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EDMONTON

THE LIFE OF A CITY

BOB HESKETH AND FRANCES SWYRIPA, EDITORS



GODS FROM AFAR



Young Hare Krishnas—whose religion is based on Hinduism—on Jasper Avenue, 1971. (PAA J.665)

There is a close link between ethnicity and religious identity and activity. Whether through the 'Britishness' identified with the Anglican church, the 'Frenchness' associated with the hospital work of the Grey Nuns, or the 'Ukrainianness' tested in the Catholic-Orthodox tensions surrounding the staging of Ukrainian-language plays, ethnicity and religion have greatly enriched the city. Gordon Drever, an independent researcher, and Stephen Kent, a sociologist at the University of Alberta, carry the discussion one step further. Rather than look at the Judeo-Christian tradition and European background of the majority of Edmontonians, they focus on other great world religions—such as Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism—and the immigrant groups, particularly from Asia, that brought them to the city.

Edmonton has always been culturally diverse; its origins in the Native-European partnership of the fur trade established this fact at the outset. While the transition to an industrialized urban community guaranteed the dominance of Europeans, especially British values and settlers, the young city also attracted small numbers of immigrants from places like China, India, and the Middle East. After the change to Canadian immigration laws in the 1960s, the number and variety of immigrants from non-European sources multiplied, creating vibrant ethnic communities where religious faith was often integral to their identity. In an unprecedented and independent development, many of these faiths simultaneously struck a chord among segments of the larger Edmonton population, particularly the restless youth of the sixties generation.

LITTLE RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY EXISTED IN EDMONTON during the city's first century. Gradually, the surrounding Native population was exposed (and often converted) to either the Roman Catholicism of French-speaking missionaries or the Protestantism of English-speaking Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian missionaries. By the beginning of the twentieth century, with growing European settlement, the spectrum of Christianity in the Edmonton area had expanded to include Baptists, Salvationists, Orthodox, and Lutherans. Likewise, Judaism's presence in the city was sufficiently strong to found the Edmonton Hebrew Association.¹ Now, over one hundred Christian denominations, as well as numerous independent congregations and a diversity of Jewish groups, operate in the city.

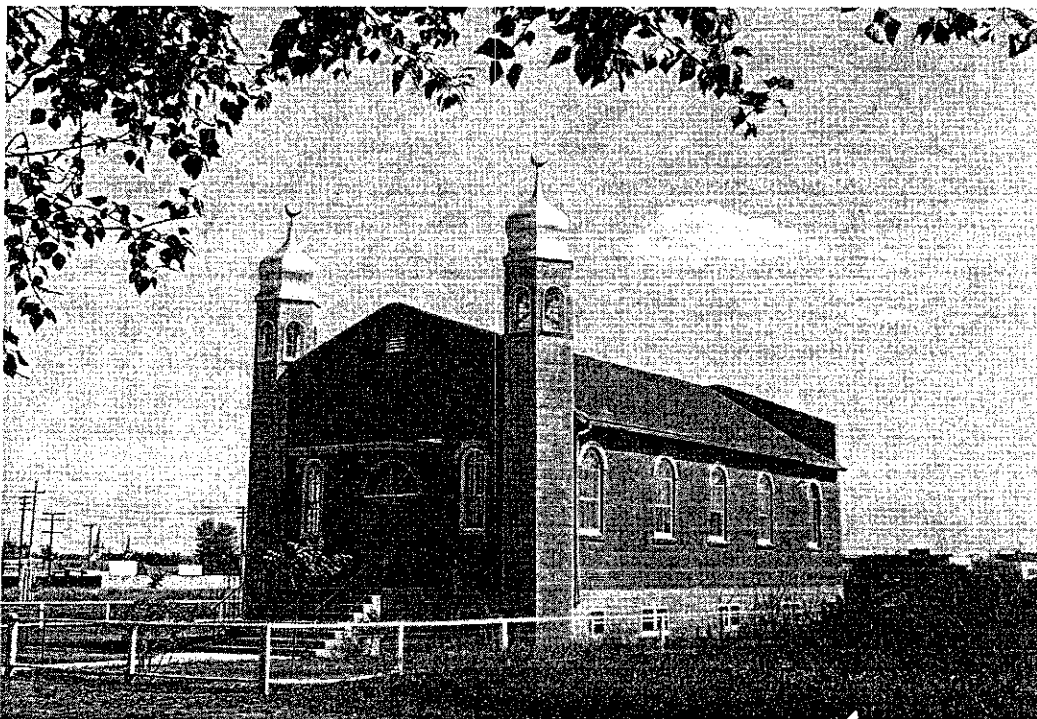
Our interest, however, is in the diversity of religions found in the city that lie outside of the Judeo-Christian and indigenous traditions.² At the beginning of Edmonton's third century, all of the world's major non-Christian and non-Jewish religious traditions are represented. A number of smaller religious movements from various parts of the world also exist in the city.³ This religious diversity is the product of both immigration and conversion. Islam and Baha'i have had followers since the 1930s or 1940s; Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist communities have operated in this part of Alberta since the 1960s; and today the city has small Zoroastrian, Jain, and Taoist communities as well. More recently, the migration of immigrant groups into the city

accelerated rapidly during the boom years of the 1970s, and these new Edmontonians brought with them the faiths and cultures of their homelands.

