians were, and are, supporters of the Home Society. Anyone who attended the annual general meeting or any special general meeting was considered a member and entitled to vote on all and any matters placed before such a meeting, whether or not such persons had ever paid membership dues or donated anything to the Home Society. D now took advantage of this as well. He, in effect, told the new immigrants that they could return the slights they had received, and were receiving, from the members of the congregation and Strondin by voting them out of their offices in the Home Society. The new immigrants listened and acted.

The annual general meetings of the Home Society had rarely attracted more than thirty members of the older immigrant and older native-born groups. Now these meetings began to be attended by scores of new immigrants, few of whom had ever or would ever contribute a dime to the Home Society. Seven directors associated with the congregation fell one after another. They and their supporters were simply over-powered by numbers and out-voted. And as they

fell so did the agreement with the leaders of the congregation concerning the timing of the Home Society's plans for expansion.

D did not attain the presidency - that position went to P, one of the first directors elected by the new immigrant bloc. But D did retain the vice-presidency and held it until 1968, when he finally inherited the presidency. D played a major role in the planning and construction of the new home, an operation which began with the purchase of land from the City of Vancouver in 1960. Construction began in 1962 and the home was opened in 1963. After the home was opened D was its most frequent visitor, serving not only as the Home Society's vice-president but, in effect, as the home's chief janitor and handyman as well. He was, and still is, an almost daily visitor, supervising virtually every detail of its operations and solving many problems as soon as they are reported to him.

D repaid the new immigrants by helping them organize a coup which swept SE and his colleagues out of their offices in Strondin. He served on Strondin's executive, under F, from 1961 until 1965, when he was removed from office by yet another coup.

In 1960 D had become involved with the proposed construction of a chronic care hospital, to be

built and operated by the five Scandinavian Rest Home Societies. There was little interest in this project among the Icelanders, partly because the planning and construction of the home was just beginning. Five years later, in 1965, D revived this project and put a considerable effort into promoting it among the various Scandinavian associations. As a part of this effort he approached the members and officers of the Home Society. The project was discussed, rather indifferently and not too favourably, at the Home Society's annual meeting in January, 1966. When the motion involved was put to a vote ten out of the some fifty persons in attendance raised their hands to pass it by a vote of seven to three. Under this motion a special general meeting was to be held in March to consider a final decision on this project. This meeting was never held. But, at their February meeting, the members of the Board, most of whom were against any such project, voted unanimously to support it fully. This decision, however, became rather academic when the project failed, due, in part, to a lack of interest on the part of the other Scandinavian associations.

The Icelandic home was freed of all debts in the spring of 1967 and D immediately proposed an expansion, costing some \$50,000. The proposed additions

included eight more rooms and an expansion of the home's auditorium. A detailed outline of the expansion was given in a story which appeared in the Icelandic language weekly, Logberg-Heimskringla, which is published in Winnipeg, two months before these plans were presented to the members attending the Home Society's annual meeting in January, 1968. Those members gave their formal approval after about five minutes of indifferent discussion.

Leader Mrs R

Mrs R was born in North Dakota, in 1885, and is of the first native-born generation. She moved with her parents, while still quite young, to Winnipeg. Her parents later moved to Vancouver in 1904 but Mrs R remained in Winnipeg until she graduated from the University of Manitoba, as a teacher, in 1906. She then followed her family to Vancouver.

Mrs R was active in a number of Icelandic associations during her first ten years in the city. In 1917 she was one of the founders of the Ladies Aid Solskin and served on its first executive as the secretary. The following year she became the Aid's first treasurer and held this position until 1922. During this time she successfully opposed a plan under which the Aid was to be incorporated. Mrs R held no

office in 1923 but served as the Aid's vice-president in 1924 and 1925. Absent again in 1926, she resumed the treasurer's position in 1927, replacing her sister, who became the vice-treasurer. Mrs R held the treasurer's position continuously until 1959. By the time that she retired from this office she had held it for so long that no one could remember a time when she had not been the treasurer. It was generally believed, and she encouraged that belief, that she had held this office continuously since 1917.

Mrs R was deeply involved in the negotiations which preceded the establishment of the Icelandic Old Folks Home Society and served on its first executive as the representative from the Aid. She was instrumental in having the Aid promise an initial donation of \$1,000 to the Building Fund. After the Home Society was established the Aid began to divert most of its net earnings to it and continues to do so to this day. These donations have been accepted but not because they have been needed. The home has always been operated on the basis that the inmates would pay for the costs of housing and feeding themselves, if not individually than collectively.

Mrs R was elected to a three-year term as a director of the Home Society in January, 1951. She was subsequently elected by the members of the Board

to fill the vacant treasurer's position. She is presently (1969) serving her nineteenth year in this office, having been re-elected as a director six times without opposition and in the usual manner, that is to say, with applause. She was not too deeply involved in D's efforts to remove the church contingent from the Board in the late 1950's. But she did take an active part in the planning which preceded the construction of the new home. Partly to reward her for her services the Board appointed two of her sons to serve as the consulting engineers to this project.

She did not, of course, abandon her interest in the Aid after she retired from the treasurer's position in 1959. She gave this position to her friend, Mrs K, whose own record as an officer, of both the Aid and the Home Society, extended back into the 1940's. Mrs K held the position until 1963, when she decided to retire. In her opinion she was getting on in years (she was then 75 compared to Mrs R's age of 78) and felt that the time had come to let someone younger take over. This younger person, at Mrs R's suggestion, was Mrs D. The latter has indicated that while she had the office and title of treasurer the work involved was performed by Mrs R or in accordance with her instructions. And when Mrs D became the Aid's secretary

she was replaced, at Mrs R's suggestion, by Mrs H2.

The Aid holds an annual spring bazaar, which usually attracts between 125 and 150 people. Such a crowd is too big to be comfortably handled in the home's auditorium. When D first thought of the need to increase the number of rooms in the home he discussed his proposal with a number of interested persons, among them Mrs R. He suggested that the auditorium could be expanded at the same time, at a cost of about \$12,000, to accomodate this crowd more comfortably. Mrs R, who had not been in favour of any action which increased an old debt or created a new one, gave the entire project her whole-hearted approval.

Four of the five nominated top leaders actually held the position which the members believed them to have. They were not leaders of the community, but they did lead specific associations within in, and they had done so for so long that they were intimately connected with those associations in the minds of the members. E was not just the leader of the church he was the church and the same could be said for I, D and Mrs R. Each of these nominees has continued to act in the capacities they held in 1965-66 and can be expected to continue to do so for the foreseeable future, provided that death or other disasters do not

strike them down.

Only in Strondin (later the Icelandic Canadian Club) did matters take a different turn and the extent of the difference, as well as its long-term viability, is perhaps difficult to judge. The principle of limited tenure (no more than three consecutive one-year terms in the same office) was introduced in January, 1967, and was made retroactive to January, 1965. This, added to what may be regarded as the normal turnover which could occur in any group of eight people, had a striking effect. The officers elected at the annual meeting in September, 1968, were so new, not just to officership but to membership as well, that they, by and large, did not know the members, nor did the members know them. Only T1 remained of the officers brought in by the coup of 1965 and he was being elected to his third (and final) term as the treasurer, with no prospects of receiving another office when his term expired. Five other officers, re-elected by acclamation, had been members of the association for an average of 2.2 years and officers for an average of 1.8 years. The two officers elected for the first time had never previously participated in the activities of the association or the community. By contrast, the then directors of the Home Society had been in office for an average of 6.7 years and three had been in office

for ten or more years. And the then trustees of the congregation had been in office for an average of 12 years and three had been in office for sixteen or more years.

