
THE JOURNALS

Economic History in Austria over the Last Twenty-Five Years as Represented in National and Local Historical Reviews (1945-1970)

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GENERAL REMARKS.

Austrian historiography has for some time been of a noteworthy level of maturity, as Lhotsky's recent *Österreichische Historiographie* shows clearly enough,¹ thanks to a number of scholars of international status and to an exceptionally rich tradition in the field of historical studies.² Fresh interest and discussion has been aroused even in America in the history of the former Danubian monarchy as the publication of an English language

¹ See A. LHOTSKY, *Österreichische Historiographie*, Wien, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962. This impressive historiographic work by Lhotsky had been preceded some years earlier, on the occasion of the centenary of the «Historische Zeitschrift», by another valuable contribution to the history of Austrian historiography by the same author (see A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichtsforschung und Geschichtsschreibung in Österreich*, in «Historische Zeitschrift», 1959, n. 189, pp. 379-448).

² This tradition still finds powerful support in that admirable study and research centre «Institute für österreichische Geschichtsforschung».

³ The first number of this periodical dates back to 1965. However it already appeared in 1960 under the title *Austrian History News Letter*. Supported by a special committee for the promotion of studies on the history of the Habsburg monarchy, it has been under the patronage of the Rice University of Houston, Texas, since 1965. An idea of the problems, debates and tendencies of present Austrian historiography is provided by the following articles: H. KOHN, *Reflections on Austrian History*, in «Austrian History Yearbook», 1965, n. 1, pp. 4-22; E. ZÖLLNER, *Die Aufgaben unserer Zeitschrift in der Sicht des Historikers*, in «Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur» (hereafter «ÖGL»), 1969, n. 13, pp. 161-163; A. WANDRUSZKA, *Zur Problematik der österreichischen Geschichte*, in «Mitteilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung» (hereafter «MIÖG»), 1970, n. 78, pp. 468-484.

periodical — the Austrian History Yearbook³ — devoted entirely to this topic, has shown. But the same cannot be said of the more specific field of economic history. Whereas in most Western countries the latter is a relatively new branch of general history, in Austria its origins date back to the beginning of the 19th century, even if it was only towards the middle of the century and especially in the second half that this field made progress.⁴ However in the years following the First World War the discipline declined at a moment when elsewhere it was becoming more firmly established as a result of the disastrous consequences of this conflict for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.⁵ A link between the past and the present however was provided by the economic historian of international fame, Alphons Dopsch, who managed to gather around him a small but brilliant group of students, of whom the present Austrian economic historians are the direct descendants.⁶

Thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of this generation of students, the years following the Second World War saw a vigorous recovery of economic history studies in Austria as even the tentative surveys published for example by Tremel⁷ and Otruba show.⁸ There is still no complete survey of either the essays or the articles that have appeared in the reviews and periodical. Perhaps no such survey has been attempted because, as is well known, a true economic history review does not at present exist in Austria.

However the Austrian historical reviews are accepting more and more articles and studies on economic history, so that it is possible through them and through various other essays and books, to trace the tendencies and orientations of modern Austrian economic historiography.⁹ Of the four principal Austrian historical reviews, in fact, only the oldest one — *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*¹⁰ — does not publish contributions on economic

⁴ It must not be forgotten that the first German economic history of the Middle Ages was written by the Austrian Karl Theodor von Inama-Sternegg, and published in 1879.

⁵ See L. DE ROSA, *Aspetti e problemi della storiografia economica italiana*, in « *Rassegna Economica* », 1970, n. 6 (pp. 1319-1338), pp. 1320-1321.

⁶ Dopsch's role in keeping alive and stimulating interest in economic history in Austria between the two world wars has also recently been stressed by Otruba (see G. OTRUBA, *Aufgaben der Industriegeschichtsforschung in Österreich*, in « *ÖGL* », 1969, n. 13 (pp. 122-128), pp. 123-124.

⁷ See F. TREMEL, *Landeskundliche Literatur zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs 1943-1951*, in « *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* », 1953, n. 40, pp. 146-173.

⁸ See G. OTRUBA, *Österreichs Geschichte im Spiegel österreichischer Zeitschriften und Periodika*, in « *ÖGL* », 1959, n. 3, pp. 23-28 and, by the same author, *Aufgaben der Industriegeschichtsforschung in Österreich*, cit.

⁹ Only articles and contributions that have appeared in Austrian historical reviews and periodicals are considered here. For this reason no mention is made of the studies that have appeared in foreign — including German — historical reviews.

¹⁰ The « *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* » (hereafter « *AÖG* ») was founded in 1848.

history, whereas the most important — *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*¹¹ — has been publishing a growing number of contributions on this subject since the last war, and the two more recent reviews — *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv*¹² and *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*,¹³ in particular the latter — have accepted articles and studies in economic history from the very beginning and are devoting more and more space to them. A similar, but much slower, process is also seen in the local historical reviews,¹⁴ some of which, however, like *der Donauraum*, have shown themselves readier than others to give space to the new discussions and initiatives which have concerned modern Austrian economic historiography.

Economic history in Austria can then be considered « young » and « mature » at the same time, according to the importance given the hiatus in the period between the two wars for the development of this particular branch of historical study. It has then both the qualities of a discipline that has reached a certain degree of maturity and also shortcomings typical of a « young » historiographic sector

It is for example unquestionably a merit of Austrian economic historiography that general and inclusive subjects have not been avoided. On one hand this has led to the recent presentation of Tremel's extremely important economic and social history of Austria from ancient times to the present,¹⁵ and on the other hand to the frequent inclusion in reviews and periodicals of valuable studies of extended periods of the country's economic and social history.¹⁶

Yet contemporary Austrian economic historiography is not without limitations and deficiencies. This is particularly evident from the articles and studies published in national and local historical reviews and periodicals. These articles and studies, which are often « foretastes » of research under way or additions and elaborations of research already carried out and published, reflect clearly the more general tendencies of this field of study.

Unlike more general Austrian historical writing, for example, which has always shown and continues to show a marked preference for the Middle

¹¹ The first number of « MIÖG » dates back to 1880.

¹² « Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv » (hereafter « MÖSTA ») appeared in 1948.

¹³ « ÖGL » started publication in 1957.

¹⁴ The local Austrian historical reviews are not all on the same level scientifically. Many are merely for general information. Others represent the official publication of local, civil or ecclesiastical archives. In the latter case the period considered is often limited to the Middle Ages.

¹⁵ See F. TREMEL, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs von den Anfängen bis 1955*, Wien, F. Deuticke, 1969.

¹⁶ I shall return to these studies in the present survey.

Ages, economic historiography, save for few exceptions, has from the very beginning been mainly concerned with the modern and contemporary age. This is partly because economic history requires, among other things, a particular type of documentary sources, but also because the historical interest is drawn more by the major problems of the modern and contemporary world. It must also be noted here that Austrian economic historians have had the courage to investigate thoroughly the problems and complex developments of the Austrian and Danubian economy in the present century.

One of the limitations of present Austrian economic history is unquestionably its reluctance to deal with the economic history of countries other than those in the Danube. The Austrian economic historians' desire to fill the gaps existing in their own historiography — gaps which sometimes cover entire historical periods, as has been seen, or particular sectors as we shall see further on — has led to the neglect of economic problems and events in other countries.

A further failure is the almost total neglect of certain sectors of economic history, such as banking history, demographic history and price history. This is not due to a programme consciously put forward by scholars, but to the fact that in modern Austria the « specialists » are unable to cover all the sectors of economic history, although a better coordination of economic history studies might partly overcome this deficiency.

In this article attention will be centred almost exclusively on Austrian economic history studies — published in national and local historical reviews and periodicals — on the modern and contemporary period, as studies devoted to antiquity and the Middle Ages are too scarce to reveal any historiographical tendency or methodological approach.

The contributions can be divided into two main categories, that is, studies of specific sectors and broader studies designed to illustrate more general situations, problems and trends.

DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY.

