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## REVIEW ARTICLES

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### *An Urban Case History: Bordeaux*

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The story of a city such as Bordeaux, which boasts at least 23 centuries of life, and which, right from the beginning, has acted as a crossroads for traffic between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, has now again been told in a collective work which, in breadth, clarity, and the range of problems treated,<sup>1</sup> encourages new consideration of the character of Bordeaux's economic development from the classical period to the present.

It was not by chance that it was the city of Bordeaux which inspired the first great work of urban history which appeared in France at the end of the last century.<sup>2</sup> In so doing, it was in at the birth of an historiographical interest which has now made great strides forward. The first great flowering of the study of the city and urban institutions, in both the Middle Ages and

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<sup>1</sup> CH. HIGOUNET (ed.), *Histoire de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1962-1972). The work consists of 8 volumes, as follows: R. ETIENNE (ed.) & P. BARRÈRE, *Bordeaux antique*; CH. HIGOUNET (ed.), J. GARDELLES & J. LAFaurie, *Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age*; Y. RENOARD (ed.), J. BERNARD, P. CAPRA, J. GARDELLES, B. GUILLEMAIN & J.-P. TRABUT-CUSSAC, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*; R. BOUTRUCHE (ed.), J. BERNARD, L. DESGRAVES, F. GITEAU, F. LOIRETTE & P. ROUDIÉ, *Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715*; F.-G. PARISET (ed.), P. BÉCAMPS, FR. CROUZET, L. DESGRAVES, R. PIJASSOU & J.-P. POUSSOU, *Bordeaux au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*; L. DESGRAVES & G. DUPEUX (eds.), R. DARRICAU, P. GUILLAUME, F.-G. PARISET & A. TUDESQ, *Bordeaux au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; J. LAJUGIE (ed.), P. BARRÈRE, P. BÉCAMPS, H. BORBES, R. DARRICAU, R. DUFOURG, G. DUPEUX, J. HOURCADE, J. LAGROVE, J.-CL. LASSERRE, G. PLANES, A. RÈCHE, *Bordeaux au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; L. DESGRAVES & A. HIGOUNET, *Tables générales*.

<sup>2</sup> C. JULLIAN, *Histoire de Bordeaux, depuis les origines jusqu'en 1895* (Bordeaux, 1895).

the initial phase of the modern period, took place in Paris and among French scholars in the years between the two wars, taking its cue from the pioneering work of H. Pirenne on one hand, and of M. Bloch, L. Febvre and the *Annales* on the other.<sup>3</sup> It was the medieval city, and in particular the city in the period of transformation from a feudal to a capitalist economy, which was the subject that interested this generation of historians most, and they were stimulated by the inquiries into urban phenomena being carried out from early in the century by sociologists,<sup>4</sup> geographers<sup>5</sup> and urbanists.<sup>6</sup> It is only more recently, and again, as always, in France, that the study of the modern and contemporary city has been undertaken and as a result of the application of more refined quantitative methods a number of works of particular interest have appeared as, for example, the studies of A. Daumard<sup>7</sup> and L. Chevalier<sup>8</sup> on the social structure of Paris during the last century.

In England, on the other hand, urban history developed late and has tended to tackle themes, and to assume characteristics, which are quite different from those of the French and continental tradition in general. It can, on the whole, be considered as an offspring of that country's economic and social history.<sup>9</sup> The impact of industrialization has exercised a major influence on local and regional historical studies in England. The study of the city was initially absorbed into that of regional economies and industries, and it was only subsequently that it took on a more independent character, due in particular to the important works of Hoskins,<sup>10</sup> Chaloner,<sup>11</sup> Briggs<sup>12</sup> and

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<sup>3</sup> F. BÉDARIDA, *The Growth of Urban History in France: Some Methodological Trends*, in H. J. DYOS (ed.), « The Study of Urban History » (London, 1968), pp. 52-55.

<sup>4</sup> M. HALBWACHS, *Les expropriations et le prix des terrains à Paris* (Paris, 1907); R. MAUNIER, *La localisation des industries urbaines* (Paris, 1909), and *L'origine et la fonction économique des villes: Étude de morphologie sociale* (Paris, 1910).

<sup>5</sup> R. BLANCHARD, *Grenoble: Étude de géographie urbaine* (Paris, 1912); J. LEVAINVILLE, *Rouen, Étude d'une agglomération urbaine* (Paris, 1913); P. ARBOS, *Clermont-Ferrand* (Clermont, 1930); R. LESPÈS, *Alger, Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaine* (Paris, 1930); A. DEMANGEON, *Paris, la ville et sa banlieue* (Paris, 1933).

<sup>6</sup> P. LAVÉDAN, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'architecture urbaine: définitions, sources* (Paris, 1926), and *Histoire de l'urbanisme* (3 vols, Paris, 1926-52).

<sup>7</sup> A. DAUMARD, *La bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1963); A. DAUMARD & F. FURET, *Structures et relations sociales à Paris au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1961); A. DAUMARD, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle 1809-1880* (Paris, 1965).

<sup>8</sup> L. CHEVALIER, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1958).

<sup>9</sup> H. J. DYOS, *Agenda for Urban Historians*, in « The Study of Urban History », cit., p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> W. G. HOSKINS, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800* (Manchester, 1935).

<sup>11</sup> W. H. CHALONER, *The Social and Economic Development of Crewe, 1780-1923* (Manchester, 1950).