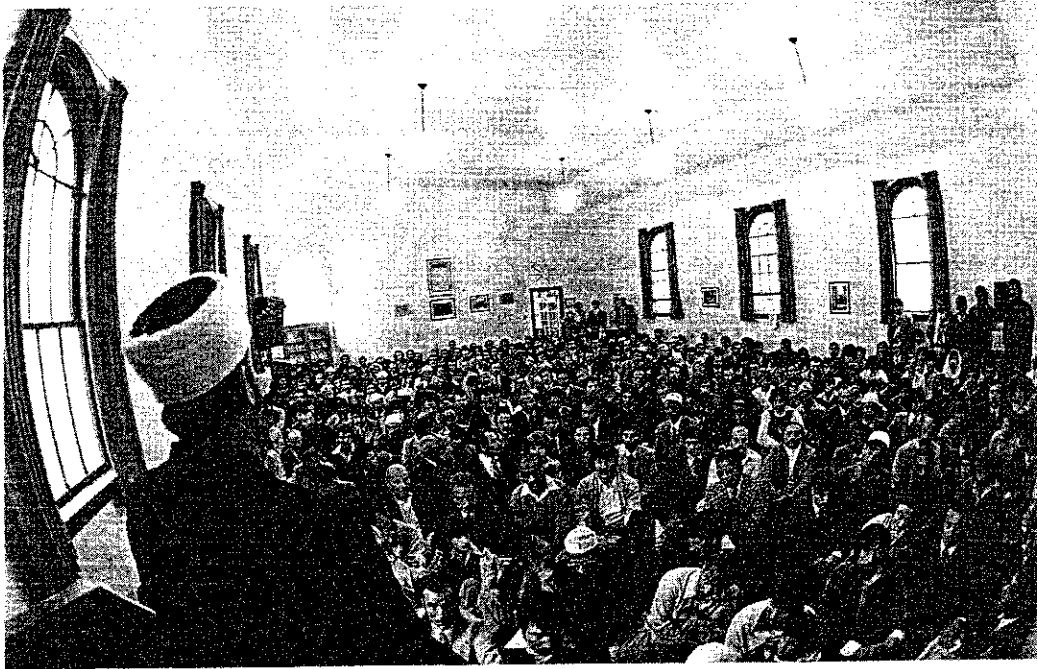
☪ ISLAM, DRUZE, AND BAHAI

Islam⁴ and Baha'i had a number of Edmonton adherents who preceded the influx of immigrants from Asia and other parts of the world. The origins of Edmonton's Muslim community date back to the early years of the twentieth century, when young entrepreneurs from Lebanon were drawn to the fur trade in northern Alberta. The twenty or so resident Muslim families had formed the Arabian Muslim Association by the 1930s and in 1938 built Al Rashid Mosque, the first mosque in Canada.⁵ In 1989 city officials relocated and restored the original mosque (by then empty for several years) in Fort Edmonton Park.⁶

The history of this Sunni Muslim community exemplifies the changing ethnic composition of the city through the second half of the twentieth century. The small Arab community grew slowly through the forties and fifties, so that in 1960 there were some 500 Muslims, most of whom shared Lebanese ancestry. By the mid 1970s their number had grown to 5,000, boosted by the arrival of immigrants from India, Pakistan, and other parts of the Muslim world.⁷ In 1981, when a large new Al Rashid Mosque opened as part of the Canadian Islamic Centre complex, the city had



Al Rashid Mosque, 1949. The origins of the Arab Muslim community in Alberta go back to the fur trade. (PAA A.8410)



End of Ramadan at Al Rashid Mosque, 1977. Ramadan is the ninth month of the Muslim calendar, when strict fasting is observed from sunrise to sunset; Muslims are also encouraged to perform devotions in addition to the usual daily prayers. (PAA 13597)

an estimated 15,000 Muslims. Saleem Ganam, director of the Centre, stated that approximately 80 per cent of this population was not Arab⁸—a figure that provides some indication of the current diversity of the community's ethnic background. Today, the orthodox Sunni have two additional places of worship: the Markaz-ul-Islam Mosque opened in Millwoods in 1987⁹ and a small mosque in the university area opened in 1992 by the Muslim Community of Edmonton.

