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For Montreal, the 1960s was a period of significant economic, social, and political change. The sweeping transformations to Quebec’s multi-lingual society, as the Quiet Revolution worked to separate Church from State and enact important reforms in the fields of health and education, were reflected in a series of bold architectural and urban projects that announced the city’s decisive entry into the modern world.¹ Although much has been written about Montreal’s postwar architecture and urbanism—from catalytic megaprojects like Place Victoria and Place Bonaventure, to its soaring highway interchanges, world-class metro, and Expo 67—surprisingly little has been said about the education of Montreal architects who contributed to these projects.² This is remarkable given the extent to which Montreal’s homegrown architectural profession participated in the city’s transformation and was willing to displace Montreal’s historic fabric in pursuit of modernity.³

This essay focuses on the pedagogical framework of Montreal’s postwar modernization by examining the university-based education of architects during the period preceding the Quiet Revolution. In particular, it discusses the School of Architecture at McGill University where, during the 1940s and 1950s, students were taught a version of architectural history that presented modern architecture as a victory over historicizing forces. Hired in 1949 to teach a course on the history of modern architecture, architect and Montreal native Hazen Edward Sise (1906–74) was a seminal figure in this regard. Drawing on his lecture notes, final examinations, and interviews conducted by McGill with former students, this study reveals how Sise employed architectural history as an operative force in his classroom. It also suggests that his efforts were complicit in one of Montreal’s most enduring and contested legacies: a wave of destruction and rebuilding that swept across the city throughout the 1960s.⁴

By focusing on the education of modern architects rather than a specific set of building practices, this essay aims to draw architecture into a conversation with design culture at large. Not only does Montreal’s experience exemplify changes to architectural education enacted across the country, it highlights the importance of educational practices in shaping socio-cultural attitudes toward the city and its heritage. These attitudes were central to the revolution in design thinking that swept Montreal during the 1960s, from industrial and graphic design to the fine arts.⁵ By linking the theory and practice of modern architecture in a non-prescriptive way, shifting historical attitudes provide a new axis of inquiry to address these different but related disciplines.⁶

¹. André Lortie, ed., The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big (Montreal, 2004).
². Together with the visionary (and controversial) economic policy of Mayor Jean Drapeau, an abundance of large inner-city real estate parcels, the decision to sell air rights over the Canadian National Railway, a permissive approach to zoning, and state intervention in education and finances are typically cited as precursors to Montreal’s postwar urban building boom. See Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal’s Architecture and Urban Environment (Montreal, 1981), 342–58; Robert K. Whealan, “The Politics of Urban Redevelopment
³. For Montreal, the 1960s was a period of significant economic, social, and political change. The sweeping transformations to Quebec’s multi-lingual society, as the Quiet Revolution worked to separate Church from State and enact important reforms in the fields of health and education, were reflected in a series of bold architectural and urban projects that announced the city’s decisive entry into the modern world. Although much has been written about Montreal’s postwar architecture and urbanism—from catalytic megaprojects like Place Victoria and Place Bonaventure, to its soaring highway interchanges, world-class metro, and Expo 67—surprisingly little has been said about the education of Montreal architects who contributed to these projects. This is remarkable given the extent to which Montreal’s homegrown architectural profession participated in the city’s transformation and was willing to displace Montreal’s historic fabric in pursuit of modernity.
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Moreover, this study suggests that a better understanding of how innovation and historical thinking are intertwined is needed in architectural and design scholarship that seeks to address Canada’s past and present, as well as in educational settings where the survey course remains a primary mode of teaching history.

While the historiography of modern architecture is replete with cases in which historical writing has served as an explicit intervention in the present, the period from roughly 1932 to 1960 is surely the apogee of the trend. Following Henry-Russell Hitchcock’s and Philip Johnson’s MOMA Modern Architecture—International Exhibition (1932), a torrent of new history writing established the limits of modernity in architecture as roughly the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Later coined “operative criticism” by the architectural critic Manfredo Tafuri, this new historiography credited a small group of mainly European architects with a series of revolutionary material and formal breakthroughs, offering them as proof of a definitive modern style. In Tafuri’s view, the most important historians of the modern movement—“from Pevsner to Gideon”—were inheritors of a historiography whose “didactic quality” was the result of “planning past history by projecting it towards the future.” Following the MOMA exhibition, in short order appeared Nikolaus Pevsner’s landmark Pioneers of the Modern Movement (1936), James Richards’s Introduction to Modern Architecture (1940), and Sigfried Giedion’s Space, Time and Architecture (1941). Taken together, these seminal texts asserted the ability of history to act as an operative force on the future of architectural practice. They also established a fashion for didactic historical writing that would last well into the postwar period, as seen in Reyner Banham’s famous effort to transport Le Corbusier’s béton-brut into a new movement of young British architects during the mid-1950s.

