

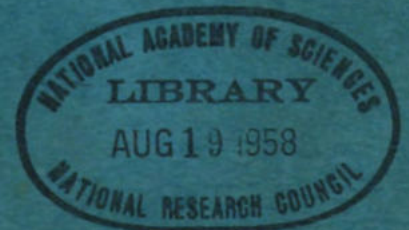
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Foreign Field Research Program
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Report No. 2

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF BURGENLAND

by

Andrew F. Burghardt



National Academy of Sciences—

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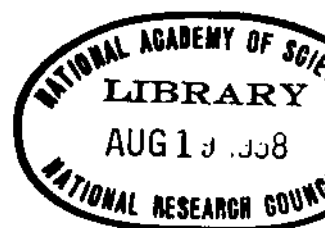
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Division of Earth Sciences

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PREFACE

I was in Austria from September 13, 1956, until April 29, 1957. I conducted my library research in Vienna and Eisenstadt and spent much time in Burgenland observing local conditions and speaking to the inhabitants.

The field research for this study was supported by the Foreign Field Research Program conducted by the Division of Earth Sciences, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, and financed by the Geography Branch, Office of Naval Research, under contract Nonr-2300(09).

In the text a place name is usually accompanied by an index letter and number which corresponds to the location of that place on the general reference map on page 352. To further facilitate an understanding of Burgenland, Appendix F contains a listing of every gemeente (township) with its population. If the reader wishes more information than is portrayed on the maps in the text, an Austrian map of Burgenland, on the scale of 1:200,000 is distributed by the Bundesamt für Eich und Vermessungswesen in Vienna.

On the maps included in the text, the portrayed area has often been rotated so as best to fit the desired area within the allotted page dimensions; in such a case "North" is not on top, but is indicated by an arrow. On these maps the "Uplands" have not been delimited according to any numerical definition; rather these "Uplands" represent areas that are relatively higher than their surroundings and are both sparsely populated and somewhat of a barrier to local movement. The term "Uplands" is sometimes expanded to "Upland and Forest," and "Barrier." On the county maps (Maps 31-36), the term "2 Kilometers from Public Transportation" is also defined relative to the settlement patterns; only areas containing villages are included within this category for the purpose of these maps.

Place names are given in their present form. Since the Austrian sources usually referred to Hungarian villages by their German names, a listing of these alternate names has been added to the appendix. Several Burgenland gemeinden changed their German names in the early 1920's but these have been intentionally ignored unless there was some significance to the change.

Unless otherwise stated, the statistics and calculations included in the text are based on the censuses of 1923, 1934, and 1951. These sources are fully annotated in the bibliography.

Since much of my information was obtained in interviews, it would be impossible for me to mention all the persons who assisted me in the preparation of this dissertation. I owe special thanks to Professor Richard Hartshorne who has supervised my work, and to Professor Andrew Clark who kept in constant touch with me while I was in Austria and offered many welcome suggestions. The Geographisches Institut of the University of Vienna helped greatly by introducing me to some of the primary sources. Herr Professor Bobek and Herr Anasiedler were especially helpful. I wish to thank the director of the Burgenländische Landesbibliothek, Herr Professor Homma, for supplying me with a letter of introduction which proved invaluable in my interviews with government officials, and also Herren Dr. Semmelweis, Dr. Sinovats, and Dr. Ernst for their welcome assistance in my research in Eisenstadt. I am indebted to Herr Walter Dujmowitz for much personal information on Burgenland and for my introduction to the pertinent doctoral dissertations.

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Joseph Williams of Stanford University who has with his interest, encouragement, and assistance facilitated the completion of this study. Above all others I wish to thank my wife, Mary, who edited this work and shared my enthusiasm for Burgenland.

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THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF BURGENLAND

ABSTRACT

Burgenland is the easternmost province of Austria; it forms a zone of transition between the Alps and the Hungarian plain. It was awarded to Austria after the First World War. Initially the area was to include Sopron, but this city was lost in a plebiscite in December 1921. Burgenland was established as an autonomous province within federal Austria in 1921, was abolished by the Nazis in 1938, and re-established in 1945.

This narrow strip of territory seemed to lack all reasons for being established as a province. Two ranges of the Alps extending into Hungary divided the area into three separated units. Not one railroad or road connected these three portions with each other. The loss of Sopron meant not only the loss of the only urban and political center and node of communications, but also the loss of the urban tax base which could have sustained the costs of construction of government offices and a system of communications. Burgenland had never formed a political unit; rather it had been the westernmost portion of three Hungarian provinces. Even the name did not exist before 1918.

This dissertation examines and analyzes the political organization of this area. Why was it established as a province in 1921? Why was it re-established in 1945 after seven years dissolution? How has an effective governmental organization of the area been achieved? The status of the minorities and the location of the western and eastern boundaries are examined historically and functionally. The eastern boundary (the "Iron Curtain") was delimited according to the principle of self-determination with a disregard of lines of communication and local trade areas.

The research was conducted in Burgenland and Vienna in 1956-57. It was found that Burgenland was established as a province primarily because its inhabitants and the Austrian governmental leaders felt that, because of its Hungarian background, the area had experienced an economic and political development different from that of the rest of Austria. The area has been organized effectively because the time of its development coincided with the time of development of automotive

transportation, and because the federal government in effect now subsidizes the province. The loss of Sopron has been compensated for by an extension of the commercial influence of Vienna rather than by the development of any local center.

The linguistic minorities profess to be "satisfied" with their treatment within Austria. The Croats are being assimilated more slowly than the Magyars because the Croats are more numerous, are more compactly clustered, and because no Croatian village has become a political or commercial center. Neither group forms the united force that its numbers would suggest and neither has entertained irredentist aspirations. Religion has been a far more important factor than language in the political life of Burgenland; the principal religious minority has tended to support the minor parties.

A strong provincial consciousness has developed, not so much on the basis of local pride as on a feeling of suffering and persecution. The inhabitants feel that their area has always been treated as a "stepchild" because it has always been a "borderland." They feel that between 1938 and 1945 it was treated as the "stepchild" of Lower Austria and Styria (to which Burgenland was then joined), and for this reason they wished to have their own government back in 1945. The continued existence of Burgenland is now never questioned, either within the province or in Vienna.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

In discussing the essence of a state, Otto Maull has defined it as consisting of "one part land and one part man, united through the concept of the state" ("Ein Stück Boden und ein Stück Menschheit, verbunden durch die Staatsidee").¹ In an analysis of any political area these three factors, the territory, its population, and the unifying concept, must be borne in mind, though the particular discussion may emphasize one of these three above the others.

Burgenland offers a unique case study of the development of these factors in their operative integration. Prior to its establishment in 1921 this area had never, in political terms, been considered to present a particular "Stück Boden." There was a resident population, the Stück Menschheit, which, in some ways, could be said to differ from the populations around it. Most importantly, however, there was the lack of any "Staatsidee." No concept had ever united these people into a political unit, or the dream of one. The physical base, the "Boden" of the new Austrian territory was so fragmented by topographic features, economic ties, and previous patterns of political organization that it seemed highly improbable that any effective concept, much less an efficiently operative governmental organization, could be developed to produce a stable effective political unit, especially within the loose Austrian federal system.

Yet, a new province was established, and granted a degree of autonomy that seemed to guarantee a continuing financial crises. Burgenland presented the singular appearance of a highly autonomous political unit with a dense population, lacking a settlement of 5,000 people. It was without a city, and, for many years, without a capital. It contained a core area whose centers were outside the province (Wiener Neustadt and Sopron). Its central portion could be reached from the core area, or from any other portion of Austria, only through foreign territory. Its southern third could be reached from the core area only through other provinces and (excepting the Raab valley) by railroad only through foreign territory. It was cut away from its

¹Otto Maull, *Politische Geographie*. Berlin, 1956, p. 26.

former political and market centers: Moson-Magyaróvár, Sopron, Köszeg, Szombathely, Körmend, and Szent Gotthárd. Except for the minor facilities in the former bezirkshauptstädte (county seats) of Neusiedl, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Oberpullendorf, Oberwart, and Güssing, none of the vital governmental offices and records remained in the territory. Because of the loss of its major centers, Burgenland was separated from all those vital service facilities which every province must supply for itself if it is to offer essential opportunities to its citizens. It found itself separated from Hungary by an international boundary and from Austria by a dearth of transportation.

This strange example of a province, lacking all that seems essential to a European political unit, even a history, survived, however, until 1938, when the Nazis abolished it, joining its northern and southern portions to Lower Austria and Styria, respectively. Burgenland did not remain destroyed; in 1945 with the downfall of the Nazi German state, Burgenland was re-established within its former boundaries, and endowed with its former rights and responsibilities. At the present time it appears to be an effectively functioning political unit.

Such a province deserves careful study. In most other areas of Europe, political-geographic analysis comes well after the process of growth has been completed, or at least has been continuing for centuries. In those portions of Eastern Europe where the process of growth is, as in Burgenland, still recent, the imposition of a heavy central authority has made the assessment of centrifugal factors very difficult. In Burgenland, however, this process has been allowed to continue unrestricted.

Burgenland presents for observation one of the many 1918 transfer areas, one of the fractured pieces of the Old Monarchy, set up to develop by itself. Its internal development and integration, as well as the growth of its ties to the national state of which it is a part, can be observed without its identity being lost in that of the larger, older, more firmly established neighboring provinces.

Finally, because of its very shape, and its position along what today is probably the world's "strongest" boundary, this province presents virtually one large, intricate boundary study.

Two fundamental questions are to be discussed in this dissertation. First, does Burgenland, despite its evident handicaps, function as an effectively organized and operating political unit? Second, if this is the case, how has this effectiveness been achieved? An analysis

of two specific events, the establishment of the province in 1921, and its re-establishment in 1945, are essential parts of this discussion.

Linked with these fundamental questions are a number of secondary topics, the discussion of which is vital to an understanding of the province and the manner in which the details of its existence have been worked out. Preceding the basic problems are the questions of how and why this area came to Austria, for had this strip of territory not been awarded to Austria there would be no Burgenland. All the subsequent development of the province has been colored by the details of the transfer process. The boundaries too deserve attention since they impinge on the life and activity of Burgenland, and have been a vital factor in producing the concept of the province. A study of the internal organization of the province is essential to an understanding of the manner in which local governmental organization and political activity have been fitted to the internal geographic distributions. Finally, because of Burgenland's position and history, a study of its external ties, that is, the degree of its attachment to its former national state (Hungary) and the degree of its integration into its present national state (Austria), is essential to an understanding of the success with which Burgenland has been organized within the Austrian federal political system.

B. Introductory Description

1. The Physical Base

Burgenland is the easternmost of the Austrian provinces. Its eastern limits coincide with the full length of the boundary between Austria and Hungary. In the north, the Province borders on Czechoslovakia, and in the south, on Yugoslavia.

Burgenland represents the zone of transition between the Alpine massif to the west and the Pannonian Basin to the east. The mountain mass descends in long ridges, sharp highland edges, and sloping interfluves into the Pannonian Basin (see Map 9, page 18). Two prominent ridges, the Sopron and the Kőszeg ranges, extend across the province into Hungary and divide the province into three unequal portions, often referred to as north, middle, and south Burgenland. Between the forested ridges and interfluves are lowlands of various sizes, types, and shapes, all of which represent the western extensions of the Hungarian Plain into the Austrian Alps.

Climatic variations are very slight within Burgenland. The growing season ranges between 252 and 228 days, so that grains may be raised everywhere except in the most rugged uplands. Average

annual precipitation varies between 24 inches in the flat and low northeast and 36 inches in the upland surfaces of the southwest.² Since summer temperatures are rarely as high as they are in mid-America, and since the total amount of precipitation is dependable from year to year, the soil may, with success, be used intensively. Droughts are rare.

2. The Economy

Agriculture is the predominant local economic occupation. The use of the land for crops is limited largely to the lowland areas; the Alpine spurs and the broad interfluvial terraces are generally forested. As indicated on Map 1 (page 5), the greatest expanses of plowable land are in the northern half of the province.

The raising of grain as a food staple crop is the primary agricultural activity. The principal field crops in 1934 are shown in Table 1.³

TABLE 1

Crop	Hectares ⁴
Wheat	35, 242
Rye	33, 030
Barley	22, 522
Oats	14, 486
Maize	17, 425
Potatoes	16, 270
Sugar beets	8, 332

²Josef Neunteufel, *Das Klima. Burgenland, Landeskunde*, Wien, 1951, pp. 137-145; and Fritz Bodo, *Burgenland Atlas*, Wien, 1940, p. 5. For detailed statistics see Appendix A.

³Bodo, *Ackerbau. Bgld Atlas*, p. 17.

⁴The total area of Burgenland is 396,556 hectares. (One hectare is the equivalent of 2.471 acres.)

BURGENLAND

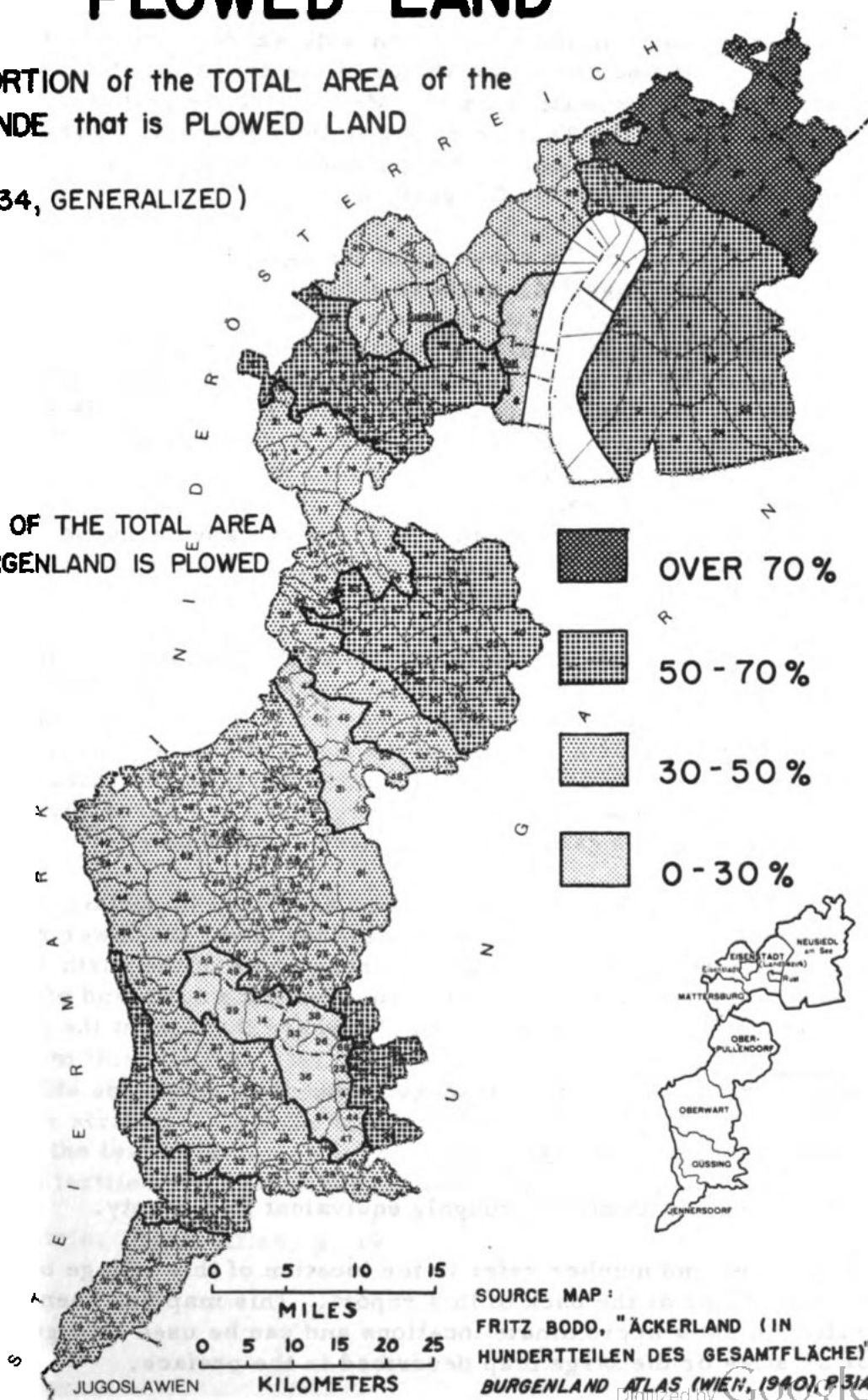
PLOWED LAND

MAP I

PROPORTION of the TOTAL AREA of the
GEMEINDE that is PLOWED LAND

(1934, GENERALIZED)

47.2% OF THE TOTAL AREA
OF BURGENLAND IS PLOWED



In the same year, vineyards occupied 8,957 hectares, and vegetable gardens occupied 4,653.⁵

Wheat and rye are grown everywhere in Burgenland, but the rye is concentrated in the drier northeast, whereas the wheat is principally in the southern two-thirds of the province. Barley is grown chiefly in the northern half. Maize is concentrated in the hot, drier area east of the Neusiedler See in the northeast. Sugar beets are limited to the northern half of Burgenland, that is, all of the north and the northern half of middle Burgenland.⁶

Because of the crowding of the agricultural population on the land (see Map 6, page 14), grain is sold as a cash crop only in the north. Meat is the principal source of revenue throughout the province. The Viennese taste for veal and pork has made possible the raising of meat animals by the small-holding peasants. The calves need scarcely be fed at all, and the hogs can be fed on the scraps. Cattle are sold for beef only when they are too old for effective farm work. Prior to 1945 the peasants throughout Burgenland moved the animals to the closest market center and from there they were shipped by railroad to the Viennese slaughterhouses. Since 1945 these slaughterhouses have developed large-scale trucking operations; trucks are now sent to the peasant's door to pick up the animals.