The Shia branch of Islam differs from Sunni orthodoxy primarily in giving greater weight to formalized leadership, often in the context of sectarian divisions. Two Shia groups operate in Edmonton, both made up largely of East Indians forced to leave Africa in the early 1970s. The smaller of these communities is the Islamic Shia Ithna-Asheri Association; it opened a mosque, serving sixty-five families, in 1982.¹⁰ The larger and better known group is the Shia Imami Ismaili community. By 1976 some 900 Ismailis had settled in the city and opened a mosque in leased premises. Seven years later the community had grown to 3,500. The hereditary spiritual leader of the Ismailis, Prince Karim Aga Khan, the forty-ninth Imam, visited Edmonton in 1978, 1983, and 1992.¹¹

The Ahmadiyya movement in Islam, headquartered in Pakistan, accepts Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908) as the Mahdi and Messiah. This messianic belief sets the Ahmadis apart from both Sunni and Shia Muslims who accept the finality of Mohammed as Prophet. Indeed, Pakistani religious officials declared Ahmadiyya to be non-

Muslim in 1984.¹² The Ahmadiyya Muslim Association of Edmonton has met in rented premises since at least 1984 and in 1986 claimed a membership of about one hundred.¹³ Considerable friction exists between Edmonton's Amadis and orthodox Muslims over the state of affairs in Pakistan. So heated did public tensions become, particularly in the letters column of the *Edmonton Journal* between 1984 and 1986, that the Ahmadi leader, Hazrat Mizra Tahir Ahmad, visited the city in 1986 and told his followers to stop writing provocative letters directed at orthodox Muslims. The feud resumed in 1988 when the Ahmadis challenged the Sunni majority to a 'prayer duel,' but the latter did not accept. Around that time the Edmonton Ahmadi community claimed a membership of 250.¹⁴ At present it is best known for its annual Religious Founders Day, which is a symposium of the major faiths held at the University of Alberta.

Sufism is a series of mystical movements in Islam whose obscure history need not be discussed here.¹⁵ As it has spread to the West, a number of people who do not consider themselves Muslims, and, indeed, who do not follow the accepted precepts of Islam, have undertaken some of its practices. Over the past twenty years two Sufi convert groups have emerged. The Edmonton branch of the Sufi Order (Pir Vilayat Khan) was active for several years beginning in 1974, but it appears to have disbanded.¹⁶ Another group, best known as 'Dances of Universal Peace,' is a branch of the Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society, which split from the Sufi Order in 1977 under the leadership of Sam

Lewis. This group holds weekly dances and meditation sessions as well as an annual camp.¹⁷

Little agreement exists among scholars as to whether the Druze religion is a branch of Islam or a wholly separate religion.¹⁸ A secretive, non-proselytizing, ethnically based faith that arose in the context of Islam around a thousand years ago, it has its own holy scriptures and a strong emphasis on reincarnation. A spokesperson for the Druze Association of Edmonton estimated the size of the local community at about 2,000 members in 1982.¹⁹ The city's *Yellow Pages* telephone business directory carried a listing for the Association through the 1980s.

The Baha'i faith began in Persia in the middle of the last century. Although originating in an Islamic milieu, it considers itself a distinct religion based on a new prophetic revelation. The faith reached Edmonton in 1941, introduced by Mabel Pine, but the first five Edmonton converts to Baha'i did not join until the fall of 1942. Early converts held their meetings under the auspices of the Theosophical Society. By 1943 the nine converts (all women) were sufficient to constitute a local spiritual assembly.²⁰ When the group incorporated under the laws of Alberta in 1957, it had fifteen adult members. The Edmonton Baha'i Centre opened in 1990 in the former Orange Hall on 111 Avenue. In 1993, a spokesperson for the community indicated that local membership stood at approximately 400 people, about a quarter of whom were refugees who came from Iran in the 1980s.²¹

THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA

Changes to federal immigration laws in the 1960s made possible an influx of South Asians into Canada and Alberta. Early in the decade, the federal government began to eliminate racial and national criteria for entry into the country and in 1967 introduced the screening of prospective immigrants according to economic and social measures. Because many South Asians were highly skilled, their numbers grew, and by 1970 both Calgary and Edmonton had distinctive ethnic and religious communities.²² The Hindu Society of Alberta, for example, was established in 1967 with a dozen members, under the leadership of Dr Ram Krishna Gupta. Ten years later there were some 3,000 Hindus in Edmonton and the Society acquired property for Canada's first Indian Cultural Centre. By 1976 Sushil Kalia was holding religious and social activities for the Society. Temple activities in the Centre began in 1981, although the building was not formally opened until September 1984.²³ By the mid 1990s some 15,000 Hindus resided in Edmonton.

