

Fig. 1. Place-Royale, Quebec City. (photo Marc Robitaille)

Guy Mercier is professor of geography at Laval University, in Quebec City, since 1992. For 1996 to 2001, he was editor of the Cahiers de géographie du Québec. He is currently director of the CÉLAT, a interuniversity research centre dedicated to the study of literature, arts and traditions.

JSSAC / JSÉAC 26, no 3, 4 (2001); 37-44.

### Guy Mercier

# The Useful Ambiguity of Urban Heritage

Ceveral cities-or significant sections of them-are recognized as world or national heritage sites and therefore receive particular attention from public authorities. Every urban area that enjoys heritage status stands out from the surrounding or bordering areas. According to the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter, 1964), the purpose of this status and the resulting protection is to perpetuate "a message from the past." Without contesting this aim of heritage status, one can still ponder over its social and urban ramifications. The question is not new. In fact, it is an ongoing debate witnessed by the adoption of a succession of charters and international declarations since 1931 to favour the protection and improvement of built heritage. I would like to stress the social purpose of heritage status by examining the problem of the historical value of the industrial urban landscape. I will illustrate my remarks with the example of Quebec City, which has been on the World Heritage Cities List of UNESCO since 1985.2

## The Wish to Protect the Universal Value of Historic Urban Areas

According to the *International Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns*, also known as the *Washington Charter*, there are urban areas throughout the world that, in whole or in part, "embody the values of traditional urban cultures" (Preamble). Thus, it is necessary to select urban areas that deserve to be conserved, as repositories of heritage. Since the 19th century, this selection has generated an ongoing debate in the western world. In addition, because of the expansion of participatory planning nowadays, the measures taken to protect urban heritage are increasingly more open for discussion. Whatever the selection criteria and process, and the protection measures used, one expects that the urban areas selected are always highly symbolic of the history each one represents.

To justify the protection of heritage sites, the preamble of the *Washington Charter* evokes "the impact of the urban development that follows industrialization in societies everywhere." In our urban communities, what comes from "traditional urban civilizations" is threatened with "degradation, damage or even

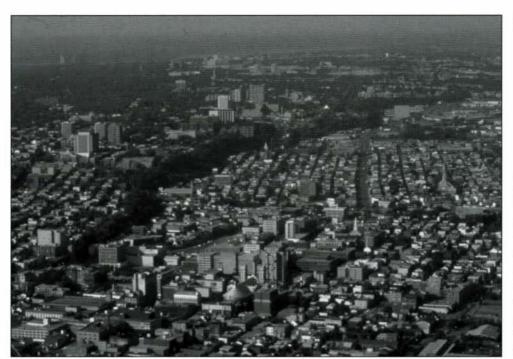


Fig. 2. Aerial view of the St. Roch area, Quebec City.

destruction" by economic pressures with little social regard for historic conservation.

Reading international charters reveals that, by definition, built heritage is a treasured possession as essential for humanity as it is seriously threatened by it. Thus the fundamental need of a special intervention to save heritage from the rough treatment that is usually given to old buildings. For example, *The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Charter*, 1982) states that "Heritage is a reality, a possession of the community, and a rich inheritance that may be passed on, which invites our recognition and our participation." This goodwill is capital "because all too often our heritage is threatened, when it is not forgotten and destroyed [...]. Modernization and the pursuit of new lifestyles have, in fact, relentlessly imperilled national heritage everywhere. Such is the price of progress" (§3).

By evoking the damaging effects of industrialization, international charters identify the major threat to urban heritage. However, it does not mean that the modern urbanization that has taken over the former urban area has less value. On that point, the Washington Charter is unequivocal in affirming in the opening lines of the preamble that all urban communities are "an expression of the diversity of societies throughout history." Hence, if all urban areas are historic, one can deduce that, whether ancient or recent, they all have comparable value. The fact remains however that older urban areas, with declining economic efficiency, are disadvantaged when compared to newer cities that have the advantage of being better adapted to modern conditions. Because of their economic fragility, there is a desire that specific protection be guaranteed to older towns, cities, and areas. The Washington Charter includes a large set of measures for that protection:

In order to be most effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of regional planning at every level (article 1).