Sugar beets are an important cash crop, but only in the north. The beets grown in Eisenstadt and Mattersburg counties⁷ are delivered to the sugar refinery in Siegendorf^{C4*}; those grown in Neusiedl County (north and east of the Neusiedler See) are sent by rail to the large refinery at Bruck^{D2} in Lower Austria; and those grown in the northeastern quarter of middle Burgenland are carried by rail through Sopron, Hungary, to the refinery at Siegendorf^{C4}.

Vegetables, fruits, and wine are other important sources of revenue in north Burgenland. Vineyards cover the lower reaches of all south-facing slopes, and fruit trees some of the north-facing slopes. Vegetables are concentrated around the north end of the Neusiedler See, and are scattered elsewhere throughout the northeast.

⁵Bodo, Wirtschafts- und Verkehrsraum. Bgld Atlas, p. 14.

⁶Ibid., maps pp. 27, 28.

⁷"Bezirke." A Bezirk is roughly equivalent to a county.

*The letter and number refer to the location of this village on a reference map at the back of this report. This map has been drafted to show approximate locations and can be used as a guide for an atlas or the large map described in the preface.

Industrial centers are rare. As of 1938 the principal villages engaged in industry were:⁸

TABLE 2

Village	No. Workers	Industry
Pinkafeld	1,600	Textiles (1,300), leather
Neufeld	600	Textiles
Neudörfel	350	Textiles
Mattersburg	210	Bricks, mill, saw mill
Jennersdorf	200	Bricks, lumber
Müllendorf	200	Chalk, pencils
Siegenderf	200	Sugar refinery
Hirm	200	Sugar refinery
Rudersdorf	200	Textiles
Deutschkreutz	100	Textiles
Güssing	100	Bricks
Grosspetersdorf	100	Bricks
Hornstein	100	Bricks
Neusiedl	50	Bricks, mill
Lockenhaus	50	Textiles, lumber

From this list it is clear that much of Burgenland's industry is devoted to the satisfying of purely local needs; the predominance of brick-works is striking. Only the unique chalk-works, the sugar refinery, and the textile factories service areas outside of the immediate locality. The textiles are cotton-based, and have hardly introduced an

⁸Bodo, Industrie. Bgld. Atlas, p. 19.

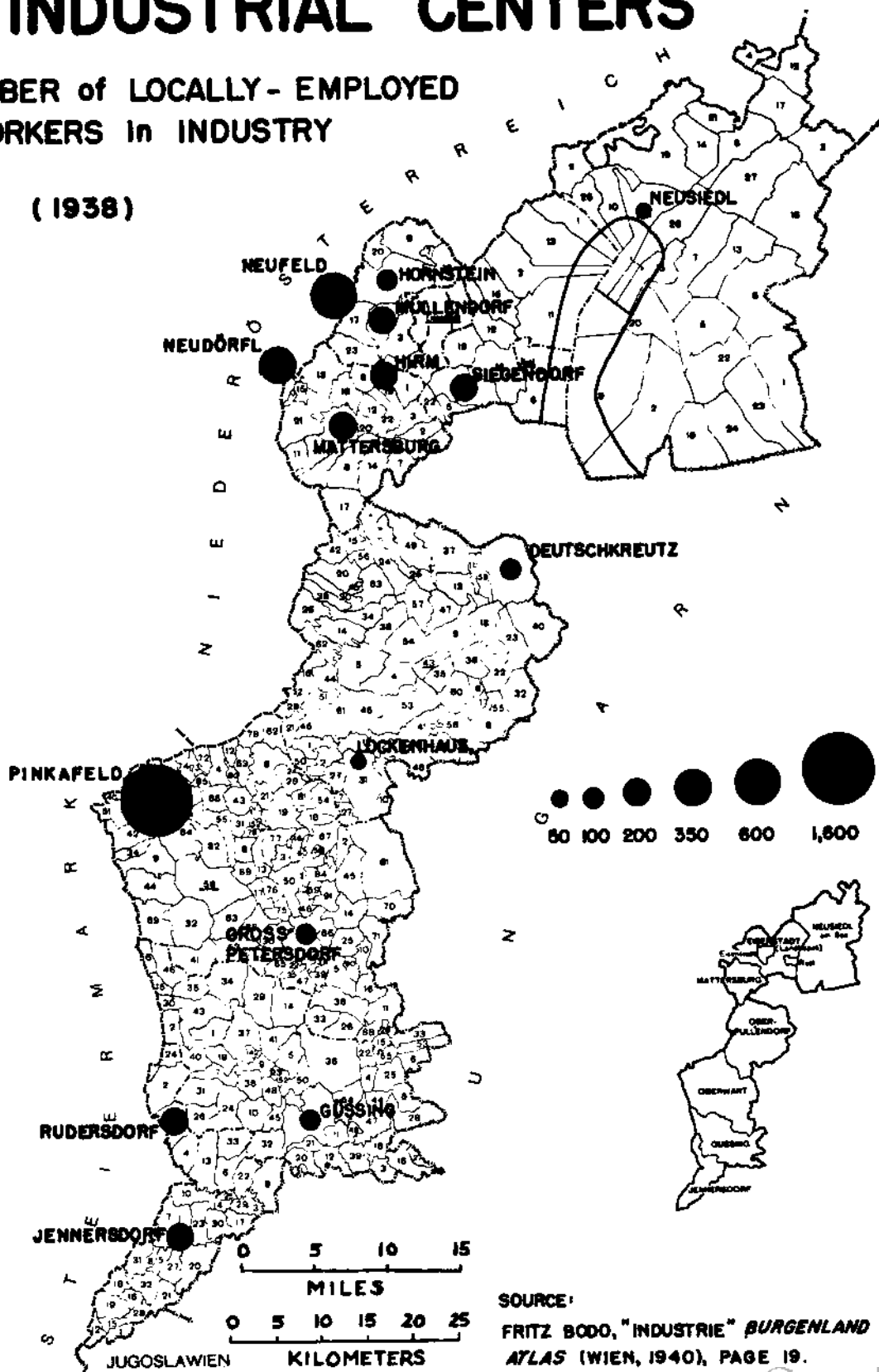
BURGENLAND

MAP 2

INDUSTRIAL CENTERS

NUMBER of LOCALLY - EMPLOYED
WORKERS in INDUSTRY

(1938)



element of prosperity to the province. There is a complete lack of a metals-based industry.

As indicated on Map 2 (page 8), seven of the nine largest industrial villages (over 200 workers) are in the south end of the Eisenstadt Basin and the adjacent Leitha valley. The second and third largest are adjacent to Wiener Neustadt, and the ninth is across the Lafnitz from Styrian Fürstenfeld.

Yet, despite the paucity of local industrial establishments, 25 per cent of the workers of Burgenland were employed in "Industry and Crafts." Since the preceding list accounts for only 4,260 of the 36,938 industrial and craft workers (in 1934), approximately 70 per cent⁹ of these workers were migratory laborers who commuted on a weekly, bi-monthly, or monthly basis between their home villages and the great urban centers of Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, and Graz.

3. The Population

Map 3 (page 10) depicts the variations in the density of population within Burgenland. The highest densities occur in the core areas of the north (the south end of the Eisenstadt Basin), and the south (the upper Pinka valley).¹⁰ The lowest densities occur in the rugged Kőszeg Range, the heavily forested upland surface between the Pinka and the Strem, and, oddly, in the highly fertile northernmost corner. Probably the most impressive fact is the high over-all density of population; for a province almost devoid of industry this dense population is a heavy weight on the agricultural resources of the province.

Map 4 (page 11) depicts the proportion of the population that is engaged in agriculture. This proportion is lowest along the north-western fringe of the province and in the south end of the Eisenstadt Basin. In middle and south Burgenland the lowest proportions occur along the railroad routes, in the Stöb and Pinka valleys. The highest proportions are in the more remote areas, with the exception of the strip of intense viniculture along the west shore of the Neusiedler See. The extreme north is again of unusual interest. Though this area exceeds all other portions of Burgenland in the proportion of its land

⁹The number of workers employed locally in the crafts was not determinable.

¹⁰For a correlation of these areas with topographic features compare Map 3 with Map 9.

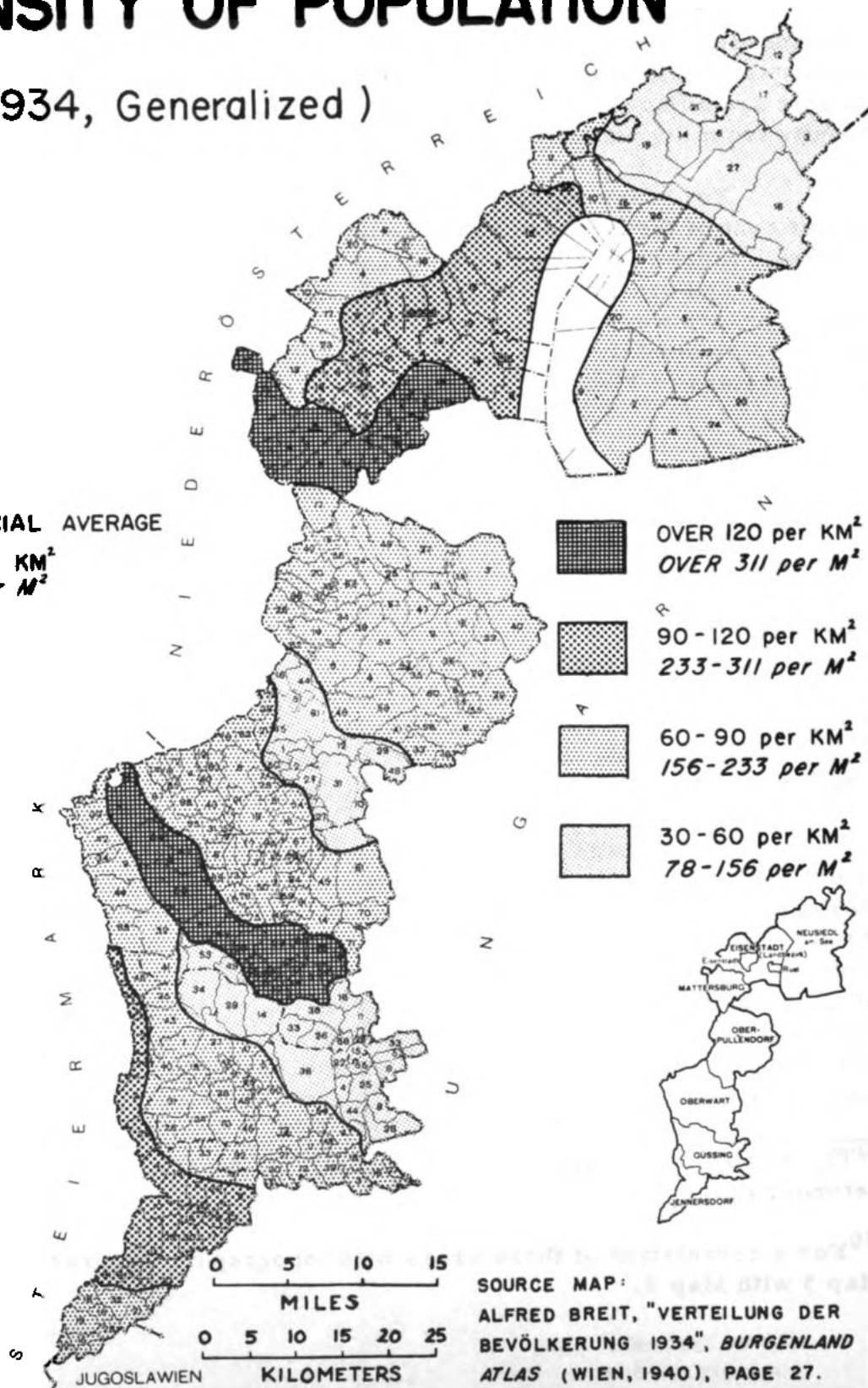
BURGENLAND

MAP 3

DENSITY OF POPULATION

(1934, Generalized)

PROVINCIAL AVERAGE

81 per KM^2
196 per M^2 

BURGENLAND

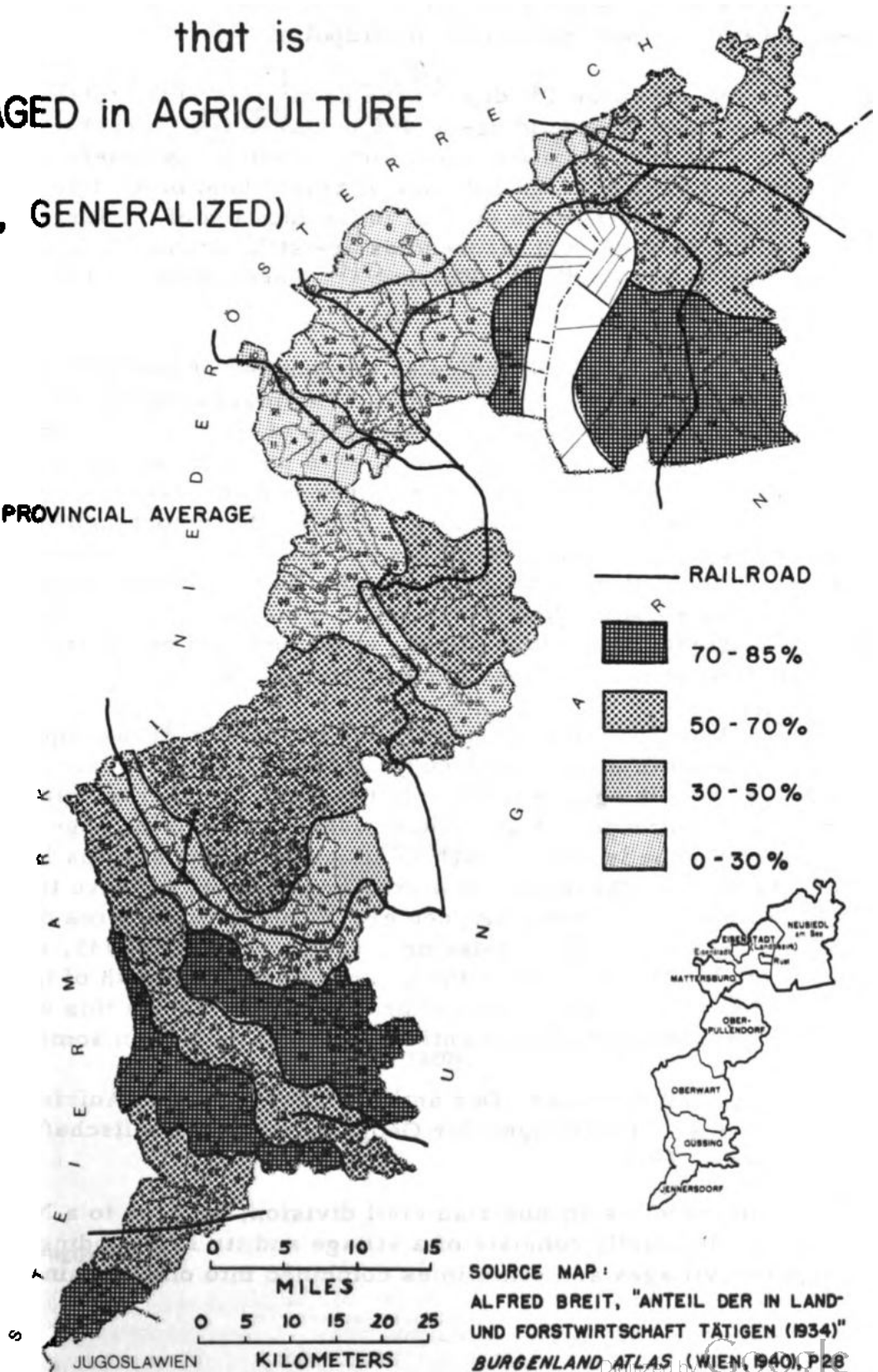
PROPORTION of the TOTAL POPULATION **MAP 4**

that is

ENGAGED in AGRICULTURE

(1934, GENERALIZED)

54.7% PROVINCIAL AVERAGE



that is plowed (83 per cent in 1922)¹¹ and has a relatively low density of population, only half of its population is engaged in agriculture. This anomalous situation is largely a result of the area's close rail and bus connections with Vienna; many of the local inhabitants commute, on a weekly basis, to positions in the metropolis.