The Leaders and the Community.

The United Effort

The foundations of the present community were laid during the 1940's, when the associations were being reorganized or, in some cases, established for the first time. The leading figures of the day, as well as those whose roles were not quite as prominent, were involved in a co-operative effort to place the community on a stable footing. E was the chief organizer of the congregation but he was also involved in the establishment of the Home Society. The first president of the Home Society was the husband of the then president of the Ladies Aid Solskin, Mrs K. His successor (K died in mid-1946) was at the same time the president of the congregation's Board of Trustees. The Home Society's first treasurer was the husband of the then vice-president of the congregation's Women's Auxiliary. The Home Society's first secretary (who held the position from 1946 until 1957, when she moved out of the city) was at that time the vice-president of the Aid. There were numerous other ties of this nature which,

when added to those created by individuals with offices in two or more associations, embraced the leadership of the community and made it a single, relatively well-integrated network.

There was a considerable degree of co-operation in the establishment of policies and priorities. The congregation was established before the Home Society but there was a general agreement which gave the building plans of the latter a priority over the similar plans of the congregation. Everyone worked together to raise the money needed to purchase and renovate the first home. The officers of the congregation, some of whom were also officers of the Home Society, and the pastor, who was the immediate past president of the Icelandic Lutheran Synod, used their influence with the Synod to obtain an interest free loan with no strings attached. The Synod wanted the local home to be owned by the local congregation but the leaders of the local community wanted these two associations to be at least formally independent of each other. This decision on their part was motivated, to a certain extent, by the still-fresh memories of the scandalous conditions which had existed until quite recently in the first such home, established by the Synod in Gimli, Manitoba. Brought into being with the purest of motives, it had been turned

into a sweatshop operated for a profit and for the benefit of the Synod.

Following the establishment of the home the community's leaders tackled the first stage of the congregation's plans, the purchase of the land needed for the church. Once the land was selected it was necessary to raise the money needed to pay for it and this objective had the highest priority and the first claim on any funds which might be available in the community for an Icelandic project. The plans for a new home or a major expansion of the existing one were shelved to ensure that there would be no competition for such funds. The land was selected in 1949 and the fund drive was conducted over the next two or three years. Subsequently, work began on the planning and later the construction of the church itself.

During 1949 there were two developments which effected a further degree of integration in the leadership of the community. By this time the associations were, in a sense, settling down and less work was required of the officers. The office structures tended to shrink in size as a number of sub-committees, especially those in the Home Society and the congregation, completed their work and were abolished. Fewer officers were required to keep the associations in effective operation and the leadership corps tended to

shrink in size. In addition there were some personnel changes which effectively increased the degree of integration within this reduced network. The new officers of Strondin were all members of the congregation and were, or would soon become, officers of other associations.

Other ties between the associations at the office level continued to be important. The secretary of the Home Society's Board was now the president of the Ladies Aid Solskin. The Home Society's new treasurer, the son of the congregation's founding pastor, was a former trustee of the congregation. And, among the officers of the Women's Auxiliary, there was Mrs SJS. Then the Auxiliary's vice-president, she was soon to become the matron of the home. She was related by marriage to the pastor and by blood to, among others, E, then the president of the congregation's Board of Trustees, and to OS, then a director of the Home Society and a member of the congregation's Board of Deacons.

Mrs SJS became the home's matron in the fall of 1951. Eight months later she was fired. A special audit of the Home Society's House Account revealed losses amounting to several hundred dollars. Part of this loss was covered by several cheques cashed by the matron in a local department store and the balance in a number of entries for payments for goods and services

rendered by local firms which could not be authenticated. The known losses were repaid by E and the entire affair was quietly forgotten.

But while the affair itself was buried it had a considerable and a long-term effect on the community. At first it brought about a greater degree of integration in the community's leadership corps but eventually it became the original cause of the decline of the community.

E's reputation was threatened by this affair, because of the family ties between himself and the matron. He took steps to ensure that it remained a secret by accepting D's offer to handle the matter quietly. Then he made an attempt to establish a degree of personal control over the Home Society. He joined the Board of Directors as the representative of Strondin and over a period of three years arranged the election of a number of the congregation's members, including some past and present officers, to the Board. This was not a very difficult task as the Home Society's annual meetings, at which elections were held, were usually poorly attended. In the final act of this move to establish his control D was denied a nomination for re-election to a third term as a director. The church contingent on the Home Society's Board of Directors for 1955 included the president and vice-

president (both former trustees of the congregation), all three elected directors and the representatives of Strondin (E) and the congregation (SE, then the president of Strondin). In the following year E, pre-occupied by the construction of the church and under pressure from his employer to reduce the extent of his participation in the official activities of the community, left his seat, turning it over to another trustee of the congregation. D made a second unsuccessful bid for re-election in 1956 and then tried again, more successfully, in 1957.

The years 1957 and 1958 marked a high point in the community's unity. The integration of the leadership corps was the highest ever, with members of the congregation occupying all of the executive offices in Strondin and most of those in the Home Society. These individuals negotiated an agreement, largely in reaction to D's proposal that an immediate start should be made on constructing a new home and an associated fund drive, under which the directors of the Home Society agreed to defer their plans until after the church's financial difficulties had been resolved for all time. This agreement, as well as the congregation's control over the Home Society and Strondin, fell to the new immigrant bloc organized and used by D.

The Decline of the Community

The new immigrant bloc, whose appearance on the scene was largely fortuitous and generally short-lived, became the instrument whereby the united and co-operative effort which had marked earlier activities of the community was ended. This bloc was used by D to end the congregation's control over the Home Society by the simple device of having them stack the Home Society's annual meetings and vote against the election or re-election of anyone associated with the congregation. Subsequently this bloc was used to bring an end to SE's control over Strondin, thereby separating that association from the congregation as well.

The new immigrants did not take a part in the Home Society's affairs, beyond the limited role they took in breaking the congregation's control over it. Only one of their number ever served on the Home Society's Board of Directors, and he was an appointed representative who served only one one-year term (1960). They did, however, elect a new slate of officers drawn either from outside the community's existing membership or from among the members of the Ladies Aid Solskin and their husbands. There were considerable changes in the membership of the Board in the years after 1960 but these changes were of relatively little significance as they involved

the appointed representatives or the directors-at-large rather than the individuals who held the four executive positions (president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer). P held the presidency from 1960 until 1968, when ill health forced him to retire. D, who had retained the vice-presidency during that time, then virtually inherited the highest office. There was no one else whose claim to it was as great as his and, of course, no one else wanted it. Mrs R retained the treasurer's office throughout this period. It took these individuals some time to find a suitable candidate to fill the secretary's office. The principal quality being looked for in such a candidate was an ability to perform the duties of secretary in the same manner that the Home Society's original secretary (who held the position from 1946 until 1957) had performed them. After trying several candidates who proved themselves to be below this standard the position was given to D's aunt, who has held it since 1963.

In later years there were a number of changes which furthered the integration of the Home Society and the Ladies Aid Solskin at the leadership level. The executives of these two associations elected for the year 1969 included four husband-wife teams. D was the president of the Home Society at the time that his wife was the secretary of the Aid. D was succeeded as vice-

president by T2, who had been brought into the Board of Directors to fill a vacancy created by the resignation of H2 in mid-1966. Mrs T2, a non-Icelander, served as the Aid's president in 1968 and then demoted herself to the vice-presidency for 1969. She was succeeded by Mrs T3, another non-Icelander, whose husband, T3, a cousin of T2, was elected to fill a vacant seat on the Home Society's Board in January, 1969. Finally, H2 returned to a seat on the Home Society's Board in January, 1969, at a time when his wife was beginning her fourth term as the Aid's treasurer. And in the previous year, H2's niece had served on the Home Society's Board as the representative of the Aid and her husband had served as the representative of the congregation, replacing O, who had been allowed to stand for election to the director's seat vacated by D when he became the president.