Qualities to be preserved include the historic character of the town or urban area and all those material and spiritual elements that express this character, especially:

- urban patterns as defined by lots and streets:
- relationships between buildings and green and open spaces;
- the formal appearance, interior and ex-

terior, of buildings as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour and decoration;

- the relationship between the town or urban area and its surrounding setting, both natural and man-made; and
- the various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time.

Any threat to the qualities would compromise the authenticity of historic town or urban area (article 2).

#### The Prejudice of the Universal Insignificance of Modern Urbanization

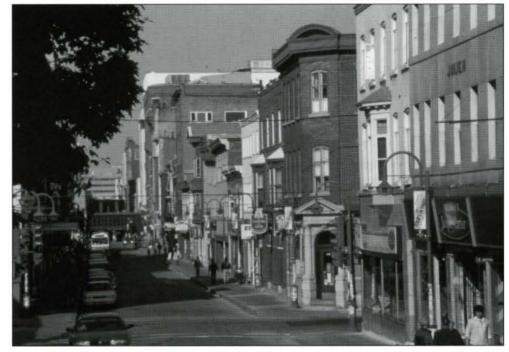
The Washington Charter, as well as other international charters or declarations, do not pit the ancient urban area against the modern one. On the contrary, they encourage their coexistence.5 That principle has inspired most laws, almost everywhere, governing the protection of urban areas for heritage purposes. It is not clear though, that the actions taken in the name of these laws are always carried out in the same spirit. The analysis of some examples in fact shows that the direction of heritage seems to cultivate resentment toward the modern urban area, guilty of having little value in itself-and not of threatening the historical towns. Such reprobation of the modern urban community (which is often implied) is sometimes relayed by a theory claiming that urban communities, since the industrial revolution, have lost their traditional coherence. Under the pressure of economic forces that break it up into many specialized areas, the modern town or city has become a confused entity. Since industrialization, this aggregate of incongruous functions has lost its semantic unity and its evocative power.

Françoise Choay, as we know, defended this thesis at the beginning of the 70s:

What is the referent of an urban space after the industrial revolution? Essentially, the new mode of production, both technological

Fig. 3. St. Joseph Street, one of the principal arteries of the St. Roch area.

(photo Luc Noppen)



and economic. During the nineteenth century, this mode of production generated the bipartition of industrial cities in two parts, one corresponding to the economic function of production and the other to the economic function of consumerism and to the social class of consumers. Urban space is only preoccupied then with the economic sector of activity. The importance of this semantic reduction of constructed space cannot be stressed enough,

space which between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, because of it radical nature, could be considered a mutation.

It is true that this thesis is appealing as it conforms to our idea of the downtown area of North American cities whose destinies seem completely controlled by economic conditions; it seems to be typified, in that respect, by the case of the St. Roch area in Quebec City (fig. 2).

Located in the Lower Town of Quebec City, St. Roch was formerly the main commercial and industrial centre of the region and a well-populated residential area.7 After World War II, St. Roch entered, as did many North American downtown areas, into a period of profound mutation: decline in the commercial and industrial sectors, exodus of the affluent population to the suburbs, degradation of buildings, concentration of a population with unstable socio-economic status, rise of social disorders, etc. Thus St. Roch, which had previously been one of the major poles of downtown Quebec City, lost its strong capacity to attract industry, commerce, and residents-people and capital. This decline resulted in a political will, beginning in the fifties, to restore the former vitality to the area, through considerable urban planning efforts. A grand scheme of large-scale sustained actions resulted, their influence being felt until the end of the eighties. This modernization project was hoped to revitalize the area by taking advantage of the new urban dynamics-which until then had hurt rather than helped St. Roch. That growth, which enveloped the whole agglomeration of Quebec City, favoured the separation of residential areas from work and commercial activities, resulting in a rise in the frequency and amount of daily travel times. In that perspective, it seemed appropriate that St. Roch should have the necessary competitive equipment to ensure its survival in the new regional economy. The theory was that St. Roch, with the proper amenities, could remain an active element in downtown Quebec City. Therefore, the renovating urban planners

scheduled massive demolition in order to allow the construction of infrastructures that would help commerce, services, and transport. Housing was not completely excluded, but it remained a complementary and separate function, which under no circumstances would compromise the re-establishment of the business centre of St. Roch.