Map 5 (page 13) depicts the proportion of the total area of the gemeinden¹² that is in holdings of 100 hectares (247 acres) or larger. There is a distinct variation from north to south. Neusiedl County is the principal area of large holdings of arable land in Austria. Elsewhere there is no definite pattern evident in the location of the large holdings. In the south the medieval strongholds are still notable on this map: Bernstein^{B7}, Güssing^{BC10}, Eberau^{C10}, Rechnitz^{C8}, and Neumarkt a/d Raab^{B11}.

Map 6 (page 14) indicates the number of hectares per person engaged in agriculture, by gemeente. The most striking fact brought out by the map is the universal small size of the holdings. In but a few gemeinden is the average of the total area per agriculturally employed person above 5 hectares (12.5 acres) per person. The variation between north and south is equally striking. The southernmost county, Jennersdorf, averages less than 2 hectares per person. It must be noted too that almost half of the total area of south Burgenland is forested, and this map deals not in plowed land but in total land. In half of the gemeinden of the south the average holding of plowed land per agriculturally employed person is less than one hectare (2.5 acres)!

Map 7 (page 15) indicates the proportion of the population that is engaged in migrant agricultural labor. The familiar north-south variation is again evident. In the north the average size of the agricultural holdings is higher than in the south and the huge urban labor market of Vienna is near enough to attract to it any surplus labor. In south Burgenland there is both a greater necessity to leave the land and a greater distance from urban centers. The principal area of migrant agricultural workers is in Güssing County, where, in 1935, up to 17 per cent of the total population of the uplands north and south of the Strem valley worked as migrant agricultural laborers. Since this wandering labor force consisted almost entirely of adult males, in some villages

¹¹Heinrich Güttenberger, *Der anthropogeographische Aufriss des Burgenlandes*. Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, V. 65, Wien, 1922.

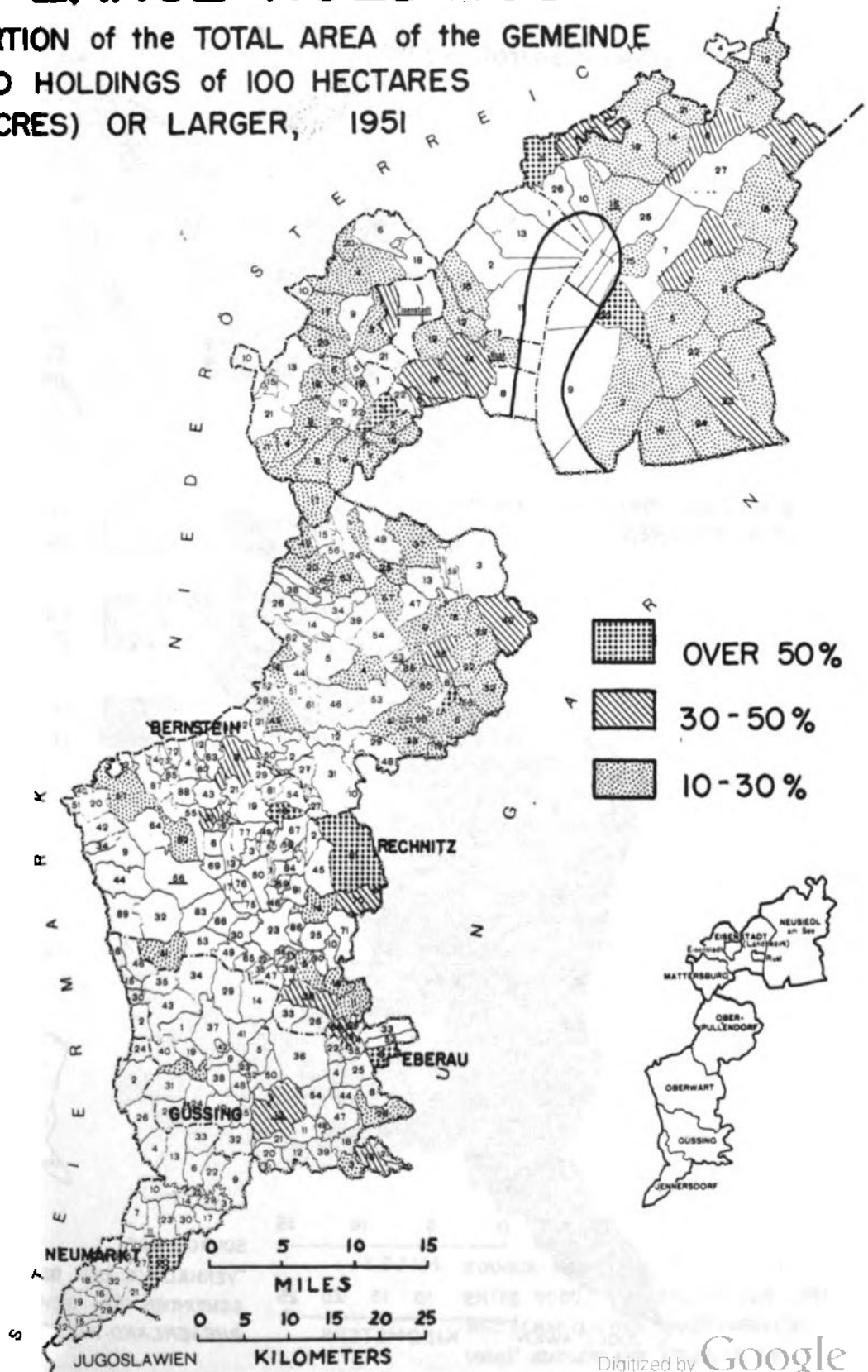
¹²A "Gemeinde" is an Austrian civil division, similar to a New England township. It usually consists of a village and its surrounding land, though two villages are sometimes combined into one gemeente.

BURGENLAND

LARGE HOLDINGS

MAP 5

PROPORTION of the TOTAL AREA of the GEMEINDE
in LAND HOLDINGS of 100 HECTARES
(247 ACRES) OR LARGER, 1951



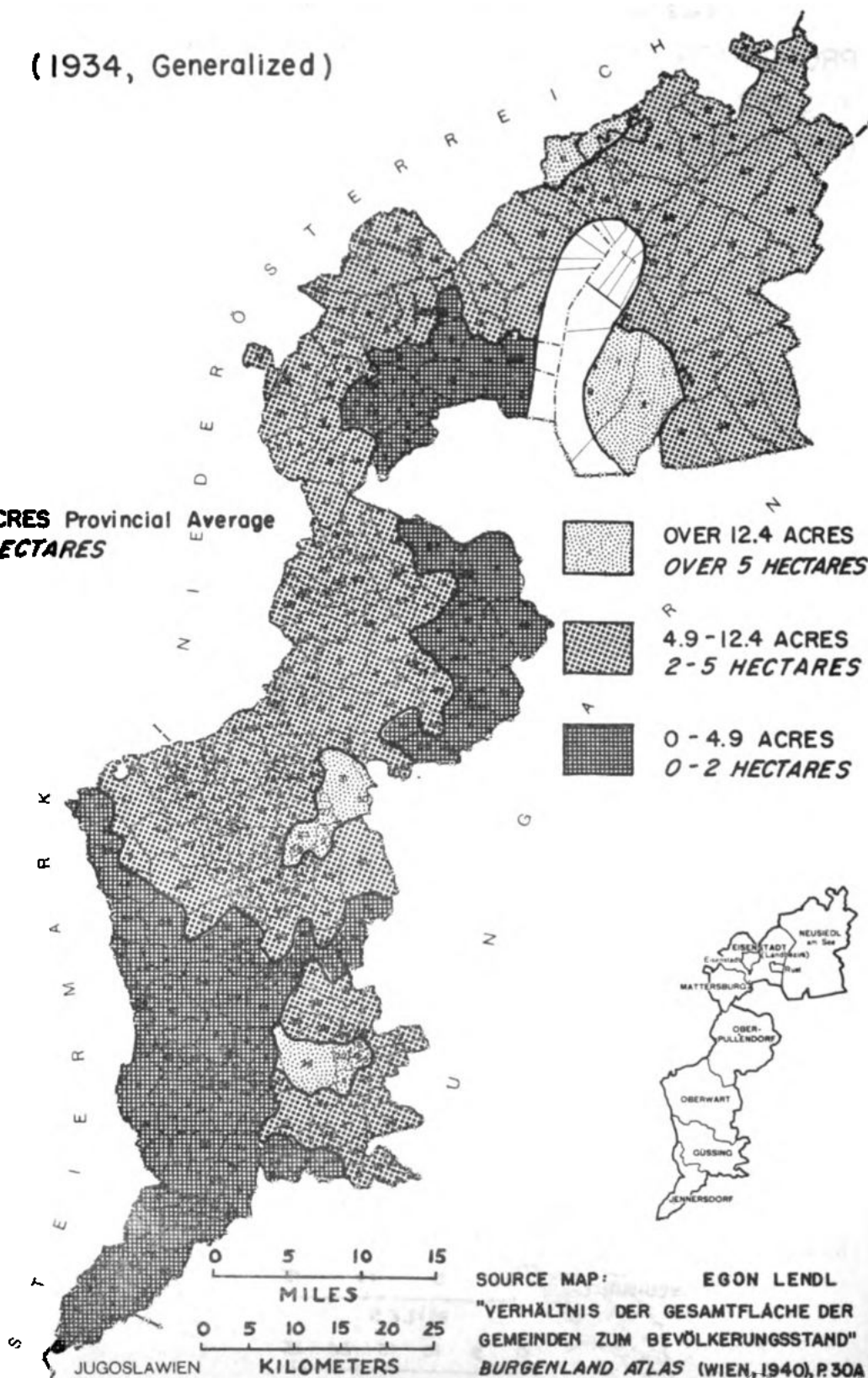
BURGENLAND

MAP 6

TOTAL AREA per AGRICULTURALLY-EMPLOYED PERSON

(1934, Generalized)

8.2 ACRES Provincial Average
3.3 HECTARES



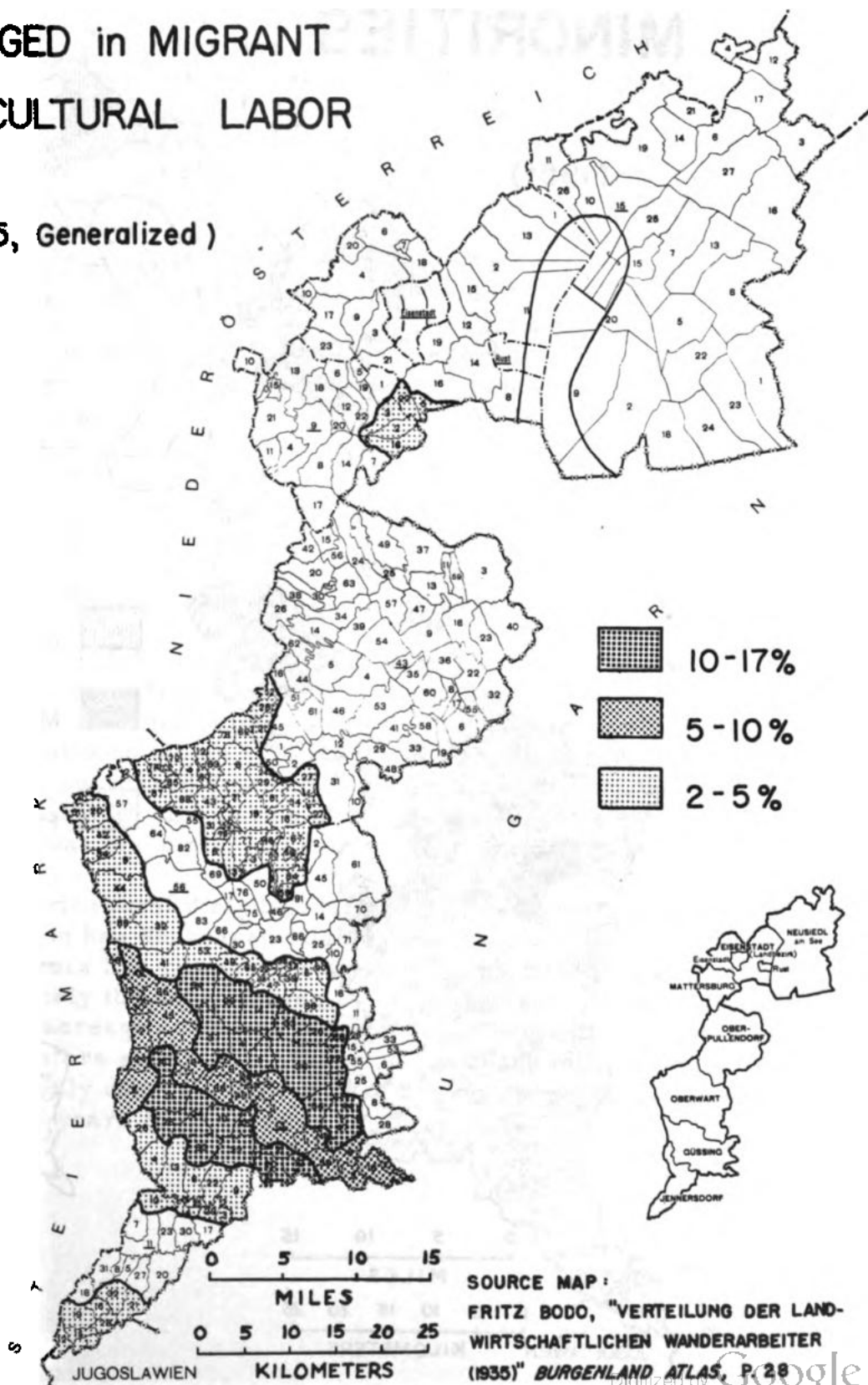
SOURCE MAP: **EGON LENDL**
 "VERHÄLTNIS DER GESAMTFLÄCHE DER
 GEMEINDEN ZUM BEVÖLKERUNGSSTAND"
 BURGENLAND ATLAS (WIEN, 1940), P.30A