Of the former, the studies in demographic history must be considered first even if these belong to a sector which has been greatly neglected by Austrian economic historians and are not numerous. With the exception of Zöllner's work on the history of the Austrian population,¹⁷ which deals with the high Middle Ages but is mentioned here because of the scholarly and extremely well informed manner in which the author has succeeded in treating a period of the greatest difficulty for research on population history, there

¹⁷ See E. ZÖLLNER, *Zur Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungsgeschichte des österreichischen Frühmittelalters*, in « ÖGL », 1961, n. 5, pp. 113-126.

is only Leonhard's sketchy general history of the Austrian population in the ancient world.¹⁸ While Zöllner's study at least provides some idea of population movements in the Danube valley between the fall of the Roman Empire and the year 900, it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the evolution — even in purely schematic form — of the Austrian population through the centuries from Leonhard's short article which is based mainly on a recording of the age of decease taken from inscriptions on burial stones.

AGRARIAN HISTORY.

Studies in agrarian history are not plentiful either. The influence of Alphons Dopsch is more evident in this sector than elsewhere and has caused much attention to be centred on the agrarian problems of the Middle Ages.¹⁹

Between the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the '50s, however, scholars' interest shifted to the modern period.

Klein's study²⁰ of the peasants' participation in the Salzburg diets deals, for example, with the years between the last quarter of the 15th century and the middle of the 16th, while the picture of country life in a village in Upper Austria given by Nösslböck²¹ refers to more or less the same period. Fresacher's study²² — of Carinthia in the 16th century — on the «Ehrung», that is to say on those special tributes known to the Latin feudal world by the name of «*laudemio*», and Posch's²³ examination peasant movements in the 16th century is worth mentioning also. Various aspects of agriculture in the 17th century have been studied by Schachinger,²⁴ who is particularly interested in the problems connected with the rich forests of Lower Austria, and by Grüll, whose name is associated with the study of the cultivation of fruit and vegetables in the Baroque period,²⁵ and with the methodologically

¹⁸ See F. LEONHARD, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte*, in «*Der Schiern*», 1958, n. 32, pp. 37-39.

¹⁹ Tremel seems to be of the same opinion (cfr. F. TREMEL, *Landeskundliche Literatur* etc., cit., p. 149 et seq.).

²⁰ See H. KLEIN, *Die Bauernschaft auf d. Salzburger Landtagen*, in «*Mitteil. d. Gesellschaft f. Salzburger Landeskde.* (hereafter «*Mitt. Sa.*»), 1949, nn. 88/89, pp. 51-78.

²¹ See I. NÖSSLBÖCK, *Hof zu Manzenreith und die Hafnerzeile in Freistadt*, in «*MÖSTA*», 1948, n. 1, pp. 193-203.

²² See W. FRESACHER, *Die «Ehrung» (Anlait)*, in «*Carinthia*», I, 1951, n. 141, pp. 383-418.

²³ See F. POSCH, *Kampf um die Freiheit der Untertanen der Herrschaft Stein zu Fürstenfeld und der Bürger- zu Fehring*, in «*Zeitschrift d. Hist. Vereines f. Steiermark*» (hereafter «*Zs. Stmk.*»), XLII, pp. 54-77.

²⁴ See A. SCHACHINGER, *Das kaiserliche Waldamt u.d. Herrschaft Purkersdorf im letzten Viertel d. 17. Jahrhunderts unter bes. Berücksichtigung d. Auswirkungen d. Türkeninvasion d. Jahres 1683*, in «*Jahrbuch d. Vereines f. Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien*», Neue Folge (hereafter «*Jb. NÖ.*»), I, 1948, pp. 167-279.

²⁵ See G. GRÜLL, *Ein Mühlviertler Garten*, in «*Oberösterreich Heimatsblätter*» (hereafter «*Bl. OÖ.*»), III, 1949, pp. 56-64.

highly interesting reconstruction of the economic life of a farm in Upper Austria in the years 1601-1612.²⁶

Finally Mayr's study²⁷ of the Salzburg peasant rising in the period following the end of the Thirty Years' War, in which the author attempts a far reaching analysis of the revolts and concludes that they were caused by the heavy taxation in that province, must not be forgotten.

Also Wanner,²⁸ in examining the « peasant burden » (*bäuerliche Belastung*) on three landed estates in Upper Carinthia in the 18th century, holds taxation primarily responsible for the sad conditions of the farming population in that period.

The improvement in the peasants' conditions at the end of the century, with Joseph II's policy, is examined in two valuable studies, one by Homma²⁹ devoted to the petitions of the peasants on the Schlaining estate, in former Hungarian territory, and the other by Posch³⁰ dealing with the social conditions of the peasants in north eastern Styria at the time of Joseph II.

There is no denying, however, that Austrian agriculture had been disrupted since the second half of the 18th century and still more so from the beginning of the 19th. While Patzelt's study³¹ describes the measures favouring the peasants, from the Merovingian Capitularies up to the eve of 1848, Ibler³² examines more specifically the measures taken and the institutions established to protect and encourage the peasants from the first decades of the 19th century up to the outbreak of the Second World War.

More recent and topical problems are debated by Meister,³³ who deals with farm mechanization in Styria, and by Tremel³⁴ who discusses the exodus from the land, especially in the mountainous areas. Contributions to the

²⁶ See G. GRÜLL, *Ein altes Wirtschaftsbuch erzählt*, in «Bl. OÖ.», III, 1949, pp. 354-359.

²⁷ See J. K. MAYR, *Bauernunruhen in Salzburg am Ende des 30-jährigen Krieges*, in «Mitt. Sa.», 1951, n. 91, pp. 1-106.

²⁸ See R. WANNER, *Die bäuerliche Belastung bei d. Graf Lodronischen Grundherrschaften Gmünd, Sommereck und Rabuenkatsch in Oberkärnten im 18. Jh.*, in «Carinthia», I, 1951, n. 141, pp. 419-449.

²⁹ See K. HOMMA, *Das Sedrial-Judicium v. 1789 über d. Bauernklagen in d. Herrschaft Schlaining*, in «Burgenländische Heimatblätter» (hereafter «Bl. Bld.»), 1948, n. 10, pp. 19-31.

³⁰ See F. POSCH, *Robotskreis steirischer Bauern zur Zeit Josef II.*, in «Blätter f. Heimatkunde - Steiermark» (hereafter «Bl. Stmk.»), 1951, n. 25, pp. 53-62.

³¹ See E. PATZELT, *Bauernschutz in Österreich vor 1848*, in «MIÖG», 1950, n. LVIII, pp. 637-655.

³² See H. IBLER, *Von der Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft zur Landwirtschaftskammer*, in «ÖGL», 1967, n. 11, pp. 534-544.

³³ See O. MEISTER, *Steirische Agrarpolitik um 1848*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1947, n. 21, pp. 117-126 e 1948, n. 22, pp. 29-38.

³⁴ See F. TREMEL, *Die Landflucht und ihre besonderen Ursachen im Gebiet d. Koralpe*, in «Zs. Stmk.», 1946, n. XXXVII, pp. 7-32.

history of the cultivation of specific products are not lacking; it is sufficient to point out the articles by Grüll³⁵ on tobacco growing, by Weinberger³⁶ on potatoes and by Lamprecht³⁷ on the Styrian nurseries.

The interesting notes by Wagner³⁸ on the history of fishing and by Brauneis on animal husbandry,³⁹ show how in this particular field of economic history a very appreciable effort is being made to extend and deepen the analysis of the evolution and problems of this fundamental branch of economic activity.

MINING HISTORY.

Austrian scholars have made particularly important and valuable contributions to the history of mining, which has always occupied a foremost position in the country's economy. Many essays and collections of monographs have been devoted to the production of ores, both metallic and non-metallic, to extraction techniques and mining processes in general, and to the role of mining in the economy of the hereditary countries of the former Empire and of modern Austria.

A reflection of this research can also be found in the contributions that have appeared in reviews and periodicals. For the Salzburg mines, there is Jäger's perceptive study on the Schwarzleo copper, lead and silver ore beds, which is based on unpublished sources.⁴⁰

For Upper Austria there is Freh's study of the mineral seams in the Enns region, which were rich in iron,⁴¹ and in addition by the same author,⁴² sometimes in collaboration with Habermelner,⁴³ studies of the role of mining production in the economy of Upper Austria in the Mercantilism period and in the 15th-16th century.

