

**FINDING DIRECTIONS WEST:
READINGS THAT LOCATE AND DISLOCATE
WESTERN CANADA'S PAST**
Edited by George Colpitts and Heather Devine

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Mountain Capitalists, Space, and Modernity at the Banff School of Fine Arts

PearlAnn Reichwein and Karen Wall

Introduction

Why is a school for the arts located in Banff, Alberta? Such an obvious question can lend insight to social relations taken for granted as natural in everyday life. Today's Banff Centre occupies a privileged space in Banff National Park. Its iconic location on Tunnel Mountain in the Alberta Rockies is synonymous with the image and reputation of an international destination for professional arts and management programs in Western Canada. Situated in the Town of Banff, it is further encompassed within the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks World Heritage Site designated by UNESCO in 1984. Its spatial design, architecture, and landscape emerged from a modernist legacy of postwar campus development for the Banff School of Fine Arts, an adult extension outreach program started by the University of Alberta in 1933. A permanent campus to position Alberta's public university in Canada's premier national park was a postwar strategic initiative led by school director Donald Cameron. The spatial imaginary of the school and campus as it emerged designed in international modernist style was produced by multiple agents. Negotiation, contestation, and

construction rendered the Banff School campus as a distinct space in a prominent national park townsite. In this paper, we explore the postwar campus in terms of spatialization based on Henri Lefebvre's ideas about space as a social product and Jody Berland's ideas about modernism in postwar Canada.

Banff's urban history as a federally designed townsite is commonly obscured by tendencies to conflate it with readings of Banff National Park as a "natural" space rather than as a cultural landscape. Urban development and select land use were integral to constructing the Banff townsite as a park destination and tourist economy. Federal leasehold records indicate how cumulative decisions led the Banff School to become a significant space and cultural institution within a national park. Architectural sketches, plans, drawings, and correspondence suggest how the Banff School campus mapped postwar international modernism onto Banff's place identity and urban heritage. Architecture and landscape design were facets of constructing the postwar park environment and its viewscales. Although its postwar visual arts programs were strong in older traditions of realist and impressionist landscape painting,¹ artists at the school gazed through the frames of architectural modernism that prevailed in its built form. The postwar campus was also a spatial manifestation of 1950s democratic liberalism in its idealization of education and travel as a means of social engagement among citizens. The state and capital were actors in the production of urban space and modernism at the school, along with the agency of university staff and students. Private donors were central to its postwar capital projects for campus construction. Both education and culture were structured as assets in national park urban space and national policy. The urban–nature matrix involved in constructing the early Banff campus is pertinent to today's issues of urbanization, cultural landscapes, and place making. We argue that the growth of the postwar Banff School campus points to processes of urban spatialization and the reproduction of capitalism during the influence of the modernist state in Canada.

Henri Lefebvre's ideas about space as a social product theorized processes of urban spatialization and the reproduction of capitalism. Space is understood as a cultural production and process of social relations, a site of struggle to produce and reproduce meanings, particularly in everyday life. Lefebvre's triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation were central tenets in his work *The Production of*

Space.² Lukasz Stanek highlighted how Lefebvre's understanding of space emerged with emphasis on "the shift of the research focus from space to processes of its production; the embrace of the multiplicity of social practices that produce space and make it socially productive; and the focus on the contradictory, conflictual, and, ultimately, political character of the processes of production of space."³ This chapter focuses on the Banff School as a site for the production of space through social relations, with specific interest in the postwar Tunnel Mountain campus, where the dialectical interactions of state, capital, design, and environment merged to produce a modernist urbanized landscape in Banff townsite. This is a story of art and nature written in the spatial relations of power.

Jody Berland examined how the state fostered democratic liberalism through cultural policy and artistic modernism in postwar Canada. Public institutions and public policy frameworks played a direct role in the formation of modernist liberal democracy and social values that aimed to generate a new and better world after World War II. Berland argued that "Canada's nationalist modernists were informed by a constellation of interdependent ideas expressing strong social as well as cultural purpose."⁴ Scott McLean observed that, under its director Donald Cameron, the University of Alberta's Department of Extension explicitly aligned itself with a postwar internationalist ideology to foster "social and economic progress."⁵ Educated people and tourism were considered assets to social progress in the form of economic success in postwar Alberta. Spaces of the Banff School helped to produce the modernist project as a social product that aligned with liberal capitalism under the welfare state.

Notably, the University of Alberta located the Banff School of Fine Arts in Canada's first national park, Banff National Park. A distant 400 kilometres from the university main campus in the provincial capital of Alberta, Edmonton, the Banff School campus emerged as a cultural landscape situated within the larger cultural landscape of a world-famous national park in the Canadian Rockies. The Department of Extension began the summer school as a program for educational holidays during the depths of the Great Depression. The first Banff School was a populist outreach community theatre program conducted by Extension with Carnegie grant support in 1933, but it took place in borrowed space without its own campus. Academic course offerings expanded, as well as the name of the school (from the Banff School of Drama to the Banff School of Fine

Arts), and subsequently several hundred students enrolled each summer in theatre, painting, music, dance, plastic arts, photography, and various other adult extension classes conducted by the university's Department of Extension. Why was the mountain park holiday townsite of Banff chosen as the environment for the University of Alberta's summer education venture, and what story does the early history of urban spatialization on the Banff School campus have to tell about the production of postwar modernist landscapes, design, and cultural capital? The original entity of the Banff School of Fine Arts no longer exists, its former campus is home to the current Banff Centre, a learning centre devoted to professional arts, leadership, and mountain culture where the production of space as urbanization and capitalism is ongoing and indicative of more recent federal and provincial policy directions under the neoliberal state.

“The Salzburg of America”

Banff and Salzburg were joined in the imagination of a man who had expansive plans for the University of Alberta's role in adult extension education, liberal democratic citizenship, and internationalism, long before these urban hubs were designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Envisioned as an educational institution and world centre for art and culture in the Canadian Rockies, the Banff School was conceived as “the Salzburg of America” by its long-time director Donald Cameron (1901–1989). Cameron was a proponent of adult education who worked in the Department of Extension in Edmonton and ran the summer school in Banff. The school was located, he explained, based on the premise that “in Banff we had a great natural asset and a natural setting for a school in the Fine Arts.”⁶ By naturalizing the idea of a mountain national park as the right place for creating and consuming fine arts, education, and tourism, he promoted the potential for the Banff School to combine scenery with artistic capital in a symbolic landscape, much like the Austrian Salzburg Festival.⁷ Cameron held that the Banff School was a growing tourism concern, as he noted in 1946: “the school is becoming important, not only for its own sake but as a major tourist attraction in the Province of Alberta.”⁸ Establishing the new province of Alberta in 1905 was an outgrowth of late nineteenth-century agricultural settlement in Western Canada; tourism

in the region had long capitalized on national parks in the Rockies as a prime attraction, as illustrated by the highly successful Canadian Pacific Railway tours and Banff Springs Hotel beginning in the 1880s, and by official tourism promotions undertaken by the Alberta government through Cameron's era.⁹ Construction of the Banff School's postwar campus moved another step further in the spatialization of urban capitalism in Banff. Cameron promoted internationalism after the war and maintained that Banff's beauty radiated a universal appeal, as he wrote in 1951: "Banff doesn't belong to Alberta alone, or to Canada; it belongs to America and the world.... Wherever they live, people feel that Banff belongs to them. That feeling is a great asset to Banff, to Alberta and to the Banff School of Fine Arts."¹⁰ Reflecting on Banff's global appeal, Cameron in some ways foreshadowed the currency of world heritage designation and notions of "world class" tourism attractions.