The full effect of this historiography on the practice of architecture would not be felt in Canada, as in Britain, until after the Second World War. This is when it entered into the mainstream education of architects, but also when the challenges of postwar recovery started to be firmly addressed.

The School of Architecture at McGill University in Montreal was one of many architectural schools across North America that were reinventing themselves under the rubric of “modernism,” with a curriculum modelled after the German Bauhaus. As a result of institutional reforms begun in the early 1940s at McGill, the new historiography gained considerable influence over a generation of Canadian practitioners whose iconic postwar architecture and urbanism is a lasting testament to the effect of these pedagogical transformations.

Architectural Education at McGill, 1930s–1940s

By the late 1930s, McGill’s School of Architecture was facing a crisis. Under the long lasting directorship of Ramsay Traquair (1913–39) it had clung to a curriculum focused on classical drawing techniques and the traditional crafts. For Traquair, who taught all history courses, modernism in architecture extended from the Renaissance to the present, culminating in the Arts and Crafts, the Gothic and Greek revivals in Europe, and the colonial architecture of North America. In 1938, faced with declining enrolment figures, the university moved to phase out architectural education at McGill—a prospect that
11. Acute housing shortages as military personnel returned from overseas, long neglected infrastructures, and decaying inner city suburbs were among the problems facing architects as Canadian cities had languished after the onset of the Great Depression.


13. Although the influence of the German school in America is often linked with the introduction of the liberal arts into architectural education after 1937 when Walter Gropius arrived at Harvard, the effect of these changes on the historical curriculum were equally transformative. See Winfried Nerdinger, From Bauhaus to Harvard: Walter Gropius and the Use of History, The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1885–1975, ed. Gwendalyn Wright and Janet Parks (Princeton, 1990), 89–98; Eduard F. Sekler, “Sigfried Giedion at Harvard University,” The Architectural Historian in America, ed. Elisabeth B. Macdougall (Hanover, NH, 1990), 265–71.

14. Traquair, who was educated in Edinburgh and deeply influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, was appointed to McGill’s School of Architecture in 1913 and served as its director until 1939. His reluctance to embrace new methods was no doubt abetted by the school’s former director and current professor Percy Erskine Nobbs, who had expressed his own disdain for the nakedness and eclecticism of modern architecture in his Design: A Treatise on the Discovery of Form (London, 1937), advocating instead for a return to simple vernacular forms with the measured use of ornamentation. See Norbert Schoenauer, “McGill’s School of Architecture: A Retrospection,” McGill School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Prospectus, ed. Ellen Leibovich Montreal, 1987), 7–13.

15. Two real-estate appraisers were also among the signatories. Memorandum to the Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science, 10 January 1938, Volume 40, Folder 4, Hazen Edward Sise Fonds, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter HESF-LAC).

16. Adding somewhat grimly after this last point that “we have been able to think of no one in Montreal qualified to meet the requirements.” Ibid.

17. Having previously established his own successful architecture and planning practice in England, John Bland was appointed director of McGill’s School of Architecture in 1941, a post he held until 1972, during which time the school was “transitional” by the addition of new courses and faculty members. See Schoenauer, “McGill’s School of Architecture,” 14–15; Anne McDougall, “John Bland and the McGill School of Architecture,” The Canadian Architect (March 1988): 33–37.