Some of these individuals had ties with the other associations in the community or with their officers. T2, for example, was the younger brother of T1, one of the supporters and benefactors of the 1965 coup in Strondin. H2, in turn, was the older brother of H, one of the principal architects of that coup. T2 was also a member of the congregation's Board of Trustees, having been elected to that Board in 1966, the year in which he joined the congregation. Such

ties, however, did not become a means whereby the associations were brought into closer or more co-operative contacts with each other. These ties involved officers only at a time when the leaders of these various associations were barely on speaking terms in public and rather critical and sometimes quite abusive of each other in private.

The co-operative efforts which had marked the earlier relationship between the congregation and the Home Society ended in 1960. The Home Society immediately initiated its plans to build a bigger home. Land was purchased in 1961, the sod turned in 1961 and construction began in 1962. At the same time the directors of the Home Society initiated a massive drive for funds, which brought in over \$30,000 from local residents between 1960 and 1964. Additional sums were raised by the Aid and by Strondin. At this time the congregation's financial difficulties were increasing steadily. The annual deficits, which had been between 10% and 15%, grew to as much as 40% in some of these years. Meetings of the trustees often turned into two hour debates over small issues, such as whether or not the monthly telephone bill should be paid. The congregation's leaders were bitter and protested, privately, over the way in which the Home Society was draining the community of all available funds. Their protests

fell on unsympathetic ears. As far as the leaders of the Home Society were concerned it was not only their problem but one which they had created by failing to operate the congregation in a manner which induced increased donations from the community. Similar private protests were made by the congregation's leaders in 1966, when the leaders of Strondin were conducting a drive in behalf of the association's Scholarship Fund. These, too, were rejected on the same grounds.

The recently planned expansion of the home was dealt with entirely by the Home Society's Board. There were consultations between D and other interested persons, namely Mrs R, Mrs K, and the then president of the Aid, Mrs AJ. There were no official or unofficial consultations with the leaders of the other associations and the suggestion that such talks might be in order was flatly rejected.

The new immigrant bloc made its last appearance at Strondin's annual meeting in January, 1961, where it voted SE and his colleagues out of office. The new executive was headed by a new immigrant, F, and included two other new immigrants, both of whom declined to serve. A mini-election held in March, 1961, elected J, a new immigrant, and C, one of the founders of the association. The years after 1961 saw increased co-

operation between Strondin and the Home Society. Two men, C and D, held offices in both and they were instrumental in having Strondin change the location of most of its meetings from the church to the home. They were also instrumental in having the library given to the home and in having Strondin raise money for the Home Society's Building Fund.

The changes which took place in the association's activities after 1961 were not so much the result of deliberate planning as they were a reaction to outside events, such as the visits by various Icelandic dignitaries and the sales campaigns of local airlines looking for business for their charter flights. The lack of a concentrated effort to deliver the new ideas promised in 1961 had a predictable effect on the association's membership. It grew in response to such outside events and then declined as these events declined. It was evident by 1964 that such changes as had occurred were not achieving the objective desired by some, which was to place the association on a course which would assure its survival beyond the life-times of the older immigrant and older native-born members. The new immigrants, though numerous in the late 1950's, could not be relied on to maintain it, mainly because there were so few of them left in Vancouver. Beginning in 1961 there was a general exodus of the new immigrants from

the city, some returning to Iceland and others, the majority, moving to the United States. By 1964 there were only a few new immigrants left in the city and most of them were not taking an active part in the association's activities.

Not all of Strondin's officers were concerned over this state of affairs - most of them did not think that there was anything wrong. But H and J were worried, though it is perhaps difficult to judge whether they became worried over the signs of decline before or after they decided that F had to go. That decision, in turn, may have been prompted by their own leadership ambitions, which could not be fulfilled while he remained in office. The successful implementation of their decision to remove F and his supporters was guaranteed by their control of the nominating committee. Subsequently, they were obliged to take further action to impress upon F, and everyone else, that they controlled the association. They also, after a further assessment of their situation, decided to try to emulate the Icelandic Club of Greater Seattle and attempt to attract increased support from the younger native-born group, whose members were just beginning to take an interest in the association's activities. That decision provided a justification for the formal reorganization of the

association in 1967, even though, in the end, there was little substance to that reorganization since the activities supported by the associations after 1967 were those introduced in a piecemeal fashion between 1961 and 1965.

Their membership objectives were realized, however, to the extent that the majority of the official members, in early 1969, were from the younger native-born and non-Icelandic groups and all but one of the association's officers were from these two groups. Furthermore, some 60% of the 229 official members living in and around Vancouver had first joined the association in 1967 or later. And only 19% of these new members were or had been members of other associations in the community. At the same time only 8% of the official members living in and around Vancouver had membership records which began before 1961. The association's participating membership (which included many official members) was drawn to an even greater extent from groups that had not previously participated in the activities of any of the associations in the community.

The one other element which prevented the formal reorganization of the association from being a complete farce was the more or less deliberate introduction of a new pattern of leadership. This

came about in part because H and J were or became convinced that the tendency of the other associations in the community, as well as that of Strondin before their time, to move as one or two persons wanted was not in the best interests of any such association. Permitting a greater number of persons to play a real part in operating the association would or should give it greater stability and ensure its future. But their conclusions on this question were in part prompted by the fact that two separate purges of the association's leadership in five years had effectively wiped out the supply of potential future officers. Too many people who might qualify for office simply could not be trusted to support them and the association in the desired manner. Accordingly, they had to endeavour to recruit new officers from outside of the community and they believed that it would be necessary to offer these new officers at least a chance to advance to the highest possible positions.

The officers recruited by these leaders from the time of their coup were all recruited in this manner. Partly because of their lack of experience and partly because of the fact that they were so new to membership that they knew virtually nothing about the association or the community, it took some time for these new recruits to begin to play an effective

role in the management of the association. The leaders continued to decide all matters of policy and programming, though there were some efforts made to involve the other officers and the official members in their deliberations. The effective control of the leaders was ended, rather unexpectedly, on October 7, 1967, when their fellow directors reversed a decision made and already implemented by the leaders on a key issue of that day.

During 1967 the leaders decided to give further emphasis to the fact of the association's independence of the other associations in the community by ceasing to use their facilities, especially the auditorium of the home. Having decided they waited for an opportunity to implement this decision in a manner which would place the blame for this break in relations on the Board of the Home Society. Such an opportunity presented itself, quite by accident, at the association's annual meeting in September, 1967, which was held in the home. Due to an oversight on the part of one officer, the matron was not specifically advised of the date and the time of the meeting and she reacted rather badly when the members of the association came in to attend the meeting. The leaders decided to use the manner of her reaction (verbal abuse) as a pretext for ending their use of the home's facilities. A letter was accordingly

written to the Board of the Home Society explaining that in view of the matron's hostility they felt obliged to seek other quarters for those of the association's meetings which were held in the home. Their decision and the action taken were communicated to their colleagues at a meeting of the Board of Directors (of the Icelandic Canadian Club), held on October 7, 1967.