Contrary to Donald and Peggy Leighton's institutional and historiographic myths that the school was destined to be "on a mountainside overlooking the Bow Valley in the Rocky Mountains," the current campus on Tunnel Mountain was *not* the initial site for the permanent campus, nor was the modernist architectural design of the school's signature buildings a foregone conclusion.¹¹ Examination of federal leasehold records, university correspondence, and architectural designs tells another story about making cultural landscapes as capital through urban spatialization at the Banff School of Fine Arts

Moving to the "Campus in the clouds"

Cameron was intent on creating a distinctive physical space for the Banff School in keeping with his grand vision for nation building and international educational presence. The University of Alberta first operated its month-long summer sessions in shared space, in particular that belonging to the local school board, where classes were held in the public Banff High School and later in a public auditorium on Banff Avenue jointly funded by the university and the local school board. The latter is now a well-recognized historic building that serves as the Parks Canada Information Centre. By the mid-1940s, overcrowded summer enrolments and a lack of residence accommodation led to expansion plans in anticipation of

postwar growth. University President Robert Newton justified the need for a permanent campus to Banff's national park superintendent in 1944 by claiming that "there is surely no finer way of capitalizing the beauties of Banff National Park in the interests of the whole country than by sending art students steeped in its atmosphere into every community."¹²

Facility development was foremost in Donald Cameron's mind as the Banff School approached postwar reconstruction, and he formed an alliance with a key private donor and others to fund capital for construction costs. Leonora Christine Woods (1875–1960) was the widow of Lt. Col. James H. Woods (1868–1941), the late publisher of the *Calgary Herald* newspaper and a noted Western Canadian patron of the arts and the university; she aimed to commemorate her husband through investment in both. Mrs. Woods was also an active Calgary leader in philanthropic organizations and boards, such as the Victorian Order of Nurses and the Red Cross. From 1922, Gables Securities was her personal financial corporation administered by Eric Harvie through his company Managers Limited; after her death, her fortune endowed the Woods Foundation.¹³ Eric Harvie, a prominent Calgary lawyer and investor, represented Mrs. Woods as a benefactor in dealings with Cameron in relation to the Banff School. Harvie also became a prominent Alberta benefactor to arts, culture, and education based on his success in the petroleum industry, endowing the Devonian Foundation, Glenbow Foundation, and other institutions.¹⁴ Cameron and Harvie joined forces to pursue the construction of a permanent university campus within the Banff townsite. The federal government proved instrumental in providing the land to establish a school of fine arts on prime public property in Banff National Park in concert with proposals to spatialize the arts and culture in Banff as a Salzburg in the Rockies. With the support of private capital and the state, the Banff School opened a new permanent campus on Tunnel Mountain in 1947.

Historically, national parks in Canada are federal Crown lands, and properties in Banff were typically occupied on the basis of long-term leaseholds rather than private land ownership. Federal townsite surveys in the nineteenth century subdivided blocks and lots along the Bow River near the confluence of the Spray River at Banff, which remained a federally administered townsite until town governance status was attained in 1990. When Cameron approached local Banff National Park Superintendent P.J. Jennings, the school was permitted to obtain a leasehold for a townsite lot

on Cougar Street situated low in the valley on boggy land along Whiskey Creek. It was an area zoned for low-priced tourist accommodation with room to accommodate 300 people. Higher-level negotiations subsequently ensued to raise the profile of the proposed site. By October 1945, Cameron considered the Whiskey Creek land inadequate for his purposes and entered discussions with Ottawa through Dr. Charles Camsell, deputy minister of mines and resources responsible for national parks and his executive administrators, whereby the Whiskey Creek site was exchanged for three blocks situated on slightly higher ground on Deer Street near the main commercial street of Banff Avenue. "It was a good small site and John Rule's sketch [of the School] had helped greatly in its acquisition because for the first time this gave physical form to what had previously been only a dream," as Cameron wrote in later years.¹⁵ National park officials were persuaded that the new site was more suitable for Cameron's growing plans for a grand campus.

As President Newton submitted to Roy Gibson, director of the Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch, the university felt justified asking the branch for substantial co-operation in obtaining the lots because "the School draws students from all over Canada and is therefore performing a national service. It is rapidly becoming one of the major attractions of the Banff National Park."¹⁶ Cultural tourism, as well as natural attractions, added to Banff's capital as a tourist destination for adults seeking to further their arts education, as well as for general tourists wishing to sight-see and consume the arts while visiting the park.¹⁷ A permanent campus space would capitalize on all of it. Subsequently, Cameron and Eric Harvie, acting on behalf of Calgary donor Mrs. Woods, scouted out the potential of a third site, on Tunnel Mountain, during the winter of 1945–46, as Cameron recounted:

We then went over the St. Julien site, situated immediately above the town on Tunnel Mountain and just across the river from the Banff Springs Hotel. Without question this was the finest site in Banff. It consisted of about thirty acres of land, part of which would always be a natural park. It had the finest view in Banff. It was only six minutes' walk from the centre of the town but by virtue of its location was separate and private. Major Jennings indicated that he personally would be in favour

of letting us have this site but he didn't hold out much hope that Ottawa would agree.¹⁸

Superintendent Jennings favoured advancing the project on the St. Julien site, a far superior block of land zoned for expensive realty development, and he pushed his recommendation forward to National Parks officials in Ottawa based on the rationale that "what the University of Alberta Extension Department now has in mind is essentially a national project ... such being the case it is felt that favourable consideration should be given to this request."¹⁹ Cameron's vision of the Salzburg of North America was a dream of cultural capital that turned a provincial educational outreach program into an expansive project that enticed national supporters. It was an optimistic ambition that predated Alberta's booming postwar oil and gas economy of the late 1940s with its headquarters in Calgary, a growing city 130 kilometres east of Banff townsite.

Ottawa officials agreed to grant the prestigious St. Julien lot on a perpetual lease for one dollar a year and contributed the development of municipal services to the project following Cameron's persistent lobby for the site.²⁰ The landlease transaction was indicative of Cameron's ability to generate federal support for his vision of an adult education facility in Banff National Park because it was seen as a prestigious amenity for public education and tourism in the scheme of park townsite planning and national development. At the time, officials believed that a fine arts school could directly benefit the interpretation of Banff to the public, in harmony with the mandate of national parks for public education and enjoyment.²¹

Cameron shared his campus building plans in summer 1946 at a public picnic staged on the new St. Julien grounds with a turnout of 500 Banff School summer students and 30 staff. "Some very distinguished Canadians" attended among the school's painting instructors, including A.Y. Jackson, J.W.G. Macdonald, Lawren Harris, H.D. Glyde, and W.J. Phillips. A bag-piper skirled on the hill throughout the evening to entertain the crowd. Superintendent Jennings spoke to offer the co-operation of his office "in furthering what he said the Government of Canada considered to be an important and unique development in the history of the national parks."²² Obtaining the exclusive St. Julien block on Tunnel Mountain signified a substantial realty upscaling for adult education in Banff. The grand site became the spatial manifestation of postwar national development discourse