18. It was under the auspices of this new regime that, in 1949, Hazen Sise was hired to give a course on the history of modern architecture. [Fig. 1] A former student of the school and pupil of Traquair, Sise had raised his own bitter polemic against McGill in the midst of the 1930s crisis, complaining that, “an architectural school should prepare its students for the world of to-morrow, not for the world of to-day.” Despite his earlier criticism, however, Sise was satisfied that with John Bland as director the right balance had been struck, and a new, modern era had indeed arrived at McGill. To Sise, Bland was “something of a sociologist, something of a mechanic and very much of an enthusiast.” Haen Edward Sise

Hazen Sise was the first son of Paul F. Sise, a wealthy and influential Montreal businessman who was a director for the Royal Bank and Bell Telephone Company. In 1923, as a young man, he enrolled at the Royal Military College of Canada. This is where he discovered, in the depths of the military library, the collection of works of British architect Sir Christopher Wren and became enamoured with architecture. Transferring to the School of Architecture at McGill in 1925, he remained for just two years before leaving to study architecture in Boston at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose classical course of study (like McGill’s) was based on that of the famous École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.
Figure 1. Hazen Sise, 1955. Photo: Gabriel Desmarais, © Gabriel Desmarais.


23. Hazen Sise, Diary, February–March, 1930, Volume 9, Folder 11, HESF-LAC.

24. The Athens Charter was a document produced as a result of the 1933 CIAM congress. It consisted of ninety-four points that articulated an approach to modern urban planning by dividing the city into four functional parts: dwelling, recreation, work, and transportation. It was first published by Le Corbusier in 1943; see Le Corbusier, La charte d’Athènes (Paris, 1957). Of the nearly 100 participants at CIAM 4 in Athens, Sise was the only delegate from North America and presented an analysis of Los Angeles prepared by the Austrian-American architect Richard Neutra. Eric Mumford, The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960 (Cambridge, 2000), 77, 84, 316.


“Now at 23,” he wrote in his journal on 18 February 1930, “the world considers me educated—the finished product.” But he, evidently, did not. In search of a more fruitful education, Sise set out for Paris and became an apprentice in the atelier of renowned modernist architect Le Corbusier.

Sise then travelled to New York in 1933 where he found work in the office of George Howe and the Swiss-born architect William Lescaze. Returning to Europe shortly thereafter, he joined the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and attended their fourth meeting in Athens, where he witnessed the drafting of their famous charter. Travelling with the congress as they sailed from Marseille to Greece, the charismatic young Canadian and avid photographer befriended a group of artists and architects. These included Fernand Léger, László Moholy-Nagy, Alvar Aalto, and Sigfried Giedion. Sise did not know, of course, that these same men would soon become lionized by historians as the founders of the modern movement in architecture. In their company, Sise’s fervour for modern architecture and youthful idealism quickly intensified; modernism, he believed, would emanate from Europe and arrive in Canada one day. In this belief, he was encouraged by Alvar Aalto, who spurred Sise’s imagination and gave credence to the possibility of modern architecture in Canada by telling him each morning that “Canada is the Finland of America, Finland is the Canada of Europe!”

Following the CIAM congress, Sise moved to London where he took up a position in the office of the British modern architect and town planner Maxwell Fry. He remained there for the next three years, travelling in a circle of avant-garde European artists and architects and documenting their work. Photographs taken by Sise during this period are an important reminder of the intoxicating effect that architectural modernity had on the young Canadian. Little did he know that these same projects would later become the source material for his course on the history of modernism. | fig. 2, 3, 4 |

Like his European colleagues, Sise believed that a revolution in architecture was commensurate with sweeping social and political change, and that architecture had a role to play in catalyzing these cultural forces. Eager to participate in this historical process, in December 1936, he wrote to tell his father of his decision to go to Madrid as a volunteer member of the ambulance unit headed by the Canadian physician Norman Bethune. The civil war in Spain had broken just five months earlier. Witness to the atrocities of war and the failing social revolution, the young Canadian’s future-minded optimism soon infected his political views: “I sometimes suspect that you think I am motivated by a romantic, purely idealistic, urge to bring about a socialist society,” he taunted his conservative father in a letter, “[socialism] will come, when the
Figure 2. Le Corbusier, Villa Savoye, ca. 1931. Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, Hazen Edward Sise Fonds. Photo: Hazen Sise.

Figure 3. Jacobus J.P. Oud, Kielhoek Siedlung, ca. 1930. Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, Hazen Edward Sise Fonds. Photo: Hazen Sise.