BURGENLAND

MAP 7

PROPORTION of the POPULATION that is
ENGAGED in MIGRANT
AGRICULTURAL LABOR

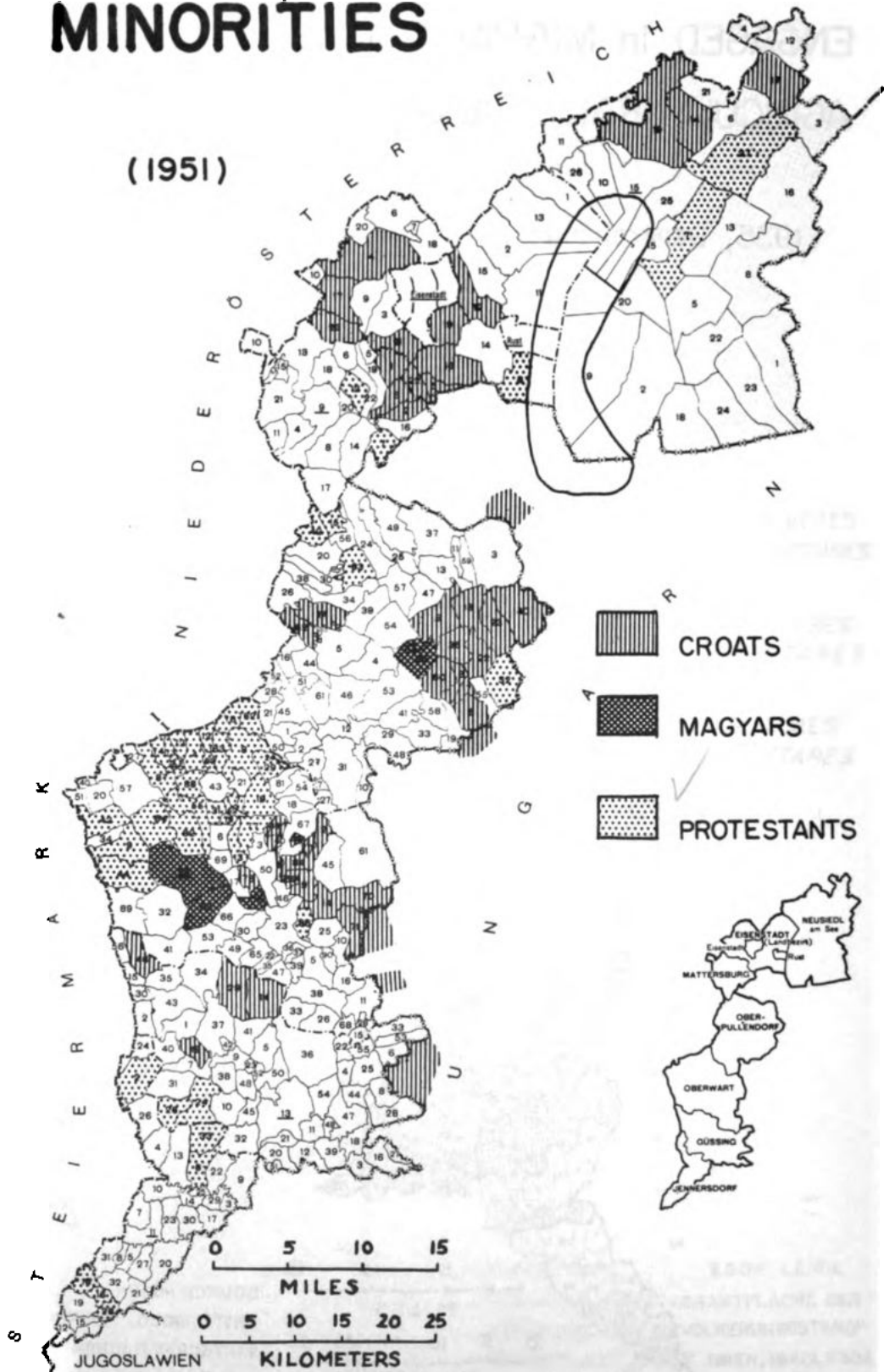
(1935, Generalized)



BURGENLAND

LINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

MAP 8



half of the men were (and are) away from home for several months every year.

Culturally, Burgenland is predominantly German, but with important enclaves of minorities. As indicated on Map 8 (page 16), the Croats form large clusters in several areas; Croatian gemeinden are in six of the seven counties. In the northern four counties these villages are in the lowland areas, while in the southern two counties they are in the midst of upland forests. The Magyars are concentrated in two locales, surrounding the county seats of Oberpullendorf and Oberwart counties. Smaller Magyar colonies (not shown on this map) are in the manorial work centers of the northeast. In 1920 (one year prior to the transfer to Austria) Burgenland was 75 per cent German, 15 per cent Croat, and 8 per cent Magyar; in 1951 the population of the province was officially 87 per cent German, 11 per cent Croat, and 2 per cent Magyar. Until their decimation by the Nazis the Gypsies formed an important third minority group.

Burgenland was, in 1951, officially 86 per cent Catholic and 14 per cent Protestant. These proportions have remained virtually unchanged at least since 1923. Prior to 1938 the Jews constituted 1.2 per cent of the total population. Map 8 (page 16) shows the marked concentration of the Protestants in western Oberwart County.

Many of the preceding statistics and distributions predate the Second World War. The economy of Burgenland has altered very little in the last 20 years; there has been no influx of industrial plants, nor have the established plants expanded. The only changes that need be noted are the increased dominance of Pinkafeld in the industrial life of the province and the elimination of Hirm as a sugar refining center. (Its refinery was dismantled and removed by the Soviet authorities.)

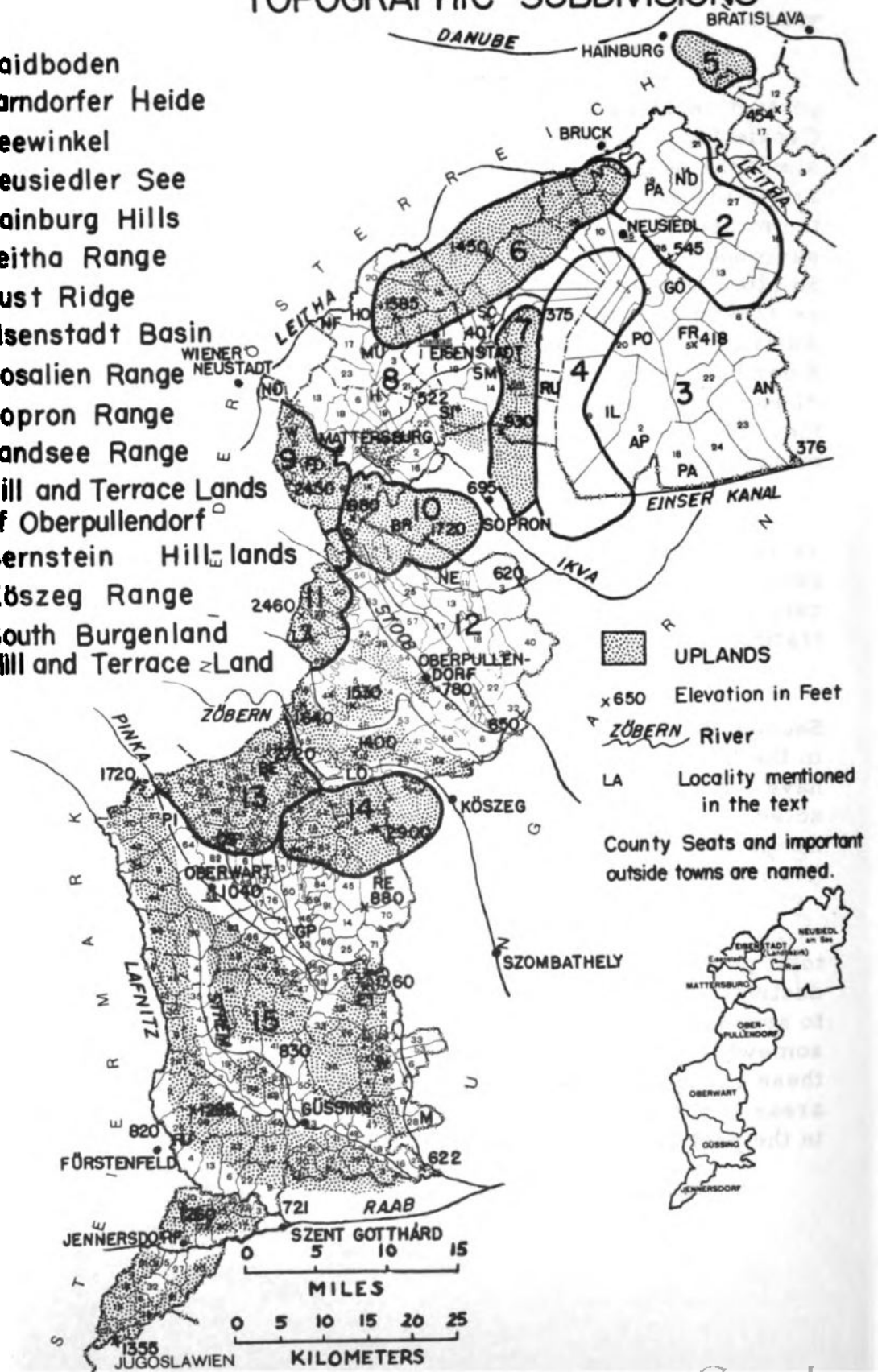
Agricultural distributions are also relatively unchanged. The total population has decreased slightly and the number of migrant industrial workers has increased but the mapped variations still exist, and to approximately the same degree as 20 years ago. Barley has decreased somewhat in acreage, whereas rye and sugar beets have increased, but these changes are slight. The depopulation of the more remote rural areas is the only change of this type of any consequence that has occurred in the past 20 years in Burgenland.

BURGENLAND

MAP 9

TOPOGRAPHIC SUBDIVISIONS

- 1 Haidboden
- 2 Parndorfer Heide
- 3 Seewinkel
- 4 Neusiedler See
- 5 Hainburg Hills
- 6 Leitha Range
- 7 Rust Ridge
- 8 Eisenstadt Basin
- 9 Rosalien Range
- 10 Sopron Range
- 11 Landsee Range
- 12 Hill and Terrace Lands of Oberpullendorf
- 13 Bernstein Hill-lands
- 14 Köszeg Range
- 15 South Burgenland Hill and Terrace Land



C. Principal Internal Subdivisions

Though the preceding section gives a general description of the province, for the purposes of this dissertation more detailed description is essential. The study of the boundaries necessitates a more extended discussion of the features of the terrain. Internal transportation has been a critical factor in the life of Burgenland, and can be understood only within the context of the physical and economic features of the province.

As indicated on Map 9 (page 18) Burgenland can be divided into 15 topographic regions. Eight of these are in north Burgenland, two in middle Burgenland, one one comprises the entire southern third of the province. Four (9, 10, 13 and 14) separate the three principal portions from each other.

1. The Haidboden (Heath-surface)

North of the Leitha River, in the extreme northernmost tip of the province, is an area of virtually no local relief. Only 35 feet separate the highest and the lowest elevations and these are over four miles apart. A rich soil, developed on loess, covers the entire area. The southern half of the Haidboden, crossed by two branches of the Leitha, has a slightly lower elevation than the northern half, and is partially covered with meadow and forest.

As in most of the northeast, settlements are large and widely separated. The density of population here is low for Burgenland. The double-tracked Vienna-Budapest railroad runs along the southern limits of this region and offers the villages along its path rapid access to the great market and employment center of Vienna. Grains, milk, meat, and tomatoes are the principal agricultural sources of revenue.

2. The Parndorfer Heide (Parndorf Heath)

South of the Leitha River stands the oval-shaped Parndorfer Heide, a flat-surfaced, almost treeless area, which rises above its surroundings in a definite escarpment. The upland surface lies at an elevation of approximately 530 feet, though it rises to 615 feet at its western end, adjacent to the Leitha Range. The lack of surface water and the violence of the winds long kept this loess-soil area uncultivated. Not till the late 18th and early 19th centuries did the local nobility establish

"hof"s and "pusxta"s on its surface, thus changing it from an important sheep grazing area into an area of large-scale rich cultivation.¹³

Though the territory of the Heide is within the limits of the surrounding gemeinden, only the two Croation villages, Parndorf^{E3} and Neudorf^{E2}, are located on the surface. Most of the gemeinde centers are immediately below the scarp, forming a populated ellipse around the margins of the Heide.

The escarpment is more important towards the south than towards the north. On the north rim, it averages 60 feet in height and has little economic significance. On the south rim, however, it averages 150 feet and forms the topographic base for a string of vineyard villages. Gols^{E3} is the largest wine producing gemeinde in Austria. The escarpment also acts as a barrier to movement, funneling all north-south traffic onto the road and railroad running northward from the county seat, Neusiedl am/See^{E3}.

3. The Seewinkel (Lake-corner)

This area, east of the Neusiedler See, differs from the Haidboden and the Parndorfer Heide principally in elevation. It too is flat and loess-covered, but lies only a few feet above the surface of the See and the water table. A characteristic feature of its terrain is the large number of ponds, the "Zickseen." Like the adjacent See, these ponds seem to derive their water from ground-water sources; none of them has either an inlet or an outlet. They are salty, variable, and shallow, occupying basins that are the result of wind deflation. Portions of the surface near Illmitz^{D4} and Apeñon^{D5} show salt deposits where ponds have evaporated.

Towards the southeast the surface slopes gradually and uniformly into the great swamp area of the Hanság. Frauenkirchen^{E4} is at 418 feet, Andau^{E4} at 388 feet, and the southeastern corner^{E5} at 376 feet elevation (approximately the level of the See). The southern limit of the Seewinkel is characterized by numerous drainage ditches, the largest of which forms the international boundary.

Like the other flat areas of the northeast, this area was exposed to wind and foe (notably the Turks) so that it was sparsely

¹³Hubert Lendl, "Die Verteilung der Meierhöfe und Schäflerhöfe," Bgld Atlas, p. 33.

populated until the 18th century. In order to bring it into production, the Habsburg monarchs gave much of it to noble landowners, and above all to Prince Eszterházy. Frauenkirchen^{E4} alone has six manorial work centers (höfe) within its gemeinde limits. Despite the problem of inadequate drainage, most of the area has been brought into cultivation and is highly productive.

Maize thrives throughout the area, while sugar beets are an important money crop in the wetter southern parts of the area. Along the northern edge of the Neusiedler See, adjacent to Neusiedl city, is one of the most important vegetable raising areas in Austria. Early lettuce, onions, peas, and marjoram (a spice) are grown for the Viennese market.

4. The Neusiedler See (Lake Neusiedl)

Few natural phenomena have intrigued European geographers as much as has the Neusiedler See. Between 1919 and 1949, there were 196 published works dealing with the See.¹⁴ Singularly intriguing have been the questions concerning its source and its marked and unpredictable fluctuations in water level.

The lake occupies the lowest portion of the Kis Álföld. It has no basin of its own, but literally lies on the surface. It is, consequently, very shallow and subject to enormous fluctuations in area. Its area is approximately 120 square miles, of which 93 square miles are in Austria. It is 22 miles long and between 4 and 9 miles wide. Its surface level is about 375 feet above sea level and its maximum depth is about 3 feet. All of these figures are, however, only vague generalizations. It has no natural outlet.

¹⁴Gustav Wendelberger, *Die Naturwissenschaftliche Schriftum über den Gebiet der Neusiedler Sees*. Burgenländische Heimatblätter, Mitteilungen des Burgenland Heimat- und Naturschutzvereines, Eisenstadt, 1949, pp. 122-134.