³⁵ See G. GRÜLL, *Der erste oberösterreichische Tabak*, in «Bl. OÖ.», I, 1947, pp. 336-340.

³⁶ See L. WEINBERGER, *Zur Geschichte d. Kartoffel in Oberösterreich*, in «Bl. OÖ.», I, 1947, pp. 80-82 e 159-162.

³⁷ See O. LAMPRECHT, *Himmeltau*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1949, pp. 6-11.

³⁸ See H. WAGNER, *Ein Beitrag zur Kärntner Fischereigeschichte*, in «Carinthia», I, 1949, n. 139, pp. 360-363 and, by the same author, *Die Archfischerei im Gebiete d. Freiberrschaft Hollenburg*, in *ibidem*, 1951, n. 141, pp. 450-458.

³⁹ See L. BRAUNEIS, *Zur Geschichte d. Viehhirten*, in «Unsere Heimat» (hereafter «Heimat»), N. F., 1951, n. XXII, pp. 172-175.

⁴⁰ See V. JÄGER, *Berg und Hütte Schwarzleo bei Leogang*, in «Mitt. Sa.», 1943, nn. 82-83, pp. 92-106.

⁴¹ See W. FREH, *Der Eisenbergbau im Lande ob der Enns*, in «Bl. OÖ.», 1949, n. 3, pp. 193-205.

⁴² See W. FREH, *Oberösterreichs Flussgold*, in «Bl. OÖ.», 1950, n. 4, pp. 17-32.

⁴³ See W. FREH-E. HABERFELNER, *Ein alter Agatbergbau in Oberösterreich*, in «Jahrbuch d. Oberösterr. Musealvereines» (hereafter «Jb. OÖ.»), 1950, n. 95, pp. 337-350.

Mining in Carinthia has been dealt with in articles by Wiessner — who is also the author of a monumental work on the mines in this region⁴⁴ — in which he describes the production of precious metals at Seinfeld in Upper Carinthia⁴⁵ and traces an outline of the mining history of the ancient town of Krems, which was closely tied to the production of ferrous minerals.⁴⁶

The largest number of articles and studies, however, are devoted to mining in Styria, as a result of the ancient mining tradition of this region and also of the importance mining has had — and still has — in this Austrian *Land*.

The principal scholar associated with the history of mining in Styria in recent years is Tremel, who, amongst other works, has made an interesting contribution to the knowledge of the lignite, cinnabar, alum and cobalt mines in the Styrian centre of Ennstal.⁴⁷ However Styria's name has been linked throughout the centuries with the production of iron, and this is the basic product of the Styrian mines to which Tremel has devoted most of his studies.

He has provided a history of iron production in Styria up to the 19th century⁴⁸ and has then described in particular the production of ferrous ores in the two Styrian centres of some importance, Leoben⁴⁹ and Innerberg,⁵⁰ for the latter, however, only up to the Middle of the 16th century.

Using his wide knowledge and experience of mining in Styria, Tremel has also attempted in an original and stimulating study⁵¹ to trace the connections between mining and the social and cultural life of the environment in which it was carried on, in order to assess the influence of a predominant economic sector and the degree to which it modified the social and cultural fabric of the population living and working in a given region.

⁴⁴ See H. WIESSNER, *Geschichte des Kärntner Bergbaues*, 3 vols., Klagenfurt, 1950, 1951, 1953.

⁴⁵ See H. WIESSNER, *Die Raitbücher d. Berggerichtes am Steinfeld. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. Kärntner Edelmetallbergbaues*, in «Carinthia», I, 1948, nn. 136-138, pp. 149-164.

⁴⁶ See H. WIESSNER, *Zur Geschichte d. Eisenbergbaues in der Krems*, in «Carinthia», I, 1949, n. 139, pp. 311-320.

⁴⁷ See F. TREMEL, *Verschollene Bergbaue im Ennstal*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1950, n. 24, pp. 4-8.

⁴⁸ See F. TREMEL, *Grundzüge des steirischen Eisenwesens vor 1800*, in «Veröffentlichungen des Verbandes Österreichischer Geschichtsvereine» (hereafter «VÖG»), 1954, n. 4.

⁴⁹ See F. TREMEL, *Die Entwicklung des Eisenwesens im Raum von Leoben*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1963, n. 37.

⁵⁰ See F. TREMEL, *Die Eisenproduktion in Innerberg in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in «Zs. Stmk.», 1962, n. 51.

⁵¹ See F. TREMEL, *Bergbau und Kultur in der Steiermark*, in «Leobener Grüne Hefte» (hereafter «LGH»), 1964, n. 73.

The strength of Austrian historians in this specific field of economic history is shown by the fact that they have also studied mining centres and activities in regions outside the strictly national area. A typical example is Kurzel-Runtscheiner, who has written an exemplary description of mining through the centuries in the bishopric of Trento.⁵²

Finally two admirable studies of mining history and policy deserve mention. Although they start from « regional » bases, a particular branch of mining — iron in both cases — is viewed against a broader economic framework. They are the study by Freh⁵³ on the production of iron ore in Upper Austria and the study by Miss Reiner.⁵⁴ In the latter the « system » of iron production and marketing in Inner Austria in the pre-Theresian period is described, and the author examines the later « iron » policy of the Theresian period, giving considerable attention to the encouragement which this Habsburg sovereign gave this fragile, but essential sphere of the Empire's economy.

Schausberger's contribution⁵⁵ to the history of power sources also deserves mention. The author of this interesting study of the role of electricity in the Austrian economy covers the period from the last quarter of the 19th century up to the present, illustrating five separate stages of the development of electricity in Austria and its growing importance to the country's economy.

THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRY.

Since the last war Austrian scholars have devoted particular attention to the History of industry, not only due to the strong manufacturing tradition of some of the provinces of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire — for example Bohemia — but also for more practical and contingent reasons. The reconstruction of Austrian industry after the defeat suffered in the First World War and the particular political and economic position in which the country found itself after the Second World War, especially after the peace treaty of May 1955,⁵⁶ encouraged Austrian historians to examine not so much individual industries as the factors that accompanied the Empire's original industrialization, in order to reveal precedents that might prove instructive

⁵² See E. KURZEL-RUNTSCHNEINER, *Der Bergbau im Bistum Trient*, in « Der Schlern », 1950, n. 24, pp. 23-27.

⁵³ See W. FREH, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eisenwesens in Oberösterreich*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1949, n. III, pp. 193-250.

⁵⁴ See E. REINER, *Karl von Zinzendorf und das Eisenwesen in Innerösterreich. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mariatheresianischen Wirtschaftspolitik*, in « MÖSTA », 1960, n. 13, pp. 258-330.

⁵⁵ See N. SCHAUSBERGER, *Geschichte der österreichischen Elektrizitätswirtschaft*, in « ÖGL », 1970, n. 14, pp. 72-85.

⁵⁶ The text of this treaty can also be read in the appendix of F. Tremel's book (*Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs*, pp. 414-427), confined, however to the articles concerning the economic part of the treaty.

in understanding the present phase of the country's economic, and in particular industrial, development.

This does not mean there are no studies of separate branches of manufacturing. These are well represented by Biedermann's research on the glass industry for Lower Austria,⁵⁷ that of Tremel for Styria,⁵⁸ or of the studies on the textile industry⁵⁹ and manufactures⁶⁰ — of linen in particular — by Marks, and those on the Linz woollen industry by Pfeffer.⁶¹ Other particular branches of manufacturing are covered by various studies and monographs. Posch,⁶² for instance, has written an interesting study of the guild of arms manufactures — whose first exponents came from the Netherlands — which functioned at Wiener Neustadt between the middle of the 16th and the first half of the 18th century. Mais⁶³ and Riedl⁶⁴ have widened our knowledge of pottery in Carinthia and the Burgenland respectively, while Tüll has done some interesting work on the colony of Swiss watchmakers working in Vienna towards the end of the 18th century and Brachman⁶⁵ has written a fascinating study on the « manufacturers of saltpetre and gun powder ».

Scholars of industrial history are interested predominantly in broader and more exhaustive studies, however.