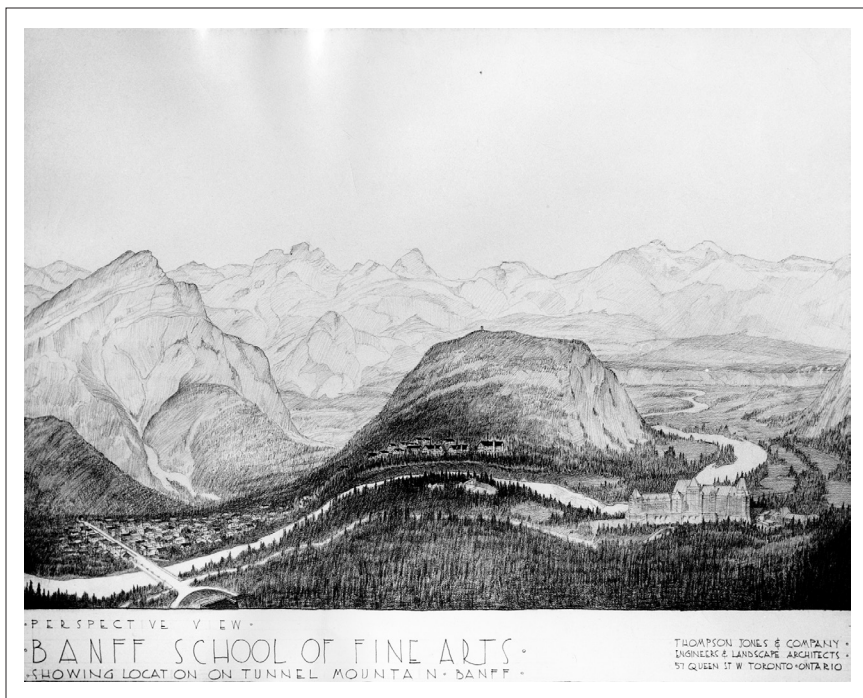
espoused by the school and federal officials as they consciously designed the urban landscape of Banff National Park.

Designs for a campus landscape

The Banff School's first permanent buildings on the St. Julien campus site were opened between 1947 and 1953. They consisted of the first residential chalet, occupied in 1947, two more chalets in 1949, and an administration building in 1953.²³ Designed in an international-modernist style, the chalets featured flat-roofed sundecks and broad windows overlooking the "finest view in Banff." The view was a panorama of Cascade Mountain, Mount Norquay, Sulphur Mountain, and Mount Rundle, with direct sightlines spanning over Banff townsite and up the Bow Valley to Mount Bourgeau and the Massive Range. Construction of the school's first buildings on Tunnel Mountain was typically fast-tracked ahead of financing and opened for summer guests before total completion. Cameron improvised as host, and, likewise, insisted residents make do as tradesmen finished windows, doors, and plumbing. When Donald Cameron Hall opened in June 1953 – without hot water for guests attending the National Conference of the Canadian Association for Adult Education – visitors dubbed it the "CCC" for "Cameron's Cold-water Chalet."²⁴

Design concepts for the Banff School's first buildings evolved through several stages that began with a vernacular Canadian national park aesthetic and ended with international modernism.²⁵ Historical photographs of concept drawings and other extant archives depict the shifting process. Canada's famous golf expert and landscape designer Stanley Thompson agreed to serve the Banff School for a dollar a year after striking up a collegial friendship with Cameron and Harvie following a meeting at Banff's Mount Royal Hotel, while he was consulting with the Parks Department in 1946.²⁶

The first known Banff School design concepts were produced in the mid-1940s by Thompson Jones and Company, Thompson's Toronto firm of engineers and landscape architects renowned for golf course and landscape design; notably, it had designed golf courses in Banff, Jasper, and Cape Breton Highlands national parks. A perspective drawing by Thompson Jones situated the proposed Banff School campus as a tightly massed low-profile



9.1 Banff School campus first imagined by Thompson Jones and Company for fundraising in the mid-1940s. University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-2-230.

area tucked amid dense forestation, overlooking the Banff Springs Hotel and Banff townsite (see fig. 9:1).²⁷ The drawing emphasized Tunnel Mountain, the Bow River, and the Canadian Pacific Railway's prominent hotel as the dominant features on the landscape. Tunnel Mountain was depicted in exaggerated dimensions relative to its actual environs. The concept for the main school building was sketched in the retro style of a manor house, with gabled rooflines, stone arches, and a great hall.

Similar traditionalist concepts for a grand school building with a steeple,²⁸ revised later as a turret,²⁹ arose in separate 1940s drawings by Rule Wynn and Rule, an Edmonton architectural firm often engaged by the University of Alberta to design building plans for its main campus in Edmonton. John Rule's early drawings for a Colonel Woods Memorial building (see fig. 9:2) later led Cameron to describe its style as "a miniature of



9.2 “Colonel Wood[s] Memorial” building in a revised sketch by John Rule in 1946. University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-2-240.

the Banff Springs Hotel.”³⁰ Clearly the proposed name of the hall appealed to the donor, Mrs. Woods. Drawings also emerged for student residence buildings designed as rustic alpine chalets, constructed in rough-sawn British Columbia cedar timber and stucco (see fig. 9:3).³¹ Elements in these early designs denote features such as fieldstone detailing, steep-gabled rooflines, Tudor Revival elements, Craftsman accents, and rustic Swiss alpine motifs that were already common to the Canadian national park architectural vernacular, particularly in Banff, where this look was first encouraged by park authorities.³²

The school’s art instructors, however, objected to the traditionalist design concepts first proposed by Rule Wynne and Rule and used in Donald Cameron’s footwork for negotiations. Correspondence dating from September 1946 reveals certain tensions at work behind the design changes, as James Smart, controller of the National Parks headquarters office in Ottawa, responded to Cameron:



9.3 A rustic Student Chalet, \$12,000 cost for summer occupancy, drawn by Rule Wynn and Rule. University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-2-235.

I am rather surprised that your art staff are critical of the design of the buildings submitted by Messrs. Rule, Wynn and Rule. No doubt the artists would prefer something a little more modern in design. However, I take a rather dim view of modern art and I would hate to see any buildings of a modern design built in one of our National Parks, that is, of the severe lines that is [*sic*] usually seen in modern architecture. In my opinion they would not fit in at all with the mountain resort. Modern methods of construction would be all right but the architectural design should be entirely suitable for the environment, which is not always the case in modern design.³³

Establishing the mountain resort aesthetic and design qualities understood as “suitable for the environment” relied on the determination of National Parks officials in such distinctions of taste.