Figure 5. Refugees in Spain, ca. 1937. Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, Hazen Edward Sise Fonds. Photo: Hazen Sise.
time is ripe, as the only possible alternative to the mess we now are in.”

He left Spain in 1937, just months before the dispossession of the Spanish Republic. For him, the urgency of the modernist project was redoubled and its equation with social and political justice affirmed. [fig. 5]

Back home in Montreal in 1938, Sise turned his attention to promoting modern architecture in print and on the radio. In a series of radio talks commissioned by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Sise discussed topics as diverse as cooperatives, anarchism, and the Bauhaus—praising the latter as “the most important experiment in teaching modern design.” He debated with Toronto architect Alvan Mathers over the future of Canadian architecture on CBM Radio in Montreal. He bemoaned the “appalling architectural chaos of the last eighty years with its ponderous stylistic revivals ... each inherently false, [and] loaded with gingerbread.” As part of his sustained effort to transport modern European paradigms into Canadian architecture, Sise implored Canadian architects to look overseas for inspiration, promising them in his habitually passionate tone that “our path lies forward, not backward. The past is gone and done with and its dead hand lies heavily enough upon us.”

In 1941, Sise broadened the scope and diversity of his activities. He accepted a position producing motion pictures for the National Film Board (NFB) in Ottawa, where he acted as a tireless advocate for modern architecture and planning education. Two years later he was dispatched to Washington, DC, as a Film Officer attached to the Canadian Embassy. On his return to Ottawa in 1944, as a Film Board employee he completed a proposal for a sprawling new NFB building in Ottawa under the guidance of the organization’s first director, John Grierson. At the same time, Sise founded the Architectural Research Group of Ottawa (ARGO) together with a group of like-minded young architects. The collective researched and built a graphic display on modern city planning that toured across the country in 1946. It was through his involvement with ARGO and their Montreal counterpart, the Architectural Research Group (ARG), that Sise became better acquainted with John Bland who had recently been appointed director of the School of Architecture at McGill.

Unable to be present at the first postwar meeting of the CIAM held in Bridgewater, England in 1947, Sise arranged to have fellow ARGO member Peter Oberlander attend the congress and deliver a message on behalf of the Canadian group. Rendering an optimistic prediction for the future of modern architecture in Canada, in the address Sise emphasized with uncanny foresight how the herculean task of transforming Canada’s building culture rested squarely on the shoulders of a new generation of young Canadian architects:

In Canada the so-called “modernists” are almost entirely confined to this [young] age-group. Many of them are acquainted in a general way with the past work of CIAM and they have great respect for it. But no one should be surprised that the CIAM itself should appear to them as a faraway and somewhat legendary body mostly composed of the Olympian pioneers whose work they studied at architectural school. For them and for many like them in other countries, the legend must be transformed into a living, working reality [emphasis added].

History of Modern Architecture

As if predestined to be the executor of his own prognosis, Sise accepted an invitation from John Bland in 1949 to teach the History of Modern Architecture
course at McGill. Seizing the opportunity to participate in the ongoing revolution of architectural education in Canada, he set about making history complicit with future practice by presenting it as part of a “scientifically framed humanistic education.” Sise later noted in a letter to Bland that, 

It’s true that the subject is particularly congenial to me, but my acceptance was based on more than that. I had had the past good fortune to have known and worked with some of the more important of the figures in the modern movement; in a modest way I had had a part in architectural history-in-the-making. It seemed to me that, especially in the present, shockingly backward state of Canadian architecture, I had a special responsibility and could not refuse to do my best in this important aspect of architectural training.

In History of Modern Architecture, students were required to attend a series of lectures, prepare an essay in architectural history, and complete a final exam. Covering the development of architectural culture from the eighteenth century to the present, Sise’s course was required of all students in their fifth year of the program. Just sixteen students attended his inaugural class. In 1952, the course was expanded to include fourth- and sixth-year students, and by 1957 the number of enrolled students swelled to over seventy-five. Sise based his teachings on two seminal texts: Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* and Sigfried Giedion’s *Space, Time, and Architecture*. Giedion’s book was so central to Sise’s thinking that he even photographed its pages for use in his class. Following these writers, Sise divided the content of his lectures into four themes: architectural theory, engineering facts, social and economic facts, and—the crux of his argument—unity. “From the end of Art Nouveau,” he proclaimed, “all significant work is ... the conscious unifying of Engineering [and] social facts with [Architectural] Theory into a new style.” In his introductory lecture, Sise attacked the current state of architecture in Canada, explained that his course was “concerned with the conscience of the profession—still alive, but hardly kicking ... in Canada at the present,” then suggested how historical thinking could serve as a cure by answering two basic questions: “Where are we heading—architecturally speaking?” and, “Where should we be heading?”