The leaders had acted in this manner for some time. Decisions were made and implemented and only then were the association's other directors informed of the steps taken in their collective names. Each time the directors had given formal approval to those actions. But this time they objected and objected vigorously. In their view the relations between the Club and the Home Society were too important to both to be broken for any reason. They unanimously rejected the suggestion that a written complaint be lodged with the Board of the Home Society and they also rejected the suggestion that other quarters be found for those meetings which had previously been held in the home. Their objections placed the leaders in an embarrassing situation since they had already acted upon both of their suggestions. They were saved from increased embarrassment by a very conciliatory response from the Home Society's Board and by a mutual and generally

unspoken agreement by those involved to forget this event.

This incident may sound trivial but it was, nevertheless, an important one. Never again would the leaders act without full and genuine consultations with their fellow directors on every issue, no matter how minor. Never again would one or two people rule the association as it had been ruled in the past, even if the public appearance of the Board's activities tended to imply that that was still the case. The leaders continued to reign but from now on they ruled with and by the consent of their colleagues.

This change in the manner in which the association was operated had at least one unexpected effect. The decision-making process became a more extended process, both in the time it took to reach a conclusion and in the extent of discussion and investigation involved. Eight people require more time to decide on a certain course of action than would be required by one or two persons. As the decision-making process became more extended and involved the number of actual decisions made began to decline. And as the number of decisions made declined the activities which resulted from the over-all process declined as well. This trend towards a more extended decision-making process contributed to the need to reduce the

association's schedule of activities to manageable proportions. Among the programmes eliminated in the course of this step were most of the programmes which had involved public meetings using the facilities of the home.

Conclusions

A sub-community which is defined in terms of the people who belong to it, by virtue of their actual participation, does not come into being on its own volition. Generally, it will develop only in response to the actions taken by specific individuals to bring it into being. Such actions tend to be limited in nature and in effect. That is to say, the individuals who initiate the action do not, as it were, say "Let us set up a community" but, more specifically, "Let us set up a community of this kind". And the individuals who initiate the limited actions which may result in the creation of a sub-community may become or later acquire positions of leadership within that sub-community.

With the exception of the Ladies Aid Solskin, the associations whose members constitute the population of the present Icelandic ethnic community in Vancouver were established in the 1940's. Each of these associations was set up for a more or less clearly defined and

limited purpose. Individuals of Icelandic origin were invited to participate in the activities of those associations, within the limits set by their various original purposes. For example, the decision to build or acquire a home for retired individuals of Icelandic origin was taken before the Home Society was established to implement that decision. Accordingly, wide-spread participation in its affairs was restricted to donating the funds which might aid in the attainment of the objective involved. Further participation by the members of the Home Society in their capacities as members was severely restricted by the general pre-emption of such other roles as were open by the members of the Ladies Aid Solskin.

Since the associations were originally set up for limited and defined purposes, they tended to attract only those potential members who supported those purposes. The decision to re-establish the Icelandic Lutheran congregation effectively defined those who would respond to its re-establishment by becoming members of it. Only those local residents who were Icelandic by origin, Lutheran by religion, and church-goers by habit were likely to respond to the call for members.

The members who responded to the invitation to join one or more of these associations at this time

(1940's) did not join in order to aid in defining the activities or objectives which the associations would perform or seek. These had already been defined and it was the acceptance of the defined activities or objectives which, in part, motivated the potential members into becoming active members. They joined to participate in on-going activities, not to participate in defining what those activities would be. Someone else had already done that.

It appears that when individuals decide to participate in the activities which result from decisions made by other individuals they tend to restrict themselves to accepting the limits of those activities and do not try to change them. Nor do they tend to take an interest or an active part in the necessary organizational operations which precede such activities since they are, almost by definition, only interested in the activities themselves, whether these are religious services, food sales, poetry readings or dances.

The responsibility for performing the operations which must precede such activities tends to be left, almost by default, to those who want to perform them or to those who performed them in the period of time when the associations were established. The latter, in particular, have or appear to have an option to perform in their original roles as organizers

for as long as they want to do so, provided that neither the activities nor the characteristics or the interests of the participants change.

The attitudes of the initial organizaers becomes very important in such a case. If they, whatever their reasons or reasoning, have a desire to lead or to play a leading role, or if they believe themselves to be particularly endowed with the qualities of leaders, then they will tend to retain their original roles over a long period of time. Mrs R is very proud of her long record of service (now past the half century mark) and equally proud of the fact that that record has made her, in her opinion, "a very important person" in this little community. E matches her feelings and gives particular attention and emphasis to his long and personally cherished list of firsts: first director of the choir (1937); first president of the congregation (1944); first Icelandic diplomatic representative in Vancouver (1944); first to receive the Order of the Falcon (1957); first to head a committee receiving a President of Iceland on an official visit (1961). His list includes other firsts earned in his activities in the greater community.

Since the members, by and large, participate in order to receive the benefits they might obtain from specific events they do not interfere with or in the

activities of the leaders or other individuals who organize such events. The interests of the members are quite limited and they tend not to exceed those limits, as long as they continue to receive such benefits. Accordingly, the leaders, in effect, have a free hand within the limits which the nature of the association's activities places upon them. The leadership pattern which develops appears to be authoritarian in nature, with the leaders acting without referring their actions to their fellow officers or the members, except for the most routine and formal expression of interest or approval on their part. But there is little substance to this appearance, since it is generally understood and accepted, more or less consciously, that there are limits within which the leaders must and do operate. Exceeding those limits by, for example, changing the nature of the activities will have an immediate effect on the participating members, who would no longer have a motive for continued participation.

This pattern of leadership is also potentially unstable. When the members are not interested in the necessary organizational operations, but only in the public activities which result from those operations, they tend to stay away from those meetings arranged, by custom or because of legal requirements,

to approve or to act upon various decisions or actions which might require formal approval from the membership, including the election or re-election of officers. Most of these associations operate under charters or constitutions which are registered with the provincial government, under the provisions of the Societies Act. That Act, among other points, requires that a certain number or percentage of the official members, i.e., those who have paid their membership dues, is necessary for a quorum before the decisions made or approved by annual or special general meetings are legally binding. The required number among these associations ranges from 15 members in the Icelandic Canadian Club to 25% of the members in the Home Society. The Home Society has not held a legal annual meeting for several years, if the letter of the law is applied. The most recent (1969) annual meeting of the congregation had to be postponed because a quorum of the members (20%) was not present. The quorum required for an annual or a special general meeting of the Icelandic Canadian Club is 15, a figure that was adopted in 1967 largely because it was equal to the number of directors and their wives.

Because these meetings are in general very poorly attended it is always possible that a coup against the existing leadership can not only be organized but successfully carried out. All that would be

necessary is a group of perhaps twenty persons who have been instructed or who have agreed to vote as a bloc for or against certain candidates.

The motivation for such a step might come from the general membership as a result of a general dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the association. But such an origin for a coup is unlikely since the member's dissatisfaction is more easily, and more usually, corrected by withdrawing from the community or the association, with or without an explanation.

A coup or the purge of the existing leadership of an association is usually the result of a dispute between the leaders, involving either personality clashes or disagreements over policy or both. One of the parties to such a dispute may decide to eliminate the opposition by manipulating the election process at an annual meeting. In the case of the Home Society there was a disagreement over policy, though this disagreement concerned the timing of the expansion, not the expansion plan itself. But this disagreement was overshadowed by a bitter personal clash between E and D. The latter believed himself to have been unjustly treated by the former and acted, to a great degree, out of a desire for personal revenge. His plans were successful largely because of the fortuitous presence of a large number of new immigrants who, in turn, felt

themselves to be collectively mistreated by the older immigrant and older native-born members of the congregation and Strondin. Their anger was used to eliminate those directors of the Home Society, and later those officers of Strondin, who were affiliated or associated with the congregation. The subsequent palace revolt in Strondin did derive in part from a disagreement over policy but was derived at least equally from a personality clash between F, on the one side, and H and J, on the other side. This coup succeeded because its authors combined the element of surprise with the time-honoured technique of stacking the annual meeting. But, having learned a lesson from the coups they had observed and participated in, the new leaders took steps to ensure that subsequent meetings would be well attended by faithful supporters.