Two studies in particular have attempted to examine the birth of modern industry in Austria and the problems connected with it: they are the works by Otruba⁶⁷ and Klein.⁶⁸ Though both have their merits, these studies follow

⁵⁷ See St. BIEDERMANN, *300 Jahre Glasindustrie auf d. Boden d. Grundherrschaft Litschau*, in « Heimat », N. F., 1947, n. XVIII, pp. 17-19.

⁵⁸ See F. TREMEL, *Glashütten*, in « Bl. Stmk. », 1947, n. 21, pp. 49-60.

⁵⁹ See A. MARKS, *Das Leinengewerbe und der Handel im Lande o.d. Enns von den Anfängen bis in der Zeit Maria Theresias*, in « Jb. OÖ. », 1950, n. 95, pp. 169-288.

⁶⁰ See A. MARKS, *Das Handwerk des Linzer Leinenweber im 16. Jh. und seine Stellung im Landesverband*, in « Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz » (hereafter « Jb. Linz »), 1950, pp. 179-197.

⁶¹ See F. PFEFFER, *Ein Fabriksbau der Barockzeit. Die Linzer Wollzeugfabrik*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1950, n. 4, pp. 33-43.

⁶² See F. POSCH, *Die niederländische Armaturmeisterschaft in Wiener Neustadt*, in « Heimat », N. F., 1950, n. XXI, pp. 46-55.

⁶³ See A. MAIS, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kärntner Hafnerei*, in « Carinthia », I, 1949, n. 139, pp. 462-466.

⁶⁴ See A. RIEDL, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hafnerei im Bezirk Oberpullendorf*, in « Bl. Bld. », 1951, n. XIII, pp. 109-129.

⁶⁵ See R. TULL, *Die Schweizer Uhrmacherkolonie in Wien. Ein Beispiel merkantilistischer Gewerbepolitik*, in « Wiener Geschichtsblätter » (hereafter « Bl. Wien »), 1950, n. 5, pp. 46-48.

⁶⁶ See G. BRACHMANN, *Salniterer und Pulvermacher. Eine vergessene Hantierung*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1950, n. IV, pp. 245-256.

⁶⁷ See G. OTRUBA, *Zur Entstehung der « Industrie » in Österreich und zu deren Entwicklung bis Kaiser Joseph II.*, in « ÖGL », 1967, n. 11, pp. 225-242.

⁶⁸ See A. KLEIN, *Franz Riepl und die Anfänge der Industrie und des Eisenbahnbaues in Österreich*, in « ÖGL », 1964, n. 8, pp. 225-232.

two opposite tendencies in explaining « industry » in the modern sense of the word; Otruba on one hand sees direct continuity between the country's industrial development in the 18th century and in the 19th century when modern « industry » emerged, while Klein places the beginning of modern industry at the start of the 19th century, precisely at the fall of the Napoleonic continental blockade.

In this debate a third line is taken by Mentschl,⁶⁹ for whom « modern » industry is synonymous with « big » industry; in which case its birth in Austria is quite definitely dated in 1801 when an Austrian spinning mill (Pottendorf) was equipped with mechanical spinning wheels.

Mentschl, however, does not deny the « continuity » between the 18th and the 19th century as far as Austrian industrial history is concerned. It is Mentschl also who extends the analysis of Austrian industrial development to the entrepreneurial class of the 19th century.⁷⁰ The principal difference from the same class in the preceding century, he points out, was that the former no longer enjoyed the privileges which the entrepreneurial class of the 18th century had enjoyed. In the 19th century the entrepreneurs operated « out in the open », without protection.

This, while leaving them more open to risks, also made them more daring, more confident and more willing, if the occasion arose, to place their capital, their talent and their technical abilities at the disposal of foreign countries willing to reward them.

Besides these studies dealing with the general problem of industrialization in Austria, there are also a number of « regional » surveys which examine similar problems in the context of the various *Länder* of modern Austria or of a given « province » of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The beginnings of industrialization in Lower Austria are outlined by Otruba⁷¹ in a short study in which he laid the foundations of his later thesis of the industrial continuity between the 18th century and the 19th century in Austria.

Shortly after Benedikt⁷² took up the same subject, adding to and completing the description of the industrialization of *Niederösterreich* provided by Otruba. Benedikt later extended his survey to cover industrialization in other regions of the former Empire, such as Moravia⁷³ and the German Sudeten-

⁶⁹ See J. MENTSCHL, *Das Entstehen der österreichischen Grossindustrie*, in « ÖGL », 1960, n. 4, pp. 75-81.

⁷⁰ See J. MENTSCHL, *Österreichisches Industrie-Unternehmertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, in « ÖGL », 1969, n. 13, pp. 289-294.

⁷¹ See G. OTRUBA, *Die Anfänge und die Entwicklung der Industrie in Niederösterreich*, in « Heimat », 1953, n. 24, pp. 75-85.

⁷² See H. BENEDIKT, *Die Anfänge der Industrie in Niederösterreich*, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 200-211.

⁷³ See H. BENEDIKT, *Die Anfänge der Industrie in Mähren*, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 38-51.

land.⁷⁴ He finally covered the whole Danube area at the turn of the century⁷⁵ in order to illustrate clearly the complimentary nature of the economy which the Empire brought into being throughout its varied and contrasting territories.

Particular mention must be made of Klima's admirable study of Bohemia's principal factories in the 18th century,⁷⁶ where the author shows the importance of the manufacturing centres of Bohemia even in the 18th century and the « attractive power » of this region in the imperial economy, so providing another confirmation of Bohemia's manufacturing « primacy » in the Habsburg Empire.

THE HISTORY OF TRADE.

The history of trade is also a field of modern economic history that has greatly interested Austrian scholars. Beginning with the study of the historic trading centres they have gradually tried to evaluate the trading function which modern Austria can still perform in the vast Danubian region.

Of the works on the former Austrian trading centres a prominent place is occupied by Wessely's study⁷⁷ of Vienna as a cross-roads of traffic and trade.

In this study the role the city is still called upon to perform at the junction of important road, rail and air routes and on the « frontier » between the two economic blocs of EEC and COMECON is emphasized. Interesting contributions on this subject have been made by Tremel⁷⁸ for Murau, in Styria, at the beginning of the modern period and by Huter⁷⁹ for the Tyrolian town of Glurns in the 14th century, which then owed its prosperity to its favoured situation on the road joining Augsburg to Venice.

For regional and inter-regional trade Klein's valuable contribution to the history of trade in Salzburg must be mentioned. This was based to a considerable extent before the Napoleonic period on the exchange of cloths from the north (Brabant) for iron from the south (Styria-Carinthia) and of wine from the south for the salt of local production. Tremel's name is

⁷⁴ See H. BENEDIKT, *Die Anfänge der sudetendeutschen Industrie*, in « Der Donauraum », 1960, n. 5, pp. 107-111.

⁷⁵ See H. BENEDIKT, *Die Industrie im Donauraum um die Jahrhundertwende*, in « Der Donauraum », 1969, n. 4, pp. 129-141.

⁷⁶ See A. KLIMA, *Über die grössten Manufakturen des 18. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen*, in « MÖSTA », 1959, n. 12, pp. 143-161.

⁷⁷ See K. WESSELY, *Wien als Handels und Verkehrszentrum*, in « Der Donauraum », 1969, n. 13, pp. 54-77.

⁷⁸ See F. TREMEL, *Murau als Handelsplatz in der frühen Neuzeit*, in « Zs. Stmk. », 1957, n. 3.