In his assertion that history offered a window onto the future as well as onto the past, Sise’s triumphantalist reading of modernism described how a series of breakthroughs in modern architecture were the inevitable result of earlier economic, social, and technological developments. Like the canonical authors on whom he based his course, the presentation of modernism as a struggle against uninspired popular taste, educational stalwarts, and an orthodox bureaucracy was the cornerstone of Sise’s operative pedagogy and his belief that history—like revolution—could invigorate the future.

In a brief interlude in one of his lectures titled “Now and Then,” Sise recalled how he had left McGill in disgust as a student in 1927 because of the “soul destroying” effect of its Beaux-Arts inspired curriculum. He specifically pointed to the lack of a body of critical writing and singled out Ramsay Traquair’s series of courses on the history of architecture as nullifying evidence of the school’s latent historicism. In contrast, he presented modern architecture as a bold experiment that broke from the eclectic ambitions of revivalists by renewing the strength and simplicity of classical architecture through a commitment to function, structure, and economy. He taught his students
that the decisive materials of modern architecture were iron, glass, and reinforced concrete and proclaimed the significance of Le Corbusier’s Domino house (1914–15): “nothing had such momentous importance as [Le Corbusier’s] simple little drawing of the essential structure of a house with the floor slabs cantilevered out beyond the [columns].”

Echoing Pevsner and Giedion, Sise introduced the “pioneers” of modern architecture: Walter Gropius, Jacobus Oud, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and—his own personal hero—Alvar Aalto. For Sise, these pioneer architects of the 1920s and 1930s exemplified the basic tenets of modern architecture in its purest form: the conception of buildings in terms of volume as opposed to mass, horizontal and vertical repetition as a basis of composition, flexibility in plan, and a technical perfection of finish and proportion that made ornament superfluous. He explained how by “reacting against the confusion [and] degenerate dishonesties of the past,” these architects “knew they were on the right track; that their work was healthy [and] would be fruitful for the future,” dismissing a lag in public appreciation for these modern experiments as a simple matter of “oversophistication.”

He synthesized the problem in the following terms: “These architects were thinking in terms of the advanced tastes [and] living patterns of people like themselves—the middle class intelligentsia—they were offering Bach to the masses ... when the masses craved ... the human warmth of Puccini.”

Projecting the lessons of these modern masters into the future—and into the Canadian context—Sise sought to inspire a more humane (and thus popular) modern architecture in Canada. He did this by directing his students toward four sources: Scandinavia (whence Alvar Aalto’s promise of a “Finland in America” evidently still resonated), the expressive use of materials in vernacular buildings, the later work of Frank Lloyd Wright, and the use of non-geometric curves as an element of free planning.

Sise’s politics coloured his perspective on architectural history in a more unique and personal manner. He recast architectural history as a political struggle between two forces: the first, a ruling minority who cling to the past and its imagery rather than face their own loss of power, and a second, larger group pressing for social change. “When a society is progressive,” he told students, “the system of order is creative [and] in tune with social realities.” He continued, “When men lose or feel they are losing ... the human warmth of Puccini.”

Owing to these ideological beliefs, his views on revivalism were terser. Sise condemned the “curious aberrations” of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for their “corrupting attitude.” He cited Horace Walpole’s “gothic frippery” as an example of aristocratic boredom, and called Augustus Pugin’s confusion of the Gothic Revival with religious fervour “even more horrifying than before.”