The bad fortune of St. Roch seems to confirm that an urban area built by the forces of industry suffers from a lack of urbanity. That urban community had been the favoured area of retail commerce and mechanized industry for many decades. In such a case, it could be considered that economic forces did not contribute to the creation of a city, but rather they organized a space for their own purposes. In a way, there was a sidetracking of the destination of the city in the pursuit of economic self-determination. The constructed form that resulted would only have meaning for the economy and it would lose all meaning if ever the economy no longer needed it and abandoned it. Once outdated on the economic level, the form would not leave any trace of human establishment based on emotional investment strong enough to resist the vicissitudes of the economy or retain a meaning in the order of urbanity. The form would thus be stuck in insignificance and even worse, it would become the victim of a "negative perception," as was the case in St. Roch, when the physical degradation worsened and the socially marginalized moved into the area. Stripped of its economic function and having lost its distinction of urbanity, the form would no longer be able to mobilize the forces that had maintained it, that would have allowed it to reach some kind of trans-historicity.

If the thesis of urban insignificance in the industrial era rings true in the case of St. Roch in Quebec City, and undoubtedly in other urban areas, it also raises some fundamental issues. First, at the social level, one has to worry about the type of conservation policies that such an analysis might inspire. Should it be concluded, for example, that developments put into place under the supposed constraint of triumphant capitalism, because they were by definition insignificant, are less worthy of conservation than those coming from historical periods or where the urban community had missed industrial invasion? Unfortunately that question is not solely speculative; the argument has already been explicitly evoked to justify certain actions. For example, in the sixties, in Quebec City, an entire area—Place Royale—was declared a victim of the consequences of industrialization and mercantilism. It was therefore demolished to make way for the reconstitution of the French urbanism and architecture that were typical of that area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Also located in the Lower Town of Quebec City, Place Royale was the eastern extension of St. Roch (fig. 1, 4). Place Royale had lived to the rhythm of industry and commerce for over a century. With a large residential population influenced by harbour business, banking, and commerce, Place Royale looked like a modern urban area that was constantly readjusting to economic needs. Post World War II industrial and economic decline hit Place Royale, as well as St. Roch, but that area, in the eyes of the elite, would find a new vocation. While St. Roch was to be demolished and rebuilt to provide an environment adapted to the emerging economy of the time, Place Royale, site of the first permanent French settlement in North America, was to be restored to its original state." Although centuries had erased the visible traces of the architecture produced under the French Regime, it was necessary, according to the authorities, to correct the situation and to give such a tangible monument of heritage to the collective consciousness.10 In so doing, this landscape correction -which the official discourse described as restoration"-erased completely, or very nearly, all traces of the architecture produced in the area since the conquest of New France by the British Crown in 1759.12 The operation could certainly have been, at least partly, a boost for the nationalist sentiment of French-speaking Quebecois, which at the beginning of the 1960s was in full effervescence.13 Nevertheless, the results seem to have led to a double paradox: in one instance, the reconstruction led to the disappearance not only of an urban heritage of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but also of many authentic traces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.14 In the other instance, Place Royale, which has been almost entirely reconstructed in the last several years, is recognized, by virtue of the Quebec law on "biens culturels," as a "historic district" 15 even though from then on its antiquity was more a spiritual than a material reality. By imitating the past, Place Royale has in effect become a place of remembrance<sup>16</sup> (Nora: 1997) while ceasing to be an "architectural work of the past," to copy the expression of the *Venice Charter* (article 1).<sup>17</sup>