⁷⁹ See F. HUTER, *Das ältere Glurns als Handelsplatz*, in « MIÖG », 1960, pp. 388-401.

associated with the history of Styrian trade because of a number of studies, which are essential for an understanding of the function of this region in the imperial trade of the period. This is true, for instance, of his study of trade relations between Styria and the Salzburg region⁸⁰ or of his study of the merchants from Upper Germany in Styria in the 15th-16th centuries.⁸¹

Tremel's most exhaustive study in this field is perhaps that of trade in the town of Judenburg in the 16th century.⁸²

This is a brilliant and penetrating analysis of the commercial life of a little Styrian town which initiated a relatively large commerce in local merchandise with the towns of Southern Germany, especially Augsburg. Lastly, Tremel has written two short studies of the wine trade in Styria.⁸³

Popelka's study of the movement of agricultural products from the South Tyrol to Styria⁸⁴ should not be forgotten. Contributions to the history of trade in the other Austrian *Länder* have been made by Pantz,⁸⁵ who has studied cattle-dealing in the trade between Venice and Carinthia in the 17th and 18th century; by Wutzel⁸⁶ who has described the «Weinkoster» and «Unterkäufel» of Enns in Upper Austria, that is to say the middlemen acting between local and outside merchants; and lastly by Walter,⁸⁷ who has written some very interesting studies on the trade relations of the little town of Bruck a. d. Leitha with modern Burgenland.

In considering the more outlying areas of the former Habsburg Empire we find two studies of particular merit. The first, by Oberrauch,⁸⁸ is of the timber trade in Pusteria and Ampezzo in the 16th-17th centuries. The second,

⁸⁰ See F. TREMEL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des steirische-salzburgischen Handels*, in «Mitt. Sa.», 1953, n. 93.

⁸¹ See F. TREMEL, *Die oberdeutschen Kaufleute in der Steiermark im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in «Zs. Stmk.», 1949, n. XI, pp. 13-35.

⁸² See F. TREMEL, *Der Handel der Stadt Judenburg im 16. Jahrhundert*, in «Zs. Stmk.», 1947, n. XXXVIII, pp. 95-164.

⁸³ See F. TREMEL, *Schwarzhandel in alter Zeit*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1949, n. 23, pp. 65-69 and, by the same author, *Der Streit um den Wein*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1951, n. 25, pp. 65-74.

⁸⁴ See F. POPELKA, *Südfrüchte vom Gardasee nach Graz*, in «Bl. Stmk.», 1951, n. 25, pp. 100-103.

⁸⁵ See A. VON PANTZ, *Der Ochsenappalto im Handel nach Venedig*, in «Carinthia», I, 1943, n. 133, pp. 61-78.

⁸⁶ See O. WUTZEL, *Der «Weinkoster» und «Unterkäufel» in Enns*, in «Bl. OÖ.», 1947, n. I, pp. 259-264.

⁸⁷ See H. G. WALTER, *Die landesfürstliche Stadt Bruck a. d. Leitha als Weinproduzent im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert und ihre daraus erwachsenen Beziehungen zur d. heutigen Burgenlandes*, in «Bl. Bld.», 1950, n. XII, pp. 20-28 and, by the same author, *Bruck a. d. Leitha und seine Beziehungen zur Burgenland*, in «Bl. Bld.», 1950, n. XII, pp. 76-79.

⁸⁸ See H. OBERRAUCH, *Holzhandel und Holzzölle im Pustertal und in Ampezzo Haiden im 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert*, in «Der Schlern», 1950, n. 24, pp. 115-120.

on a much larger scale, is by Gasser⁸⁹ and deals with trade relations between the Littoral and the *Länder* of the Bohemian crown in the 18th century. The latter, however, examines in detail only the first decades of the 18th century, but the information which it provides on the imperial authorities' efforts to channel part of bohemian trade through the Adriatic port of Trieste is most valuable. An example of the keen industrial and trading activity initiated in the first decades of the 18th century by imperial legislation (a policy which was to be attenuated but not completely interrupted in the following century) is to be found in Mentschl's article on Rudolph von Arthaber, a major textile merchant of the Biedermeier period.⁹⁰

Lastly, a number of studies analyse the trade relations and trade prospects of the Danubian provinces of the former Empire, forming today independent States or parts of independent States. There are Zotschew's⁹¹ surveys of the foreign trade of the countries in the Danubian area in the post-war years; Erschen's study⁹² of the trade situation of the *Donauraum* countries in the period of the last world war; Wessley's⁹³ of relations between Austria and the Danubian area and East Europe in general in the period between 1920 and 1950.

Also worth noting is Reininghaus's article⁹⁴ on the port of Trieste — on which there is a rich literature both in Austria and in Italy, as is well known — whose prosperity, the author stresses, necessarily depends today as much as in the past on the economic activity of the Danubian hinterland. It is however Slaik's study⁹⁵ of the economic function of Austria in the *Donauraum* which really examines Austria's present trading position *vis-à-vis* the other Danubian countries. This study shows that between 1947-56 Austria's trade with the Danubian countries was always in equilibrium.

Outside the Danubian area, there are not a great number of studies of trade history, although there are a few of particular importance. There is the article by Steinmetz⁹⁶ on Austria's trading policy in the Levant after the Congress of Vienna.

⁸⁹ See P. GASSER, *Die Handelsbeziehungen des Litorale zu den Ländern der böhmischen Krone im 18. Jahrhundert*, in « MÖSTA », 1961, n. 14, pp. 88-99.

⁹⁰ See J. MENTSCHL, *Rudolf von Arthaber, ein Textilgrosshändler und Verleger der Biedermeierzeit*, in « ÖGL », 1969, n. 13, pp. 395-398.

⁹¹ See T. D. ZOTSCHEW, *Aussenhandel und wirtschaftlicher Revisionismus in den Donaustaaten*, in « Der Donauraum », 1966, n. 11, pp. 23-36.

⁹² See F. ERSCHEN, *Die handelspolitische Lage in Donauraum*, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 29-37.

⁹³ See K. WESSELY, « Donauhandel » und « Osthandel » Österreichs, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 52-55.

⁹⁴ See P. REININGHAUS, *Der Hafen Triest, ein österreichisches und donaueuropäisches Wirtschaftsproblem*, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 97-105.

⁹⁵ See H. SLAIK, *Die wirtschaftlichen Aufgaben Österreichs im Donauraum*, in « ÖGL », 1957, n. 1, pp. 97-107.

⁹⁶ See W. STEINMETZ, *Österreichs Levantehandelspolitik nach dem Wiener Kongress*, in « ÖGL », 1970, n. 14, pp. 229-236.

Even in the 18th century, the Empire had shown particular interest in expanding its commercial interest to the East, but after the Congress of Vienna, the author stresses, it attempted to use its stronger political position to increase its commercial hold on the Levant.

An interesting aspect of Austrian trading history is treated in the excellent study by Blaas⁹⁷ on the birth of trade between Austria and Brazil.

This is an extensive study which reconstructs from documentary sources the origins of trade relations between these two distant countries which nevertheless succeeded, early in the 19th century, in establishing a common trading interest. This trade grew more and more brisk between the beginning and the middle of the 19th century, and it is a pity that the author does not continue his analysis for the second part of the century.

Before closing this survey of trade history, mention must be made of Hamann's contribution,⁹⁸ which, although not concerned solely with the history of trade, nevertheless describes the economic, scientific and cultural relations between Austria and Belgium during the last 400 years. The problems of commercial relations, and economic relations in general, are then broadened in order to show the close links that have tied Belgium, at one time an Austrian province, and Austria in the last four centuries.

THE HISTORY OF TRANSPORT.

With few exceptions Austrian scholars have concentrated on river and rail transport and have almost completely ignored road transport, although some have already taken air transport into consideration.

On road transport, however, there is Tremel's study⁹⁹ of commercial traffic on the « iron road » near Eisenerz in the 16th century and the short note by Gugitz¹⁰⁰ on Viennese transport at the beginning of the 19th century.

On air transport Mechtler's exemplary survey¹⁰¹ of the origins of air borne commerce in Austria in the 1920's deserves special mention.

But, as we have already said, scholars have shown a marked preference for rivers or railways. For the former, the existence of a river

⁹⁷ See R. BLAAS, *Die Anfänge des österreichischen Brasilienhandels*, in « MÖSTA », 1965, nn. 17-18, pp. 209-285.

⁹⁸ See G. HAMANN, *400 Jahre Belgisch-Österreichische Beziehungen in der Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Industrie*, in « ÖGL », 1962, n. 6, pp. 351-362.

⁹⁹ See F. TREMEL, *Der Güterverkehr auf der Eisenstrasse bei Eisenerz im 16. Jahrhundert*, in « Bl. Stmk. », 1961, n. 35.