A second Hindu group, comprising Tamils and others from south India, organized in the early 1980s as the Maha Ganapati Society and maintains a small temple in a rural setting in the southwest part of the city. There are plans to start construction of a new temple along traditional lines.²⁴ Another well-established group is the Sri Satya Sai Baba Centre of Edmonton. Indian holy man Sai Baba, who gained fame as a reputed miracle worker, enjoys a large following outside as well as within traditional Hindu communities. Edmonton devotees began to meet in the late 1970s and in 1983 organized the Centre. By 1992 it had some 200 members, all but five of East Indian origin, who met in the Aurora Waldorf School and were very active in community service. In 1995 the Centre moved to permanent premises in a former theatre on Whyte Avenue.²⁵

Sikhism is a monotheistic faith that arose in India in the fifteenth century both as a protest against the Hindu caste system and as a response to the pressure of Islam. Although Sikhs were the first East Indians to immigrate to Canada in large numbers, only about forty families resided in Edmonton at the end of the 1960s.²⁶ The first Sikh temple in the city was the Nanaksar Gurdwara, which opened in a former church on 118 Avenue in 1976. In mid-1995 its members, who follow the teachings of Sant Muhair Singh Jee, were almost finished building a huge new temple on Edmonton's northern outskirts. The Nanaksar guru, Sant Jee, who died in British Columbia in 1994, led a movement numbering about 100,000 of the world's fifteen million or so Sikhs.²⁷ The mainstream Sikhs, under the auspices of the Sikh Society of Alberta, began raising money to build a temple in the mid-1970s and in the early 1980s opened the Sikh Centre next to the Hindu Temple off St Albert Trail. Another Sikh group, the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Society, opened a Gurdwara in north Edmonton in the late 1970s, moving to larger premises in the southwest in 1980²⁸ and to Mill Woods six years later. By 1983 as many as 10,000 Sikhs lived in Edmonton, mostly recent immigrants from Punjab, supporting three temples.²⁹

An immigrant community committed to visible expressions of its faith, the Sikh community in Edmonton as elsewhere has experienced strife involving human rights issues. In 1982, for example, taxi drivers wearing turbans and beards became an issue with the Yellow Cab Company. The matter was eventually resolved in the Sikhs' favour.³⁰ The political struggles of Sikhs in India have also had ramifications in Edmonton, particularly following the storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984. Local Sikhs withdrew from the National Association of Canadians of Origin in India, and, as a result, have since not participated

in the annual August Heritage Days festival.³¹ More seriously, government officials began avoiding contact with Sikh political organizations that called for Punjab independence.

At least four Edmonton groups derive directly or indirectly from Radhasoami—a movement (founded by Param Guru Shri Shiv Dayal Singh Sahab) that emerged from the Sikh tradition in 1861 but which orthodox Sikhs do not recognize since they do not believe in living gurus. In practice the movement has Hindu overtones with beliefs somewhat resembling Gnosticism.³² Guru Kirpal Singh was very successful in bringing the message to the west. On his death in 1974, the movement split among three leaders, each of whom claimed to be his spiritual heir. All three leaders have Edmonton followers. The largest group, and longest established, is Sant Rajinder Singh's Science of Spirituality. It was operating as early as 1972, well before the three-way division took place.³³ Some two dozen people continue to meet on a weekly basis for meditation in the Orange Hall in Strathcona. The Science of the Soul, led by Sant Thakar Singh, entered the city in 1993, with a missionary conducting home meetings. The third group, Sant Ajaib Singh Ji's Sant Mat organization, recently held an international convention in Rimbey.³⁴

An unacknowledged part of the Radhasoami tradition, Eckankar is a larger and better known group. Paul Twitchell, its founder, drew heavily from his experience in Radasoami and the movement remains close in practice and belief, despite changes in terminology.³⁵ Former

Kabalarians, Ross and Diane Banner, introduced Eckankar to Edmonton in 1971, holding meetings in their home until the organization opened a store-front centre downtown in 1975.³⁶ At that time the group claimed to have fifty members. Through the 1980s the centre was on 118 Avenue, but moved to larger premises on Whyte Avenue around 1990.

A small Zoroastrian community also exists in Edmonton, comprised mostly of Indian Parsis. Together with a corresponding group in Calgary, they formed the Zoroastrian Association of Alberta in 1980. The followers of this ancient Persian faith meet in homes, having neither a temple nor a full-time priest for their community.³⁷

Apart from the immigrant communities that have brought Hinduism to Edmonton, a large number of religious organizations are derived in various ways from the Hindu tradition. (Along these lines, we will not even consider the dozens of organizations teaching yoga.) These convert groups themselves make varying claims about the extent to which Hinduism has influenced their doctrines and practices. On one end of the scale is a group such as the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), in which members undertake a life dedicated to devotional prayer, vegetarianism, and the study of the *Vedas* in Sanskrit. At the other end of the scale, Transcendental Meditation (TM) denies that it is a religion, let alone a Hindu religion. While not wishing to debate the issue of TM's origins, we do wish to note that



Sod-turning for the Hindu Centre, 1976. East Indian settlement in Edmonton increased greatly following the change to Canadian immigration laws in the 1960s. (PAA J2621)

the content of the group's meditation practice as well as the 'unified field theory' are unquestionably of Hindu origin, despite the fact that TM uses the rhetoric of scientism.³⁸