A major change diverted the design direction in late 1946, and the designs ultimately implemented on the Banff School campus shifted to express international modernism rendered by Alberta architects. The university produced a 1947 prospectus with drawings by Rule Wynn and Rule imagining an expansive campus amalgam of flat-roofed modernist buildings spread across a broad open hillside on the St. Julien site, with plans for twenty to thirty chalets and accommodation for a thousand students (see fig. 9:4).³⁴ These drawings suggest a forest cut back to open the vistas to and from a small urban complex distinct from the main Banff townsite. A hall for the Colonel Woods Memorial, re-rendered as a modernist horizontal structure for a “Studio Building,” then appeared in the prospectus as an “Administration Building,” suggesting fluid design concepts for the campus capital campaign. Likewise, drawings for a “Typical Chalet” for student residences, with various sizes and estimated costs, also took on the modernist look and a range of price tags for donors (see figs. 9:5 and 9:6). Newspaper reports from as far away as Vancouver indicated intentions that the proposed campus would “set a distinctive new style for indigenous Canadian architecture” and employ local Rundle stone and timber.³⁵ Landscaping designs and planting later emphasized native Rocky Mountain vegetation species and hardy exotics to accentuate the campus environment.³⁶

In time, Emma Read Newton, wife of the university president, also weighed into the debate over the new modernist architectural design. “To me the flat squat buildings are too much like lumbermen’s shacks,” she wrote to Eric Harvie, in January 1947, while acknowledging admiration for flat-top architecture in the southern United States and France in the Basses-Alpes. It was not suitable for the mountains, however, and she looked to Norway as a better example:

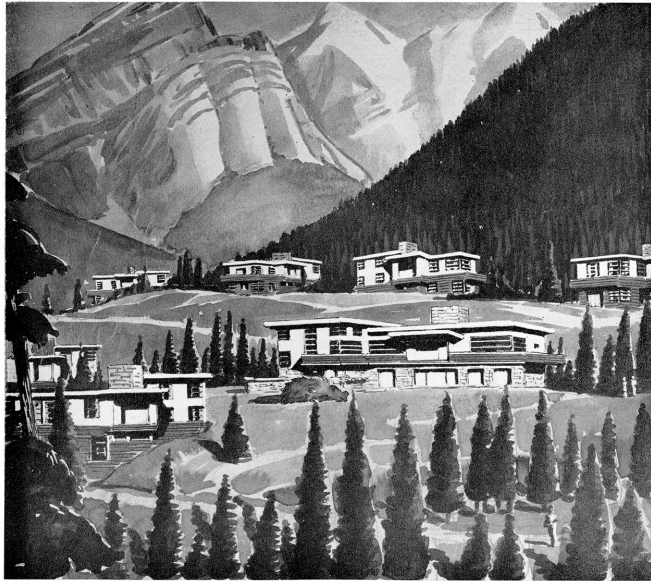
In Norway, I observed the houses very tall and narrow and knew the Norwegians had felt the height of their pines and peeks [*sic*] in their souls – the height is a matter of aspiration that reaches skyward and summit-ward: perfectly consistent architecture for mountain country.

Imagine how dull and prosaic the Banff Springs Hotel would have been with a flat roof like the Banff shops!

*Composite Layout Showing
Approximate Relationship of the
Banff School Buildings*

The ultimate plan calls for an Administration Building, a Music and Drama Building, a Studio Building and between 20 and 30 Chalets. Later on a central heating plant and Gymnasium should be added. In the meantime, the heating will be done from the Administration Building.

Sketches and drawings in this brochure by Rule, Wynn & Rule,
Architects—Edmonton, Alberta



8

9.4 “Composite Layout Showing Approximate Relationship of the Banff School Buildings” in campus concepts by Rule Wynn and Rule for capital campaign in 1947. University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-7-5-47, Prospectus, p. 8.

This passion for doing something purely Canadian overlooks doing something perfectly nature-all, or natural. The scenery is everything in Banff, not mortals.³⁷

Harvie responded that it was “most interesting” hearing from various people among specialists and others in discussion of the new plans. He thanked her for her candid feedback. “With few exceptions the artist and architects favored the modern designs without qualification or hesitancy. Others, like myself, were somewhat shocked when we first saw these, but in a great many of these cases they later swung around to rather favour them,” he suggested. The cost of construction and maintenance was another merit of the modern designs according to his inquiries for qualified advice.³⁸

Cameron meanwhile shrugged off Mrs. Newton’s opinion in a letter to Harvie, indicating that he was not surprised and would not take it seriously.



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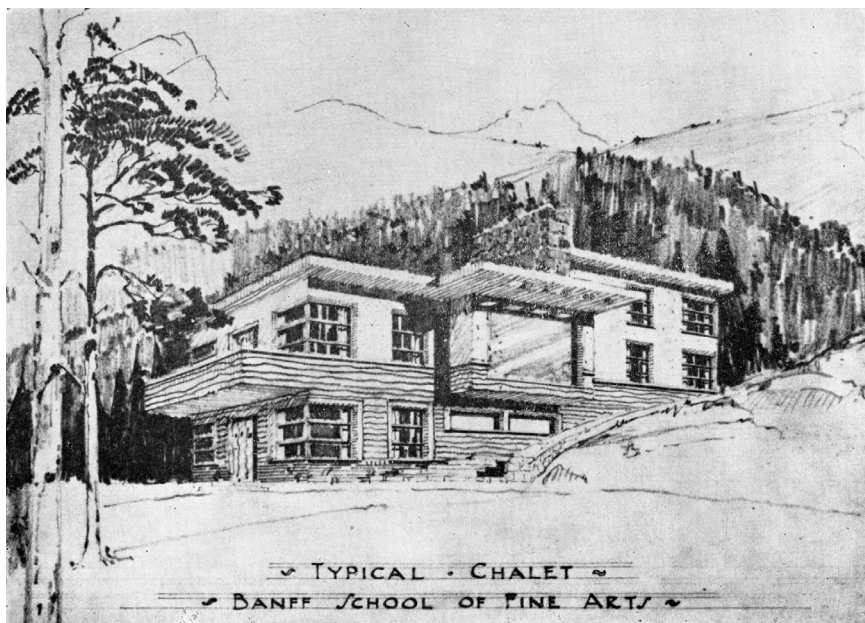
“Canvassing the opinions of leading artists and architects,” Cameron had found the new design was unanimously preferred, while they were “very critical of the style of the Banff Springs Hotel.” Moreover, he suspected Newton would be hoisted with her own petard by artists with regard to doing something Canadian and overlooking something natural: “It is just because the artists and the architects believe that the horizontal lines will blend into the scenery better than the peaks that they recommend that type; also as a matter of record, all of the new buildings of any size in Switzerland and in Norway to-day feature the flat or horizontal lines.”³⁹ Their correspondence offers insights into the design process shifting between differing spatialized representations of the new campus through the relations of architectural design and critique. These letters also underscore exposure to internationalist designs in other countries and aspirations for the Banff School to keep up with trends, despite lagging regional diffusion,



9.5 A modernist design for “Colonel Wood[s] Memorial” was relabelled in pencil as “Studio Building, Banff School of Fine Arts” and later appeared as “Administration Building.” University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-2-243.

informed by artists and architects as cultural mediators and authorities. To speak of originating a Canadian architectural form would have overstated the impact of the design but recognized, at least, intentional use of local materials. Cost was never far from mind, however, as Harvie’s recourse to pragmatics, in his role as a fundraiser, suggests.

By March 1947, the National Parks administration was “pretty well convinced that the modern type of buildings should be quite satisfactory as depicted in the plans,” with some minor adjustments. Smart noted, however, that the general manager of the luxurious Banff Springs Hotel across the river from the development site had expressed concerns about the Banff School campus not blending in with the scenery.⁴⁰ Such concern was indicative of the CPR’s corporate investment in park viewsapes seen from its hotel. The social relations of “fit” within the mountain resort community and nature were a key issue in designing the campus, as they were in designing the park.