¹⁰⁰ See G. GUGITZ, *Der Zeiselwagen*, in « Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien », 1948, n. 7, pp. 78-91.

¹⁰¹ See P. MECHTLER, *Die Anfänge einer Verkehrsflugfahrt in Österreich*, in « MÖSTA », 1968, n. 21, pp. 388-407.

such as the Danube is sufficient to explain their interest. Navigation on the Danube consequently accounts for the lion's share of the studies on river transport.

Associated with this field are the names of Fillitz, who has provided two valuable studies, one of which describes navigation on the Danube over the centuries¹⁰² and the other navigation on the Danube between 1955 and 1960,¹⁰³ and of Neweklowsky, who has examined the Danube's function in the Austrian economy in various studies.¹⁰⁴

In these, Neweklowsky has reconstructed minutely the nature and the intensity of the traffic which was carried on the Danube between the towns of Upper and Lower Austria and also between these towns and the neighbouring Hungarian provinces. Studies on navigation of the other rivers in the national territory have not been neglected. There are, for example, Neweklowsky's very interesting survey¹⁰⁵ of the transportation of iron ore on the Enns and Tremel's study¹⁰⁶ on the transportation of timber along the same river in the 16th century.

Rail transport is a field of study that has received thorough attention in Austria. The interest shown by scholars reflects the importance railways had for the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, for which they were an essential means of bringing the provinces closer to the centre and so for exercising a better and more effective control over the various parts of the monarchy. The need for speedier communications had been felt in Austria long before the advent of the steam engine, as Pfeffer's article¹⁰⁷ shows. He describes in great detail the origin of the first interurban « horse drawn » railway in Europe which, between 1825 and 1830, connected the towns of Linz and Budweis and later also the town of Gmunden. However the diffusion of the steam engine in Europe gave both Austrian financial and industrial circles,

¹⁰² See F. FILLITZ, *Die Donauschiffahrt vom Einst zum Jetzt*, in « Der Donauraum », 1957, n. 2, pp. 164-175. The period considered in this study is 1800-1950.

¹⁰³ See F. FILLITZ, *Die Entwicklung der Doanuschiffahrt seit 1955*, in « Der Donauraum », 1961, n. 6, pp. 50-63.

¹⁰⁴ See E. NEWEKLOWSKY, *Die Linzer Schiffmeisterzunft*, in « Jb. Linz », 1950, pp. 149-178; *Id.*, *Die Schiffmeister von Linz*, in « Ib. Linz », 1951, pp. 227-253; *Id.*, *Erinnerung an d. Zugschiffahrt auf der Donau*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1948, n. II, pp. 142-152; *Id.*, *Ein Getreidetransport von Ungarn nach Linz*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1949, n. III, pp. 344-347; *Id.*, *Das Schiffmeisterrecht d. Sarninsteiner Holzbändler*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1950, n. IV, pp. 73-75; *Id.*, *Die Abhandlung nach einem Schiffmeister aus d. Jahre 1715*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1950, n. IV, pp. 243-245.

¹⁰⁵ See E. NEWEKLOWSKY, *Die Eisenschiffahrt auf der Enns*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1949, n. 3, pp. 217-224.

¹⁰⁶ See F. TREMEL, *Zur Geschichte der Flösserei auf der Enns im 16. Jahrhundert*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1958, n. 12.

¹⁰⁷ See F. PFEFFER, *Oberösterreichs erste Eisenbahnen*, in « Bl. OÖ. », n. V, pp. 97-181.

and the imperial authorities, an incentive not to delay in adopting this new means of transport. An article by Mechtler¹⁰⁸ shows that the 1840's were years in which Austria was busy planning railways and also, as studies by Aschauer¹⁰⁹ and again by Mechtler¹¹⁰ show, the years in which Austria actually started building railways.

Mechtler has written two other studies of the history of rail transport, dealing respectively with Italy¹¹¹ (Lombardy-Venice up to 1859 and then Venice separately up to 1866) and with the « railway » disputes between Austria and Hungary following the « Ausgleich » of 1867.¹¹²

Both studies show that despite the deficiencies and gaps in the construction of the internal railway network, Austria was able to extend this network to other provinces of its Empire.

POSTAL HISTORY.

Postal history is closely connected with the history of transport and on this subject there are several important contributions for Austria. The Austrian postal service has a tradition, which tends to stimulate scholars and draw them to this sector of economic and social activity. A relatively complete survey is provided by Riedel's study¹¹³ of the history of post and mails in Upper Austria between the early 16th and the late 18th centuries, while Lechner's reconstruction¹¹⁴ of the Vienna post system of two centuries ago is also of particular interest. More limited, though not without some points of interest, is Ruttmann's short study¹¹⁵ of the history of the post in Eisenbirn and Sigharting between 1600 and 1900.

¹⁰⁸ See P. MECHTLER, *Zwei Wiener Eisenbahnprojekte aus der Vormärz*, in « Bl. Wien », 1958, n. 13, pp. 60-64.

¹⁰⁹ See F. ASCHAUER, *Aus der Geschichte der oberösterreichischen Eisenbahnen*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1960, n. 14, pp. 37-54.

¹¹⁰ See P. MECHTLER, *Die Stellung der Eisenbahnen in der österreichischen Geschichte*, in « ÖGL », 1963, n. 7, pp. 462-470. Holzmann has described a railway building plan in Lower Austria between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in an interesting study. (Cfr. G. HOLZMANN, *Ein Verkehrswirtschaftlicher Entwicklungsplan Niederösterreichs*, in « Heimat », 1958, n. 30, pp. 109-113.)

¹¹¹ See P. MECHTLER, *Die österreichische Eisenbahnpolitik in Italien (1835-1866)*, in « MÖSTA », 1961, n. 14, pp. 171-189.

¹¹² See P. MECHTLER, *Eisenbahnpolitische Spannungen zwischen Österreich und Ungarn nach dem Ausgleich (1867-1918)*, in « MIÖG », 1952, pp. 310-318.

¹¹³ See E. RIEDEL, *Zur Geschichte des Postwesens in Oberösterreich*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1952, n. 6, pp. 273-295.

¹¹⁴ See A. LECHNER, *Die Post in Wien vor 200 Jahren. Die « kleine Post » von Wien*, in « Bl. Wien », 1965, n. 20, pp. 495-498.

¹¹⁵ See R. RUTTMANN, *Zur Geschichte der Post in Eisenbirn und Sigharting*, in « Bl. OÖ. », 1961, n. 15, pp. 263-268.

SANITARY HISTORY.

With postal history we have already inadvertently entered the field of what are known today as social services. Contributions in this field are not numerous, although in many respects Austria today is ahead of other European countries in such services.

To mention a contribution to Austrian history of sanitation which can also be taken as a model for similar studies, is Gicklhorn's work¹¹⁶ on the history of the children's hospital in Vienna.

We can now examine the studies of financial history.

THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC FINANCE.

It is only comparatively recently that Austrian scholars have begun to study the history of local and state finances. Contributions on this subject are to be found in particular in the reviews and periodicals published in the last ten years which we have considered. In addition to the almost total neglect of the medieval period,¹¹⁷ which we have mentioned in referring to other sectors of economic historiography, the first centuries of the modern era are also completely neglected.

The financial history studies which have appeared in Austrian historical reviews and periodicals deal mainly with public finance in the 18th and 19th centuries and show a marked preference for the former.

It is not difficult to account for this tendency. The 18th century was the « great century » of the Habsburg Empire, not only in economic but also in political and cultural terms and few scholars have been able to resist its attraction. The studies of the financial aspects of the rise of the House of Habsburg in the 18th century are on the whole truly excellent and, taken all together, offer a relatively complete picture of Austrian state finances in this period.

¹¹⁶ See R. GICKLHORN, *Das erste öffentliche Kinder-Kranken-Institut in Wien (Ein Beitrag z. Geschichte der Wiener Sanitätspflege)*, in «Heimat», 1959, n. 30, pp. 146-157. This survey starts at the beginning of the 18th century and ends on the eve of the second world war.