Quoting Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sise asserted further that a literary approach to building theory had elicited the rise of an “unconscious classicism,” a “passion for mere effect,” and even “shoddy construction.” The “psychological core” of the problem, he explained, was the need for modern man to identify himself with a heroic period from the past in order to reconcile his immense self-doubt arising from the promise of progress and the actual, horrible conditions of industrialization and rising class-consciousness.
In his view, history was a process in which architects and planners played a leading role by ordering and civilizing the seemingly blind forces of scientific invention and industrial progress against a “background of politics.” Architectural modernity, then, was not simply a stylistic choice but a politically minded opposition to the status quo and a necessary step in organizing the social and technological evolution of mankind. If the role of architectural history was to reveal how these proto-modern “masterworks” of the 1920s and 1930s reflected their religion, social circumstances, and means of production, then it followed that modern architecture in Canada could only attain its true form by embracing the future-minded spirit of the postwar era.

At the conclusion of his History of Modern Architecture course all students were required to pass a final examination. Like his lectures, the questions developed by Sise for this purpose were meant to impress upon students the merits of architectural modernity and its suitability to the Canadian context. Their answers were more or less implied in their formulation. In 1950, for example, one question was:

Why did the advent of reinforced concrete construction have such a stimulating and decisive effect on architectural style?

In 1952:

If you had the power to decree that all Canadian architects should design either in the manner of Frank Lloyd Wright or Mies van der Rohe, which would you choose to sponsor?

In 1955:

Why is Walter Gropius so greatly respected throughout the world today?

And in 1957, in a last-minute effort to ferret out any non-believers:

What do you think of the work and teachings of Le Corbusier?

If the intent of Sise’s course was to transform the contemporary practice of architecture in this country, what was its effect? As dubious as any measurement might seem, and considering that his course was only part of a curriculum wholly geared to the production of modern buildings, I would nevertheless argue that Sise’s impact on architectural culture in Montreal during the 1950s and 1960s was profound. In his nine years as a faculty member at McGill, Sise taught the history of modernism to a generation of young architects, many of who went on to leave their own indelible mark on the Canadian architectural scene. In his inaugural class in 1949, for example, was the talented young Arthur Erickson, next to whose name Sise jotted “B.C. Star” on his enrolment list, and whose 1965 campus plan for Simon Fraser University Sise later visited and photographed like a proud father to Erickson’s modernism. | fig. 6 |

In 1950, Sise counted among his students the future director of the Architectural Association in London, Alvin Boyarsky. Also in that class was Harold Ship who, in 1958, sketched a plan for a development project on Montreal’s Nuns’ Island that integrated towers and low-rise buildings on the site. Ship would later set a new tone for urban design in Montreal with his design for Alexis Nihon Plaza, completed in 1967, by connecting apartment towers and offices to a shopping concourse and a metro station below.

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51. Sise’s presentation of modern architecture as a socio-political project almost certainly drew on Lewis Mumford’s assertion that modern technics had resulted from a conscious human desire to transform Western culture, not from external forces; see Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilization (New York, 1934).

52. According to the formula Walter Gropius and his committee on Architectural Education proposed at the 1949 CIAM congress in Bergamo.

53. Examination, 11 April 1950, Volume 40, Folder 2, HESF-LAC.

54. Examination, 19 December 1952, Volume 40, Folder 2, HESF-LAC.

55. Examination, September 1956, Volume 40, Folder 2, HESF-LAC.

56. Examination, 17 April 1957, Volume 40, Folder 2, HESF-LAC.

57. For his second term paper Erickson chose to write about the Art Deco Vancouver Art Gallery by the firm of Sharp and Thompson, the same gallery he would later help relocate as part of his Robson Square development project in 1983.
Among those attending Sise’s lectures in 1955 was the future Montreal-based artist and architect Melvin Charney. He later said about Sise that “what was wonderful about the man is ... he lived firsthand some of the incidents he talked about.”\textsuperscript{58} While enrolled in the History of Modern Architecture, Charney became interested in the work of Le Corbusier who, he then discovered, had used Montreal’s grain elevators to illustrate his 1923 manifesto \textit{Vers une architecture}. That same year, Charney began hopping ships that were travelling up the Lachine Canal to get a better view of the grain elevators, a building type that would figure prominently in his later writing on Quebec architecture.\textsuperscript{59} | fig. 7, 8 | As witness to Montreal’s postwar transformation, however, Charney’s enthusiasm for modern architecture would quickly wane. As an artist and writer, he defended Quebec’s rural building traditions against the onslaught of modernism and criticized the fervent attitude of reformers like Sise. In 1972 he even questioned the success of a decade’s worth of rebuilding in an exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts entitled \textit{Montreal: Plus or Minus?} that showcased films and documentation of the city’s irretrievable demolition.\textsuperscript{60} Of course, not all graduates were impressed by Sise’s lectures or his smartly cut suits and manicured good looks. | fig. 9 | In a series of interviews conducted by McGill’s School of Architecture in the late 1990s in an attempt to document its history, alumni gave mixed reviews of Sise’s course: one former student recalled how he had been “a great friend” and “the best [critic] I ever had,”\textsuperscript{61} and another testified that he was “very good” at teaching modern architecture,\textsuperscript{62} while one called him “a dilettante historian who taught by reading cue cards.”\textsuperscript{63} Looking back on his notes, Charney found that “the naïveté of some of [his] presentation was astounding.”\textsuperscript{64}