If there seems to be a contradiction when reading The Athens Charter, between the recognition of Place Royale as a historic district and its real age,18 none exists when we analyse the more accommodating Loi sur les biens culturels du Québec, where the historic district is defined as "un territoire, une municipalité ou une partie de municipalité désigné comme tel par le gouvernement en raison de la concentration de monuments et de sites historiques qu'on y trouve" (article 1-h). The historic monument, for its part, is "un immeuble qui présente un intérêt historique par son utilisation et son architecture" (article 1-d), while the historic site is "un lieu où se sont déroulés des événements ayant marqué l'histoire du Québec ou une aire renfermant des biens ou des monuments historiques" (article 1-e). The presence of an "architectural work of the past" is thus not essential for a district or a monument to be declared historic. It is important to emphasize that the Loi sur les biens culturels du Québec does not stray too far in this regard because, in international charters and declarations subsequent to The Athens Charter (1931), the original definition of a historic monument was broadened. In 1981, for example, the Burra Charter ruled (article 17) that reconstruction is an acceptable practice to ensure "the conservation of places of cultural significance." More explicitly however, it stated that "reconstruction is limited to the completion of a depleted entity and should not constitute the majority of the fabric of the place" (article 18). That precaution is backed in The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Charter, 1982): "The greatest possible attention must be paid to authenticity in preserving and developing the national heritage, and in passing it on to future generations. When only certain heritage remain, these must be treated as integral wholes. Any action taken must be comprehensible and reversible" (article II-D). In fact, the Deschambault Charter deals very carefully with the idea of reconstruction, as can be seen in an article suggesting some regrets about what happened with Place Royale in the 60s and the 70s: "every action to preserve the national heritage should be designed to conserve as much as possible of the original, and to avoid reconstruction based on conjecture" (article V-

We will discuss the ambiguity of heritage status later, but first let us focus on the thesis of the loss of an urban meaning in the industrial era. Epistemologically, that thesis remains unsatisfactory because it implies that human productions—in this case, the city—can have little meaning, even no meaning at all. How then can we theoretically conceive that societies could generate



Fig. 4. Aerial view of Place-Royale. (photo Pierre Lahoud)

objects with little or no meaning to them? Similarly, politically and ethically, how can we accept the idea, except by prejudice, that for an urban area to be truly meaningful it must resolutely be a thing of the past... or the future, and that a particular historical period, because it is alienated by economic imperatives, can be forbidden or unable to express, through it urban structures, an un-atrophied meaning that belongs to it alone and that fully represents it?<sup>19</sup>

#### The Risk of a History without a Past or a Present without a History

To refute the thesis of the insignificance of modern urbanization, one can observe that it is contradicted by many heritage practices. By conserving non-traditional urban landmarks of our civilization—as is increasingly becoming the practice—, are we not in fact recognizing that our modernity has its own historic value? Amazingly, in that respect, St. Roch is once again a good example. While the landscape—heavily marked by the presence of commerce and industry—had been considered for a long time unsuitable for economic resurgence, it has now become a fundamental factor in the revitalization of that area. In fact, since the rejection of the urban program of demolition/reconstruction ten years ago, St. Roch has undergone enormous renewal: the

principal arteries have received a "facelift" (fig. 3, 5), several older buildings have been recycled to house large institutions, organizations or businesses, others have been converted into modern apartments (fig. 6). At the same time, vacant lots, previously numerous and often vast, are disappearing little by little, as they are replaced by new residential, commercial, or institutional buildings. That architectural transformation-proof of financial support-is accompanied by a sociological evolution, as evidenced by the movement toward St. Roch, of a new population more educated and more affluent than the average of the area. Those people choose to live, work, be educated and socialize in the area. The re-emergence of St. Roch is a result of a landscape orientation that does not deny the value of the industrial heritage of the city. On the contrary, it is acknowledged that the landscape that has been left from industrialization has its own historic value as well as an urbanity that justifies its conservation. For that reason, whenever possible, old buildings are systematically recycled in order to preserve the heritage of the area. This is a clear break from previous architectural and urban practices, which for more than thirty years had favoured the demolition of older buildings and the construction of new structures, often of great size and contrasting with the traditional industrial landscape of the area.



Fig. 5. The Jardin de Saint-Roch, completed in 1995, one of the new landscapes of the St. Roch area.