The volume of water in the See has fluctuated in cycles of indefinite and unpredictable duration. According to a local legend the present lake area was, at one time, the site of five villages (which are actually named).¹⁵ After attaining a high level in 1677, the lake shrank slowly until, in 1740, it had virtually dried out. By 1786 it had extended to its greatest area in recorded history, 198 square miles. Between 1831 and 1840 it was again at a low stage, but returned to 137 square miles in 1850. In 1868 it had disappeared except for a few pools, and the salty lacustrine bottom was divided among the surrounding gemeinden; peasants began trying to farm the lake bed. The water soon returned, however, and by 1883 had attained a maximum depth of 8 feet. Its most recent minimum was in 1934 when its greatest depth was only 16 inches; that year the water heated, in summer, to a temperature of 93 degrees (F), and, in winter, was frozen solid.¹⁶

Only one permanent stream, the Wulka, empties into the See. It has been estimated that the water added to the lake by streams and precipitation on its surface does not equal half the amount evaporated from the surface.¹⁷ The lake must, therefore, also be fed by ground water, which here, in the lowest portion of the Kis Alföld, forms a standing lake.

The lake need not dry out to lose most of its water. At times a strong persistent wind from the north has pushed the water into the southern end of the lake bed, thus flooding the reeds in Hungary and leaving the north end dry.¹⁸

¹⁵The legend tells of a mother who called down the wrath of heaven to avenge the murder of her daughter by the jealous wife of the Lord of Forchtenstein. Overnight the water filled the basin and floated the body to the eastern shore. At the spot where the body came to rest, the lord built the shrine of Frauenkirchen. The five flooded villages were named: Hautal, Schwarzlacken, Königstal, See, and St. Jakob. The inhabitants fled to the northern hills where they founded Neusiedl. Josef Rittsteuer, *Neusiedl am See*, Neusiedl, 1949, pp. 33-34.

¹⁶Konrad Wiche, *Die Oberflächenformen. Burgenland, Landeskunde*, pp. 109-110.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

Prior to 1918, drainage of the lake waters had been attempted. The Einser Kanal was constructed to connect the south end of the See to the Danube. Unfortunately, the difference in elevation between the surface of the See and the level of the Danube is so slight that in times of high water, the river has fed water back into the See. With the drawing of the international boundary across the lake, the possibility of permanent drainage of the lake bed ceased. Since Hungary, at Mexiko M.H.^{E5}, retained a foothold north of the Einser Kanal, and since the Kanal serves the purpose of helping drain the Hanság, most of which remained in Hungary, the entire length of this ditch was left to Hungary. The international boundary now parallels the Kanal, running about ten feet north of the north bank. The Hungarians have, of course, made no further attempts to drain the lake and the See-mouth of the Kanal is now plugged with silt and reeds.

Tall reeds form a belt, averaging a mile and a quarter in width, which almost surrounds the See. This belt is absent only along the northeast shore, and reaches its greatest width at the southwestern end. The reeds act as a barrier between the lake and adjacent settlements, but are of special interest in sheltering one of the richest and most varied collections of bird and animal life in Europe.

During the 1920's Burgenland publications frequently discussed the possibilities of developing the See as a bathing resource. There has, however, been little development to date, and little can be expected. Four gemeinden have constructed "Bad"s on the lake shore, but these are insignificant and have had little effect on the economy of the communities themselves, much less on the entire area. Swimming is out of the question, and as a health bath the See cannot compete with the many spas of Austria.

Except for its slight influence upon the vineyards and vegetable gardens along its north and west shores, the See is of little economic value to the population living around it. Fishing is poor, and hunting is discouraged in the interests of the preservation of the rarer species of birds. The dense stands of reeds are utilized by local craftsmen in the making of baskets. Transportation across the lake is attempted between Rust^{D4} and Podersdorf^{E4} but the "ferries" are small motorboats, and traffic is negligible.

The principal role played by the See is that of a barrier. Because of its location, it separates the Seewinkel from the provincial capital and turns it, instead, towards Vienna. Pamhagen^{E5} and Andau^{D5} are as far from Eisenstadt in distance and in travel time as is Lockenhaus^{C7} at the southern end of middle Burgenland.

5. The Hainburger Bergen (Hainburg Hills)

This small upland clump consists of a number of separate knobs joined by a lower, though forested, east-west ridge. The primary significance of the Hainburg Hills has been in their strategic location. They crowd close to the Danube to flank the pass-route through Hainburg and separate this ancient routeway from the broader Bruck gateway further south. The hills attain elevations of 1,560 feet at the western end and 1,120 feet at the eastern end. (The Danube flows here at an elevation of 430 feet.)

Burgenland barely touches this clump; the salient *gemeinde* of Edelstal reaches up the southwestern slopes to the lower edges of the forest, at an elevation of 940 feet. To Edelstal these slopes are important in providing the topographic base for an area of vineyards.

6. The Leitha-gebirge (Leitha Range)

The most notable of the hill features of north Burgenland is the long ridge known as the Leitha-gebirge. Extending northeast-southwest, it forms a link between the Alps and the Carpathians, though it is separated from both of these by important routeway gaps.

This ridge stands above the surrounding territory as a rather even-crested, forested upland, rising 500-800 feet above the Leitha River to the northwest, and 800-1200 feet above the See and the Eisenstadt Basin to the southeast. The upland is highest in its southern portion where the Sonnenberg, 1,585 feet, overlooks the village of Hornstein^{C3-4}. (Hornstein, on the Sopron-Vienna road, was the site of an important medieval castle.) North of the Sonnenberg the ridge narrows and its crest descends to an elevation of 1,120 feet, but then rises again to the 1,450-foot Kaisereiche^{D3} on whose northern flank the medieval castle of Scharfeneck was located. Continuing northeast from the Kaisereiche, the crest descends gradually until, near Bruck an/der Leitha^{D2}, it slopes into the lowland.

The range is composed of several terrace surfaces¹⁹ so that the descent on either flank consists of steps rather than a

¹⁹Wiche, *Die Oberflächenformen*. Burgenland, p. 100.

uniform slope. Wiche refers to the range as being "plateau-artig,"²⁰ with a fairly level upland surface bounded by steep descents to the lowlands on either side. The flanks of the ridge are dissected by numerous minor streams.

The lower slopes on the southeastern side have been deforested and devoted to viniculture. It was the revenue realized from the sale of its wines that allowed Eisenstadt to purchase its rights as a "Free City" in the 17th century. A line of wine producing villages extends along these cleared slopes.

Throughout history this range has acted as a barrier to east-west movement. Because of its position parallel to the Neusiedler See, the ridge has augmented the barrier effect of the See (and vice versa). All principal routes in the area have funneled through Bruck to the north or Sopron to the South, in order to turn the ends of both the See and the Leitha-gebirge. At the present time three roads cross the range. None of these roads is of more than local significance, and the center one is in an atrocious condition on the Lower Austrian side. This range is, and has evidently long been, a complete trade divide, and has, since the end of the 15th century, carried the Burgenland-Old Austrian boundary for a distance of approximately ten miles.

7. The Ruster Hügelszug (Rust Ridge)

Bordering the southern two-thirds of the western shore of the Neusiedler See is a long, narrow, largely deforested ridge. Approximately half of its 15 miles extent is in Hungary. The highest elevation, 930 feet, occurs on the international border. This ridge is, topographically, a small-scale version of the Leitha Range. It too is "plateau-artig" with steep descents on the flanks. The crestline is fairly regular at an elevation of about 700-800 feet, 200-300 feet above the surrounding villages. The one road that crosses the ridge connects the "city" of Rust^{D4} with the Eisenstadt Basin and diminishes the barrier qualities of the hill-chain.

This ridge is of great economic importance in that it bears, along its eastern flanks, one of the most renowned vineyard areas of Austria. Rust is known as the "wine city" and was able, despite its small size, to purchase the coveted title of "Free City." The ridge also contains limestone of very high quality. The quarries of St. Margarethen^{D4} have supplied the building stone for most of the imposing public buildings of Vienna.

²⁰Wiche, Die Oberflächenformen. Burgenland, p. 99.

8. The Eisenstädter Becken (Eisenstadt Basin)

This triangular lowland coincides with the drainage basin of the Wulka, though the valley of that stream would seem to be the result rather than the cause of this lowland. The basin is lowest and flattest at its northeastern end where it blends into the lowlands surrounding the See. From an elevation of 407 feet at Schützen^{D4} the surface rises to 522 feet at Wulka-prodersdorf^{C4} in the center, and to 780 feet at Mattersburg^{C5} in the south, at the base of the Roaslien Range. In its lower half, the surface is flat but requires no artificial drainage; in its upper half the terrain is more rolling with isolated wooded tops appearing between the tributary valleys. A clump of these tops, east of Mattersburg, is sometimes referred to separately as the Drassburg Hill-land (Drassburger Hügelland).²¹

There are three easy exits from the basin. Northeastwards the Wulka leads through a pass, between the Leitha Range and the Rust Ridge towards the Kis Álföld. Though the flattest of the three exits this is also the narrowest and the most attenuated: it is less than two miles wide for a distance of twelve miles, between Schützen^{D4} and Neusiedl^{E3}. Towards the northwest and the southeast the exits are wider with but shallow divides separating the basin from the Leitha and Ikva valley systems. These two exits, and the portion of the basin between them, form the important pass route known at its ends as the Ödenburger Pforte (Sopron Gate) and the Wiener Neustädter Pforte. Because of the alignment of this gateway the principal transport routes run across the south end of the basin rather than along its principal axis. Access to Vienna and Wiener Neustadt is easy and rapid, and many migrant industrial workers commute to those cities on a daily or weekly basis.

This lowland constitutes the political and economic core of Burgenland. In this basin and along its flanks is the most important concentration of industrial and commercial centers in the province. Eisenstadt^{C4}, the political center, lies on its northwestern margin; Mattersburg^{C5}, the funnel for routes to middle and south Burgenland, lies on the southwestern margin. More than any other area of Burgenland the Eisenstadt Basin is the focus of communications and transport routes. Unfortunately, the principal routeway leads out of the

²¹Güttenberger, Der anthropogeog Aufriss Bglds. Mitteil Geog Gesell Wien, V. 65.

province in both directions, and across the "Iron Curtain" to the east. Only the relatively unimportant northeastern exit leads to another portion of Burgenland.

In the center of this lowland is the largest concentration of Croats in Austria. The important Siegendorf^{C4} sugar refinery is in a Croatian gemeente.

9. The Rosalien-gebirge (Rosalien Range)

Forming the southwestern rim of the Eisenstadt Basin, and carrying the provincial boundary, is the range known as the Rosalien-gebirge. Though it rises sharply above the basin, it appears to be more the northeastern extension of the "Bucklige Welt" than an actual range. The "Bucklige Welt" (humpbacked world) resembles a "dissected plateau" in its cultivated, gently sloping upland areas and its wooded, steep-sided valleys. In its northern half the range has been cut into the shape of a ridge by the streams to the west of it, but in its southern half it resembles the edge of a plateau.

The rise from the basin floor to the crest is very sharp. The road west from Mattersburg^{C5} has all the features of a mountain road-way, rising 1,340 feet in the three miles between Forchtenau^{C5} and the Rosalien Kapella^{B5}. The highest elevation, 2,450 feet, occurs at the Rosalien Kapella, behind the great fortress castle of Forchtenstein. The crest line descends gradually to the north and south. The only road across the ridge crosses at its highest point since, after the hard climb, the road can proceed along the upland surface of the "Bucklige Welt."

The hillside village, Wiesen^{BC5}, is the most important fruit growing gemeente of Burgenland. Strawberries, apricots, pears, peaches, cherries, apples, and chestnuts are grown for shipment to the Viennese market.

10. The Ödenburger-gebirge (Sopron Range)

This forest-covered elliptical hill-mass can be considered to be an extension of the Rosalien Range since the two combine to separate northern and middle Burgenland from each other. The two ranges joined at the 1,680-foot Siegraben Saddle^{C5} but most Austrian studies distinguish between them. They serve differing border functions; the Rosalien Range carries the provincial boundary, whereas the Sopron Range

carries the international boundary between middle Burgenland and the Sopron salient of Hungary.

The central two-thirds of the Sopron Range has an elevation of approximately 1,800 feet. The highest point, the Brentenriegel^{C5}, immediately east of Sieggraben, attains 1,980 feet. The eastern third of the range drops rapidly from the 1,720-foot Besenbinderin towards the city of Sopron (695 feet), which lies in the gap between the eastern end of this hill-mass and the Rust Ridge. The international boundary follows the crest in the western half of the "gebirge," and then descends the southeastern slope to leave the eastern end entirely within Hungary.

Formerly, coal mining was of local significance. The mines remained in Hungary, since Brennbergbanya^{C5} was within the limits of the city of Sopron. The shafts extend under the boundary but the coal from this operation is awarded, by international agreement, entirely to Hungary. Austria attempted to tap these resources by developing a new shaft immediately on the border but this has since been abandoned.

With the exception of the important highway across the Sieggraben saddle, no road crosses the hill-mass. Before the First World War the roads around the east end of the hill-mass were of great importance. The road from Sopron to Neckenmarkt^{C6} connected to the important centers of Kőszeg^{C7} and Szombathely^{D9} farther south, and represented a modern adaptation of the ancient "Amber Road." This route has atrophied completely.

11. The Landseer-gebirge (Landsee Range)

This hill front along the western edge of middle Burgenland is similar to the Rosalien Range. This too represents the eastern edge of the "Bucklige Welt" though at one point the provincial boundary lies two miles west of the crest. As at Forchtenstein, a road climbs out of the adjacent lowland, past a medieval fortress (Landsee) and onto the upland surface, whence it continues into Lower Austria. The greatest local relief is along the edges of this upland. The Heidriegel stands 880 feet above the 1.3 miles distant village of Neudorf^{C6}.

Landsee^{B6}, at an elevation of 2,060 feet, is the highest village in Burgenland. The adjacent Kloster Berg, 2,460 feet, attains almost the same elevation as the Rosalien Kapella (2,450 feet). The upland area is flat enough to allow for the development of a typical Burgenland agricultural village. The quarrying of basalt is of minor local economic importance.

12. The Hill and Terrace Lands of Oberpullendorf

This roughly circular area consists of several valleys and interfluvial ridges which gradually decrease in both elevation and local relief from west to east. The highest elevations are in the southwest corner where parallel-flowing streams have cut deeply into the edge of the "Bucklige Welt." The lowest elevations occur where the two principal stream systems leave Burgenland for Hungary: in the northeast (620 feet) and the southeast (650 feet). With the exception of the northeastern corner (where the streams flow eastward to the Ikva), the valleys and ridges tend to follow a northwest-southeast alignment. This topography has influenced the development of linear patterns of settlement, with the Stoob Bach valley forming the communications axis of middle Burgenland. The lone railroad runs northward from Köszeg along the Stoob valley and the south base of the Sopron Range to Sopron and Vienna.

Since the ridges decrease in elevation from southwest to northeast, the northeastern two-thirds of this region is relatively flat. Oberpullendorf village^{C6} is flanked by wooded ridges but farther east the interfluvies are more gently rolling and are under cultivation. The northeastern corner bears a close resemblance to portions of the See-winkel; it is flat and loess-covered. A chain of large manorial canters lies at the foot of the Sopron Range. Sugar beets are raised here and shipped by rail through Sopron to the refinery at Siegendorf^{C4}. Milk is shipped from Horitschon^{C6} through Sopron to Vienna.

Industry and crafts have long been important factors in the economy of Oberpullendorf County. Many of the villages in the northwestern corner of this area were, even prior to 1918, the homes of hundreds of migrant industrial workers who commuted to Vienna. Stoob^{C6} (adjacent to Oberpullendorf village) specializes in the making of pottery and is the principal crafts center of the province.

East of Oberpullendorf village is the second largest, and the most compact, of the Croatian clusters. Oberpullendorf itself, with neighboring Mitterpullendorf, constitutes one of the two Magyar-speaking areas of the province.

13. The Bernsteiner-gebirge (Bernstein Hill-lands)

This area represents yet another extension of the "Bucklige Welt" into Burgenland, though the descent from the upland surface to the lowlands is not as sharp here as it is in the Rosalien and Landsee ranges. A prevailing north-south stream pattern has eroded the edge towards the Pinka valley into a long, gentle slope. There is a 900-foot rise in the five miles between Oberschützen^{B8} and Bernstein^{B7}. Towards the northeast the upland drops sharply into the broad valley of the Zöbern Bach, with a difference of 1,360 feet in three miles. The county boundary follows the crest southwest of the Zöbern. The upland surface maintains a fairly uniform elevation east-west along the provincial boundary; Hochart^{B7}, though 7.5 miles west of Bernstein, is only 60 feet lower. The highest elevation, 2,720 feet, is north of Bernstein.