<sup>12</sup> A. BRIGGS, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1963).

others. In recent years, however, research into urban history in Great Britain has increased beyond all measure, although the great variety of questions and problems tackled are in fact matched by a marked uncertainty in the methods of enquiry employed. So far there has been no satisfactory definition of the significance, and hence also of the methodology, of urban history, and this, it seems fair to say, is a result of the enormous variety and complexity of the phenomena in question, especially if they are considered not only on a local or national scale, but in even wider terms.<sup>13</sup>

It is only in the United States that urban history has put down deeper roots and has given life to a whole series of studies which are closely connected with that country's unique experience. In fact the starting point, was the work of the Chicago school of sociology which provided the first impulse for the study of urban history, conceived mainly in terms of a revision of Turner's thesis on the central importance of the frontier in the process of the formation and development of the American nation.<sup>14</sup> Faced by the rapid and tumultuous growth of the American metropoli in the years between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the First World War, American historians have increasingly recognized that it was the city that provided the crucial and decisive experience for the fate of their society.<sup>15</sup> Industrialization, immigration and urbanization together participated in forming the features of contemporary America in a way and at a speed that has hitherto been paralleled in no other part of the world. It is therefore no surprise that the history of the city has now become a favoured theme in American historical studies. As a result the catalogue of urban history studies in the U.S.A. is extremely rich, and alongside works which have now become classics, such as that by Schlesinger,<sup>16</sup> a number of studies dedicated to the history of individual phases in the process of urbanization,<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> For an illustration of the methodological problems see: S. G. CHEKLAND, *Toward a Definition of Urban History*, in «The Study of Urban History», cit., pp. 343-361, and A. BRIGGS, *The Study of Cities*, «Confluence», 7 (Summer, 1958), pp. 107-114.

<sup>14</sup> R. C. WADE, *An Agenda for Urban History*, in G. A. BILLIAS & G. N. GROB (eds.), «American History. Retrospect and Prospect» (New York, 1971), pp. 370-371. Interesting comments on the significance of urban history in the United States can be found in: C. N. GLAAB, *The Historian and the American Urban Tradition*, «Wisconsin Magazine of History», XLVI (Autumn, 1963), pp. 13-25; G. B. WARDEN, *L'urbanisation américaine avant 1800*, «Annales», 4, 1970, pp. 862-879; M. H. FRISCH, *L'histoire urbaine américaine: réflexions sur les tendances récentes*, *ibid.*, pp. 880-896.

<sup>15</sup> LEWIS MUMFORD's, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961), and JANE JACOBS, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961), typify the shock caused by urbanism.

<sup>16</sup> A. M. SCHLESINGER, Sr., *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933).

<sup>17</sup> C. BRIDENBAUGH, *Cities in the Wilderness. Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York, 1938, 1960), and *Cities in Revolt. Urban Life in America, 1742-1776* (New York, 1955); R. C. WADE, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

or to cities, or groups of cities,<sup>18</sup> are particularly outstanding and constitute in themselves research models of great value. There are, however, two main tendencies which at present dominate the field of urban history in America. The first of these might be defined as empirical and individualistic, because it emphasizes the variety and uniqueness of the processes of urban development which can only be studied case by case, and in terms of an infinite number of variables, both general and individual, which participate in creating the characteristics of the contemporary city.<sup>19</sup> The second, by contrast, attempts to go beyond a purely biographical approach to urban history and gives pride of place to the understanding of the general process of urbanization, which is treated in analytical and comparative terms, with methods and instruments that are as broad and quantitative as possible.<sup>20</sup> It is this second tendency which lies behind the so called 'New Urban History', the objectives of which, according to a recent definition, are to go beyond what in current terms (and with certain inaccuracies and confusions) is called 'urban' in order to attempt a type of social history which is richer, sounder and better documented than the traditional.<sup>21</sup> In other terms, an attempt is being made, mainly with reference to the American experience, but also in the hope of establishing in the future comparisons at an international level, to clarify, with the aid of the statistical series which year by year document the size, composition, distribution, place of residence and activities of the urban masses, those aspects of American social life — from its mobility, both spatial and social, to the relations between ethnic groups, from the dynamism of the ghettos to the variations in family organizations, from schools and churches to voluntary and labour associations — which occur mainly, although not exclusively, within the city.<sup>22</sup> In this intent the

<sup>18</sup> B. L. PIERCE, *A History of Chicago*, I. *The Beginning of a City, 1673-1848*, II. *From Town to City, 1848-1871*, III. *The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893* (New York, 1937-1957); A. T. BROWN, *The History of Kansas City*, I. *Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870* (Columbia, Mo., 1963); C. M. GREEN, *Washington, Village and Capital, 1800-1878*; *Washington, Capital City, 1879-1950* (Princeton, 1962-1963); B. MCKELVEY, *Rochester*, I. *The Water-Power City, 1812-1854*, II. *The Flower City, 1855-1890*, III. *The Quest for Quality, 1890-1925*, IV. *Rochester: An Emerging Metropolis, 1925-1961* (Cambridge and Rochester, 1945-1961); C. M. GREEN, *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation* (New York, 1957).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. O. HANDLIN, *The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study*, in O. HANDLIN & J. BURCHARD (eds.), *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 1-26.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E. E. LAMPARD, *American Historians and the Study of Urbanization*, in « *American Historical Review* », 67 (October 1961), pp. 49-61; *Urbanization and Social Change: On Broadening the Scope and Relevance of Urban History*, in « *The Historian and the City* », op. cit., pp. 225-247; *The Dimension of Urban History: A Footnote to the 'Urban Crisis'*, in « *Pacific Historical Review* », 39 (August 1970), pp. 261-278.

<sup>21</sup> ST. THERNSTROM, *Reflections on the New Urban History*, « *Daedalus* », (Spring, 1971), p. 362.

<sup>22</sup> For an early example in this field see: ST. THERNSTROM & R. SENNETT (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven, 1969).

*New Urban History* represents an attempt to make social history less picturesque and more quantitative. There is no slight intended in saying that European historians have been working on similar projects for some time,<sup>23</sup> and that if they have reached such conclusions by different paths, the reason lies in the difference of perspective and interests which divide transatlantic historians from those of the old world.

Let us return to Bordeaux, which we left in order to make this review of urban history studies. Up until the present it has been the subject of a great number of studies which have complemented and corrected many of the conclusions contained in Jullian's old history. In particular our knowledge of the economic and social evolution of the city has been notably increased and perfected. As this new and lengthy history clearly shows, the literature on Bordeaux which now exists makes it possible for us to make a general, and at the same time detailed, examination of the development of the city's economy. The observations which follow are for this reason concerned with this, and with the analysis of recent changes in the economic structure of the metropolis of the Gironde.