9.6 Modern flat-top design of a “Typical Chalet” proposed in 1947. Three were constructed as the first Banff School buildings. University of Alberta Archives, UAA 78-17-7-5-47, Prospectus, p. 10.

Modern design had begun to interest Cameron on tours of other institutions as early as October 1945. Visiting the art studios and workshops at the Cranbrook Academy in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, he observed and approved the modern simplicity of Scandinavian aesthetics in weaving, furniture, and sculpture produced at the school. “They were beautiful in their simplicity and were very modern in design,” he commented about tables and chairs made in the woodworking shop.⁴¹ Cameron had previously travelled to Denmark and Sweden, in the context of his adult extension work, and noted the Scandinavian ethnicity of the Midwestern instructors he met.

Modernist architecture also piqued the director’s interest. In the midst of Cameron expanding his campus building program, interaction with the Kansas City Art Institute and School of Design’s Executive Vice-President W.M. Symon, who visited the Banff School session in 1948, led to an exchange of photos and drawings of the American campus by early

September. New buildings on the Kansas campus were clearly defined in international modernist style with flat roofs, long horizontal lines, and windows for north light where students and teachers were shown in studio and classroom instruction. “Modern is the style for new buildings, with the design intended to give students the utmost in their work,” reported an accompanying news clipping headlined “Making Art Pay Off in Cash: Kansas City Industries Now Look to Institute Students for Ideas That Can Be Turned into Profits.” Symon advised Cameron, “You really have an excellent set-up and the future possibilities are excellent. I see no reason why you should not be able, under present conditions, to get the million dollars you are seeking for the physical plant in Banff, particularly since the tuition and other income takes care of itself.”⁴² Capital projects relied on capital donors, attested senior university administrators between themselves.

Relations between architect John Rule and Donald Cameron were not as warm. They were at odds throughout the design process for the postwar Banff campus. Cameron pushed to receive drawings and sketches on time to pursue donor funding and advance construction. His many letters to Eric Harvie complained about Rule being inaccurate and behind schedule with drawings and cost estimates, despite Cameron’s repeated requests sent frequently to Rule, every second day at some points.⁴³ “Rule does not pay any attention to the amount he was told to consider as to the maximum cost of the building, and I think we have simply got to tell him that he is work [sic] within the figures we give him or we will have to get someone else who will.... On top of that his supervision is a joke.”⁴⁴ Meanwhile Rule worked to produce a shifting design concept influenced by budgetary limitations and Cameron’s client demands, while juggling many other institutional and commercial projects that included the Rutherford Library opening in 1948 and other buildings on the growing university’s main campus in Edmonton.⁴⁵ Rutherford Library, in particular, was grand monumental public architecture in neo-Georgian style; as a major construction project, it far outpaced the scale and grandeur of the first small Banff School summer cottage built off the main campus in 1947. Cameron saw it differently from his perspective as head of the Banff School.

The historiographic retelling of the Banff School campus design period is a noteworthy indication of polarity and lingering tensions on both sides. In his commemorative monograph, *Campus in the Clouds* (1956),

Cameron recounted that to obtain the first sketch for fundraising, he went straight to the university architects Rule Wynn and Rule, a local firm of former graduates, as advised by President Newton, and told John Rule, “I have fifty thousand dollars for a start on a building for the Banff School ... Fifty thousand is not enough. Pay no attention to that; this is what I need”:

I told him that I wanted a building that would provide a dining-room for 300, sleeping quarters for at least 150 and class-rooms for the same number. That was where I made my first mistake. I have since learned that you don’t tell architects to pay no attention to costs, they will do that without being told ... He presented me with a sketch of a building that looked like a miniature of the Banff Springs Hotel. I hesitantly asked what he thought that building would cost and he airily said “Oh, about \$350,000.”⁴⁶

Nonetheless, dealings with Cameron posed practical challenges to design and execution, according to a commemorative history of the architectural firm Rule Wynn and Rule published in 1988:

Senator Cameron’s book [*The Impossible Dream*] reproduced John Rule’s sketch of his original concept for the Banff Centre, showing John’s love of mediaeval forms, but made no further mention of the architects. Had he done so, there would surely have been hints of disharmony. Donald Cameron had strong ideas which John felt infringed upon the architect’s realm. For instance, the four-storey [administration] building offered no elevator. When a panting climber asked for an explanation, Mr. Cameron would laugh: “There are 60,000 reasons and each one costs a dollar.”⁴⁷

Rule was bound by interpersonal tensions and economics behind the scenes, along with his client’s fundraising campaigns and thrift. These divergent stories reflected conflicts that shaped the production of architectural representations of space and the resulting campus.

Architecture students at other Canadian universities contacted Cameron to inquire about design projects in hopes of future work opportunities.

On more than one occasion, he encouraged concepts for future buildings and obtained sketches and models derived from senior student projects. University of British Columbia architecture student Albert J. Church designed a recreation centre for the Banff School for his 1954–56 BA honours thesis in architecture. He sent photographs of his models depicting a flat-topped international modernist complex with an L-shaped outdoor swimming pool to Cameron, after ongoing correspondence seeking potential contract work to realize the design. It was a few years premature according to the director, who mentioned that potential funding from the new Canada Council might assist future development.⁴⁸ Similarly, UBC student George Leishman expressed his plans to design a “Festival Theatre” with an outdoor amphitheatre in a natural bowl in 1956. Cameron specifically lectured Leishman to prepare his assignment with careful consideration to “the economics of the project” involving capital costs, operations and maintenance, as well as transportation to the site. “These are all factors which are quite frequently overlooked and my own view is that if I was marking the thesis of a graduating student, I would certainly lower his grading if factors such as I have mentioned were not taken into consideration.” Leishman was also advised that while Cameron might be able to find time to meet with him in Banff, “under no circumstance should you come there expecting to see me without a definite appointment, because while I am in the west I shall be extremely busy and part of the time I shall be in places other than Banff.”⁴⁹ Designs obtained free of charge optimized Cameron’s ability to visually represent space to support his fundraising efforts, but exploited student labour with fewer direct benefits to these early career architects. As early as the postwar construction boom in 1946, Cameron asked Cecil Burgess, head professor of architecture at the University of Alberta where Rule and Wynn had trained, about potential to hold a design competition open to professional architectural firms interested in the Banff School, and in 1953 he inquired with architecture professors about a student competition at the University of Manitoba. Academics in architecture did not consider Cameron’s proposals for design competitions pragmatic because he lacked a proper understanding of protocols and cost.⁵⁰

Later plans for campus expansion and more land acquisition considered by Cameron became problematic in national park townsite planning and environmental terms, as Parks officials made clear. In 1960, Ottawa put the brakes on Cameron’s notions to develop a liberal arts university on Tunnel

Mountain. Although Banff seemed to belong to everyone and attracted visitors from around the world, it could not sustain infinite development, a point stressed by National Parks Director J.R.B. Coleman in correspondence to Cameron with regard to the unsuitability of full-scale university operations on the Banff campus.⁵¹