The changes in the personnel of the Home Society's leadership corps did not result in a pattern of leadership which diverted from the traditional mold of apparently authoritarian rule. Eventually, however, the leadership pattern in Strondin (later the Icelandic Canadian Club) became more diffused, in the sense that all of the association's officers took a significant part in both the formulation of policies and in the continuous decision-making process which is needed to implement those policies.

The leaders in such a sub-community play a most crucial role, since their actions are not only responsible for the sub-community's creation but also for its continued existence. In the case of the sub-community studied here, the actions of the leaders have catered to the desire on the part of some local residents of Icelandic origin to continue to participate in certain activities which they can share with others of that origin. The nature of the activities is not as important to them as the fact that those activities are shared with such people. Within the limits placed on them by the nature of the activities they have begun, the leaders have a virtually free hand to operate as they please and, if they so choose, to build themselves, by force of personality and/or by the extent of their own efforts in behalf of the associations or the community, into individuals who are recognized as and may actually be the top leaders, whose word is law within that restricted sphere of social space embraced by those shared activities.

Their word is law or at least appears to be law. But it is not law because the leaders are able to oblige others to comply with their wishes. A leader can act and his actions are usually taken in the expectation of a response from the members of the community or an association. But the response comes only from those

individual members who agree with or accept the particular action in question. The leader's action merely provides them with an opportunity to do something they already want to do. Those who do not agree with or who do not accept his action can and do ignore it and there is nothing that the leader can do to compel them to change their reaction.

Although they may not agree on anything else, the researchers who have examined the role of the leader in a community apparently do agree that the leader must have power or the ability to impose his will, continuously or intermittently, upon other people in the community. If this is what a leader must have in order to qualify for the title of leader than this community has no leaders. No one, no matter how great his reputation, can impose his will were it is not wanted. The officers of the congregation, led by the community's most prominent member, E, spent more than ten years in one special fund drive after another in an attempt to place the congregation's finances on a sound footing. And, although they came close to their objective on occasion, they failed. Failed because the members of the community, including the members of the congregation, simply were not interested enough in the church to make the desired response.

Yet the community does have leaders. Leaders

who do not impose their will but who, in a sense, comply with the will of the led. The members of the community desire or want to share some of their activities with their fellow Canadians of Icelandic origin. Shared activities, especially when or where the numbers involved are large or relatively large, must be organized in advance, to a lesser or greater degree. Those individuals who perform those necessary pre-activity operations can become leaders. Leaders who may spend many days, spread over a longer or shorter period of time, organizing a meeting for the members. Leaders who must then wait, with crossed fingers and a prayer on their lips, hoping that they have complied with the wishes or the will of enough people to justify the effort they have expended. Hope springs eternal, as the old expression goes, and nowhere does it spring so often to such disappointments as among the leaders of this community. They, as leaders, are the servants of fickle masters.

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP AND POWER

Introduction

A great deal of energy has been expended in recent years on investigating the phenomenon of leadership but the results which have been obtained or achieved do not appear to be satisfactory, in the sense that the conclusions reached in various studies have not been generally accepted. Some of the disagreements which have arisen between the researchers involved in this effort appear to be beyond resolution. There are three interrelated areas of disagreement. The first is in the area of methodology: how are the leaders to be identified and their activities observed? The second involves the problem of defining and measuring the element which is, or is represented to be, the essence of leadership, namely, the power possessed by the leader. The third, which is an extension of the second, involves the more general problem of how power is distributed within a specified community or social system.

It is not the intention of the writer to attempt to resolve these disputes. The sub-community, such as the one examined here, differs in a significant manner from the communities in which this phenomenon

has usually been studied. This difference is particularly connected with the manner in which power is present in the sub-community and the effect its exercise can have on the sub-community's membership. The reliance on voluntary identification with the sub-community, as a basis for active participation, is such an important element and so crucial for the sub-community's continued existence that power, though it may be present, cannot be effectively used. Since power cannot be used it is difficult to generalize from this sub-community or study into communities or studies which have examined those communities in which power is not only present but can be used, possibly within certain limits, without endangering the continued existence of such communities.

Research Methods

Insofar as methodology is concerned, the researchers involved have tended to use one of the two major research techniques or methods developed for this purpose. The first of these, the reputational approach, was used by Hunter (1953, 1959) and other writers. It involves the use of panels of judges, who are usually selected by the researcher in accordance with certain specific criteria. These judges are asked to name or nominate the ten (or more) top leaders, key influentials, effective workers, etc., of their community. The other,

the decision-making approach, used by Dahl (1961), involves the identification, by the researchers or by selected members of the community, of the key or important issues and the subsequent identification of the individuals who participate in the process whereby decisions are made in connection with these issues.

The relative merits of these two techniques have been the subject of an extended and apparently unfinished debate amongst the writers who have used them. The reputational technique has been used and sometimes defended by such writers as Agger and Ostrom (1956); Barth and Abu-Loban (1959); D'Antonio, et al., (1961, 1962a, 1962b); Form, et al., (1959); Klapp, et al., (1960); Larsen, et al., (1965); Pellegrin, et al., (1956); Schulze (1957/58); Skinner (1958) and Thometz (1963). The decision-making technique has been mainly used and/or defended by Dahl (1958, 1961); Polsby (1959a, 1959b, 1960, 1963) and Wolfinger (1960, 1962). Other writers have used both of these and other methods simultaneously, (Freeman, et al., 1963), or have refined one of these main methods, as Bonjean (1963, 1964a, 1964b) refined the reputational method.

Each of these methods has its faults or at least its potential faults. The individuals nominated as the leaders are nominated, to a greater or lesser extent, on the basis of their reputations for being

leaders, and those reputations may not reflect their actual positions. But a similar objection can be raised, and has been raised (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962), in connection with the identification of key issues. There is no guarantee that the identification of an issue as a key issue is not made in the same manner or on the same basis as the nomination of an individual as a leader. A belief in the importance of an issue may be as misleading as a belief in the reputation of a leader.

It is to be assumed, or at least hoped, that the individuals who have used these methods are sufficiently competent to judge their effectiveness in their particular studies. The experience gained in this study is by no means thought to be such that either of these techniques can or should be discarded. A research technique is, after all, only a tool to be used by a researcher and the quality of the data gathered and the subsequent analysis made of it is at least as much a test of the researcher's ability as it is a test of the validity of that technique.

The writer, having been a sometime participating member of the sub-community studied here, had no difficulty in gaining access to the community. Data was gathered initially through interviews with the community's members and officers, followed by observation at public meetings and then, increasingly, by

observation of and participation in the activities of the leaders. Eventually, by the extent of that participation, the writer joined the ranks of the top leaders. In this community, the view from the top, or from the inside, is quite different from the view from the bottom, or from the outside. But such a method of obtaining data, especially about the activities of the leaders, is not always possible, nor is it always practical.

The initial data on the identities of the leaders of the community studied was gathered by obtaining nominations from the members of the associations. The distribution of the nominations at least suggested that some leaders were not as well known, as individuals or as leaders, as some others. The differential distribution of the nominations might also have been interpreted as showing the existence of a hierarchy of leaders embracing the entire community. But, although his participation in this particular sub-community had been quite limited prior to the initiation of this study, the writer was aware of the fact that the leadership of the community was not united. Detailed analysis later indicated that the divisions in the community's leadership were rather recent in origin, as was noted elsewhere. The divisions derived

in part from the largely fortuitous presence of a large and angry group of new immigrants at a crucial time. Had they not been there, or in the mood they were in, it is unlikely that D's efforts would have succeeded. The congregation's leaders were too concerned over its financial difficulties to permit any competition for the funds which might be available. Under normal (i.e., pre-1958) membership conditions they would have had the numerical strength to protect their control of the Home Society from any coup, no matter what its origin or who led it.