**Architectural Practice**

For Sise, who was before all a practitioner and not a historian, his position at McGill presented him with an opportunity to intervene in the future of Canadian architecture. In a further effort to steer this future, Sise inducted
Figure 7. View of an unknown grain elevator, ca. 1930. Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, Hazen Edward Sise Fonds. Photo: Hazen Sise.

Figure 8. View of a ship on the Lachine Canal with the Farine Ogilvie Flour Plant in the background, Montreal, Quebec, 1961. Montreal, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture. Photo: Melvin Charney. © Estate of Melvin Charney/SODRAC (2014).

Figure 9. Hazen Sise at the McGill School of Architecture, ca. 1950. Montreal, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University. Photo: Gordon Webber.
students into architectural practice through collaborative projects and encouraged them to pursue placement in prominent architectural firms and schools.\(^65\) Together with other faculty, graduates, and students, he formed the Architectural Research Group of Montreal (ARGOM) in 1949. The collective immediately set on preparing a study on the recreational needs of greater Montreal, which they sent to the CIAM congress in Bergamo, Italy in that same year.\(^66\) Always desirous to promote the career of young architects, on the occasion of the eighth CIAM congress in Hoddesdon, England, Sise even gave up his role as Canadian ambassador and sent a former student in his place.\(^67\)

In 1955, Sise asked recent graduate Guy Desbarats to join him as an associate in a project for a small skating pavilion next to Beaver Lake in Parc Mont Royal.\(^68\) That same year, a sketch of the pavilion appeared in the inaugural issue of *The Canadian Architect*. \(^{fig.10}\) The design of the pavilion, Desbarats later claimed, was primarily his own, with Sise providing feedback and criticism like in a studio setting.\(^69\) Restored from 2006–07, the building has since been recognized as one of the first modernist buildings to be constructed in Montreal. Leaving questions of authorship aside, the pavilion, with its provocative butterfly roof of reinforced concrete, large expanses of aluminum curtain wall, Aaltoesque cedar-lined ceiling, and curving concrete ramp, was a victory for modern architecture in Montreal that reflected Sise’s prescription for a more humane modern architecture.\(^70\)

During the spring and summer of 1957, as the pavilion at Beaver Lake was being completed, Sise was forced to abandon his teaching duties due to his declining health. Despite leaving the McGill School of Architecture, however, his influence would continue to mould the urban landscape of his native Montreal. Together with former faculty colleague Fred Lebensold and recent graduates Guy Desbarats, Dimitri Dimakopoulos, and Raymond Affleck, Sise founded Architects in Co-Partnership (Arcop) in 1955. Inspired by the Architects’ Collaborative founded by Walter Gropius at Harvard, this was an architectural firm that would become one of Canada’s largest, with over one hundred fifty employees in the late 1960s.\(^71\) Arcop helped complete a series of major renewal projects across Montreal, including Place Ville-Marie in 1962, Place des Arts in 1963, and the “megastructure” Place Bonaventure—one of the world’s second largest commercial buildings—in 1968, irrevocably transforming the city’s urban landscape.\(^72\) \(^{fig.11}\) Through his practice, Sise was able to extend his influence further by offering promising new graduates employment at this thriving firm.\(^73\) In the initiative to commemorate the centennial of Canada’s confederation in 1967, Arcop became nationally renowned through their work on a series of large-scale cultural centres across the country, including the Confederation Centre of the Arts in Charlottetown in 1964 and the National Arts Centre in Ottawa in 1969.