Followers of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who organized a TM group in Calgary as early as 1964, brought the guru to Edmonton in 1966. At that time, TM emphasized teaching the meditation technique. Now the group offers an entire series of short courses—including architecture, business management, meditation, nutrition, and yogic flying—at the Maharishi Vedic College in Le Marchand Mansion. Courses cost from \$1,000 to \$3,000 each. The most surprising development in TM is the formation of the Natural Law Party, which in 1993 unsuccessfully ran candidates in Edmonton in both the federal and provincial elections. Apart from general issues concerning sound government, the political platform of the Natural Law Party seems to contend that a certain level of participation in TM will, by itself, resolve most social problems.³⁹

ISKCON is the fruit of Swami Prabhupada's Hindu mission to New York in the 1960s.⁴⁰ The movement has had a controversial history, particularly with respect to power struggles and violent episodes following Prabhupada's death. Nothing of the kind appears to have occurred in the Edmonton Krishna community, although the group did find itself involved in considerable public controversy. In the early 1970s Krishna devotees from the Vancouver temple periodically solicited funds on the streets of Edmonton. By the end of the decade, this activity became a legal issue when police began charging Krishnas with unlicensed soliciting. The group challenged the Alberta Public Contributions Act, claiming it curtailed their religious freedom, but lost the case. By this time about twenty devotees lived in a west-end temple, and these orange-robed Krishnas were a regular presence on downtown streets. In the early 1980s the Krishnas were the focus of considerable controversy, even hostility, with accusations of mind control from the so-called 'anti-cult movement.' After that, the Hare Krishnas kept a low profile, no longer wearing saffron robes and chanting in public. The Edmonton group remains in existence, supporting itself by business activities, and members have recently built a temple.⁴¹

Another Hindu group that won numerous Edmonton converts in the 1970s was Guru Maharaj Ji's Divine Light Mission. The movement first entered the city in 1973 and one year later had some four dozen devotees. Late in the decade the core members lived in an ashram in a large house in Oliver. By 1978 the congregation had dropped to under thirty and early in the 1980s it broke up.⁴² A Hindu

sect begun in the 1930s to promote a life of celibacy and prayer, Brahma Kumaris became international in scope in the 1970s and has functioned in Edmonton for the past ten years. The leader of the movement, Dadi Janki, visited the city in 1993. Brahma Kumaris actively advertises its services, including regular meditation under the pyramid at City Hall.⁴³

Inclusion of the 'sex and Rolls Royce' guru, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, in the Hindu section of this survey in no way underplays the objections that many Hindus had towards him in India.⁴⁴ Pendants bearing the guru's picture were common in Edmonton during the late 1970s, when the movement's local star was the filmmaker, Anne Wheeler. Apart from introductory lectures, the group's focus for local activities at this time was the Samadhi Rajneesh Sannyas Ashram, located on a farm in the Tofield area. In 1985 a scandal erupted at the University of Alberta when a student complained that a professor who promoted the Rajneesh philosophy of 'letting go' in his classes had taken advantage of her sexually. Around the same time the ashram closed, and since 1986 no publicized Rajneesh activities have taken place in the city. Former Edmonton real estate investor, Michael O'Byrne (now known as Swami Prem Jayesh), directs the current Rajneesh empire from Poona, India.⁴⁵

Jainism is the smallest and least known of the three ancient Indian religions. It differs from Hinduism and Buddhism in upholding even more rigorous standards of asceticism, non-violence, and vegetarianism. When Jain leader, Shri Chatrikirti Bhattarak, visited Edmonton in 1990, some fifteen families of the faith resided in the city. They worshipped at the Hindu Centre, where they installed an image of Lord Mahavir in 1989. When Bhattarak visited Edmonton again in 1993, he spoke at both Hindu temples.⁴⁶

BUDDHISM AND TAOISM

The striking feature of Buddhism in Edmonton is the diversity of this rather small community. Ethnically, the immigrant congregations of Edmonton Buddhists include people with Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, and Cambodian backgrounds.⁴⁷ Beyond immigrant congregations, however, are a bewildering assortment of convert groups and new sects.

The Theravada tradition is the most orthodox and conservative Buddhism of Sri Lanka and southeast Asia. Sri Lankan Buddhists in Edmonton formed the Buddhist Vihara Association of Alberta in the early 1980s. The

Alberta Buddhist Cultural Society, founded in 1983 with about 200 members, represents Buddhists from Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, and Laos.⁴⁸ For several years, the approximately 500 Cambodian Buddhists in the city had difficulty finding a monk because so few had survived their homeland's Communist purges, but the group eventually succeeded in establishing the Sum Nuk Song Temple.⁴⁹ Two small convert circles—Light of the Dhamma and the Theravadin Buddhist Group—have been active in the past few years.