Accelerated postwar growth transformed built form in Alberta towns and cities. As a federally administered national park townsite, Banff was an outlier in certain respects of urban planning and governance in Alberta, but not isolated from new trends and economic factors. A major oil strike in 1947 near Edmonton at Leduc, Alberta, triggered a building boom. Tourism demands in the Rockies escalated with postwar prosperity. Modernist aesthetics in the design and construction of buildings rapidly became the new normal in Alberta, as elsewhere after World War II, with the influence of the International Style. Trends were further accentuated by the scope of accelerated postwar construction in the province. Rule Wynn and Rule, along with other Alberta architects, were active in this transformation by 1947.⁵²

Reading the sketches suggests a preference for a postwar modernist architectural form rather than the vernacular common to existing buildings in Canada's Rocky Mountain parks. The long and low horizontal lines of the Banff School administration building may have had something vaguely in common with Frank Lloyd Wright's Banff Pavilion (1911–1938), but, overall, the new school introduced a flat-top design concept unusual in Banff National Park at the time and one that was forward thinking for the local area.⁵³ Commercial building designs for several Banff hotels in a similar style soon followed. Designs by Rule Wynn and Rule went on to produce many examples of modernist architecture after World War II, particularly evident in commissions in Edmonton and throughout Alberta.

Did the shift toward international modernism in the school design privilege universalism over the local and the particular? The Rocky Mountain Salzburg was by definition a borrowed concept, yet the school design might have appeared anywhere and certainly did not grow organically out of Tunnel Mountain as implied by founding myths advanced by Leighton and Leighton. Cameron claimed the campus gave "a physical body to what was before only a dream,"⁵⁴ but was the dream rendered in such a way that the local vernacular, albeit one shaped by imported influences, succumbed to the assimilation of globalizing trends and omnibus universalism?

Universalism was in keeping with Cameron's sense that Banff belonged to everyone. Modernism had found a place alongside nostalgic traditionalism and rusticism in contemporaneous Canadian designs in national parks, and, given Canada's internationalist style of postwar citizenship, the campus suggested bringing home a worldly, forward look at art and design.

Ultimately, students came to the Banff School campus on Tunnel Mountain to study and live in its spaces. Residence buildings were occupied as chalets for students who lived together and ate together in the dining room. Working at the school and playing in Banff were combined spatially through learning spaces in classrooms and in various locales surrounding the townsite and park. Educational programs were produced by the University of Alberta and hundreds of students occupied these spaces, territorialized the new campus, and gradually added to the urbanization of the park townsite. The town looked upward to the distinct Tunnel Mountain campus, but Banffites also gazed on a seasonal enclave of academic migrants and business competition. A burgeoning trade in conferences at the Banff School led to emergent tensions between "town and gown" as local hotels objected to a public educational facility cutting into its tourist markets.⁵⁵ Tourists as well as students came to see the campus and its vistas, as noted in the student newspaper: "the sight-seeing tours take up visitors to point out the school and its almost ideal location, perched upon the mountainside; three brown and white chalets overlooking the Bow River, the boathouse in the distance and the mountains behind."⁵⁶ Likewise, paintings such as "View from the Director's Window" by instructor Janet Middleton, and various school promotional photographs, illustrate how the architectural design of the campus and buildings framed a landscape view of Banff National Park. Functioning as a magisterial viewpoint overlooking the townsite and Bow Valley, the Banff School embodied a museological gaze that presented Banff National Park on display.⁵⁷ Notably, it showcased an urbanized cultural landscape as mountain beauty.

The Banff campus also served as a stage with a mountain backdrop for presenting the arts in the open air, not unlike the real Salzburg. The cover photos from the 1953 University of Alberta Faculty of Extension publications featured the Banff School signature buildings and mountain campus, effectively merging the cultural landscape of the campus into the iconographic identity of Banff National Park, producing a double attraction in the equation of cultural capital and international tourism for

national development.⁵⁸ The social relations of space nested the educational and economic functions of the Banff School into the Banff townsite, which in turn nested inside Banff National Park as a reproduction of urbanization and capitalism. Today the three postwar modernist chalets continue to function on the campus of the Banff Centre, enjoined with new spaces.

Conclusion

Why did the Banff School of Fine Arts modernist campus come to exist as an urbanized landscape in the heart of Canada's first national park? Canadian public policy makers fostered a place for artists and art institutions in postwar Banff because art was considered essential to notions of cultural capital that linked education and tourism to the promotion of liberal democratic citizenship during Donald Cameron's era. Making cultural landscapes in the Canadian Rockies was a complex spatial and social interaction that involved many agents in dialectical tension. The Banff School, operated by the University of Alberta, was influential in creating and reproducing common understandings of Banff as a landscape wherein nature and culture met.

Understanding the Banff campus as an ongoing process of power through territory, imagination, and daily life points to Lefebvre's dialectics of space. "Spatial practices" of education constituted a "school" in Banff for the performance of learning and teaching fine arts along with the touristic relations of dwelling.⁵⁹ Art was valued as an important way of knowing. Institutionalizing nature through a campus landscape and design was central to generating ideas of Canadian national identity and postwar internationalism.⁶⁰ "Representations of space" re/produced Banff as land subdivided by leaseholds for numbered lots and blocks zoned within a federal townsite in a national park, then shaped by architectural design projects into a campus with buildings and landscaping. The conceptualization of the Banff School campus framed Banff National Park as Salzburg, with a cosmopolitan gaze on iconic Canadian nature expressed spatially and stylistically through the architecture of postwar international modernism. The Banff School produced "spaces of representation" through the lived and imaginative dwelling of residents and visitors in the liminal educational/touristic spaces of a holiday at school; it was simultaneously a

residence, hermitage, classroom, playground, studio, and stage for dialectics of space and counterspace. Work and leisure at the Banff School merged in transformative and reiterative interactions through the spatial relations of the state and capital in Canada's postwar liberal democracy.

The Province of Alberta's public university in Edmonton reached out to colonize its mountain park satellite in the Bow Valley, yet Calgary capital was a driving force to leverage and build the Banff campus. "The connection of the avant-garde, progressive ideals of the Modern Movement with the corporate mode of business and design in North America is one of the stranger and most influential turns of fate in the entire history of architectural ideas," noted Trevor Boddy in his study of Alberta architecture, which underscored that most of urban Alberta was influenced by modernism's functionalist forms and philosophies.⁶¹ Alberta's national parks and townsites were also influenced by modernism and linked within a larger spatial matrix of urban corporate capital integrated with local resources and labour.

Interrogating the production of a modernist cultural landscape in a Canadian national park uncovers the art of design at work, denaturalizes and historicizes culturally specific constructs of nature, parks, and tourism, and points to extant material culture of the modernist legacy as a symbolic artifact and heritage resource as time moves forward. The urbanized campus serves as a reminder of the politics of educational space as well as the long-standing and contested history of people and design active in Banff National Park in the midst of a contemporary UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Banff School was represented through urban design as internationalist modernism at work within the spatio-political boundaries of Canada's first national park, making park urban space, and producing art and nature as a landscape of spatialized capital.