Once the nominations were compared with the associational affiliations of the nominators, a more realistic picture of the community's leadership emerged. With the exception of the leadership of Strondin, the members were relatively accurate in the nominations they made. Four of the five nominated top leaders were still in their offices in early 1969. But only three (O, Mrs D and U) of the nominated second-rank leaders were still in office, along with eleven of the twenty three other officers of 1966.

Insofar as the issue-oriented or decision-making approach is concerned, it should be noted that the only issue which the members of the community were aware of to any great extent during the course of this study was the membership issue in the congregation. This

started out as a routine administrative decision by the pastor to remove from the membership roll those individuals who did not qualify for membership in accordance with the constitution's financial criteria. It should be noted that most of the individuals involved were not interested in maintaining their membership status and did not object to the step taken by the pastor. But this decision was deliberately turned into a major issue by the leaders, first I and then E, who interpreted it to the members as an attack designed to destroy the congregation's character or image as the Icelandic congregation.

But there were many other issues - issues which interested and preoccupied the leaders and sometimes the officers but never the members. Such issues were usually dealt with entirely within the small circle of individuals who occupied the offices of the various associations. The ordinary members frequently never heard of these issues and when they did they displayed a total lack of interest in the issues or the actions taken on them.

The special general meeting of Strondin, held in November, 1966, for purposes described elsewhere, was attended by twenty persons. Thirteen were then officers or had been officers in recent years, and these officers, past and present, argued around the two key issues: the

change in the name and the termination of the affiliation with the Icelandic National League. The seven members who had never been officers watched and listened and contributed two remarks to the debate. After one particularly angry outburst from F one of them, a grandmotherly type, remarked: "Tut! Tut!" After the meeting adjourned for coffee another of the watchers, another grandmotherly type, remarked, with a laugh: "It's good to see you boys fight!"

When the decision to terminate the association's ties with the League was publicly announced, some of the members learned for the first time that there had been such an affiliation for twenty years. The officers, however, have yet to make an announcement about another important issue which arose at the time that the ties with the League were ended. The officers initiated negotiations with other similar associations, including the Icelandic Canadian Clubs of Winnipeg and Toronto, for the purpose of developing interest in a new national organization. These negotiations, conducted by mail and in personal contacts, have reached the stage where a general agreement exists on the structure of the new organization and the activities it is to support. But the members are not interested in the activities engaged in by the leaders and could not care less what they were plotting and planning.

So long as the leaders spend some of their time organizing public meetings where the members can meet their friends and acquaintances, they will be left alone. Given the very limited interests of the members it is not realistic to expect to find them in a continuous or even occasional turmoil over issues. This does not mean there are no issues which are important, but that they are generally only known and of interest to the leaders and officers.

The Concept of Power

Simon (1953, p. 501) suggests that power is a word that "means what we want it to mean". That seems to be an apt description of a word or a concept which, despite its crucial importance to the analysis of leadership, is more often assumed or taken for granted than it is defined. Hunter (1953, pp. 2-3) does state that power is "a word that will be used to describe the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or...to organic or inorganic things". Drucker (1961) appears to talk of, but never actually defines, the power of a government (and how it is no longer the supreme or effective center of power in society) and personal power or "personal freedom outside of organized power" (op. cit., p. 21). Dahl (1958), in turn, appears to believe that power exists

only in cases of conflict, and in such cases he who wins would presumably be more powerful. Other writers, such as Miller (1961) and others who use the reputational approach, often speak of power or powerful leaders but rarely give a definition or, in some cases, even an illustration of its presence.

Danzger (1961) quotes Weber's definition of power as being "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance" (p. 713). Danzger ties Weber's definition into his own and defines power as the potential capacity for action rather than the action itself. The outcome of an action to achieve a goal would depend on the resources available to the actor and on the desirability of that particular goal.

Danzger's distinction between power as a potential capacity and, as it were, power in action is echoed by other writers, including Ehrlich (1961). But Bachrach and Baratz (1963) suggest that power is relational instead of possessive or substantive. In an earlier paper (1962) they suggest that while some power actions are visible to the observer others are not and the latter may well be the important power actions. This would appear to be a research problem which would decline in importance and in effect as the observer got closer to those who not only have but who wield power.

But the concept remains, as Bachrach and Baratz point out (1962), elusive. Their particular approach cannot bring it into clearer focus, largely because of the assumption they make, for the sake of safety if nothing else, that not all of the power actions are visible to an outside observer. In that case the observer can never be certain that he has observed all there is to observe or that he has observed the important power actions. Yet there is no way in which he can be certain, unless he has penetrated right into the heart of the power structure, to use another term which appears to defy definition, and participated in the power actions which take place there.

Danzger's approach seems equally difficult to use, since the potential for power is almost impossible to measure or, more importantly, to test, until and unless it becomes a power action. But then the outcome of such a power action may not reflect the real extent of the actor's potential since the action may only involve a token show of force or resistance or a limited application of his potential.

Generally, these approaches seem to treat power, however they define it, as a unitary entity. There are other approaches to the problem of defining power, such as that of Goldhamer and Shils (1938), who define power as influence over others, based on law,

tradition or charisma. They also mention physical force and manipulation, in which one actor manipulates the events affecting another actor, without the latter's knowledge. And Peabody (1961) makes a distinction between formal power, based on law or positions described as having certain powers or authority, and functional power, based on technical expertise or the ability to get along with others.

There are two social relationships which occur in this community in which power, in one form or another, may operate. The first is the leader-member relationship and the other is the leader-leader (or leader-officer) relationship.

It was suggested previously that power, whether it be the ability to influence or to compel others to act or respond in a certain way, does not appear in the leader-member relationship. The leader cannot influence or compel the member to take certain actions or respond in certain ways unless the member is already, of his own volition, ready to act or respond in such a manner. Attempting, by any means, to compel a member to respond in a certain manner is dangerous, since it may drive the member out of the community.

The problem of the leader-leader or the leader-officer relationship is rather difficult to assess, in part because so many of the specific relationships

involved appear to be in the same form as the leader-member relationship. Because the limits of the activities to be organized are generally known and the activities themselves tend to be routine and repetitive, there are few opportunities for observing situations which might call for the use of influence or compulsion. The purges which have occurred from time to time since 1959 at best indicate that some leaders, given the required conditions, can manipulate specific events for specific purposes.

Power does not appear very clearly, if it appears at all, in the leader-leader or the leader-officer relationship. Frequently the officers accept, without question, the right of the leaders to take such actions as they see fit, within the limits imposed by the nature of the activities of the association. Years of service have, in a sense, given them a right - a right which is accepted by members and officers alike - to act in this manner.

Leader E is not the congregation's most prominent nor its most influential member just because he has been associated with it since it was conceived. He has also done more for the congregation than any other member. His part in the recent congregational dinner, held in honour of the congregation's twenty-fifth anniversary, illustrates the extent of his contribution. He suggested

that the dinner be held; supervised ticket reservations; greeted guests at the door; escorted them to their seats; gave the opening address; introduced three speakers and seventeen charter members (including himself). After dinner he led the way from the church hall to the church proper, where he introduced the entertainers he had obtained to provide an evening of classical music and gave an extra five-minute speech while the last of the entertainers arrived and prepared to perform. He then gave a closing statement and remained behind to supervise the clean-up detail.