The first observation to be made is that Bordeaux's history, notwithstanding its exceptionally long chronology, seems to be characterized by the persistence of certain structural and geographical characteristics which have forced the city to play a virtually unchanging role in the economic and social development of the area to which it belongs. In other words Bordeaux, in spite of the rather extreme ups and downs of its fortunes, has, throughout its extremely long existence, always played the same role of a city of commerce *par excellence*, the meeting and connecting point for traffic of often very distant origins. It has drawn very considerable profits from this, but also a certain rigidity and backwardness which, in the light of contemporary economic experience, must have created a major handicap for its development. In geographical terms Bordeaux draws its *raison d'être* from the Garonne and the Gironde estuary. The Garonne was and remains today the great artery which carries the most important traffic of south-west France. At its extremity the Gironde estuary opens up, and because of its size forms an open port on the Atlantic. Bordeaux's commercial wealth has always been fed by the continual coming and going on this unique stretch of sea, of the convoys of ships which come to load or discharge every conceivable product from wine to wood, from coal to oil. As it developed, then, the city had to take account of its two fundamental functions; its function as a port, which led to the concentration within its confines of all the economic activities that developed along the axis of the Garonne, and its regional

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<sup>23</sup> One thinks of the studies conducted in France by the VI<sup>e</sup> Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* over the last 20 years as well as the regional social and economic studies carried out by P. VILAR, P. GOUBERT, R. BAEHREL.

function as the economic capital of the western *Midi* of France, and as such a centre of communications of primary importance.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout classical antiquity Bordeaux was a typical emporium city. It was founded in the third century B. C. by Celts who had settled along the lower bank of the Garonne or on one of the numerous roads along which the minerals extracted from northern Europe flowed down toward the Mediterranean. After being conquered by the Romans in the first century B. C. the city's first great step forward was made, as it became transformed from a port of transit for primary materials into a centre for producing and exporting wine, especially towards the markets of the north. It was thanks to this trade that Bordeaux became an international metropolis in the first centuries of the empire. Romans, Greeks, Syrians, Spaniards, Britons, Celts, Belgians, Germans and others were drawn within its walls by the prospect not only of the trade in wine but also of those in other products, such as cloths and ceramics, which were demanded in increasing quantities by the wealthier classes of the city. Its population, composed mainly of artisans, merchants and owners of vineyards, had by the later second century A. D. reached 20-25,000 and the city took on the characteristics of a small Rome even in its architectural form. But the general crisis of the third century did not spare it and shortly after the first wave of invasions it was forced to take shelter and so was transformed from an open city into a fortified camp. The population decreased, flowing away toward the countryside and, as was happening throughout the empire, the land became the only safe refuge for the lives and possessions of its inhabitants. Up until the second century, however, the economy of Bordeaux submitted to the forces that had destroyed the old order. Frankish rule favoured especially the development of the agriculture of its hinterland. In ethnic terms the town's population underwent certain changes. A new Germanic element appeared among the aristocracy. The social hierarchy, however, remained unchanged. As large scale trade had been undermined, the city adapted itself profitably to fulfilling the function of a market for an essentially agricultural region which was beginning to take on, without any major interruptions, feudal features.

The Middle Ages, taken to mean a period of profound economic decline, began only in the VIII century, however, that is at the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain and Norman raids into Northern Europe which shut the city in a pincer movement, suffocating its sources of trade. In the IX century, in particular, Bordeaux virtually vanished from history,<sup>25</sup> and emerged again

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<sup>24</sup> P. BARRÈRE, *Présentation géographique de Bordeaux*, in R. ETIENNE (ed.), *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux, 1962), pp. 7-8; P. BARRÈRE, R. HEISCH, S. LERAT, *La région du Sud-Ouest* (Paris, 1962), pp. 114, 151-154.

<sup>25</sup> CH. HIGOUNET, *Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age* (Bordeaux, 1963), p. 233.

between the X and XIII centuries due only to the increase in the size of its population and the revival of agricultural production in its hinterland. As is well known, this revival was very far-ranging, involving most of the continent, and provided the basis for the double urban and commercial revolution which inaugurated the history of modern Europe. For Bordeaux, this movement broadened out into a new and robust cycle of prosperity, following the lead given, as in the Roman era, by the wine trade. The increase in population, the revival of craft industries, the return of monetary circulation, the increasingly strong links between the city and the countryside, the reorganization of urban structures with the growth of a bourgeoisie, the development of a new municipal consciousness, accompanied and favoured in various ways the rise of this trade, but the determining factor was the expansion due to the union between Aquitaine and England, and hence the opening of the London market to the wines of Bordeaux. The characteristics of this trade, which reached its highest point in the early XIV century, have been described in numerous studies and are analysed in masterly fashion by Renouard in the present work.<sup>26</sup> What must be emphasized, however, is the fact that this trade, with its astonishing success, disguised the weakness of Bordeaux's position — a position which for geographical reasons prevented it from playing an active part in the trade and shipping between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Also, Bordeaux's role as privileged supplier of wine to the English was not without drawbacks and this is shown, in the second half of the fourteenth century, by the decline of local draperies to the benefit of cloth imported from England. The Duchy of Aquitaine in fact became one of the principal bases of the English textile industry, and this system of integration, or rather division of labour, resulted, given the type of relations that existed between the two areas, in the subjection of Bordeaux's economy to that of England. After France's victory in the Hundred Years War the political link between these two areas diminished, the trade in wine and cloth was interrupted as a result, and Bordeaux, already greatly damaged by the war, found that its economy had to be completely reconstructed.

R. Boutruche provided in his youth an excellent description of the crisis of Bordeaux's society and economy during the Hundred Years War.<sup>27</sup> In this

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<sup>26</sup> Cfr. Y. RENOARD (ed.), *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre* (Bordeaux, 1965), pp. 215-267, 419-439. See also: E. M. CARUS-WILSON, *The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Trade*, « Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research », vol. XXI, 1946, pp. 145-154; M. K. JAMES, *The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade during the Fourteenth Century*, « Economic History Review », 1951, pp. 170-196; Y. RENOARD, *Le grand commerce des vins de Gascogne*, « Revue Historique », t. CCXXI, 1959, pp. 261-304; E. M. CARUS-WILSON & O. COLEMAN, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963); R. DION, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1959), pp. 365-398.