Most of the villages are located on the upland surface, which has been dissected into a gently rolling terrain. Bands of forest isolate these gemeinden from the lowland, and separate them from each other. Most Austrian discussions state that this upland area is the most isolated and economically retarded portion of Burgenland. The construction of the north-south highway has facilitated travel between Bernstein and Oberwart city but most of the other gemeinden are still without any form of public transportation. Since 1923 this region has lost a greater proportion of its population than any other portion of Burgenland.

Some meat is shipped out through Oberwart^{B8}; grain is raised principally for local consumption. Mining is of local importance along the flanks of the upland. The only source of coal (of low quality) being currently worked in Burgenland is at Tauchen^{B7}. The coal is transported by cable railway to the railhead at Oberschützen^{B8}.

Bernstein, with a population of 1,000, is the center for this upland area. At an elevation of 2,030 feet, it is reminiscent of Landsee and Forchtenstein. It too contains a famous medieval fortress and is situated on the only road crossing the upland into Lower Austria. A black serpentine quarry is the basis for a local crafts industry. Though the carved figurines are highly thought of and much publicized, this centuries-old craft is of only minor economic significance.

This upland area contains the most important concentration of Protestant villages in Austria. A Lutheran seminary and teachers' college are located in Oberschützen^{B8}, at the south edge of the hill-land.

14. The Günser-gebirge (Köszeg Range)

This hill-mass resembles, in both structure and position, the Sopron Range. As the Sopron Range forms a barrier continuation of the Rosalien Range with a junction at the Sieggraben Saddle, so the Köszeg Range forms a continuation of the Bernstein Hill-land with the junction at the Holzschlag Saddle^{BC7}. In both cases the saddle represented so difficult a potential routeway that the older roads chose rather to climb the uplands west of the saddles, at Forchtenstein, Landsee, and Bernstein.

Similar to the Sopron Range the Köszeg spur lies on the international boundary, with the eastern end of the range entirely within Hungary. Both uplands separate two portions of Burgenland and a foreign country from each other. The central portion of the Köszeg Range is, however, within Austria; this has permitted the construction of a road across the central (highest) portion of the hill-mass.

This range could be termed an elliptical dome, with the local relief least in the central portion. A blunted crest line runs east-west at an elevation of approximately 2,600 feet. The Geschriebenstein^{C8}, at 2,900 feet, is the highest point in Burgenland. The upland is bordered by high steep edges, with a local relief of approximately 700 feet in one mile. The slope is gentlest towards the west; here Croatian settlements have pushed the limits of cultivation up the sides of the range to an elevation of 1,600 feet. Elsewhere the entire area is forested.

The only road across the hill-mass was constructed in 1947, to afford the large village of Rechnitz, which was being stifled by the international boundary, access to the northern two-thirds of the province.

15. The South Burgenland Hill and Terrace Land

This area, the largest of all the topographic subdivisions of Burgenland, comprising almost one-third of the province, is frequently described as an eastward continuation of the East-Styrian hill and valley terrain that extends as far west as Graz. The surface consists of a number of broad, flat-bottomed valleys, separated by inter-fluvial ridges. The entire valley and ridge system follows a generally circular pattern, turning gradually from a north-south alignment in the northwest corner of the area to an east-west alignment in the southeast

corner. The Raab River completes the semicircle by turning towards the northeast in Hungary, and gathers in most of the streams of south and middle Burgenland.

The highest elevations of south Burgenland are in its north-west corner. The highest point, 1,720 feet, occurs on the Styrian border. Elevations decrease gradually towards the southeast, the lowest point being near Luisings^{C10}, at the junction of the Strem and the Pinka. Local relief similarly decreases from west to east.

The interfluvial areas are rather broad, and, in most cases, do not rise sharply from the lowland, even though the total local relief ranges between 300 and 400 feet. Usually the upland is a barrier to movement more because of its extent, its stretches of forest, and its paucity of settlement and roads than because of the steepness of the slopes. Wiche sees the uplands as erosional remnants of gravel terraces²² which break down to produce a poor soil.

In many local areas cultivation has extended onto the uplands; this is far more common in the south than in the northeastern portion of this area. The southwestern corner is an area of Berghäuser (separated Styrian-type homesteads) whose density appears to be attributable to the relative lack of large holdings in the south (and the population pressure, of course). Towards the northeast, the forest is still in the hands of the noble landlords, and thus is effectively kept out of marginal, subsistence agriculture.

In a few localities, the interfluves have developed asymmetrically, producing a cuesta effect, with a sharp ridge overlooking one valley and a gentle slope on the other side. The most notable feature of this type is the steep ridge along the eastern edge of the Lafnitz valley^{B9-10}. At Rudersdorf^{B10} the rise is 500 feet in less than a mile. The upland between the Lafnitz and the Raab, rising 400 feet in less than a mile, along its northern edge, is another example. These two escarpments are serious barriers to local movement. The Burgenland portion of the mid-Lafnitz valley is almost completely oriented towards the adjacent Styrian villages, and, more seriously, the northern and southern halves of the southernmost bezirk (Jennersdorf) of Burgenland are almost separated from each other. Numerous Protestant villages are located in the rough terrain overlooking the Lafnitz.

²²Wiche, Die Oberrflächenformen. Burgenland, p. 127.

One other escarpment deserves mention. Rising steeply above the west side of the lower Pinka valley^{C9-10}, it faces the international boundary, which here crosses the Pinka stream eight times in 14 miles. The elevation of the crest and its local relief increase notably from south to north. Near Heiligenbrunn^{C10} the local relief is but 60 feet and the boundary surmounts the edge to include an area of approximately one square mile within Hungary. The height of the scarp increases to 100 feet at Moschendorf, 210 feet at Winten, and 600 feet at the Eisenberg, where again the boundary moves onto the upland, this time to include about one half of the valuable vineyard area within Hungary. At the northern end the Pinka cuts a narrow gorge through the upland. This escarpment has been a serious barrier to the establishment of communications between the lower Pinka valley and the remainder of Austria. The present roads at the northern and southern ends of the valley were not constructed until the mid-1930's.

The broad valleys of south Burgenland contain the areas of densest population. The settlement concentrations and the lines of transportation tend to form elongated patterns. In the southern tip of the province, the Lafnitz and Raab valleys carry the principal highway and railroad between Graz and Hungary. Since the close of the Second World War, however, virtually no traffic has moved across the frontier along these routes.

The most important lowland of the South is the upper Pinka valley. The three most important commercial centers of south Burgenland, Oberwart^{B8}, Pinkafeld^{B8}, and Grosspetersdorf^{BC9} are in this lowland. Pinkafeld is the principal manufacturing community of Burgenland, and Oberwart is second only to Eisenstadt in its importance as a political and transportation center. The Pinka valley is the routeway for the railroad joining south Burgenland to Vienna, and Oberwart is situated at the junction point of this railroad and the north-south highway of the province.

Examples of vulcanism are notably rare in Burgenland, although Güssing is a noteworthy exception. At the confluence of the Strem Bach and the Zicken Bach, a volcanic plug rises 300 feet above the wet surroundings. This feature dominates the landscape for several miles in all directions, and the fortress built upon it dominated southern Burgenland throughout medieval times. The village (county seat) of Güssing is built in a circle around the base of the plug.

Meat is the principal "cash crop" of south Burgenland. Some meat and grain are shipped to Graz but meat sent to the Viennese market is the principal source of revenue. Oberwart is the only important

animal market still operating in the province. Horseradish, grown near Pinkafeld in the northwestern corner of this region, is the only specialty crop.

D. Functional Interconnections

Prior to 1921 the territory that is now Burgenland was within three Hungarian provinces. These provinces and their subdivision into counties are depicted on Map 30 (Page 201).

1. Moson Province²³ (Wieselburg Komitat)

Of the seven counties of Burgenland only one, Neusiedl, was formerly in Moson Province. The Vienna-Budapest railroad formed the axis of communications of this province. Moson, the provincial capital, was (is) located on this railroad, directly east of Neusiedl County. Almost all personal and economic traffic moved east-west; there was little movement between Moson Province and Sopron.

This province served as a granary and dairyland for Vienna. The huge estates of the Seewinkel and the Haidboden shipped large quantities of grain, milk, vegetables, and sugar beets toward the Austrian metropolis. The local collecting points for this agricultural produce were the twin towns, Moson-Magyaróvár. The business headquarters and storage depots of the large estates were in these two towns.

After 1921 Moson-Magyaróvár lost all of their governmental and economic significance for Neusiedl County. The local produce continued to be shipped to Vienna, but moved directly from the estates to the metropolis. The transfer of the provincial capital to Eisenstadt signified the development of a political connection in an entirely new direction, which was at right angles to the direction of all other personal and economic movement.

²³"Megye" in Magyar.

2. Sopron Province (Ödenburg Komitat)

Three counties of Burgenland, Mattersburg, Eisenstadt, and Oberpullendorf, were formerly within Sopron Province. Sopron city was the political center and market for all three counties. Of the railroads fanning out from the capital city one each ran through the center of each county.

Prior to 1921 there was, however, virtually no interconnection between these three counties, except through Sopron. Though no physical barrier lay between them, Eisenstadt city^{C4} and Mattersburg gemeente^{C5} were not tied together by any form of public transportation. Oberpullendorf county was separated from the other two counties (except through Sopron) by the Sopron Range.

These three counties also had close connections with Vienna, since the railroads from Sopron through Eisenstadt and Mattersburg connected with the Austrian rail system converging on the Imperial metropolis. The animal market of Sopron supplied much of the meat needs of Vienna. Hundreds of migrant workers commuted between their home villages in this province and jobs in Vienna.

After the Sopron plebiscite the lone focal point for these counties lay beyond an international boundary. Eisenstadt and Mattersburg turned separately towards Old-Austria²⁴ but Oberpullendorf found its lone railroad cut at both ends by the international boundary.

3. Vas Province (Eisenburg Komitat)

The three southern counties of Burgenland were formerly within Vas Province, which had four important nodal centers rather than one. Szombathely shared the provincial market functions with Kőszeg to the north and with Körmend and Szent Gotthárd to the South.

Except in the Raab and Lafnitz valleys in the extreme south, there was little movement across the boundary into Austria. Vienna was far away and relatively difficult to reach. If a person from Oberwart wished to travel to Vienna he was forced to move first eastward to Szombathely and then northward through Kőszeg and Sopron. Because of the dense agricultural population and the relative lack of railroads there was little export of foodstuffs to

²⁴A term much used at the time to refer to post-1918 Austria without Burgenland.

Old-Austria. Almost all of the exterior connections of these counties were with the market and political centers to the east.

There was little movement between the provinces. Neusiedl in the north and the three counties of the south lived beyond the influence of Sopron. Not only was there little occasion for a person from the south to go to the Sopron area, but after the boundary delimitation the only feasible way of getting there lay beyond the boundary.

Probably the greatest problem facing the new province was the necessity of organizing a new system of north-south communications despite serious physical barriers, and at right angles to all the previous axes of political organization and economic movement. Even had Burgenland retained Sopron this would have been a difficult task.

E. Historical Introduction

1. Settlement History

Though this eastern rim of the Alps has been settled for at least 7,000 years,²⁵ for the purposes of this study its history begins in the 8th century A. D. At that time this area and the plains to the east were ruled by the Avars, a warring, plundering tribe. The Avars seem to have been relatively few in numbers, with their Slavic vassals probably forming the majority of the population.

In the campaigns of 791 and 795 Charlemagne and the Lombard Pepin destroyed the power of the Avars.²⁶ Charlemagne and his successors established a number of border Marks in these conquered lands, and opened the territory to German settlement. This furthest extension of the Carolingian Empire was integrated into the Frankish political structure; the land was parceled out among certain members of the nobility, religious houses were established and granted lands, and the area was brought under the spiritual jurisdiction of the contending sees of Salzburg and Passau.²⁷ A few names of probable

²⁵Richard Pittioni, *Die Geschichte der Urzeit. Burgenland, Landeskunde*, p. 187.

²⁶A. W. A. Leeper, *A History of Medieval Austria*. Oxford, 1941, pp. 103-104.

²⁷Leeper, *Medieval Austria*. p. 108.

Carolingian origin are still discernible in Burgenland-west Hungary: Odinburch (Ödenburg), Peinicachu (Pinkafeld), and Kundpoldersdorf (Kobersdorf).²⁸ The oldest traceable German settlement is Leberbrunn^{B7}, mentioned as "Brunnaron" in A.D. 844.²⁹

The Magyar onslaught, beginning in A.D. 986, probably eradicated most of the previous settlements. Not till after their crushing defeat at Augsburg in 955 did the Magyars cease their raids deep into western Europe. Thereafter the frontier of the East Mark was gradually pushed eastward by the Imperial forces; by 987 the frontier was again at the Wiener Wald, and by the year 1000 had been stabilized along the Leitha River³⁰ which was to symbolize for a millenium the border between German and Magyar rule.

The Magyar kings settled a few groups of peoples felt to be loyal in the largely unpopulated border zone. Petchenegs were settled at the site that still bears their name, "Pottsching"^{C4}; Magyars were settled in several localities including their present-day "islands," Oberwart-Unterwart^{B8} and Ober- and Mitter-pullendorf^{C6-7}.³¹

In medieval times nationalism was not equated with language as it generally is today. The concept of the nation depended on a national "ownership" of a certain territorial extent, on a union of space with tradition, rather than space with language. Germans were not considered to be enemies or potential threats to the security and stability of Hungary. The Hungarian kings followed the precept of King St. Stephen that all foreign-born people should be considered as "guests" (hospites), on the idea that the nation whose citizens spoke many languages was certain to be stronger than the one in which only the one language was known or practiced.³² Rather than hinder German settlement, the Hungarian kings promoted it. Géza II (1141-1161) openly

²⁸Gottfried Franz Litschauer, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Besiedlung des Burgenlandes*. Burgenland Vierteljahrshefte, Jg. II/4, Eisenstadt, 1929, p. 186.

²⁹Ibid., p. 185.

³⁰Leeper, pp. 158, 174.

³¹Hubert Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländischen Wirtschaft*. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Hochschule der Bodenkultur, Wien, 1937, pp. 54-55.

³²Ibid., p. 55.

encouraged German settlement,³³ Emmerich (1203) and Andrew II (1217) granted unoccupied lands around the northern end of the Neusiedler See to the Austrian monastery of Heiligenkreuz,³⁴ and Bela IV granted special privileges (local autonomy, their own pastors and knights, and direct appeal to the throne) to the Germans who repopulated the areas northeast of the Neusiedler See which had been wasted by the Mongol Horde in 1241.³⁵

German settlement began at the end of the 11th century, reached its height in the mid 12th century, and was virtually completed by 1250.³⁶ The settled area was extended to approximately its present dimensions by the "rodung" (forest clearing) of the 14th century.³⁷

Map 8 (page 16) indicates the areas of settlement by Germans, Magyars, and Croats in their relationship to the physical features of the area. In the north the German-Magyar language divide coincided with the physical barrier formed by the wet lands of the swampy Hanság and the Danube flood plain which met at the important route center of Győr. In the south the Magyars occupied the land as far as it remained flat and open, and the Germans occupied the rolling terrain where the last ridges of the Alps sink beneath the basin floor. East of the lower Pinka valley, the line of linguistic division formed along the line of forests that mark the gravel terrace east of the valley. With remarkable tenacity this divide remained as depicted from the 13th to the 20th century.

A third linguistic group, the Croats, is of considerable importance in Burgenland. In 1923 its members comprised 14 per cent of the total population of the province.

The Croats settled in the Austria-Hungarian border area in the 16th century, as refugees from the Turkish invasions of their

³³Leeper, *Medieval Austria*. pp. 187-188.

³⁴Litschauer, *Deutsche Besiedlung*. Bgld VJH, p. 190.