He does so much, not just for this event but for all of the congregation's activities, partly because he wants to, partly because he is the first to volunteer to do something he has suggested and because everyone automatically gives him the first chance to accept another job. Yet the power which E may have in his relations with his fellow leaders and officers is largely potential, assuming he has any. As far as is known E has never been directly challenged by another leader or officer. But he has often been beaten in decisions involving public meetings, which have been manipulated by his opponents, just as he has had to, on occasion, manipulate events against such opponents.

D's case is somewhat similar to E's. D is always doing something for the home or the Home Society.

He is an almost daily visitor to the home and looks into everything or anything, though he cannot manage to solve all the problems which are put before him. He, like E, has earned the right to have a dominant voice in everything and in effect inherited the presidency of the Home Society. Yet it is possible that if he had been opposed he would have been decisively beaten. D's personality, if that is the right word to use, has a flaw which is at the same time a weakness and a source of strength. In D's opinion it is impossible for anyone to have an honest difference of opinion with him. A person who disagrees with him does so not of his own volition but because he is a tool being used by sinister and evil forces, which are blackmailing such an individual to act against D. D's reaction to such misguided opponents - and his reaction is seen and heard frequently - is vituperative abuse of those opponents in private and in public. Few, if any, individuals can stand up to such verbal abuse, as it goes far beyond the boundaries of reasonable debate. This feature of his behaviour has contributed to the loss, for the Home Society, of a number of able officers and potential leaders. The most recent such victim was D's old friend C, who was so shaken by D's first performance as the president of the Home Society that he withdrew from the community.

The leaders possess a very limited form of

power in their relations with their colleagues, but it is very poorly developed. It is limited and need not be constantly used, since the officers, no less than the members, accept the leader's right to act within the limits imposed upon him by the activities of the association. So long as the leader does not exceed those limits he will not be challenged.

Power in the Community

The study of leadership has as one of its main objectives the description of the manner in which power is distributed and used in communities. It has generally been the case that those who have used either of the two main research techniques have reached quite different conclusions regarding the distribution of power in the specific communities they have studied. These researchers have tended to accept their conclusions as being generally valid for all communities.

The distribution of power is usually said to be such that those who hold power are either welded into a single, integrated power structure or elite, or they are divided into several distinct and usually opposing groups. Hunter described the leadership of Atlanta in terms of a single elite dominated by business men, and those who have used the reputational technique have generally reached the same conclusions for the communities they studied. But

Dahl and others contend that power is distributed between different groups, as in the case of New Haven. Each side has generalized from their particular studies, if for no better reason, because it is customary to generalize on the basis of a single study or several studies.

This problem appears to derive in part from the general failure to define power in mutually acceptable and accurate theoretical and operational terms. The manner in which a community becomes a community is presumably relevant for describing the manner in which power enters into it and how it is or can be used within it. The community begins at some point in time and in some specific and more or less organized form. Not all communities begin at the same time nor do they possess the same original form or the same specific or general purposes. Some communities may remain in their original form, as in the case of an agricultural community which remains an agricultural community, with or without any changes in technology, etc. Others may change over time, developing or acquiring new or different purposes.

All communities have leaders, individuals who take a leading role, for one reason or another, in organizing, supervising and advising upon the performance of activities within the community. The leaders may obtain their positions, responsibilities, prerogatives, etc., for any number of reasons, such as their control of

economic resources, their personal wealth, their social status, or their knowledge of relevant matters. But the definition of their positions will be within the limits for which the community was organized or which have developed in that community subsequently.

The leaders may operate effectively in their positions and achieve the objectives which they set for themselves or which are set for them. One of the reasons why they can do so may lie in their ability, whatever the source of that ability, to compel others to act in roles which aid in the attainment of those objectives. In any one community the individuals who possess this ability in any degree may combine for joint action over a longer or shorter period of time, but whether they actually do so will depend on particular events which occur at particular times. The results which may appear in one community as a result of this combination of forces may not and need not appear in any other community. Even if such combinations do appear in two communities, the fact of that appearance is not in itself of significance to events which occur in still other communities.

Sub-communities, such as the one examined in this study, are sometimes based on, both in their original creation and in their subsequent survival, voluntary decisions by individuals to participate in their activities. In such a community, no individual can compel others to

participate and, as a result, that particular ability (or form of power) does not and cannot become a relevant or useable operational feature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Cited government publications, including statistical sources.

British Columbia, Bureau of Provincial Information. Population of British Columbia According to Electoral Districts, 1902. Victoria, B.C., King's Printer, 1902.

Canada, Bureau of Statistics. Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1917.

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Citizenship Branch. Some Notes on the Canadian Family Tree. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1960.

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Branch. Annual Reports. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, from 1949 (published by other departments prior to 1949).

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Information Services Division, Canada Year Book Section. Canada Year Book. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, from 1956 (published by other divisions prior to 1956).

II Cited sources dealing with Icelandic immigrants to Canada and their descendants.

Bjornson, Olafur. "Economic Conditions in Iceland" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 22, # 3, 1963, pp. 32 - 38.

Christopherson, Sigurdur. Draft copy of his report to the Minister of Immigration of Manitoba, January, 1901.

Coats, R.H., M.C. Maclean. The American Born in Canada. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1943.

Cronmiller, C.R. A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada, Vol. I. Toronto, The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961.

Eylands, V.J. "The Lutheran Church in America" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 21, # 3, 1962, pp. 30 - 32.

Felsted, E.S. Memorial Booklet for the Dedication of the Church of the Lighted Steeple. Vancouver, B.C., 1956.

Freeman, A. Private letter to Sigurdur Christopherson, January, 1892.

Gibbon, J.M. Canadian Mosaic. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1938.

Gudmundsson, Gils. Oldin sem leid. Vol. I, Reykjavik, Iceland, Idunn, 1955.

_____. Oldin sem leid. Vol. II, Reykjavik, Iceland, Idunn, 1956.

Gunnarsson, Caroline. "Icelandic Old Folks Homes in North America" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 6, # 2, 1948, pp. 39 - 40.

Helgason, Arni. "Notes on the Icelandic Population" Logberg-Heimskringla, November 18, 1965, p. 2.

Helgason, Jon. Arbækur Reykjavíkur, 1786 - 1935. Reykjavik, Iceland, Leifur, 1937.

Johnson, H.E. "One Hundred Years of Strife and Struggle" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 2, # 4, 1943, pp. 6 - 9.

Jonasson, Sigtryggur. "The Early Icelandic Settlements in Canada" The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, # 59, 1901.

Kristjanson, W. "Icelandic Settlers in Canada" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 1, # 3, 1943, pp. 16 - 18.

_____. "Icelandic Settlers in Brazil" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 6, # 4, 1950, pp. 11 - 13.

Kristjansson, B. Vestur-islenskar æviskrar. Vol. I. Akureyri, Iceland, Bokaforlag Olafs Bjornssonar, 1961.

_____. Vestur-islenskar æviskrar. Vol. II. Akureyri, Iceland, Bokaforlag Olafs Bjornssonar, 1964.

Laxdal, J.K. "The Founding of New Iceland" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 20, # 2, 1961, pp. 32 - 35.

Lindal, W.J. The Saskatchewan Icelanders. Winnipeg, Man., Columbia Press, 1955.

_____. "Captain Sigtryggur Jonasson" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 20, # 3, 1961, pp. 23 - 24.

_____. The Icelanders in Canada. Canada Ethnica, Vol. II. Winnipeg, National Publishers, 1967.

Malmstrom, V.H. A Regional Geography of Iceland. Washington, D.C., National Academy of Science-National Research Council, 1958.