Donald Cameron Hall was demolished in February 2011 to make way for new spaces imagined and concretized on the Banff Centre campus. Kinnear Centre for Creativity and Innovation opened in 2010, complete with a royal visit, brass fanfare, and vertical dancers suspended from its roof. Kinnear is a long three-storey retro Bauhaus modernist building designed by Diamond Schmitt. It was constructed in glass and steel to LEED Silver standards. It features a BMO Financial Group Galleria and windows with "sweeping views down the slope of Tunnel Mountain toward the Bourgeau mountain range." Mountain views in other directions are

partly visible beyond the walls of urban densification on campus. Outdoor performances for 1,600 spectators are staged in the new Shaw Amphitheatre opened simultaneously below the Kinnear. Banff Centre's largest ever capital campaign, spearheaded by Calgary securities entrepreneur James Kinnear, raised \$100 million for the Banff Centre Revitalization Project from 2007 to 2010. The length of the commemorative donor wall witnesses this neoliberal effort of corporate and community support. "Here, exceptional artists and leaders from around the world will be inspired to create and perform new works of art, share skills and knowledge in an interdisciplinary environment, explore ideas and develop solutions in the arts and leadership," stated Banff Centre President and CEO Mary E. Hofstetter, in media releases for the opening. "The programs taking place in the Kinnear Centre will build Alberta and Canada's cultural repertoire, advance global creativity, and contribute to a robust economy and sustainable communities."⁶² Aspirations for Western Canadian "pioneer" spirit with global impact through a marriage of entrepreneurial and public support expanded in 2012 under Banff Centre's next CEO, Jeff Melanson, who aimed at capital campaigns for infrastructure renewal worth "hundreds of millions."⁶³ But new architecture was still in progress as he left for Toronto two years later, and economic downturn confronted the Banff Centre much as it did Alberta's public education sector overall.

Federal policies for neoliberal development under Stephen Harper steered the course of Canada's national parks to be branded as products for trade, profit, and transnational globalization, even as Alberta's government under Alison Redford situated postsecondary education and research as "Campus Alberta." Signature architectural structures for education, such as the new Kinnear Centre, represent and reproduce capitalist spatialization in the Canadian Rockies.⁶⁴ Ongoing processes of urban spatialization and the reproduction of capitalism are visible in the growth of the contemporary Banff Centre campus landscape, much as it was in the liberal modernist era under Cameron seventy years earlier. Its origins also hint at the potential to define arts and education as capital to enrich lives and diversify economies as a public space of late modernity in the contemporary West.

Notes

- 1 Karen Wall and PearlAnn Reichwein, "Climbing the Pinnacle of Art: Learning Vacations at the Banff School of Fine Arts, 1933–1959," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 1 (March 2011): 70–105.
- 2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 38–39; Gordon Waitt, "Playing with Sydney: Marketing Sydney for the 2000 Olympics," *Urban Studies* 36, no. 7 (1999): 1064.
- 3 Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xi.
- 4 Jody Berland, "Nationalism and the Modernist Legacy: Dialogues with Innis," in *Cultural Capital: A Reader on Modernist Legacies, State Institutions, and the Value(s) of Art*, ed. Jody Berland and S. Hornstein (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 28, and see 14–38.
- 5 Sean McLean, "A Work Second to None': Positioning Extension at the University of Alberta, 1912–75," *Studies in the Education of Adults* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 85.
- 6 Donald Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1956), 51.
- 7 The Historic Centre of the City of Salzburg World Heritage Site was inscribed in 1996. UNESCO World Heritage, http://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=31&id_site=784 (accessed 2 May 2012). Michael Steinberg, *The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival: Austria as Theatre and Ideology, 1890–1938* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 76, 78, 224.
- 8 Annual Reports, Banff School of Fine Arts, 1946, accession 78-17, box 3, 2-22, University of Alberta Archives (hereafter UAA).
- 9 Sheila Campbell, "Branding the Last Best West: Regionalism, Tourism, and the Construction of the Tourist Gaze in Alberta, 1905–1940" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 2005).
- 10 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 51.
- 11 Donald Leighton and Peggy Leighton, *Artists, Builders and Dreamers: 50 Years at the Banff School* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 155.
- 12 Newton to Jennings, 4 August 1944, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 515, file B317-2, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).
- 13 Leonora C. Woods Fonds, Glenbow Archives (hereafter GA), Archives Main Catalogue description, http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainResults.aspx?XC=/search/archivesMainResults.aspx&TN=MAINCAT&AC=QBE_QUERY&RF=WebResults&DL=0&RL=0&NP=255&%0AMF=WPEngMsg.ini&MR=5&QB0=AND&QF0=Main%20entry+%7C+Title&QI0=Leonora+C.+Woods+fonds (accessed 1 May 2012).
- 14 Eric L. Harvey Fonds, GA, Archives Main Catalogue description, http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainResults.aspx?XC=/search/archivesMainResults.aspx&TN=MAINCAT&AC=QBE_QUERY&RF=WebResults&DL=0&RL=0&NP=255&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MR=5&QB0=AND&QF0=Main%20entry%2B%7C%2BTitle&QI0=Eric%20Harvie%20fonds (accessed 1 May 2012).
- 15 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 64.
- 16 Newton to Gibson, 20 November 1945, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 515, file B317-2, LAC.
- 17 PearlAnn Reichwein, "Holiday at the Banff School of Fine Arts: The Cinematic Production of Culture, Nature, and Nation in the Canadian Rockies, 1945–1952," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 49–73.

- 18 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 71.
- 19 Jennings to Smart, 7 March 1946, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 515, file B317-2, LAC.
- 20 Smart to Banff National Park Superintendent, 1 April 1946; and Gibson to Jackson, 19 March 1946, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 865, file B21-41-11 to 28, LAC.
- 21 Laing to Cameron, 13 July 1964, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 897, file B21-42-1 to 20, LAC.
- 22 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 82–83.
- 23 Cameron to Robertson, 14 November 1960, accession 78-17, box 15, item 13-42, UAA. Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 81–82.
- 24 Leighton and Leighton, *Artists, Builders and Dreamers*, 121–23.
- 25 Photographs of design sketches, passim, accession 78-17, box 2, UAA.
- 26 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 75.
- 27 For Fig. 9:1, perspectivist drawing of Banff School on Tunnel Mountain by Thompson Jones and Company, see accession 78-17, box 2, image 230, UAA.
- 28 Rule Wynn and Rule rendered more than one extant drawing of a grand hall depicted with different wings and rooftop elements. For a scanned historical photograph identified as “The first conceptual sketch for the permanent Banff School by John Rule,” see Image A 43 01 32, http://archives.banffcentre.ca/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/ics-wpd/exec/icswppro.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Farchives.banffcentre.ca%2Fphotos%2Fadvsearch.aspx-%3Fremember%3Dtrue&TN=photocat&SN=AUTO6601&SE=1626&RN=2&M-R=9&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=1&XP=&RF=WebGallery&EF=&DF=Web-FullImages&RL=0&EL=0&DL=0&NP=255&ID=&MF=GENERICENGWPMMSG.INI&MQ=&TI=0&DT=0&ST=0&IR=28&NR=0&NB=0&SV=0&SS=0&BG=&F-G=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1 (accessed 1 February 2016), Paul D. Fleck Library and Archives. It shows a grand building with two steeples. For a similar rendering of a smaller grand building with one steeple, see accession 78-17, box 2, image 234, UAA.
- 29 For Fig. 9:2, “Colonel Wood Memorial” [sic] hall revised with a turret in 1946 sketch by John Rule, accession 78-17, box 2, image 240, UAA.
- 30 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 64. The various extant concept drawings of a grand hall depicted with stonework, gables, and steeples/turret match his reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway’s Banff Springs Hotel architecture.
- 31 For Fig. 9:3, rustic “Typical Chalet,” see accession 78-17, box 2, image 235, UAA.
- 32 Edward D. Mills, *Rustic Building Programs in Canada’s National Parks, 1887–1950* (Ottawa: National Historic Sites Directorate, Parks Canada, 1994).
- 33 Smart to Cameron, 16 September 1946, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 515, file B317-2, reel T-10457, LAC.
- 34 For Fig. 9:4, see page 8 and for Fig. 9:6, see page 10 in University of Alberta Banff School of Fine Arts and the Banff Foundation Prospectus, 1947, accession 78-17, box 7, item 5-47, UAA. For Fig. 9:5 see accession 78-17, box 2, image 243, UAA; this design concept reappears in the 1947 Prospectus, labelled as “Administration Building” on page 2.
- 35 Wilfrid Bennett, “College of the Rockies,” *Vancouver Daily Province* (5 July 1947), 1, accession 78-17, item 6-11, box 7, UAA.
- 36 Memoranda to Proposals for Ground Development at Banff School of Fine Arts, c. 1953, accession 78-17, box 16, item 13-57, UAA.