³⁵Rittsteuer, *Neusiedl am See*. p. 33

³⁶Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*. p. 56

³⁷Ibid., p. 57.

homeland areas. The Croats were invited into the area, as the Germans had been three centuries previously, by Magyar overlords who wished to repopulate their holdings that had been wasted by the Turkish invasions of 1529 and 1532 against Vienna and Kőszeg (Güns).³⁸ In most cases the Croats were settled in decimated villages which continued to be called by their German or Magyar names, so that among the largest present-day Croatian gemeinden we find the names: Siegendorf, Parndorf, Hornstein, and Gross-warasdorf. Map 8 indicates the clustering of the Croatian villages in the Eisenstadt Basin and in the vicinity of Kőszeg.

Why did the magnates choose to call in the relatively distant Croats to recolonize the lands? The answer lies in the relationship of the three linguistic groups to the Turkish peril. The Magyars, occupying the plain that had been the principal battlefield for decades, were so decimated and scattered that they were unable to populate the *Álfdld* itself without attempting to act as colonists. To the Germans, in the relative security of the Alps, the open lands on the fighting frontier held very little appeal. To the Croats, however, these invitations represented an opportunity to move to fertile lands closer to the protective might of the Habsburgs.

The last wave of settlement followed the end of the Turkish wars in this area. The Turkish advance on Vienna in 1683 wasted the area north and east of the Neusiedler See. Again the Hungarian magnates, now led by Prince Eszterházy, invited colonists in order to cultivate the wasted areas. Now that the Turkish danger was past, the Germans again became the principal colonizing element,³⁹ strengthening the German numbers as compared to the Croats and Magyars.⁴⁰

In the following two centuries the only change in the established pattern was a gradual Germanization, effected through intermarriage and the numerical weight of the German majority. Those gemeinden that contained a mixed population became completely German, and several Croatian gemeinden that were surrounded by German villages also became Germanized. At present, it is a fairly common occurrence to meet Burgenlanders with Croatian names who, nevertheless, consider themselves to be purely German.⁴¹

³⁸Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*, p. 58.

³⁹Rittsteuer, *Neusiedl am See*. p. 133.

⁴⁰Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*. p. 58.

⁴¹For a detailed study (with useful charts and maps) of the Germanization of Croatian villages, see Josef Hůrsky, *Vylidňování a asimilace slovanských obcí v Gradisti* (the depopulation and assimilation of Slavic gemeente in Burgenland) (Slovanský ústav v Praze, 1952).

2. Jurisdictional History

Since, at the time of the peace conference after World War I, both the Germans and the Magyars resorted to historically based claims of jurisdiction over west-Hungary, and examination of the history of governmental jurisdiction over Burgenland is essential to an understanding of the area and of the process of transfer to Austria.

The Hungarians stressed the historicity of the Lafnitz-Leitha boundary; but whereas the southern two-thirds of this boundary had scarcely changed since its establishment, that along the Leitha had fluctuated often, in fact even if not in theory.

The Leitha River was first recognized as the boundary between Austria and Hungary in the treaty of 1048.⁴² This was reiterated several times thereafter. The medieval boundary was, however, not as precisely delimited or as strongly maintained as are boundaries today. The larger feudal holdings near the frontier could attain considerable freedom. Güssing and Forchtenstein enjoyed virtual independence at times, and even bound themselves to the Austrian Duke against the Hungarian throne in several of the wars between those two states.⁴³

In medieval times it was quite possible for the ruler of one state to possess territory in another state and yet have that property remain a legal portion of the other state. It was possible for one government to have financial and juridical control over an area and still have that territory remain a legal portion of another state. A case of this type was the transfer of the largest Herrschaften (feudal estates) of west-Hungary, Bernstein, Hornstein, Eisenstadt, Köszeg, Rechnitz, Forchtenstein, and Kobersdorf to the control of the Habsburgs and their treasury by the Treaty of Pressburg in 1491.⁴⁴ These estates were recognized as remaining within Hungary; they were not considered as being integral portions of Lower Austria, but as being incorporated ("Inkorporiert") into it.⁴⁵ These legal

⁴²Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*. p. 55

⁴³Friedrich Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung des Burgenlandes an Österreich* (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna, Wien, 1937), p. 13.

⁴⁴Max Vancsa, *Zur Geschichte Des Burgenlandes*. Burgenland Festschrift, Wien, 1920, p. 14.

⁴⁵Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 19

distinctions did not, however, prevent the Habsburgs from treating the areas as though they did belong to Austria in every way. In the last decade of the 15th century the Emperor transferred the areas of Sinnerdorf^{B7} and Zillingdorf^{BC4} to Styrian and Lower Austrian feudal holdings, producing boundary alterations that are still in existence.

The acquisition of the Hungarian crown by the Habsburg Emperor, after 1526, destroyed any possibility that this situation might clarify itself through time. For four centuries the Hungarians were to claim that the Leitha had always been the historically recognized boundary, whereas Lower Austria was to maintain that at the time that the Austrian and Hungarian holdings were united under one monarchy most of present-day Burgenland was, for all practical purposes, Austrian territory, and that by treaty.

By the beginning of the 18th century most of this disputed territory was again clearly a part of Hungary. It had become so because the Habsburgs, as holders of this land, under financial and political pressure, sold it, an estate at a time, to Hungarian noblemen. The Hungarians were able to make full use of the Thirty Years' War to regain these areas. Lower Austria protested strongly but to a Habsburg who was ruler of both Austria and Hungary, the Hungarian continual threat (and practice) of rebellion, and ability to pay desperately needed money, overruled all protests. After the treaty of 1622 between Ferdinand II and the rebellious forces under Bethlen Gábor, the Emperor sold two of the largest Herrschaften, Eisenstadt and Forchtenstein, to his friend Nicholas Eszterházy.⁴⁶ Ferdinand thus transferred these two estates to a Hungarian lord, but to one who was Roman Catholic, and who had remained loyal in the recent rebellion. In 1626 Eszterházy purchased the Kobersdorf Herrschaft, thus extending his holdings into what is now middle Burgenland.⁴⁷ Lower Austria succeeded in preventing Eszterházy from obtaining Hornstein in 1641,⁴⁸ but in 1702 a later Eszterházy was able to purchase that estate for 265,000 guldens.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Josef Tschida, *Die Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse zum Anschluss and zur Einrichtung des Burgenlandes* (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna, Wien, 1947), p. 16.

⁴⁷Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 21.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Karl Semmelweis, *Die Geschichte der Orte Stotsing und Loretto am Leithagebirge*. *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*, II/2, Eisenstadt, 1949, p. 69.

Though they were not, after 1702, to regain any more territory, the Hungarians persevered in their efforts to move the boundary back to the Leitha. Repeatedly they demanded the return of Scharfeneck, Hof, Au, Sommerein, and Zillingdorf, all of which lay east of the Leitha. In November 1919, the Hungarian newspaper, Uj Nemzedék, wrote that these claims had been "forgotten" only because of the Ausgleich of 1867.⁵⁰

For over two centuries, prior to the First World War, the boundary had not been altered. As far as the local populace was concerned, there was no confusion as to citizenship or national allegiance. In the great rebellion of 1848-1849 many of the Germans of west-Hungary fought for Hungary and virtually none for Austria.⁵¹ "During the War for Freedom the Germans joined the Magyars unanimously,"⁵² admits an Austrian author.

3. Magyarization

Prior to the late 18th century linguistic nationalism was, at best, a weak force in Europe. International cultural languages such as French or Latin were often prized above the language of the majority of the citizens of the nation. Within Hungary there was no recognized dichotomy between the habitual use of German and Hungarian citizenship. The identification of Hungarian with Magyar had not yet been made.

The first indication that the Hungarians were being affected by the sweeping romantic nationalism of the Napoleonic Wars was a law, passed in 1790 by the Hungarian parliament, urging the introduction of the Magyar language in all schools.⁵³ This mild suggestion was put into force only a half-century later, by the laws of 1839-1840 and 1843-1844 which declared Magyar to be the official and teaching language within Hungary.⁵⁴ The young leaders who now became prominent were ardent advocates of Magyarization. Louis Kossuth warned,

⁵⁰Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 25.

⁵¹Tschida, *Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse*. p. 23.

⁵²Szmudits. *op. cit.*, p. 28

⁵³Tschida, *Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse*. p. 21.

⁵⁴Szmudits. *op. cit.*, p. 28.

"Make haste to Magyarize the Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs, and Germans or else we will perish."⁵⁵ Faced with the growing linguistic nationalisms of the far larger surrounding groups, the Germans and Slavs, the Magyars felt that they would have to consolidate their position linguistically, or be swallowed. However, the repression of the rebellion of 1848-1849 halted all further attempts in this direction for two decades.

The Ausgleich of 1867 established a Hungarian national state within the Habsburg Empire. In 1868 the Hungarian parliament enacted the Nationalities Law which guaranteed definite rights in the political and cultural fields to the minorities.⁵⁶ This official position was, however, usually circumvented or ignored by the Hungarian ruling officials; the policy of the attempted Magyarization of all the inhabitants of the state was resumed.

The primary assault of the Magyarizers came in the field of education. An 1879 law stated that Magyar had to be taught in all schools; after 1882 a candidate could obtain a teacher's certificate only if he had mastered Magyar; after 1883 teacher candidates for the upper schools had to pass their examinations in Magyar.⁵⁷ This trend was culminated by the primary-school law of Count Albert Apponyi, in 1907, which stated that all teaching in primary schools would have to be in Magyar. This act was carried out with such thoroughness that one year later the school inspector of Moson Komitat (north and east of the Neusiedler See) could say, "Scarcely a year has elapsed since the enforcement of the new law and already Magyar has become the teaching language in all our primary schools."⁵⁸

⁵⁵Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 31.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

⁵⁸Heinrich Kunnert, *Vor Zehn Jahren. Burgenland Vierteljahrschrift für Landeskunde, Heimatschutz und Denkmalpflege*, Jg. II/2, Eisenstadt, 1929, p. 128.

The policy of Magyarization was most effective in the urban centers.

TABLE 3

City	1880		1900		1920	
	German	Magyar	German	Magyar	German	Magyar
Bratislava	30,440	7,537	33,202	20,102		
Moson	3,583	933	2,984	2,077	2,557	3,649
Magyaróvár	2,125	998	1,727	1,805	2,111	4,837
Sopron	17,115	4,877	17,924	13,540	16,911	17,166
Kőszeg	5,290	1,458	4,146	3,575	3,314	4,978
Szt. Gotthárd	643	639	577	1,400	375	2,198

The preceding table⁵⁹ indicates that most of the cities of west-Hungary changed from a German to a Magyar majority in the four decades 1880-1920. Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) had been occupied by the Czechs in 1919, hence no figures for 1920 are available. The 1910 census listed 32,790 Germans and 31,705 Magyars, so that by 1918 Bratislava probably also had a Magyar majority.

Because of its sweeping character, the 1907 law produced the first signs of dissatisfaction among the Germans of Hungary. All previous measures had been mild in comparison, in that they had allowed some instruction in the language of the local populace. Though there was to be, at the time, virtually no resistance to the implementation of this measure, the separatist desires of the Germans of west-Hungary in the crucial years of 1918-1921 were bred largely by the Apponyi school law.

⁵⁹Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 46.

II. THE TRANSFER OF BURGENLAND TO AUSTRIA

A. The Contending Nationalisms

During the years of flux that followed the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire three nationalistic forces contended for the territory that now comprises Burgenland. The Germans, Slavs, and Magyars all attempted to establish their claims to this area, yet each claim was based on a different ideal and differing practical considerations.

1. The Germans

The German claims on the area were based, ideologically, on simple linguistic nationalism and, practically, on the desirability of obtaining a more extensive food-producing hinterland for Vienna.

The pro-Austrian movement was centered outside of west-Hungary, and most of the initial and most vocal leaders had had little, if any, contact with the area. The Germans within west-Hungary had evidently never considered the possibility of a transfer to Austria before the end of the World War. Because of the increasing Magyarization of the urban centers and the intelligentsia, the German-speaking people of west-Hungary lacked leadership. They had also become so accustomed to considering themselves as Hungarians that until the peace terms were announced from Paris, most of the local efforts were directed towards autonomy within rather than separation from Hungary.

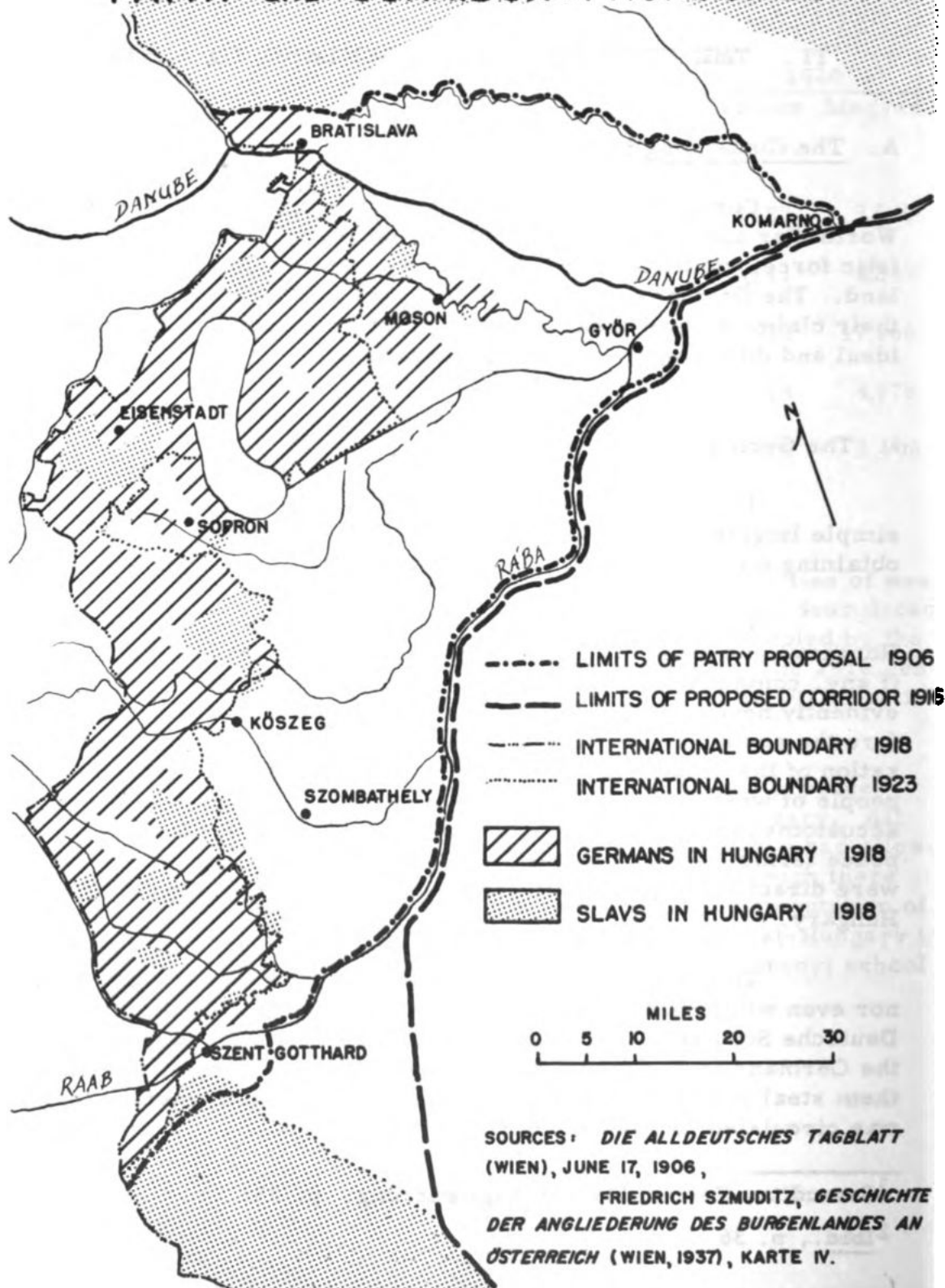
The first pro-German voice was not heard in west-Hungary, nor even within the Empire, but in Germany. In 1881 the Allgemeine Deutsche Schulverein, in Berlin, stated that its first task was to help the Germans in Hungary.¹ Seven years later a flier entitled "Don't let them steal your German place names; preserve your mother tongue!" was circulated in west-Hungary.²

¹Samudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 35.