Much more diverse in practice and belief than Theravada is Mahayana Buddhism, with its tradition of the *bodhisattvas*—the saints who forsake their own attainment of nirvana to help save others. Mahayana has been more open to the development of syncretism than its forerunner, so it is not surprising to see that Edmonton's Mahayana groups are quite diverse congregations. Mahayana also is rather more attractive to converts for the same reasons. Indeed, some of the convert groups in Edmonton have continuous histories going back to the early 1970s, thus predating the immigrant Buddhist communities. Vietnamese immigrants follow the Mahayana tradition and they comprise the largest of the Buddhist groups in Edmonton. The Phat Quang Pagoda, which is affiliated with the Vietnamese Unified Buddhist Congregation of Canada, opened in Mill Woods in July 1988. This group also operates the Truc Lam Monastery in Riverdale, in the premises of the former Rundle United Church. Another Vietnamese group is the Mui Kwok Temple on 96 Street in downtown Edmonton.

At least five groups in Edmonton follow different Tibetan traditions. They constitute by far the strongest element of the convert Buddhist community, since no immigrant Tibetan community exists in the city. Edmonton Dharmadhatu began in the early 1970s as the Edmonton Buddhist Society, organized by Thelma Habgood and Barb Schweger. Affiliating with Karma Dzong, founded by the late Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche, it went by the name Dharma Study Group until fixing on the present name in 1980. Two other small groups affiliate with the Karma Kagyu lineage. One is Karma Tashi Ling, which follows the

teachings of the Venerable Trangu Rinpoche and has been active for about ten years. The other, established more recently, is the Kamtsang Choling Edmonton Buddhist Centre, begun by Lama Ole Nydahl in 1983.⁵⁰ The Novayana Society of Alberta follows the Venerable Namgyal Rinpoche, a Canadian sometimes confused with a Tibetan lama, who lived briefly in Edmonton when he first came to Canada in 1972.⁵¹ This group operated as the Namgyal Group until adopting its present name in 1980. In 1974 one Edmonton and three British Columbia families sponsored the immigration of Geshe Ngawang Kaldan to Canada. He lived in Nelson, British Columbia, for seven months before moving to Edmonton, where he

taught courses on Buddhism at both the University of Alberta and Grant MacEwan College. After several years at the University of Toronto, Kaldan returned to Edmonton in 1993 to become spiritual director of the Gaden Samten Ling Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Society.⁵²

At least three groups in Edmonton follow new Chinese Buddhist movements. The largest, the True Buddha School of Master Shen-yen Lu (sometimes written Lu Sheng-Yen), which contains elements of Taoism, originated in Taiwan and now is centred in the state of Washington. The Edmonton chapter, the Chin Yin Tang Buddhist Society (also called the True Buddha School Chin Yin Buddhist Society), began in 1985 with three dozen members, and since

has grown to around 800. The Jen Foo Chung Temple opened in 1991. While most members are Chinese or Vietnamese, many of them converted in Canada to this rapidly growing sect.⁵³ Buddha's Light International is another new sect from Taiwan, and in 1994 Venerable Master Hsing Yun attended the opening of the group's Edmonton centre.⁵⁴ The city also contains followers of a woman reputed to be a living Buddha, Supreme Master Ching Hai, and literature about her appeared downtown in the summer of 1994.

Japanese Buddhist traditions also have Edmonton followers. The Buddhist Church of Canada, established by Japanese immigrants early in the twentieth century, affiliates with the majority Jodo Shinshu denomination. A

For several years, the approximately 500 Cambodian Buddhists in the city had difficulty finding a monk because so few had survived their homeland's Communist purges, but the group eventually succeeded in establishing the Sum Nuk Song Temple.

small group, comprising both Japanese and converts, meets monthly at the Japanese Community Association Centre under the direction of Sensei Fred Ulrich.⁵⁵ The Edmonton Buddhist Meditation Group, directed by the Reverend Dominic Lloyd, has its origins in Bill Jensen's course in Zen at Grant MacEwan College in the 1970s. By 1978 Jensen and others had founded the Edmonton Buddhist Priory, affiliated with the Soto Zen Church of Shasta Abbey in California. As a communal residence and business, the priory seems not to have survived after 1980.⁵⁶ Nichiren Shoshu is another Japanese sect whose lay arm, Soka Gakkai, experienced massive growth in the 1950s. Since then it has spread outside Japan, particularly among non-Japanese. The Soka Gakkai group in Edmonton that Paul Cake established in 1975 had attracted some three dozen Edmontonians by 1983.⁵⁷

Probably Chinese immigrants have practiced Taoism in Edmonton throughout much of the twentieth century. Its first public manifestation, however, is the Fung Loy Kok Temple, which opened in 1990 as an adjunct to the Taoist Tai Chi Association.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