- 37 E. Newton to Harvie, 17 January 1947, accession 78-17, box 4, item 28, UAA.
- 38 Harvie to Newton, 18 January 1947, accession 78-17, box 4, item 28, UAA.
- 39 Cameron to Harvie, 21 January 1947, accession 78-17, box 4, item 28, UAA.
- 40 Smart to Cameron, 4 March 1947, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 515, file B317-2, T-10457, LAC.
- 41 Cameron, Memorandum of the interview at the Cranbrook Academy, 8 October 1945, accession 78-17, box 5, item 2, UAA.
- 42 Symon to Cameron, 31 August 1948; 13 September 1948, with attachments, including "Making Art Pay Off in Cash: Kansas City Industries Now Look to Institute Students for Ideas That Can Be Turned into Profits," accession 78-17, box 5, item 2, UAA.
- 43 Cameron to Harvie, 13 Nov. 1945; 22 April 1947; and other letters in this box, passim, accession 78-17, box 4, UAA.
- 44 Cameron to Harvie, 8 August 1947, accession 78-17, box 4, item 28, UAA.
- 45 For list of the U of A commissions, see Kathy E. Zimon, ed., *The Rule Wynn and Rule (Edmonton) Architectural Drawings* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997), 302–3.
- 46 Cameron, *Campus in the Clouds*, 63.
- 47 Tony Cashman and Norman H. Croll, *50 Years in Architecture: A History Published by Schmidt Feldberg Croll Henderson to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the Firm Founded in 1938 as Rule Wynn Rule* (Edmonton: Schmidt Feldberg Croll Henderson, 1988), 6.
- 48 Cameron offered to house Church at the Banff School and meet with him in August: see Church to Cameron, 7 August 1954; Cameron to Church, 29 December 1956, with photographs of models for Recreation Centre, accession 78-17, box 14, item 12-5, UAA.
- 49 Feistmann to Cameron, 30 December 1956; Cameron to Feistmann, 16 January 1957; accession 78-17, box 14, item 12-5, UAA.
- 50 For discussion with Professor Burgess, see Cameron to Newton, 3 October 1946; UAA, accession 78-17, box 4, item 28, UAA; Russell to Cameron, 2 March 1953, accession 78-17, box 14, item 12-11, UAA. Note that John A. Russell was director of the School of Architecture at University of Manitoba.
- 51 Coleman to Cameron, 28 June 1960, accession 78-17, box 16, item 13-42, UAA.
- 52 Donald G. Wetherell, *Architecture, Town Planning and Community: Selected Writings and Public Talks by Cecil Burgess, 1909–1946* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), lxviii; Trevor Boddy, *Modern Architecture in Alberta* (Regina: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism and the Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1987), 77–89; Donald G. Wetherell and Irene R.A. Kmet, *Town Life: Main Street and the Evolution of Small Town Alberta, 1880–1947* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Alberta Community Development, 1995).
- 53 Regarding the Banff Pavilion, see Boddy, *Modern Architecture in Alberta*, 36–38. Although heavy snowfall is noted as a local environmental design consideration that generally leads to a preference for angled rooflines in the Canadian Rockies, flat-topped slab structures emerged in various commercial and public buildings in Banff after the Banff School campus was built, for example the Timberline Hotel and the Banff High School.
- 54 Cameron to Mrs. J. H. Woods, 9 November 1948, accession 78-17, box 15, item 12-38, UAA.
- 55 Leighton and Leighton, *Artists, Builders and Dreamers*, 122–25.

- 56 Lakshmi Rao, "Whispering Pines," *The Art Spark*, 15 August 1950, 1, accession 78-17, box 24, item 18-47, UAA.
- 57 For how national parks in the United States frame the gaze on nature by design, see Tom Patin, "Exhibitions and Empire: National Parks and the Performance of Manifest Destiny," *Journal of American Culture*, 22, no. 1 (2000): 45, 48.
- 58 Annual Reports Banff School of Fine Arts, 1953, accession 78-17, box 3, item 2-24, UAA.
- 59 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38-39; Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), 50-58.
- 60 Lynda Jessup comments on the work of Canadian landscape painters in this regard. See Lynda Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change....," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 144-79.
- 61 Boddy, *Modern Architecture in Alberta*, 111.
- 62 Kinnear Centre for Creativity and Innovation, The Banff Centre, Banff, Grand Opening, 2010, http://www.kinnearcentre.org/KinnearCentre_Final.pdf (accessed 2 May 2012), 30; Media Release, "The Banff Centre Opens the Kinnear Centre for Creativity and Innovation, 24 July 2010," <http://www.banffcentre.ca/media-release/1029/the-banff-centre-opens-the-kinnear-centre-for-creativity-and-innovation-july-24-2010centre-completes-100-million-revitalization-project-by-architects-diamond-schmitt/> (accessed 2 May 2012).
- 63 Marsha Lederman, "Meet Jeff Melanson, the Arts Impresario even Conservatives can Love," *Globe and Mail*, 14 September 2012, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/meet-jeff-melanson-the-arts-impresario-even-conservatives-can-love/article4545088/?page=all> (accessed 1 February 2016); CBC News, "Banff Centre expansion on hold: Ambitious \$900 million plan scrapped in favour of focusing on existing assets," 17 June 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/banff-centre-expansion-on-hold-1.3116915> (accessed 1 February 2016).
- 64 The Kinnear "Banff Conference Centre" (Source: Canadian Tourism Commission), as well as main street Banff Avenue, Glacier Discovery Walk, Chateau Lake Louise, and nearby ski runs, were images used to illustrate news reports about a shift toward pro-development national park policies announced under federal Environment Minister Peter Kent: see Jen Gerson, "Mountain of Change in Store as Canada's National Parks Aim to Attract Mass-tourism," *National Post*, 31 May 2013, <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/mountain-of-change-in-store-as-canadas-national-parks-aim-to-attract-mass-tourism> (accessed 1 February 2016).