<sup>27</sup> R. BOUTRUCHE, *La crise d'une société. Seigneurs et paysans du Bordelais pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1947).

new history he has once again taken up this former topic, complementing it with an equally brilliant analysis of the revival of the Gironde economy after the devastations of the war.<sup>28</sup> Again on this occasion it is true that the countryside preceded the city in initiating expansion and as the city became repopulated the conditions of life and work within it were reestablished, which made possible a revival of the wine trade. It was in the XVI century, however, that the national and international horizons within which Bordeaux's economic life had hitherto been conducted began to change. In the first place its relationship with its hinterland improved, and Bordeaux regained its position as a centre of regional trade. In the second place, the trade in woad which developed in the first half of the century gave rise to a new and important business. At the same time the range of foreign commercial relations expanded, and the port of Bordeaux became one of the principal ports in Europe with exchanges with any number of outlets. For the first time ships set sail for the islands of the Americas and fishing expeditions to the distant island of Newfoundland were organized. This tendency to trade with the lands of the new world developed further in the following century. The port's activity was increasingly taken up with this trade, which Colbert protected and encouraged in every way, and the influx of new colonial products, in particular sugar, provided the basis for the formation of the first clutch of modern industries on the perimeter of the city. In all, the pattern of growth which for some two centuries had remained slow but constant began to accelerate markedly at the beginning of the XVIII century, giving place to a major boom during the century.

This new and rapid expansion was caused directly both by the qualitative and quantitative advance made by the '*vignoble bordelais*' due to the modernisation of techniques and the development of the production of high quality wines, and by the extraordinarily rapid growth of its maritime trade. Between 1714 and 1789 Bordeaux's total trade was growing at an annual rate of 4%, and this came above all from the expansion of colonial trade. For a series of reasons Bordeaux was able to get the better of the other French ports in cornering the largest quota of this trade. At the same time, however, this astounding success also meant, as has been observed, that Bordeaux was increasingly divorced from the structure of the French economy in general. As soon as the fortunes of commercial trade began to depend almost exclusively on the state of American production, Bordeaux became increasingly separated from its hinterland and became part of a world that has well been defined as '*essentially Atlantic*'.<sup>29</sup> In fact, just like Athens in the classical period, or Carthage in the Roman epoch, or Venice in the

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<sup>28</sup> R. BOUTRUCHE, *Le lendemain de la reconquête française*, in R. BOUTRUCHE (ed.), « Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715 » (Bordeaux, 1966), pp. 9-87.

<sup>29</sup> FR. CROUZET, *La conjoncture bordelais*, in FR.-G. PARISET (ed.), « Bordeaux au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle » (Bordeaux, 1968), p. 322.

XVI century, or Amsterdam in the XVII, Bordeaux found itself operating, in the XVIII century, as a centre for the deposit and distribution of a flood of goods which passed from one hemisphere to the other. Thereafter no other port in Europe would have experienced a similar development, because the triumph of industrial economy and freedom of international trade would have brought about the decline of such a function and favoured the growth of ports which served the great industrial regions. Bordeaux's expansion in the XVIII century was, then, based on foundations which were anything but longlasting, and with the weakening of the political and military power that had maintained the French colonial empire Bordeaux's prosperity began to crumble. With the revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the continental blockade it was finally ruined.

In the hundred years between the Restoration and the First World War Bordeaux's economy passed through phases of alternating contraction and growth, and because these phases document extremely well the difficulties and obstacles of every sort which confronted a city that had been left outside the process of industrialization, they deserve to be examined more closely.

Napoleon's defeat and the ending of the continental blockade relieved Bordeaux of a burden that had become almost unbearable. The Restoration, in this part of France at least, was, then, greeted with open satisfaction. It was accompanied by the first comforting symptoms of recovery from the chaos of the preceding years. The exports of wine rose and the urban economy began to flourish. In 1818 the Bank of Bordeaux was founded and, little by little, 'le grand commerce bordelais' began to thrive. Ships from Bordeaux once more struck out into the Indian Ocean and beyond, as far even as the ports of Macao and Hué; profitable trade relations were established with the Latin American world, which was freeing itself from colonial domination. The Restoration also imposed enormous financial sacrifices on Bordeaux, and as a result the signs of revival were quickly interrupted. The city had to take upon itself its share in the burden of settling the Empire's debt. Public finances were subject to extreme pressures, making popular discontent and disorder in social life increase. The poor state of its economy was blamed on competition from other French ports which now supplied areas previously furnished with products from Bordeaux. The abundance of capital and merchandise created increasing difficulties for local commerce, and, what was more serious, financial resources were not used to develop new industrial activities. In the trade with the Americas errors were often made and periods of expansion alternated with periods of contraction. Then, in turn, the State adopted a protectionist policy and so dealt a blow to Bordeaux's trade. The crisis reached its most serious point in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign. The change of regime, the fear of an imminent war, and the municipality's continual recourse to loans to alleviate

social misery put the city's bank into straits. The honouring of banknotes in coin was suspended; from August 1830 until the end of 1833 the bank suffered continual losses. In the two years 1831-1832 the commercial crisis became extremely acute. Wine exports fell by half, bankruptcies increased, tax returns fell markedly, the movement of ships in the harbour declined. Maritime trade was also paralysed by cholera, which hit Bordeaux in 1831. The economic crisis, which left the working class unemployed, increased discontent and protest, culminating in the destruction of machinery and in strikes. The growth of republican sentiment caused the supporters of the new regime shudders of fear. After overcoming the worst moments, due to the resources and resilience of the local middle class, Bordeaux recovered its normal pattern of life after 1835. By the end of the '30s the port had once again become the focus of the city's economy. Alongside it shipyards for building ships, together with cord, sailcloth, cask and barrel factories were set up. This industrial activity was mainly artisan in character, with the exception of several sugar refineries, together with ceramic and textile manufactures which employed over a hundred workmen. The number of workmen was not then very high and as the work was connected with the port's trade, which in itself was highly unstable, a number of craft societies and mutual aid associations were set up to provide some shelter against bad times. After 1841 growth became more rapid and was accompanied by an increase in the population. This improvement in the tenor of life brought increased opportunities of employment for artisans, builders and merchants. But this improving economy showed clearly the contradictions which weakened Bordeaux's development. The commercial traditions of the city adapted themselves ill to the technical and organisational demands of a modern economy. Local capitalists, for example, gave little support to railway building, even holding back from investing in the construction of the line from Paris to Bordeaux. As far as sea trade was concerned, Bordeaux was left behind all those ports like London or Le Havre or Marseilles which were connected to the great European industrial centres. Even here there was no real desire to adapt to changing conditions. The storage and re-export of colonial products remained the centre of commercial activity, despite the decline in the profits it yielded, which was aggravated by the development of protectionism in both Europe and the United States. To compensate these losses, to which the obsolescence and inadequacy of the port itself also contributed, Bordeaux attempted to extend its trade to Black Africa (Senegal and then Gabon) but its attempts were obstructed by the jealousy of other French ports. The question of sugar gave rise to endless, interminable quar-