Fig. 6. Old factory recycled for municipal services and the École des arts visuels (photo Luc Noppen)

If this new attitude toward the industrial city reassures on the intentions of the current heritage vision about modernity, the question of historic value still remains intact and one can legitimately wonder what the status of this "history" that we protect and celebrate is. The question seems essential because one has to admit that urban heritage tells stories that do not always correspond with the facts. The *Venice Charter* certainly requires that heritage sites be preserved in their entirety; it expresses the wish

that these sites be passed on "in the full richness of their authenticity" (Preamble). But it would be naive to believe that the political or social will to be concerned with urban heritage is based strictly on conservation. The case of Place Royale in Quebec City demonstrates that the outcome of urban heritage can be—whether it pleases us or not—to legitimize one version of a historical account. Like many others, this example shows that, in heritage practices, the convic-

tion of being authentic is often more important than the actual authenticity of the historic fabric of a site. That explains why, in many cases, the goal focuses more on the formulation and the communication of that conviction than on the preservation of authentic historical remains. That point actually has been subtly acknowledged in The Declaration on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage (San Antonio, 1996): "The understanding of the authenticity of a heritage site depends on a comprehensive assessment of the significance of the site by those who are associated with or who claim it is part of their history" (article B1). It means that, in those matters, the concern is more the authenticity of the collective emotion than the authenticity of the material fabric of the monument. And since historical truth is sometimes unbelievable, undesirable, or insufficient, heritage practice is carried out-true to its nature-to embellish, invent, neutralize, or erase the past or one of its episodes. Because its mission is to tell a story, urban heritage can lose track of the real past, as long as it weaves a believable wishful tale.

Supporting this conclusion does not mean that one has to ridicule heritage practice, or even criticize it; the intention is merely to measure its extent and meaning. If urban heritage is fundamentally supporting a historic narrative, it is useless to charge it for being what it is or is not. Of course, we can keep on hoping that it serves the ideals expressed in many international and national charters and declarations; we can even wish that efforts would be increased. But we must also accept that its condition predisposes it above all to search for a commitment to a history that we want to tell. To be offended by this strong tendency means denying societies and their legitimate political powers the right to interpret history, that is, to write, with rocks and with their cities, what they think, what they are, or what they want to be. Therefore, it is better, in my opinion, to think of urban heritage as a delicate balance between two legitimate

expectations: 1) to preserve historical built landscapes in their "true" authenticity; 2) to "rebuild" landscapes that correspond to societies' visions of themselves and their history. This shall prevent our history from having no authentic proof of its past existence and prevent our present from being deprived of the right to construct its own history.

#### Notes

- That series began in 1931 with The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments. Several texts followed, coming from ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) or from other international organizations, notably: The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter, 1964), The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter, 1981), The Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (The Washington Charter, 1987), The Declaration of San Antonio (On Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage, 1996). ICOMOS-Canada has adopted two important documents: The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Charter, 1982), and The Appleton Charter for the protection and Enhancement of Built Environment (1983). Those documents are available on the following websites: http://www.international. icomos.org, http://www. icomos.org and http://canada. icomos.org.
- 2 With respect to that list, see Hélène Legendre-De Koninck "Les villes du patrimoine mondial : capitales du temps," Cahiers de Géographie du Québec, 35, n° 94 (1991): 9-87; and "Les villes du patrimoine mondial (2° partie)", Cahiers de Géographie du Québec, 40, n° 111 (1996): 365-417.