Minghi, J.V. "Point Roberts Washington: The Problem of an American Exclave" Association of Pacific Geographers Yearbook, 1962, pp. 29 - 34.

Ruth, Roy H. The Vinland Voyages. Winnipeg, Man., Columbia, 1965.

Sommerville, S.J. "The Twelve Year Republic" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 3, # 1, 1944, pp. 5 - 7.

Stephansson, S.G. Bref og Ritgerdir, 1889 - 1913. Vol. I. Reykjavik, Iceland, Rikisprentsmithjan Gutenberg, 1938.

Thomas, Senator E.D. "Icelanders in Utah" Icelandic Canadian, Vol. 2, # 2, 1943, pp. 8 - 11.

Thorsteinsson, T.T. Iceland - a handbook, 1921. Reykjavik, Iceland, Prentsmithjan Gutenberg, 1921.

"Utflutningur Islendinga" Logberg-Heimskringla, November 29, 1962, p. 7.

Vanderhill, B.G., D.E. Christensen. "The Settlement of New Iceland" Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53, 1963, pp. 350 - 363.

Walters, Thorstina. Modern Sagas. Fargo, N.D., North Dakota Institut for Regional Studies, 1953.

Documents (minute books, financial records, etc.) belonging to the following associations:

The Ladies Aid Solskin;
The Lutheran Church of Christ (formerly the Icelandic Lutheran Church);
The Women's Auxiliary, Lutheran Church of Christ;
The Icelandic Old Folks Home Society;
The Strondin Chapter, the Icelandic National League (later the Icelandic Canadian Club of British Columbia).

III Cited studies of ethnic groups.

Kaye, V.J. "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians" Revue de l'Universite D'Ottawa, 1957, pp. 560 - 577.

Lawless, D.J. The Attitudes of Leaders of Ethnic Minority Groups in Vancouver Towards the Integration of Their People in Canada. M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1959.

Patterson, Sheila. "This New Canada - Study of A Changing People" Queens Quarterly, Vol. 62, 1955, pp. 80 - 88.

Ramsay, Bruce. A History of the German Canadians in British Columbia. Winnipeg, Man., National Publishers, 1958.

Ryder, N.B. "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics" Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 21, 1955, pp. 466 - 479.

Skinner, G.W. Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Bangkok. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1958.

Vallee, F.G., M. Schwartz, F. Darknell. "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada" in B.R. Blishen, et al., eds., Canadian Society, Toronto, Macmillan, 1964, pp. 63 - 73.

Walhouse, Freda. The Influence of Ethnic Minorities on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver. M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961.

IV Cited sources from the literature on leadership and power.

Agger, R.E., V. Ostrom. "The Political Structure of a Small Community" Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 20, 1956, pp. 81 - 89.

Bachrach, P., N.S. Baratz. "Two Faces of Power" American Political Science Review, Vol. 56, 1962, pp. 947 - 952.

_____. "Decisions and Non-
Decisions: An Analytical Framework" American Political Science Review, Vol. 57, 1963, pp. 632 - 642.

Barth, E.A.T., Baha Abu-Loban. "Power Structures and the Negro Sub-community" American Sociological Review, Vol. 68, 1959, pp. 69 - 76.

Bonjean, C.M. "Community Leadership: A Case Study and Conceptual Refinements" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68, 1963, pp. 672 - 681.

_____. "Class, Status and Power Reputation" Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, 1964, pp. 69 - 75.

Bonjean, C.M., D.M. Olsen. "Community Leadership: Directions of Research" Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 9, 1964, pp. 278 - 300.

Dahl, R.A. "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model" American Political Science Review, Vol. 52, 1958, pp. 463 - 469.

_____. "Equality and Power in American Society" in W.V. D'Antonio, et al., eds., Power and Democracy in America, Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 73 - 89.

_____. Who Governs? New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1961.

D'Antonio, W.V., W.H. Form, C.P. Loomis, E.C. Erickson. "Institutional and Occupational Representation in Eleven Community Influence Systems" American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961, pp. 440 - 446.

- D'Antonio, W.V., H.J. Ehrlich, E.C. Erickson.
"Further Notes on the Study of Community Power";
American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, 1962,
pp. 848 - 854.
- D'Antonio, W.V., E.C. Erickson. "The Reputational
Technique as a measure of community power: An
evaluation based on comparative and longitu-
dinal studies"; American Sociological Review,
Vol. 27, 1962, pp. 362 - 376.
- Danzger, M.H. "Community Power Structure: Problems
and Continuities"; American Sociological
Review, Vol. 29, 1964, pp. 707 - 717.
- Drucker, P.F. "Individual Freedom and Effective
Government in a Society of Super-Powers" in
W.V. D'Antonio, et al., eds., Power and
Democracy in America, Notre Dame, Ind.,
University of Notre Dame Press, 1961.
- Ehrlich, H.J. "Power and Democracy: A Critical
Discussion" in W.V. D'Antonio, et al., eds.,
Power and Democracy in America, Notre Dame,
Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1961,
pp. 91 - 123.
- Form, W.H., W.V. D'Antonio. "Integration and
Clevage among Community Influentials in Two
Border Cities"; American Sociological Review,
Vol. 24, 1959, pp. 804 - 814.
- Freeman, L.C., T.J. Faraaro, W. Bloomberg, M.H.
Sunshine. "Locating Leaders in Local Commu-
nities: A Comparison of Alternative Approaches";
American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, 1963,
pp. 791 - 798.
- Goldhammer, H., E.A. Shils. "Types of Power and
Status"; American Journal of Sociology, Vol.
45, 1938, pp. 171 - 182.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Chapel
Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press,
1953.
- _____. Top Leadership, U.S.A. Chapel Hill,
N.C., University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Klapp, O.E., L.V. Padgett. "Power Structure and Decision Making in a Mexican Border City!" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65, 1960, pp. 400 - 406.

Larsen, C.L., J.R. Bell, L.D. Cain, L.A. Glenny, W.H. Hickman, I.A. Irwin. Growth and Government in Sacramento. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana University Press, 1965.

Miller, D.C. "Democracy and Decision-Making in the Community Power Structure" in W.V. D'Antonio, et al., eds., Power and Democracy in America. Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 25 - 71.

Peabody, R.L. "Perceptions of Organizational Authority: A Comparative Analysis" Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 6, 1961/62, pp. 463 - 482.

Pellegrin, R.J., C.H. Coates. "Absentee Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1963, pp. 413 - 419.

Polsby, N.W. "The Sociology of Community Power: A Re-assessment" Social Forces, Vol. 37, 1959, pp. 232 - 236.

_____. "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power" American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959, pp. 796 - 803.

_____. "How to Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative" Journal of Politics, Vol. 22, 1960, pp. 474 - 484.

_____. Community Power and Political Theory. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1963.

Schulze, R.O., L.U. Blumberg. "The Determination of Local Power Elites" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 63, 1957/58, pp. 290 - 296.

Schulze, R.O. "The Bifurcation of Power in Satellite City" in M. Janowitz, ed., Community Political Systems, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1960, pp. 50 - 53.

Simon, H.A. "Notes on the Observation and Measurement of Political Power!" Journal of Politics, Vol. 15, 1953, pp. 500 - 516.

Thometz, C.A. "The Decision Makers!" Journal of the Graduate Research Centre, Vol. 32, # 1, 2, 1963.

Wolfinger, R.E. "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power!" American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1960, pp. 636 - 644.

_____. "A Plea for a Decent Burial!" American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, 1962, pp. 841 - 847.