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<sup>30</sup> With sugar's transformation from a rare and exotic colonial product to one of mass consumption and with the development of sugar-beet production in Europe the owners of sugar refineries around Bordeaux found themselves in conflict with the pro-

rels,<sup>30</sup> and had two important results: fluctuation in the imports of this commodity from the Antilles and the beginning of a strong free trade movement.

The 1848 revolution caused more damage to Bordeaux's economy. It had in fact very few followers and the result of its unpopularity was to widen the divorce from, and aversion to, the capital. Business which up until then had been progressing quite well, despite the financial crisis in Paris and Europe, suddenly changed for the worse. The financial equilibrium was broken for the second time. The installation of the republic was greeted as a signal of bankruptcy. The Bank of Bordeaux was besieged by holders of banknotes demanding payment in gold. Despite the aid offered by the Rothschilds it was forced under threat of bankruptcy to amalgamate with the Bank of France. Many feared for the safety of their wealth. Prices on the Exchange fell. At the news that the revolutionary government was setting about redeeming the railways and monopolizing insurance a loud chorus of protest went up. Trade, especially foreign trade, was interrupted; the abolition of the slave trade paralysed traffic with the Antilles; it was only the wine trade that was unaffected by the crisis, and in fact increased. Unemployment caused disorder and rioting, although it was limited. In Bordeaux, as in Paris, municipal workshops (*ateliers nationaux*) were opened to provide work for the unemployed, but they were similarly unsuccessful. To reduce unemployment the city turned to private charity and loans from the Bank of Bordeaux which were guaranteed by the municipality. All these operations resulted in the collapse of the town's finances, and they were rescued only by the intervention of the wealthiest citizens. It was only after the June Days that the storm began to calm down. Little by little confidence was once more established and shipping began to increase in the port. The victory of the conservative forces in Paris reassured the ruling oligarchy of Bordeaux. Once the political disturbances had ceased it was possible to put business in order once again. The production of sugar in the Antilles revived and so did the activities of the port; the living standards of the working classes improved and the population once more began to expand. Following a number of concessions, relations with the central government became friendly again. Although first greeted with coolness and suspicion, due to memories of disastrous experiences of the past, first the dictatorship and then the Empire laid down the basis of a new cycle of prosperity.

Under the Second Empire the economy saw a revival of its traditional activities. Production and trade in wine flourished once more. The great

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ducers and importers of colonial sugar. The first major step in abolishing the fiscal bias in favour of colonial sugar came in 1843. See A. TUDESQ, *Le Liberalisme conservateur*, in L. DESGRAVES & G. DUPEUX (eds.), « Bordeaux au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle » (Bordeaux, 1969), pp. 102-104.

financiers of the day, from the Rothschilds to the Pereires, became involved in the expansion of Bordeaux's wine production, which was made more scientific with the adoption of new techniques. The field of trade grew; Latin America, in addition to Europe, became Bordeaux's principal client. Alongside wine growing the manufacture of barrels expanded rapidly. Even colonial trade, despite the loss of San Domingo and the abolition of slavery, as well as the competition from beet sugar, revived. Thanks to improvements in living standards sugar became a commodity for mass consumption. Trade with the *Iles d'Amérique* remained a monopoly of French merchants, in particular those of Bordeaux, but lacked organization. Often the ships voyaged brimful with goods, and at different periods travelled along a variety of routes. At times the trans-oceanic voyages were converted into fishing expeditions and the commercial trade, together with European trade, small coastal trade and large scale fishing, stimulated a whole range of artisan and manufacturing activities within the city, but they were conducted in a confused and fragmentary way. Bordeaux was a city of tradition, and throughout the Second Empire it preserved an economy in which the family enterprise continued to dominate. The refusal to change and adapt, however, soon bore fruit. Growth was extremely regular, and the Chamber of Commerce boasted of Bordeaux's immunity to conjunctural crises. In the long run, however, this attitude became a major handicap. It is indicative that in the victory of steam over sail, which demanded the investment of enormous capital, Bordeaux refused to participate in any « speculation ». In this important opportunity the city showed that it was not prepared to risk its fortunes in the adventures undertaken by new capitalism. Even free trade, which in the past had been invoked as the panacea of all ills, and was now introduced by Napoleon, seemed at the beginning to be contrary to Bordeaux's interests. The liberalizing of colonial trade was opposed by the Chamber of Commerce, which also attempted to prevent the modernisation of the port, which was seen to be a speculative manoeuvre in which Parisian finance hoped to gain control of Bordeaux. But in these years the port's naval activity declined both in terms of fitting out and shipbuilding; many sugar refineries put up the shutters; the railways threw coastal trade into crisis. These setbacks were counterbalanced by successes gained in other areas, as for example, communications with South America, which were based on Bordeaux alone, and the colonization of Senegal and Indochina. But overall the experience of these years was negative because Bordeaux, a city of shops and traders, did not desire to break with its traditions, and so, in turning its back on industrial development, bound its destiny ever more closely to the fortunes of its port.

Between 1860 and 1880 the port's trade increased greatly. Thanks to free trade Bordeaux's foreign trade increased 2½ times in twenty years.