- See also the website of the Organization of World Heritage Cities: http://www.ovpm.org.
- 3 Gustavo Giovannoni, L'urbanisme face aux villes anciennes, (Paris: Seuil [1\* ed.: 1931], 1998); and Françoise Choay, L'allégorie du patrimoine (Paris: Seuil, 1992).
- 4 The Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (The Washington Charter, 1987) stipulates that "the participation and the involvement of the residents are essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged. The conservation of historic towns and urban areas concerns their residents first of all" (Article 3). See also articles VII and IX of The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Charter, 1982).
- 5 That thesis had already been vigorously defended in the 1930s by Gustavo Giovannoni: 33-44.
- 6 Françoise Choay, "Sémiologie et urbanisme." In *Le sens de la ville* (Paris: Seuil, 1972): 23. Liberal interpretation of the original in French.
- 7 The central part of Quebec City is divided into an Upper Town and a Lower Town. The Upper Town, where the fortified historic city is located, is built on a long and narrow hill. The Lower Town is squeezed between a cliff and the St. Lawrence River, and a part spreads in the valley of the St. Charles River.
- 8 See the Bureau de coordination
- de Place Royale's report entitled La Place Royale. Un trésor qu'il ne faut pas dilapider (1971). According to Gelly et al., a resentment against modern urbanization motivated the Quebec Commission for Historic monuments when it recommended, in 1963, to grant to Place Royale the status of historic district [Alain GELLY, Louise Brunelle-Lavoie, and Corneliu Kirjan, La passion du patrimoine. La Commission des biens culturels du 1922-1994 Québec, (Québec: Septentrion, 1995): 140 ]. That resentment was in a way opportunistic and selective, because the Government of the province of Quebec, at the time of the reconstruction of Place Royale, simultaneously torn down a large part of an old neighbourhood in the Upper Town to make place to a huge and modern civic and business centre [Luc Noppen, and Lucie K. Morisset, Québec de roc et de pierres. La capitale en architecture (Québec: Éditions Multimondes, 1998): 125-127]. Thoughts on the subject nevertheless evolved. Thus, The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Charter, 1982), adopted by the Quebec Commission for monuments and sites (the former Quebec Commission for Historic monuments) and approved by ICOMOS-Canada, states: "Because this [Quebec] culture is of recent origin and only extends over a short span of time, it would be inappropriate to rely solely on chronological classification to determine the relative value of its different elements. One should not, for example, attribute greater value to the remains of the eighteenth century than those of the nineteenth. Of course, the older things are, the rarer and more valuable they generally are; however, one must use subtlety in judging theses matters" (Preamble, §3).
- 9 Samuel de Champlain found-

- ed Quebec City in 1608. From then until the conquest of New France by the British Crown in 1759, the city was the capital of the French Empire in North America.
- 10 Roland Arpin, "Avant-propos." In Renée Côté, *Place-Royale*, *quatre siècles d'histoire* (Québec: Fides, 2000): 3.
- 11 See Renée Côté: 173; and Isabelle Faure "La reconstruction de Place-Royale à Québec", Cahiers de Géographie du Québec, 36, nº 98 (1992): 326. Furthermore, Noppen explains why it is indeed a case of reconstruction rather than restoration, with a few exceptions [Luc Noppen, "Place-Royale, chantier de construction d'une identité nationale." In Villes reconstruites, du dessin au destin, vol. 2, Patrick Dieudonné, ed. (Paris, L'Harmattan, 1993): 301-306. To make reconstruction possible, the government of the province of Quebec had to expropriate a large part of the area.
- 12 The siege of Quebec City that took place during that conquest would have, according to the rare sources available on the subject, largely destroyed the area (Noppen, 1993: 301).
- 13 "The building site of Place Royale became seen as having a symbolic function: to embody the place of origin of Francophones in North America for the collective memory. The Minister of Cultural Affairs also undertook at considerable expense [...] the project of refrancisation undertaken in the 1920s, a project that was most notably symbolized in 1931 by the installation of the bust of Louis XIV offered by the government of France in the Market of the Lower Town [in the heart of Place Royale]" (Noppen: 302). On the use of Place Royale's reconstruction in the building process of Quebecois' national identity, see also Faure (1992); on the role of architecture and the urban form in

the construction of the Quebecois' identity in the twentieth century, see Lucie K. Morisset and Luc Noppen ["À la recherche d'identités. Usages et propos du recyclage du passé dans l'architecture du passé". In Luc Noppen (dir.), Architecture, forme urbaine et identité collective (Québec: Septentrion, 1995): 103-133]; on the nationalist intensity in Quebec after the Second World War and the attempts to formulate a great, new collective narrative through reconsidering the past, see Jocelyn Létourneau, Passer à l'avenir. Histoire, mémoire, identité dans le Québec d'aujourd'hui (Montréal : Boréal, 2000).

14 It is true however that the archaeological digs carried out at the time of the demolition and the reconstruction of Place Royale allowed for an inventory of numerous artefacts that constitute a real heritage. This collection is presented in Camille Lapointe, Trésors et secrets de Place Royale : aperçu de la collection archéologique (Québec: Gouvernement du Ouébec, Ministère de la culture et des communications, 1998).