Edmonton's growth in the twentieth century has included an increase in religious diversity. Some of this diversity occurred as a result of changes to Canada's immigration laws in the 1960s, allowing larger numbers of Asian and other non-European immigrants to enter the country. Political and social crises in various parts of the world have also helped create new immigrant sources. Evangelization has also been a factor in introducing religious groups outside the Judeo-Christian tradition to the city. For the most part, these processes—immigration and evangelization—are separate. Hinduism and Buddhism exemplify this separation, with immigrants and converts usually found in distinct organizations. An interesting exception is Baha'i, where refugees joined an established convert community. Frequently, immigrant groups coming from situations of persecution form tightly-knit communities in Edmonton (and elsewhere), even becoming more orthodox once in a social situation that permits religious freedom. Perhaps reflecting residues from the 1960s' counterculture movement, increasing numbers of Edmontonians from the 1970s onward have converted to non-Western religious faiths. As the number of faiths in the city rises, the likelihood of new, eclectic religions sprouting on home soil also increases. ❧

**CYNTHIA DUNNIGAN,
'DON'T EVER LET YOUR CREE
DOWN'**

1. The information that follows is from a life history study I conducted between April 1993 and Aug. 1994. This research was funded by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Information was gathered using oral history methods. Interviews with Mrs Gray took place between 21 May and 25 Aug. 1993 in Edmonton, Alberta.
2. D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820-1900* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983), Table 1.
3. The material presented here is not about general Metis history and culture so much as it is a sampling of the life experiences of one Metis woman. Mrs Gray's experiences are not to be taken as representative of all Metis women or Metis culture in general. For information about Metis history and culture see Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1983); and Anne Anderson, *The First Metis: A New Nation* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1985). On First Nation women's experiences see H.C. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew, eds., *Kohkominawak Otacimowiniwawa: Our Grandmothers' Lives As Told in their Own Words* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1992); Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Halifax: Goodread Biographies, 1983); and Jeanne Perreault and Sylvia Vance, eds., *Writing the Circle: Native Women of Western Canada* (Edmonton: NeWest, 1990). For information about the writing of life history, particularly life histories of First Nation peoples, see Arnold Krupat, ed., *Native American Autobiography: An Anthology* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); and Julie Cruikshank in collaboration with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990).
4. According to Gray, Patrick was married to a woman named Anne Bruce. According to PAA, Cunningham File, 75.582, Patrick's wife was named Nancy Bruce. I discussed the difference with Mrs Gray who pointed out that the name Nancy occurs several times in the generations after Patrick and Anne/Nancy. It may be that Nancy is the correct name or it may be a nickname.
5. PAA, 75.582.
6. Elzaide Cunningham, 'Cunningham Story,' in Arlene Borgstede, ed., *Black Robe's Vision: A History of St. Albert and*

District (St Albert Historical Society, 1993), 48.

7. Father A. Tetreault, 'Historic St. Albert: Transformation and Highlights (1890-1954),' *AHR* 5, no. 1 (1955): 25.
8. Samuel is listed in *Canadian Parliamentary Companion Northwest Territories Assembly* (Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1887) and is noted as an interpreter at Treaty Eight in Richard Price, *Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1991), 142. Samuel is listed as the first mayor of Grouard in St Albert Archives, St Albert File, 1885.
9. Borgstede, *Black Robe's Vision*, 246.
10. Gray, interview, 21 May 1993.
11. Cree term meaning My Grandchild; and Gray, interview, 21 May 1993.
12. Gray, interview.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Eddie Gray, 'Ambrose and Mary Gray,' in Elizabeth Tumbull and Jean Payne, eds., *The Pathfinders: A History of Onoway, Bilby, Brookdale, Glenford, Goldthorpe, Heatherdown, Hillcrest, Nakamun, Rich Valley, Speldhurst, Stettin, and Sturgeon River* (Winnipeg: Intercollegiate Press, 1978), 351.
16. For more information on the subject of Aboriginal people and the justice system see Therese Lajeunesse, 'Cross Cultural Issues in the Justice System: The Case of Aboriginal People in Canada,' in *Program on Conflict Resolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1991); and Marianne O. Nielsen and Robert A. Silverman, eds., *Aboriginal Peoples and Canadian Criminal Justice* (Vancouver: Butterworths, 1992).
17. Cree terms for Grandmother and My Sister-in-Law.