Imports tripled and exports nearly doubled. This local expansion coincided with a parallel phase of national expansion. It was the introduction of free trade which created this exceptional commercial boom which the merchants of Bordeaux fully exploited. In order to accommodate the new volume of trade, however, it became essential that the port be expanded and modernized, but every project put forward was rejected. Only a dry dock was built, but even this had serious defects. But conservatism and local jealousies were only partly responsible for this, because, after 1880, confidence and initiative were on the wane. This psychological crisis followed a weakening of economic activity. In the penultimate decade of the century commercial affairs declined and the amount of traffic ceased to expand. Bordeaux's economy once again went through a period of difficulties. The stoppage was general and its cause lay in the agricultural crisis which hit wine growers, and the return to protectionism. The situation lasted until 1895; there was then a revival, first in imports, and then, after a halt in 1902, in both imports and exports. The conditions in Bordeaux were similar to those in the nation as a whole and remained extremely favourable up to 1914.

Two important local factors intervened however to stimulate Bordeaux's revival; in the first place the birth of a new trade based on the exportation of wood and resinous products from the Gironde hinterland together with the import of coal from the mines of Wales; in the second place the construction of a new port on the right bank of the Garonne, with automatic loading and unloading equipment, cranes, silos and railways. The installation of this new port coincided with the creation of an industrial zone at the rear of the city. Between 1890 and 1913 the first modern industrial centre developed on the periphery of Bordeaux. Side by side with the traditional industries, those connected with the preparation of foodstuffs and the wine trade, there appeared middle-sized iron and steel, engineering and chemical factories. It was the chemical industry, based on raw materials imported from all over the world (pyrites from Spain, sulphur from Sicily and America, phosphates from the United States and North Africa), with markets for its products both in France and abroad (Spain, Portugal and the colonies) that made sufficiently rapid progress to make it Bordeaux's most important industrial sector by the eve of the First World War. It was in these years, too, that new works to improve and expand the harbours were undertaken in order to encourage this industrial development even further. All these operations were interrupted by the war, but the seeds of industrialization had now been sown. After so many refusals — one feels bound to state — the right path had finally been broached.

In the years between the two wars, which can be considered an epilogue to the period which we have been examining up to now, Bordeaux expiated

the defects of its still immature industrial development. Bordeaux's economy was in fact completely at the mercy of international trade cycles. The first world war had had both beneficial and disadvantageous effects on its economy. The city made a major contribution to the war effort, acting, after the defeat of Paris, as a gathering point for the nation's remaining economic and military forces. As a result the activities of the port were considerably stimulated; the influx of raw materials, the development of wartime industries gave great impetus to the iron and steel industries. At the same time however the 'Great War' involved a great loss of human life which for many years left its mark on the city's demographic structure. The expansion of the urban population which took place in the years following the war due to the emigration of workers from the countryside to the industrial suburbs of the city did not, however, fill the gap left by the young generation killed during the war, and this was a gap which proved particularly damaging in a period in which new groups endowed with a spirit of initiative which would enable them to react quickly to the blows delivered by international trade cycles was particularly essential. The crisis of post-war readjustment hit both industry and the activities of the port very hard. The illusion that Bordeaux was on the point of becoming a great industrial centre, capable of sustaining increasingly expanding currents of trade and of assuring the port's prosperity, vanished when it became evident, as the demand created by the war dropped off, that the essential bases were lacking (raw materials, basic industries, etc.) as well as a market to support any modern industrial development. In particular the port of Bordeaux preserved virtually intact its 'colonial' character and remained unconnected with its rich industrialised hinterland. The crisis of 1921, therefore, thinned out Bordeaux's industries. It was followed, in conformity with the international situation, by a period of intense activity. The years of prosperity lasted until 1929, and in addition to inflation and the devaluation of the franc they were characterized by rising prices and living costs. The stabilization of the franc which took place in December 1926 hit certain commercial activities but did not halt the expansion of the leading industrial activities. The fluctuations which took place in certain commercial sectors (for example resin and wine) were paralleled in these years by the virtually continuous growth of the consumer goods industries (foodstuffs, clothing, furniture etc.) and the development of new sectors such as aeronautics and paper manufacture. Iron and steel fared differently, on the other hand, due to the difficulties which had arisen in the shipbuilding sector and also to the failure of the attempt to establish a car industry in Bordeaux. Due to the increase in maritime traffic, however, the activity of the port increased. This was due not only to the revival of colonial trade and the establishment of new imports, but also to the boom which took place in transatlantic passenger traffic during these years.

When the crisis of 1929 took place it interrupted this expansion at its very highest point. It rapidly spread to the other economic activities of the city. Exports and the business of the port were among the first to be hit. This was followed by a halt in industrial production, a fall in agricultural prices and the collapse of the market. Bankruptcies increased and unemployment grew rapidly, as in the rest of the world. The sectors which were of vital importance to Bordeaux's economy, like the production of resin and wine, were hit by the fall in demand and prices and fell on very difficult times. In terms of the value of goods the business of the port suffered a very marked decline which was compensated only by the continued influx of colonial raw materials which remained unaffected. In fact trade with the colonies continued to increase during the '30s thanks to the policy of 'imperial preference'. But this was not the only positive factor in Bordeaux's economy in these years, one must add. In addition to establishing itself as a base for long range fishing, Bordeaux saw its function as a petroleum port increase and establish deeper roots in the '30s thanks to the construction of important refineries nearby. As a result of this further investment was made in adapting the port to the needs of modern shipping. The city also went ahead very rapidly in the field of aircraft construction but, although effected in conditions that were anything but favourable, such advances were not capable of compensating the structural deficiencies of Bordeaux's economy and industry on the eve of the Second World War. These deficiencies were evident in the low degree of specialisation, centralization and mechanisation of industrial production in relation to the national norm, and in the triple problem of obtaining, within the Gironde area, sources of energy, capital and professional skills that would be sufficient to sustain modern economic development. And all of these were aggravated by the persistence of a mentality which was still strongly attached to the commercial and colonial future of the metropolis of the Gironde.

The problem of the contemporary development of Bordeaux's economy must be seen against this background which we have sketched out. Following the guide provided in this volume by J. Lajugie's survey of the literature on the subject,<sup>31</sup> we must now look at this aspect in the final part of this review.