Sise’s departure from McGill in 1957 marked another important shift in historical thinking at that institution. It was on this occasion that John Bland hired Peter Collins, the school’s first trained architectural historian, who set about reformulating the history curriculum according to his own highly creative insights. In an abrupt shift, Collins challenged his predecessor’s narrow view of modern history, mocked its “credulous appetite for pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo,” and exposed Giedion’s fourth-dimensional “Space-Time” as
little more than an exploitation of the effects of parallax, “manifest in architecture ever since the first hypostyle hall was constructed.”⁷⁴ Cautioning that “modern architecture may be maimed and devitalized if we allow historians to breathe too heavily down practicing architects’ necks,” Collins argued that a didactic historical view constituted one of the most important developments in architectural thought over the last two centuries, linking earlier revivalist currents to the same 1930s historical experiments used systematically to condemn them.⁷⁵

**Conclusion**

Although by the 1960s some of the views advanced by pioneering modern historians were being openly challenged at McGill and other schools across Canada, their effect had already come into full force. In a rare moment of self-reflection, even Sise acknowledged the didactic ambitions of his course, admitting to students that “we inevitably make use of history—according to the necessities of what we find significant.”⁷⁶ For modern historians, historicity was also a primary argument for renewal. By depicting architectural modernity as an ideological victory over the past, new attitudes manifest in architectural education during the 1940s and 1950s became instrumental in shaping Canada’s postwar architecture and urbanism, driving a wedge between preservationists and modern innovators, and linking Canadian practitioners to a European and American avant-garde. In Montreal, where educators helped instrumentalize the ambitions of modern historians, the vigour with which the City undertook to reinvent itself during the postwar period is underscored by the operative force of these canonical writers.

The influence of these modern historians is not lost on architectural education and practice in Canada today. Although updated and transformed, a triumphalist reading of the history of modern architecture persists in many literary surveys still in use, as well as through the modern architecture survey course that remains central to the historical education of architects.⁷⁷ By reminding us how different representations of the past have influenced design in the present, this important chapter in the history of architectural

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73. Flinn, interview by Donaldson.
75. Collins, Changing Ideals, 29–41. 295. Despite being “inclined to dispute certain formulations,” Sise held Collins’s work in high regard, nominating his book for the Hitchcock Medallion, which was awarded to Collins by the British Society of Architectural Historians in 1969. Hazen Sise to Rosanne Berry, 19 April 1966, Volume 34, Folder 1, HESF-LAC.
education in Canada raises complex questions about current practices, at a
time when the teaching of architectural history—and its relation to practice—
is very much in question.⁷⁸

Rather than interpret modern architecture through a series of import-
ant projects executed by important historical figures, a newer generation of
historians sees architectural modernity as a subjective experience shaped
by uneven cultural change and involving multiple actors, geographies, and
(often) divergent perspectives. The so-called “pioneers” of modernism are
just one narrative extracted from a wellspring of interpretive possibilities. The
significance of this paradigm shift and its effect on the practice of architec-
ture is underestimated, I think. If, as Sarah Williams Goldhagen argues, ours
is an age “suspicious of synthetic historical analyses and unifying frameworks
meant to illuminate the past,”⁷⁹ it is imperative that we ask what role this
more inclusive history can play in shaping our contemporary practice. We
must try to understand what power it holds over our imagination if, instead
of standing on an orderly row of pilotis, modern architecture seems to now
stand on everything and anything all at once.

Whether current trends in teaching architectural history will produce prac-
titioners that will be more sensitive to minority views, dissenting voices, the
fringes of professionalism, and the plurality of architectural experience is a
question best left to future historians. Rather than dismiss these modernist
prophets as myopic, we should recognize in their ability to transform history
into a blueprint for future action a compelling reminder of how innovation
and historical thinking are intertwined. For contemporary scholars and edu-
cators, the powerful effects of this canonical literature underscore the critical
importance of shifting educational paradigms in the interpretation and evalu-
atation of design culture and architecture in Canada.¶

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