¹¹⁷ Mention must also be made of two interesting articles on the financial history of the 12th-13th century: one by Hassinger on customs duties and traffic in the mountain regions up to the year 1300 (see H. HASSINGER, *Zollwesen und Verkehr in den österreichischen Alpenländern bis um 1300*, in «MIÖG», 1965, pp. 292-361) and the other by Pfaff on the papal financial administration at the end of the 12th century (see V. PFAFF, *Aufgaben und Probleme der päpstlichen Finanzverwaltung am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in «MIÖG», 1956, pp. 1-24.

Beginning with a major loan made to the Habsburgs by England in 1706, Mikoletzky¹¹⁸ extends his study to England's financial contribution to the Austrian dynasty during the war of the Spanish Succession, the conclusion of which in 1714 was to make Austria, or rather the Empire, a great power.

The author is inclined to revalue the importance of England's financial contribution to the cause of the war of the Spanish Succession. It was probably this study that led the author to turn his attention to the budgets of the Imperial Court in the 18th century and in particular the first half.¹¹⁹ The purpose of this study is to calculate Court expenditures as against those of a more general character. The picture which the author gives shows the sharp increase in Court expenditures at the end of the Spanish war of succession which resulted from the change in the country's political function but was also a consequence of the heavy burden of the « Barcelona court » that Vienna inherited.

Some consideration of the Habsburg finances under Charles VI, in the period running from the end of the war of the Spanish Succession up to 1740, is given by Benedikt in an interesting study,¹²⁰ which is however of too limited a character to cover all the complex problems of the Habsburg finances in the period considered.

Mikoletzky's study¹²¹ of the private « geheimen Kassen » of Francis I and Maria Theresa brings us to the subject of Theresian finances. It is well known that the sovereign was very active in both the administrative and financial field. Against this activity the author sets the vicissitudes of the imperial couple's private funds, examining in particular their source, composition, form of custody and also the ways in which they were invested.

Austrian financial problems and British financial support, from the Seven-Years War to the end of the Napoleonic wars, are also the subject of an extremely concise, but broad and stimulating study by Otruba.¹²²

The author describes in detail England's financial contributions to Austria during the wars in which the latter was allied with Great Britain against France, up to the Napoleonic « adventure », and stresses how essential this contribution was to Austria's final victory. Helleiner¹²³ in particular examines

118 See H. L. MIKOLETZKY, *Die grosse Anleihe von 1706. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Finanzgeschichte*, in « MÖSTA », 1954, n. 7, pp. 268-293.

119 See H. L. MIKOLETZKY, *Der Haushalt des Kaiserlichen zu Wien (vornehmlich im 18. Jahrhundert)*, in « Carinthia », I, 1956, n. 146, pp. 658-683.

120 See H. BENEDIKT, *Finanzen und Wirtschaft unter Karl VI*, in « Der Donauraum », 1964, n. 9, pp. 42-59.

121 See H. L. MIKOLETZKY, *Die privaten « geheimen Kassen » Kaiser Franz I. und Maria Theresias*, in « MIÖG », 1963, pp. 380-394.

122 See G. OTRUBA, *Englands Finanzhilfe für Österreich in den Koalitionskriegen und im Kampf gegen Napoleon*, in « ÖGL », 1965, n. 9, pp. 84-98.

123 See K. HELLEINER, *Ein unbekanntes Kapitel aus der österreichischen Finanzgeschichte: Die Anleiheverhandlungen des Jahres 1794*, in « MIÖG », 1963, pp. 395-407.

at length the negotiations for a conspicuous loan made to Austria by England in 1794, providing a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a most intricate and complex chapter in the history of Anglo-Austrian financial relations.

With Benedikt's study¹²⁴ of the *Zollverein* and Austria, we come to the problems of 19th century state finance or rather to a particular field of the latter, customs policy.

The author outlines with sufficient clarity, if only briefly, the contrasting attitudes of Austria and the German States to the customs union in the first half of the 19th century, attitudes that were finally to lead to the positions taken by the Austrian minister Bruck and his Prussian colleague Delbrück.

Passing to state finance, two valuable contributions by Kállay on the finances of the Hungarian royal cities in the Theresian period must be mentioned. The first of these examines the financial structure of the « royal » cities,¹²⁵ while the second is devoted to the introduction of a new tax (*Census regius*) in the same cities and to its economic and financial consequences.¹²⁶

Lastly, there is a short but concise article by Jilke¹²⁷ examining Vienna as the financial market of the Danube area in the period since the last war, and especially in the « sixties », which must not be forgotten.

BANKING AND MONETARY HISTORY.

As we said at the start of this survey, little attention has been given by Austrian scholars to banking. There are however at least two contributions that deserve mentioned here, one of which, by Brusatti,¹²⁸ is important, while the other, by Mentschl,¹²⁹ is little more than a good general survey. Brusatti has also studied private credit in Austria in the first half of the 19th century, and has shown its development especially in connection with the building of the first railways. The fortunes of several private banks are examined in great detail, both within and outside the national frontiers, and the author

¹²⁴ See H. BENEDIKT, *Der deutsche Zollverein und Österreich*, in «Der Donauraum», 1961, n. 6, pp. 25-34.

¹²⁵ See I. KÁLLAY, *Das Finanzwesen der königlichen ungarischen Freistädte zur Zeit Maria Theresias*, in «MÖSTA», 1966, n. 19, pp. 135-169.

¹²⁶ See I. KÁLLAY, *Die Einführung einer neuen königlichen Steuer (Census regius) in den königlichen Freistädten in Ungarn 1749-1780*, in «MÖSTA», 1966, nn. 17-18, pp. 96-108.

¹²⁷ See P. JILKE, *Wien als Finanzplatz des Doanuraumes*, in «Der Donauraum», 1969, n. 13, pp. 78-88.

¹²⁸ See A. BRUSATTI, *Unternehmensfinanzierung und Privatkredit im österreichischen Vormärz*, in «MÖSTA», 1960, n. 13, pp. 331-379.

¹²⁹ See J. MENTSCHL, *Die Entstehung der österreichischen Kreditinstitute im 19. Jahrhundert*, in «ÖGL», 1970, n. 14, pp. 221-229.

concludes that the Austrian economy in the first half of the 19th century developed at such a rate that private investment was no longer sufficient to finance it. Mentschl's contribution shows how the first public credit institutions in Austria came into being and developed under the impact of the new needs of the Austrian economy. Mentschl shows that such credit institutions in Austria, including savings banks and the Raiffeisen banks, flourished in the second half of the 19th century.

If banking history has received little attention, monetary history has received even less. In this field, however, the valuable contribution made by Holzmair¹³⁰ to the knowledge of monetary history under the Emperor Leopold I, may be mentioned. The author has written an interesting article on the monetary situation under Leopold I, drawing particular attention to the way in which this emperor's policy was influenced by the Austrian mercantilist theories which were still forceful in the 17th century, at least to the extent that their memory was still alive in imperial court circles. At this point it is time to consider the second category of studies which I mentioned earlier; these are the general studies of the economic situation and problems, as well as the surveys and researches devoted to the nature of the economic policies followed in various periods which, owing to their « multi-sectoral » character, I have preferred to include in this second group.

GENERAL STUDIES.

With a few exceptions the richest concentration of general studies of the economic activity in the various periods of Austrian history appeared in the 1960's. This resulted at the end of the sixties — as we have previously mentioned¹³¹ — in the extremely valuable economic and social history of Austria by Ferdinand Tremel. It is also to Tremel¹³² that we owe a valuable article on the Habsburg economy between 1620 and 1740, that is in a period in which Austrian economic life was dominated by the mercantilist theories of men such as Becker, von Schröder and von Hörnigk. The author outlines clearly the fundamental stages of the Habsburg economy in this crucial period of Austria's political history, which was characterized by the struggle with the Turks, and of its economic history, this being the period in which important factories were established near Vienna and in Bohemia. The author pays particular attention to the changes in the State's financial and administrative structure between the end of the 17th century and the first decades of the

¹³⁰ See E. HOLZMAIR, *Geld und Münze unter Kaiser Leopold I*, in «MIÖG», 1952, pp. 238-250.

¹³¹ See footnote n. 15.