In the quarter century from the end of the last war to the present day Bordeaux has revolutionized its structure. In the first place its demography has changed enormously. In expanding its perimeter the city has transformed itself into a huge agglomeration. The process of urbanization has been greatly accelerated by the exodus of the inhabitants of the countryside

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<sup>31</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *La lutte pour le renouveau économique*, in J. LAJUGIE (ed.), « Bordeaux au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle » (Bordeaux, 1972), pp. 385-523.

and by the influx of repatriates from North Africa. At present the population of the sprawling city exceeds half a million for the first time and so ranks fifth in France after Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and Lille. In the plan for the territorial redistribution of the French economy, Bordeaux is one of the eight metropoli which must, as they develop, counterbalance the disproportionate weight of the Paris area.<sup>32</sup> To this end it has been transformed into an urban 'Community' and contains more than half of the population of the Gironde and more than three quarters of the urban population of the region. The highest rates of population increase have occurred in the communes which form the *banlieu* of the city.<sup>33</sup> The city's traditional and historic centre has on the other hand lost a portion of its inhabitants and those who remain are generally older than the inhabitants of the suburbs. The distribution of the sexes remains identical throughout the Community. The professional structure of the population, however, has changed and the tertiary sector has grown markedly. In the city of Bordeaux proper the numbers employed in commerce and service industries are double those occupied in industry. This implies that the city has preserved its traditional characteristics which the process of industrialization has not yet succeeded in changing. The degree of social mobility shows that traditional wealth, based on ownership of land, and shops, has been undermined by the growth of professional and managerial classes.<sup>34</sup> The city's economic development since the war can then be divided into two phases; the phase of recovery after wartime destruction, which lasted until the mid '50s, followed by the struggle for economic renaissance, which is still in progress.

The postwar revival was characterized by the initially slow re-establishment of maritime trade, by the expansion of air transport and by the revival of the city's industries. In many respects this reconversion was difficult. In many cases industry suffered from the lack of raw materials, fuel and operative requirements, while of the two leading sectors in Bordeaux's agriculture, wine and forestry, only the first recovered its traditional scale of production and sales, although not without very market fluctuations. The second, however, was subject to a series of physical and economic calamities and underwent a tremendous decline.<sup>35</sup> The economic crisis of the years

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<sup>32</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *Le schéma français d'armature urbaine*, « Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest », série économique, I, 1969, pp. 69-118.

<sup>33</sup> S. LERAT, *Bordeaux et la Communauté urbaine de l'agglomération bordelais*, notes et études documentaire, n. 3565-3566, 24 fevr. 1969, pp. 20 seq.

<sup>34</sup> CH. PUCHEU, *Les grands notables de l'agglomération bordelais du milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, « Revue d'Histoire Économique et Social », 1967, pp. 488-508.

<sup>35</sup> L. PAPY, *Richesses et dévastation de la forêt landais*, « Cahiers d'Outre-Mer », 1948, pp. 297-333, and *Le problème de la restauration des landes de Gascogne*, *ibid.*, 1950, pp. 231-279.

1952-54 interrupted the process of recovery.<sup>36</sup> For two years every sector of Bordeaux's economy, from its port to its industrial and cultural activities, slumped to extremely low levels. Due to its length and extent, and above all due to the contrast with the state of the world economy which in these very years was undergoing a spectacular boom, the crisis provided an important alarm signal in revealing the weakness and progressive decline of the economy of the Gironde in relation to the economy of France and Europe as a whole. In fact never before had it been so evident that if a change of course was not effected Bordeaux and the whole Aquitaine region would remain condemned to stagnation and underdevelopment.<sup>37</sup> It was in this way that the concept of radical transformation was born and that the struggle to renew the region's economy began.

In 1954 a permanent research centre was set up which was designed to promote modernization in both agriculture and the industries, as well as the establishment of new industries and the development of an integrated regional<sup>38</sup> economy. The discovery of new and extensive reserves of hydrocarbon in the subsoil of Lower Aquitaine brought about a real energy revolution which gave new impetus to all sectors of industry.<sup>39</sup> For the first time there was the real possibility of transforming the southwest of France into a key development area concentrated around a major petrochemical industry of international importance.<sup>40</sup> Both fuels and raw materials were abundant and investment increased rapidly so that by the beginning of the '60s, to cite an example, the production of sulphur byproducts alone vastly exceeded the total national manufacture.<sup>41</sup> A renewed crisis in the years 1958-9<sup>42</sup> revealed the persistence of the serious structural weaknesses, in particular in terms of employment, and hence the necessity of ensuring

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<sup>36</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *L'activité économique en Gironde en 1953*, « Revue Historique de Bordeaux », 4, 1954, pp. 305-319, and *L'activité économique en Gironde en 1954*, *ibid.*, 4, 1955, pp. 333-352.

<sup>37</sup> G. DE CARMOY, *Rapport préliminaire sur l'orientation économique de la Région 'Bordeaux-Sud-Ouest'*, « Annales de la Faculté de Droit de Bordeaux », série économique, 1955, p. 114.

<sup>38</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *Vers l'avenir. Le Centre d'expansion Bordeaux - Sud-Ouest*, « Revue Historique de Bordeaux », 1956, pp. 217-229.

<sup>39</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *Le gaz de Lacq et l'expansion économique régionale en France*, « Revue des Sciences Économiques. Liège », 1958, pp. 67-86.

<sup>40</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *L'industrialisation du Sud-Ouest aquitain*, « Revue Historique de l'Armée », 1961, pp. 180-185.

<sup>41</sup> See J. PARISOT, *Le complexe de Lacq, ses incidences économiques et sociales*, thèse doctorat des sciences économique, Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques, Bordeaux, 1963.