**GORDON DREVER
AND STEPHEN A. KENT,
GODS FROM AFAR**

1. *Edmonton Jewish Life*, 31 Jan. 1992.
2. This chapter draws upon material from both the City of Edmonton Archives and Gordon Drever's private archives. Stephen Kent also utilizes material collected with the assistance of a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
3. On religious groups in Edmonton during the 1950s see William E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955). Also useful for background information is J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, vol. 2 (Wilmington NC: McGrath Publishing Company, 1978).
4. A very useful study of Islamic and Hindu religions in the United States

is Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

5. Baha Abu-Laban, 'The Canadian Muslim Community: The Need for a New Survival Strategy,' in Earle Waugh et al., eds., *The Muslim Community in North America* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983), 80-1; and Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 139.
6. *EJ*, 30 May 1992.
7. *Ibid.*, 12 Aug. 1976.
8. *Ibid.*, 27 Feb. 1981; and *The New Canadian*, Dec. 1984, 1-2.
9. *EJ*, 24 Jan. 1987.
10. *The Prairie Link*, Jan. 1983, 16-17.
11. *EJ*, 17 Aug. 1976, 24 April 1983, 15 Aug. 1992.
12. See the pamphlet by Louis J. Hammann, *Ahmediyyat: An Introduction* (London: Al Shirkatul-Islamiyyah [The London Mosque], 1985); and *EJ*, 21 Nov. 1987.
13. See *EJ*, 22 July, 7 Aug. 1984, 30 Aug. 1986.
14. *Ibid.*, 4 Oct. 1986, 19 Aug., 8 Oct., 19 Nov. 1988.
15. For a partial discussion of Sufism see Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 208-16; and Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).
16. *Edmonton Access Catalogue* (1978), 99.
17. *EJ*, 16 Jan. 1988; and Judy Evaski-Mclean, 'Dances of Universal Peace,' *Life Rhythms* (Summer 1994): 6-7.
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20. Andrew Pemberton-Pigott, 'The Baha'i Faith in Alberta, 1942-1992: The Ethic of Dispersion' (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1992), 25-6; and *EJ*, 23 Sept., 15 Oct. 1941, 29 April 1972, 15 Dec. 1990.
21. *EJ*, 18 Sept. 1993.
22. See Norman Buchignani, 'South Asians in Alberta,' in Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, eds., *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 419; and David Goa et al., 'Hindus in Alberta: A Study in Religious Continuity and Change,' *CES* 16, no. 1 (1984): 96-113.
23. Hindu Society of Alberta, *Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (1992), 1; *EJ*, 17 Aug. 1976, 16 Sept. 1984; and *Times of India*, May 1984.

24. Maha Ganapati Society of Alberta, *Annual Report* (1992, 1993).
25. AR, 3 Sept. 1984, 40; and EJ, 28 March 1992, 22 April 1995.
26. EJ, 15 Nov. 1969.
27. On the Nanaksar see *ibid.*, 28 Aug. 1976, 19 July 1993; *Edmonton's Weekly News*, 1 July 1994; and VS, 2 Sept. 1994.
28. EJ, 23 Aug. 1980.
29. *Ibid.*, 21 May 1983.
30. *Ibid.*, 26 June 1982, 16 Dec. 1983, 25 Feb. 1984.
31. *Ibid.*, 24 July 1984.
32. Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 389.
33. Advertisement, *Gateway* (University of Alberta student newspaper), 5 Oct. 1972.
34. EJ, 20 June 1992.
35. Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 231-2; see also the Sept. 1979 issue of the *Spiritual Counterfeits Project Journal* from Berkeley, California, which discusses Twitchell's Scientology connection.
36. SJER, 25 Nov. 1974, 20; and EJ, 18 March 1975.
37. Zoroastrian Association of Alberta, Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual General Meeting, Calgary, 25 Sept. 1993; and *Fourteenth Annual General Body Meeting Programme*, Edmonton, 27 Aug. 1994.
38. On TM's use of scientific language and denial of its religious base see, for example, the exchange between Earl Legate, a former follower, and Bob Cheltnick, a current practitioner, in EJ, 26 Sept., 3 Oct. 1986. See also Stephen A. Kent, 'Deviance Labelling and Normative Strategies in the Canadian "New Religions/Counterfeit" Debate,' CJS 15, no. 4 (1990): 399-400.
39. See EJ, 11 Nov. 1966; the Maharishi Vedic College's 1992 brochure, *Dawn of a New Era in Education and Health Care*; and the 1993 campaign brochure, *The Natural Law Party of Alberta: Bringing the Light of Science to Politics*.
40. For the swami's religious biography see the six-volume *Sri Prabhupada-lilamrta* (Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, 1980-3) by Satsvarupa Gosvami Dasa.
41. On the Hare Krishnas in Edmonton see SJER, 5 Aug. 1974, 21; and EJ, 14 Sept., 14 Dec. 1978, 21 Sept. 1979, 25 Sept. 1981, 17 Oct. 1982, 12 Jan. 1985, 8 Feb. 1985.
42. See James V. Downton Jr, *Sacred Journeys: The Conversion of Young Americans to Divine Light Mission* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); SJER, 2 June 1973; *Gateway*, 19 Nov. 1974; and *Edmonton Access Catalogue*, 98.
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45. See EJ, 25 Feb. 1978, 4, 6, 12 Aug. 1985; and G&M, 12 March 1994.
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50. EJ, 15 March 1986.
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52. EJ, 10 July 1993.
53. *Ibid.*, 7 Sept. 1991, 25, 27 June 1994.
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