¹³² See F. TREMEL, *Die österreichische Wirtschaft zwischen 1620 und 1740*, in «ÖGL», 1961, n. 5, pp. 166-181.

following century. No less interesting is Hoffman's study¹³³ of the Austrian economy in the period of the Enlightenment.

In it the author endeavours to define the characteristic features and tendencies of the Habsburg economy in the second half of the 18th century as well as the connections between the thought and culture of the period and its economy.

A broad picture of economic and social conditions in Austria between 1815 and 1848 is given by Otruba¹³⁴ in an ambitious study.

As is known 1848 was a crucial year in Austria's political history and for the author it forms an *ad quem* limit for the whole period of the country's economic development. Between the Congress of Vienna and the March revolution Austria had in fact completed the first stage of its industrial development in the modern sense.

It is in this period, in which the conquests of the British industrial revolution caused growing repercussions in the Habsburg Empire, that the birth of modern industry in Austria is to be placed.

The 1848 revolution seemed to threaten this process of economic development just when it had got under way, as Tremel points out in a brief study,¹³⁵ but the years following the March revolution were marked by an indisputable advance in the Austrian economy which lasted until 1867 when the *Ausgleich* brought new and delicate problems consequent on the famous « compromise » with Hungary. Brusatti¹³⁶ has written an article on the economic consequences of the *Ausgleich*, in which he shows how this broke up the vast economic area that had been formed as the result of centuries of able and successful economic policy.

Reitlinger's study¹³⁷ brings us to the period following the first world war. The author considers in a lucid and highly concentrated article the Austrian economy of the first Republic, which was distinguished for many years by the chaos into which the country had been thrown through the disintegration of the empire. Particular attention is given in Reitlinger's note to the monetary and financial problems, as well as to the railway difficulties, arising from the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy. This period was unquestionably among the most crucial — if not the most crucial — in

¹³³ See A. HOFFMANN, *Österreichs Wirtschaft im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, in « ÖGL », 1967, n. 11, pp. 187-203.

¹³⁴ See G. OTRUBA, *Wirtschaft und soziale Lage Österreichs im Vormärz*, in « ÖGL », 1966, n. 10, pp. 161-176.

¹³⁵ See F. TREMEL, *Die wirtschaftlichen Folgen der Revolution*, in « ÖGL », Sonderheft 1959, pp. 46-56.

¹³⁶ See A. BRUSATTI, *Die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des Ausgleichs von 1867*, in « ÖGL », n. 11, pp. 305-310.

¹³⁷ See F. REITLINGER, *Die Wirtschaft in der ersten Republik*, in « ÖGL », 1963, n. 7, pp. 58-69.

Austria's history and this explains the lively interest shown by economic historians.

Tremel¹³⁸ has devoted a study which is rich in information and statistics to the country's economic position under the first republic, describing with a wealth of detail the inflation in the first years after the war, the laborious recovery of the economy, the projected Austro-German customs union of 1931 and the consequent collapse of the Vienna Creditanstalt. The same author¹³⁹ has also written an article dealing with the problems of the Austrian economy during the first republic, in which, taking up again to some extent and enlarging the argument of the previous study, he points out that the country's fundamental problem after the conflict concerned exchange rates and credit. The Austrian economy during the years of the second world war is the subject of an article by Bardy,¹⁴⁰ who examines the remarkable effort made by the war industry in Austria in the years 1938-45.

To Nemschak¹⁴¹ we owe on the Austrian economy in the years following the last war, in particular from 1945 to 1963. In this study the author gives particular attention to the years of the occupation — that is, up to 1955 — and also to the years of the country's economic reconstruction, without neglecting the efforts made by Austria in the following years to take its place in a broader economic zone — the present EFTA — despite the restrictive clauses of the peace treaty.

A number of studies on the economy of the countries in the Danubian area show the aspirations — perhaps it would be better to say necessity — of modern Austria to participate in a vaster economic area.

Miskolczy's¹⁴² on the economy of the Danubian countries in the last century considers more exactly the historical antecedents of the problem, and despite its title, this study also covers a considerable part of the 18th century. Wessely's article¹⁴³ on Austria's economic interests in the Danubian area immediately after 1918, on the contrary, deals more with the economic than

¹³⁸ See F. TREMEL, *Die wirtschaftliche Situation der Ersten Republik*, in « ÖGL », 1958, n. 2, pp. 138-157.

¹³⁹ See F. TREMEL, *Probleme der österreichischen Wirtschaft in der ersten Republik*, in « ÖGL », 1962, n. 6, pp. 106-116.

¹⁴⁰ See R. BARDY, *Die österreichische Wirtschaft während des Zweiten Weltkrieges (Ein Überblick)*, in « ÖGL », 1966, n. 10, pp. 213-222.

¹⁴¹ See F. NEMSCHAK, *Die österreichische Wirtschaft von 1945 bis 1963*, in « ÖGL », 1965, n. 9, pp. 126-132. A good example of a study of the economic situation of a mountain village or group of villages is Beran's study of various places in southern Carinthia in the 1960's. (See A. BERAN, *Das Wirtschaftsleben im südlichen Ganzgebiet Kärntens*, in « Carinthia », I, 1970, n. 160, pp. 389-424).

¹⁴² See J. MISKOLCZY, *Die Wirtschaft der Donauländer in den letzten Jahrhunderten*, in « ÖGL », 1957, n. 1, pp. 77-87.

¹⁴³ See K. WESSELY, *Die Wirtschaftsverflechtung im Donaauraum seit 1918*, in « Der Donaauraum », 1969, n. 4, pp. 43-69.

the historical factors underlying the complimentary nature of the Danubian economy.

This has also been the subject of a study by Eigelsberger,¹⁴⁴ who has shown the close links between the economies of the Danubian countries, which possessed, as Förster¹⁴⁵ has shown in another article, a conspicuous economic potential derived principally from the Danube itself which was to be successfully exploited and administrated.

THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC POLICY

This brings us to the final series of studies which form the subject of this survey, those which deal with the economic policies pursued in Austria in various periods of its economic history.

The most important of these studies, due to the breath of the period it covers, is the concise survey by Matis¹⁴⁶ of two centuries of Austrian industrial policy (1648-1848).

The author examines the progress of Austrian industry in the light of the varying tendencies in industrial policy between the end of the Thirty Years War and the other fundamental date in Austrian history, the 1848 revolution. Mikoletzky¹⁴⁷ deals with a much narrower period in an important study based on copious unpublished material and assesses Francis Stephen of Loraine as a « political economist ».

Mikoletzky's study is most interesting as it brings to light the far from secondary role played by Francis Stephen of Loraine as an adviser and active collaborator in Theresian economic and especially financial policy.

Csapodi¹⁴⁸ has provided a reliable study of the economic policy pursued by the State Council under Joseph II, in which he examines in particular its financial aspects and also its repercussions on Hungary.

Another particular aspect of Austrian economic policy in the years 1780-1848 has been examined by Brusatti¹⁴⁹ in an interesting study on the sale of

¹⁴⁴ See P. EIGELBERGER, *Die wirtschaftliche Komplementarität der Donauländer*, in « Der Donauraum », 1961, n. 6, pp. 193-200.

¹⁴⁵ See K. FÖRSTER, *Das wirtschaftliche Potential der Donau*, in « Der Donauraum », 1964, n. 9, pp. 83-94.

¹⁴⁶ See H. MATIS, *Zwei Jahrhunderte österreichischer Industriepolitik (1648-1848)*, in « ÖGL », 1968, n. 12, pp. 197-206.

¹⁴⁷ See H. L. MIKOLETZKY, *Franz Stephan von Lotbringen als Wirtschaftspolitiker*, in « MÖSTA », 1960, n. 13, pp. 231-257.

¹⁴⁸ See Cs. CSAPODI, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik des österreichischen Staatsrates im Zeitalter Josephs II*, in « MIÖG », 1959, pp. 317-326.

¹⁴⁹ See A. BRUSATTI, *Die Staatsgütereräusserung in der Zeit von 1780-1848. Eine wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Problem des österreichischen Liberalismus*, in « MÖSTA », 1958, n. 11, pp. 252-274.