<sup>42</sup> J. LAJUGIE, *L'activité économique en Gironde en 1957*, « Revue Historique de Bordeaux », 4, 1958, pp. 281-306, and *L'activité économique en Gironde en 1958*, *ibid.*, 4, 1959, pp. 299-320.

a development which was both broad based and equally distributed throughout the region's economy. As a result, at the beginning of the '60s in parallel with the industrial decentralization encouraged by the government, a policy of zones was initiated, that is to say the organization of a rational distribution of manufacturing activities throughout the city and the region as a whole.<sup>43</sup>

The results of this policy can be seen in the context of Bordeaux's most recent development. This development was characterized from the beginning of the last decade by the wide variety of industrial plants on the city's periphery, stretching from the Michelin factory to the huge aeronautical and space complexes.<sup>44</sup> These advances in industry have been matched equally by progress in the agriculture of the Gironde. The improvement of agricultural techniques and the increasing use of modern machinery, together with the development of new types of cultivation and the strengthening of the more traditional have contributed to an increase in productivity and profit in the agricultural sector. New developments in the economy of the Gironde have demanded as a result a reform of the region's administrative structure. In 1959 the region of Aquitaine was created, including the five departments of the Gironde, the Dordogne, Lot-et-Garonne, Landes and Bas Pyrenées. The direction of its development was entrusted to a 'Committee for Expansion in Aquitaine', which functions within the general mechanism for national planning. This committee has followed a strategy for regional development which can be seen to have, by and large, three main axes of expansion; one towards the Pyrenées, one along the banks of the Garonne and one thrusting out in the direction of Paris. In this over-all plan Bordeaux has been called to play a double role, as a balancing metropolis in the national project for reinforcing urban centres, and also as the centre which gives life to a whole regional economy.<sup>45</sup>

Bordeaux's influence derives basically from three factors: the extension of administrative services, or higher 'tertiary' services, which the city exercises, the volume of commercial activity which is centred around it, and the complex intellectual and cultural activity which it stimulates.<sup>46</sup> To these

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<sup>43</sup> G. DELAUNAY, *Rapport d'impulsion économique*, présenté au Conseil général de la Gironde, deuxième session, 1959, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> M. PREUILH, *L'évolution de l'industrie dans l'agglomération bordelaise de 1948 à 1961*, «Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest», série économique, I, 1964, pp. 113, 145.

<sup>45</sup> COMMISSARIAT GÉNÉRAL DU PLAN - COMMISSION NATIONALE D'AMÉNAGEMENT DU TERRITOIRE, *Premier rapport*, 1965, pp. 82-89.

<sup>46</sup> M. BARATRA, *Le rayonnement commercial des centres urbaines de l'Aquitaine; Les relations téléphoniques, critère de détermination des zones d'influence des centres attractifs; L'origine géographique des étudiants de l'Université de Bordeaux*, «Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest», série économique, 2, 1964, pp. 391, 455; *L'attraction des villes de la région Aquitaine définie à partir des mouvements de voya-*

factors one can add others which are no less important, for example the maritime trade and the scale of the industrial hinterland. As far as the first is concerned, one must mention that the character of Bordeaux's maritime trade has changed greatly from that of the past. The import of coal from northern Europe has now been substituted by that of petroleum from North Africa. So for the first time Bordeaux has imported large quantities of minerals, chemical products and wood and has exported hydrocarbons and cereals. Finally, Africa has become the city's most important trading partner.<sup>47</sup> As far as the second factor is concerned the success of the development strategy outlined above has depended on industrial expansion which was very marked in the '60s. But Bordeaux's industry has assumed new characteristics.<sup>48</sup> From 1966 sectors which were previously of great importance, such as shipbuilding, fell to very low levels while building and public works, on the other hand, made very rapid expansion. Engineering, together with the food industries, declined while electrical, paper manufacturing, precision instrument and soft drink industries have, on the otherhand, expanded. Over all, then, while conserving a mainly artisan structure (10 employees on average per workshop) Bordeaux's industry has made marked steps towards a greater degree of concentration. From 1966 to the present changes of even greater importance have taken place. The last great naval shipyard at Bordeaux has disappeared; in its place the pleasure boat industry has developed rapidly; the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, after re-structuring and amalgamation, have acquired new financial and productive capacities and aerospace constructions have been concentrated in huge factories with high levels of technology and competitiveness. Thanks to American and German capital an electronics industry has also been installed at Bordeaux. Finally, Ford has built a factory on the outskirts of the city to manufacture automatic gearboxes for its cars. Interesting advances and expansion have also taken place in the petrochemical sector,<sup>49</sup> on which the port mainly depends. In this context it is worth mentioned that the volume of traffic in the port should double before 1975, which will require a huge enlargement and

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geurs de la S.N.C.F.; *Les relations postales dans la région Aquitaine*, *ibid.*, 2, 1965, pp. 423-441; *Le réseau bancaire en Aquitaine et son rayonnement*, *ibid.*, 3, 1965, pp. 667-687; M. BARATRA & Y. LE GUILLOU, *Le trafic routier en Aquitaine; Le réseau d'autobus et l'attraction urbaine en Aquitaine*, *ibid.*, 2, 1965, pp. 401-422, 443-458. Baratra's writing are collected in: «Le ressort d'influence des villes en Aquitaine» (Bordeaux, Bierre, 1966).

<sup>47</sup> S. LERAT, *Bordeaux et la Communauté urbaine*, *cit.*, p. 65; PORT AUTONOME DE BORDEAUX, *Le port de Bordeaux en 1970*, Bordeaux, pp. 27-34.

<sup>48</sup> INSTITUT NATIONAL DE LA STATISTIQUE ET DES ÉTUDES ÉCONOMIQUES, *Les Établissements industriels et commerciaux en 1966*, 3 vols., 1968.

<sup>49</sup> J. VALADE, *Perspectives de l'industrie pétrochimique en Aquitaine*, «Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest», série économique, 1970, pp. 493-505.

modernization of the port itself.<sup>50</sup> Both the metropolis and the region of Aquitaine will be able to participate in the great leap forward in industrialization which Plan VI has assigned the French economy within the framework of the European Economic Community, only if Bordeaux is provided with a port that can satisfy the demands of the economy which has developed over recent years. Finally, if one considers the advantages which Bordeaux would receive from the inclusion of Spain in the Common Market,<sup>51</sup> one is led to view the city's economic future with optimism.

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<sup>50</sup> J. HERMAN, *Les développements portuaires de la Gironde, nouvelle chance de l'Aquitaine*, « Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest », série économique, 1971, pp. 517-540.

<sup>51</sup> A. PAGES, *L'entrée de l'Espagne sur la scène européenne. Conséquences pour la France et les régions du Sud-Ouest*, « Revue Juridique et Économique du Sud-Ouest », série économique, 3, 1970, pp. 505-541; *L'essor espagnol et le destin aquitain*, *ibid.*, 4, 1971, pp. 647-665.