15 Place Royale is included in the historic district of Old Quebec, which was decreed in 1963 (Côté, 189). On that recognition, see Gelly *et al.* (114-120).

16 Pierre Nora, "Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux." In Pierre Nora (dir.) *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1 ([1\* ed.: 1984], 1997): 23-43.

17 On Place Royale as a place of remembrance, see the official website: http://www.mcq. org/place\_royale.

18 Luc Noppen, and Lucie, K. Morisset, "De la production des monuments. Paradigmes et processus de reconnaissance." In Laurier Turgeon, Jocelyn Létourneau, and Khadiyatoulah Fall (dir.) Les espaces de l'identité (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997): 23-52.

I wrote more lengthily about the epistemological impasse and the ideological bias of theories inspired by historicism in Guy Mercier, "La ville entre la science et la foi," Géographie et cultures, 23, (1997): 5-22; and Guy Mercier, and Gilles Ritchot, "Géographie et mythologie. Les fondements épistémologiques d'une théorie géographique de la mythologie." In Laurier Turgeon, Jocelyn Létourneau, and Khadiyatoulah Fall (dir.) Les espaces de l'identité (Ouébec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997): 3-22.

For example, we now recognize more and more the value of industrial heritage and the importance of its conservation [Jean-Yves Andrieux, Le patrimoine industriel (Paris: PUF, 1992)]. In the province of Quebec, Montreal is a particularly good example of protection and restoration of industrial heritage [Jean-Claude Marsan, "La conservation du patrimoine urbain." In Commission des biens culturels, tome II, Les chemins de la mémoire. Monuments et sites historiques du Québec (Québec, Les publications du Québec, 1991): 1-12; and Gérard Beaudet "La reconquête des emprises infrastructurelles : l'exemple de Montréal." In Vers des collectivités viables." (Québec: Septentrion, 2001): 195-199]. Moreover, there is an international association dedicated to the protection of modern era architectural works called DOCOMOMO. Cf. http:// www.bk.tudelft.nl/docomomo.

#### Complementary Bibliography

Direction générale du patrimoine. Les biens culturels du Québec classés ou reconnus au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1981. Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1981.

Mercier, Guy. La recréation littéraire de la ville par l'urbanisme et la mythologie contemporaine. L'exemple du quartier Saint-Roch à Québec. In Patrick Dieudonné (dir.), Villes reconstruites. Du dessin au destin, vol. 2, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994: 307-318.

Mercier, Guy. Le Jardin Saint-Roch ou la centralité perdue. In Guy Mercier, and Jacques Bethemont (dir.), La ville en quête de nature. Québec and Lyon: Septentrion and Centre Jacques-Cartier, 1998a: 129-155.

Mercier, Guy. La personnalité des êtres géographiques. Le témoignage du quartier Saint-Roch à Québec. In Laurier Turgeon (dir.), Les entrelieux de la culture. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998b: 173-215.

Mercier, Guy. L'usage urbain de la nature : conflit et ralliement. L'exemple du quartier Saint-Roch à Québec. In Jean-Pierre Augustin, and Claude Sorbets (dir.), Sites publics, lieux communs. Aperçus sur l'aménagement de places et de parcs au Québec. Bordeaux: Maison des sciences de l'homme d'Aquitaine, 2000: 119-136.

Mercier, Guy. L'urbanisme des échecs urbanistiques : la rhétorique du renouveau du quartier St. Roch à Québec depuis 1990. In Gilles Sénécal, and Diane Saint-Laurent (dir.), Les espaces dégradés : contraintes et conquêtes. Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2000: 237-254.

Mercier, Guy, and Mascolo, Sophie, La place commerciale et la mythologie de l'urbanisme contemporain : le témoignage de la rue Saint-Joseph à Québec. In Luc Noppen (dir.), Architecture, forme urbaine et identité collective. Québec: Septentrion, 1995: 53-102.

Morisset, Lucie K. La mémoire du paysage. Histoire de la forme urbaine d'un centre-ville : Saint-Roch, Québec. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001.

Noppen, Luc, and Morisset, Lucie K. L'architecture de Saint-Roch. Québec: Les Publications du Québec, 2000.