²Ibid., p. 36

MAP 10

PATRY and CORRIDOR PROPOSALS



On June 17, 1906 a significant article by Josef Patry,³ a primary-school teacher in Vienna, appeared, as the lead article, in the chauvinistically pro-German, pro-Bismarck, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Hungarian newspaper, *Die Alldeutsches Tagblatt*. This article urged the transfer of west-Hungary to Austria, but far more than present-day Burgenland was to be transferred. The proposed area, depicted on Map 10 (page 46), was to include more Magyars (418,318) than Germans (345,705) and a full 100,000 Croats and Slovaks. Since it would be impossible to take this area from Hungary by force, Patry proposed a great exchange of territory, with Hungary to receive Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina in return for the ceded territory. Hungary would thus obtain 24,600 square miles and 2,200,000 people in return for 4,330 square miles and 878,587 people. To correct the Magyar plurality in the area to be ceded to Austria, Patry recommended a population transfer of the Magyars for the approximately 100,000 Germans in the Bakony Forest. Concerning the 100,000 Slavs, he maintained that they were actually pro-German ("deutsch freundlich gesinnt") and would much prefer to have their children learn German than Magyar.

Besides the desirability of uniting the Germans to Austria, Patry made use of historic arguments (the area represented the old East Mark of Charlemagne) and economic arguments (Austria, and particularly Vienna, needed more arable land). Through all the propagandizing that was to follow, these three aims, linguistic, historic, and economic, were to be stressed repeatedly.

The article kindled little enthusiasm in Austria, most politicians considering the proposal to be "insane" and illustrating an "idealistic fanaticism."⁴ The Emperor preferred to ignore the issue since it seemed to reopen old wounds, and would force him to act as umpire on the centuries-old boundary dispute between Austria and Hungary.⁵

³Josef Patry has himself explained the origin of his feelings. He had been born in Vienna of parents from Iglau in Bohemia. "With my mother's milk I sucked in the noble hatred of the cunning Czechs Out of the German-Czech situation sprang my efforts to bring help to the Germans of Hungary." From: Josef Patry, *Allerlei aus der Zeit vor zum Anschluss. Festnummer Drei Jahre bei Deutschösterreich, Der Freie Burgenländer*, Eisenstadt, November 16, 1924.

⁴Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 56.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 67.

A reply to the proposal in the Budapest German-language newspaper Neue Pester Journal, on June 20, 1906, termed it unheard of that Hungary should exchange its most cultivated portions, with blooming cities and fruitful fields, for the Karst and the Bosnian mountains, and 878,000 intelligent, loyal people capable of paying taxes for 2,200,000 poor goatherds, remote both in language and civilization. A German-speaking representative from Sopron labelled the proposal as traitorous in the Hungarian parliament.⁶ Since Patry's chauvinistically pro-German article appeared in 1906, it may well have influenced the enactment of the extreme pro-Magyar Apponyi school law of 1907.

In 1907 in Vienna, under the leadership of Patry and others, an organization, entitled "The Society for the Maintenance of the German Nationality in Hungary,"⁷ was formed with the express purpose of acquiring German west-Hungary for Austria.⁸ This group became the cadre of the forces agitating for the transfer of the area to Austria, yet as late as October 1918 it did not include a single member who could call himself a west-Hungarian.⁹

Tactically the Society pursued two aims. The first, and seemingly the most important, was to kindle enthusiasm for its cause among the German-speaking people of Austria. The second was to gain support for the move among the concerned people themselves, the Germans of west-Hungary. These two aims were pursued through newspaper articles, the dispatching of committees to call upon government officials, and the distribution of fliers among the peasantry of west-Hungary. Until the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in October 1918, the response to these efforts varied from lukewarm support to outright opposition.

A marked intensification in the propagandizing, after October 1918, was attributable primarily to the efforts of one man,

⁶Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 63.

⁷"Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn." This name was changed in 1918 to "Versammlung der Wiener Deutschen aus Westungarn und der Freunde des westungarisches Deutschtums" (Gathering of the Viennese Germans from west-Hungary and the friends of the west-Hungarian Germans). From: Szmudits, p. 85.

⁸Ibid., p. 42.

⁹Wiener Deutsche Tageszeitung. Wien, August 27, 1920.

Alfred Walheim, a gymnasium "professor" of German literature in Vienna.¹⁰ Between October 1918 and the time of the Sopron Plebiscite, December 1921, Walheim published at least 241 articles in 12 different publications,¹¹ spoke at numerous mass meetings and repeatedly acted as the spokesman of delegations approaching the leaders of the Austrian government.

It was through the efforts of this group that the issue was made familiar to the Viennese leaders and public. In the chaotic months following the collapse of the Empire, the Society gathered some support for its activities not on ideological grounds but by stressing the envisioned increase in food supplies to the hungry city. At the key moment the Society was able to send one of its members, Dr. Beer (who knew both Magyar and French), as a special expert on west-Hungary, with the Austrian delegation to the Paris peace conference.¹²

2. The Hungarians*

The Hungarian claims on the area were based on an areal nationalism rather than the linguistic nationalism then in the ascendancy. Since the territory was still a part of Hungary, that country could scarcely be expected to surrender it except under duress. The

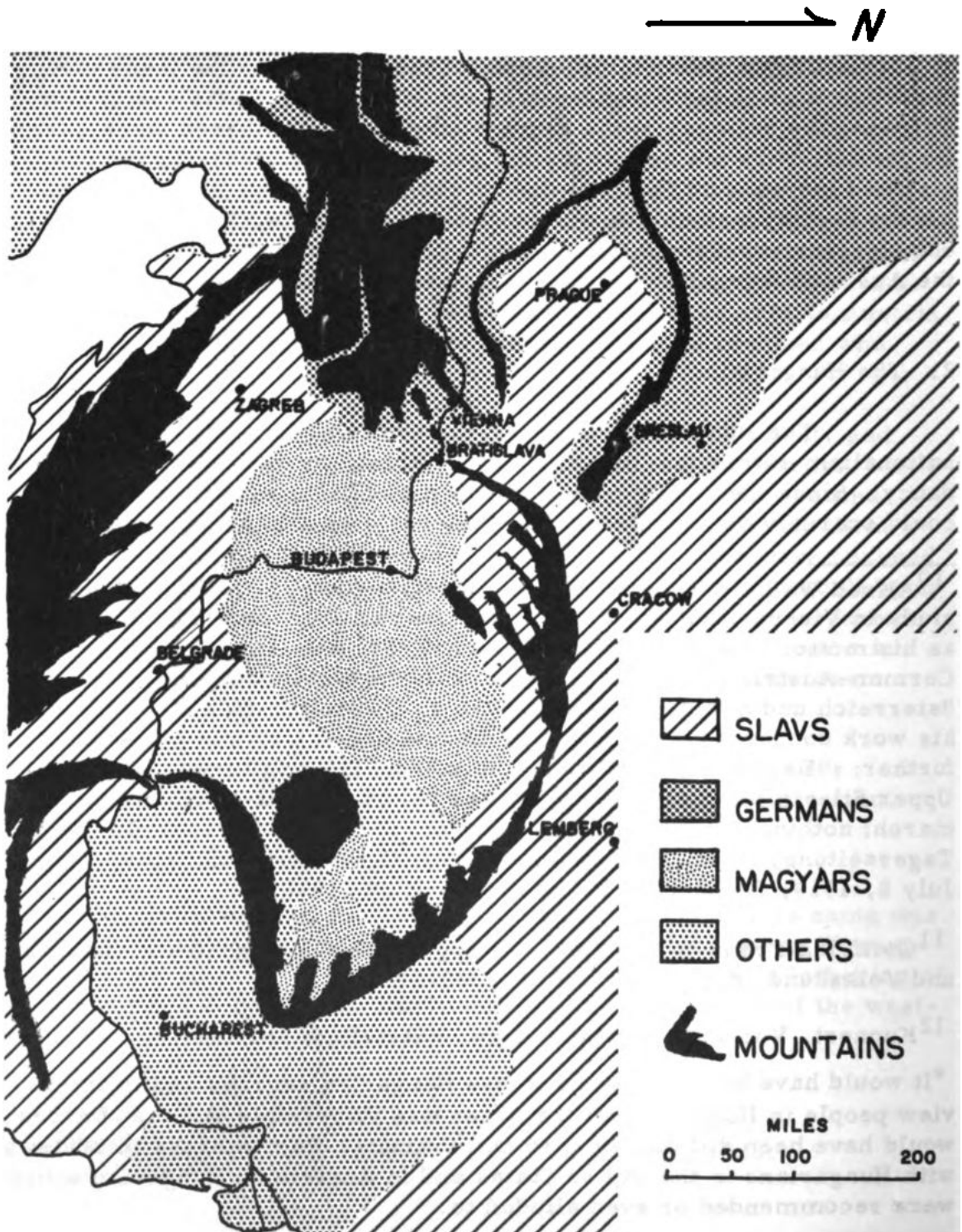
¹⁰ Alfred Walheim was born in Sopron (Ödenburg) in 1874, but left to study in Vienna. He became an "Austrian citizen" in 1899. He stated as his motto: "German west-Hungary to German-Austria and with German-Austria to Great-Germany!" ("Deutschwestungarn zu Deutschösterreich und mit Deutschösterreich zu Grossdeutschland!") Though all his work concerned west-Hungary he envisioned its aims as extending further: "East and West Prussia, the Heinenland (Burgenland), Carinthia, Upper Silesia; the great gathering has begun. Great-Germany is on the march; nothing in the world can stop her." From: Wiener Deutsches Tageszeitung, Wien, September 5, 1922; Ostdeutsch Rundschau, Wien, July 8, 1919, October 3, 1919, and April 30, 1920.

¹¹ Gottfried Franz Litschauer, Bibliographie zur Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde des Burgenlandes 1800-1929.

¹² Kunnert, Vor Zehn Jahren. Bgld. Vierteljahrst, p. 131.

*It would have been desirable to use Hungarian sources and to interview people in Hungary, but the latter was impossible and the sources would have been difficult to read and evaluate. In numerous interviews with Hungarians in the United States and in Austria no Hungarian sources were recommended or even alluded to.

Principal LINGUISTIC GROUPS in Central Europe
(1918, Generalized)



practical argument of the Hungarians was based on possession rather than on economics or on strategic location. Hungarian feelings went deeper, however. For the Hungarians the leit-motif of the state was the areal concept expressed in the term "the lands of King St. Stephen." The integrity of this territory was the national passion, and was the motivating concept behind the continual efforts, already described, to return the western boundary to the Leitha River.

When the Germans of west-Hungary became restive in 1918-1919, the Hungarian government was willing to allow virtual autonomy rather than lose them, and even after the terms of the peace treaties were announced the Hungarians made strenuous efforts to regain portions of the territory (and with some success).

3. The Slavs

Slavic claims on the area were based, ideologically, on a Pan-Slavic dream, and, practically, on the desire for the economic and strategic union of the Czechs and south Slavs, and the consequent economic and strategic separation of Austria and Hungary. This plan for a territorial connection between the new Czech-Slovak and Serb-Croat-Slovene states was formulated in a proposed "Corridor."

Map 11 (page 50) indicates that where the Magyars and Germans meet, the north and south Slavs are closest to each other. As early as 1848 the Slav Congress, meeting in Prague, adopted the plan of Jan Kollers calling for the erection of a corridor, through west-Hungary, to join the north and south Slavs.¹³ The existence of a number of Croatian enclaves in the area concerned seemed to make the proposal reasonable.

As Czech groups began to concern themselves with the coming Czech state, the Corridor idea became increasingly popular. In 1900 the future Czech finance minister, Raschin, stressed the need of the future Czech state for an outlet to the Adriatic;¹⁴ in 1910 the mayor of Zagreb made an attempt to win the Croats of west-Hungary to the ideal of a Croatian state. In 1914 the Czech, Karl Kramer,

¹³Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. pp. 157-158

¹⁴Günther Berka, *Die tschechische Irredenta in Deutschösterreich*. Graz, 1928, p. 2.

presented to the Russian ambassador in Paris, Izvolskij, a planned "Constitution of the Slavic Reich" which dreamed of a greater Slavic realm including Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia (with the Tsar as ultimate ruler) and a corridor in west-Hungary to join the north and south Slavs.¹⁵ During the World War, Czechs and south Slavs, in various western capitals, worked on planned divisions of the Habsburg monarchy, with the Corridor usually figuring in these plans.¹⁶

The leader of the Czechs, Thomas Masaryk, realized that the stated linguistic (the Croatian enclaves), historical (a medieval Corridor had been destroyed by the Germans and Magyars), and economic (ties with the Adriatic) arguments were rather weak. In his Memoire II, to the British Foreign Minister (concerning the boundaries of the future Czech-Slovak state) in April 1915, Masaryk tried to meet the expected objections. He admitted that in the areas around Bratislava and in the Corridor the population was German but with a Croat minority. Hungary would be retaining significant numbers of Slovaks and Serbo-Croats, wherefore it would not be unjust to divide this strip between two Slav states. He admitted further that the proposed division of Moson, Sopron, Vas, and Zala Komitats would be contrary to the principle of self-determination and impossible to defend militarily; yet the principle of self-determination could not be followed completely, and, in this case, must give way to a higher political interest, that of isolating the Germans and Magyars to prevent their alliance against the Slavs.¹⁷

The actual plan was worked out in correspondence between Masaryk and the Croat, Lorkovic.¹⁸ The eastern boundary of the proposed Corridor, as drawn in 1916, bears a striking resemblance to the boundary envisioned by the pro-German Patry in 1906 (see Map 10 page 46). Of the total population of 850,000, only 55,466 were Slavs (all Croats).¹⁹ This plan was laid before the Russian Ambassador and French Foreign Minister Briand in 1916; the Corridor was depicted as forming a part of a "Slavic wall" reaching from the Baltic to the Adriatic, to prevent eastward German expansion.²⁰

¹⁵Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 158.

¹⁶Thomas Masaryk, *Die Welt Revolution*. Berlin, 1927, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. pp. 160-162

¹⁸Masaryk, *Die Welt Revolution*. p. 24.

¹⁹Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 164.

²⁰Edwards Benes, *Der Aufstand der Nationen*. Berlin, 1928, p. 57.

B. The Movement for the Transfer of West-Hungary to Austria

1. Within West-Hungary

Within west-Hungary pro-German agitation began in 1907, the year of the Apponyi school law. Under the leadership of Karl Wollinger,²¹ the miller in Heiligenkreuz im Lafnitztal^{B11}, the "Ungarlandische Deutsche Volkspartei" (Hungarian German People's Party) was founded in Budapest to further the interests of the German-speaking people in Hungary.²² This man, passionately attached to the Pan-German ideal, exerted a great influence on the population in his local area. Under his leadership Heiligenkreuz printed tax-books in German at its own expense, and in several villages German was reintroduced as the official language on the basis of the Nationalities Act of 1868.²³ German candidates were put up for the election in the local bezirk in 1910 but without success.²⁴ Until 1918 Wollinger, and his followers, had scant success either with the authorities or the peasantry.

The statement of the principle of self-determination by President Wilson made a profound impression on the Germans of west-Hungary. His is still the name one hears most often in Burgenland when one wishes to discuss the time of the move to Austria. In the spring of 1957 one German peasant stated that "Wilson said, in 1917, that Burgenland could come to Austria." (Wilson probably never said anything remotely resembling this.) A German schoolteacher blamed Wilson for not bringing to Austria ALL the Germans in west-Hungary; a Magyar schoolteacher stated that the people in his gemeinde blame Wilson for the Breakup of the old political system.

²¹Karl Wollinger was a wealthy man for his vicinity, owning the mill and 99 acres of fertile land. He had attended school in Germany, where he had become a friend of several of the future Nazi leaders. Though local stories vary, it is certain that Goering visited him at least once and probably twice: once in 1930 (?) when he was hiding from the German police, and once in 1942. Statistics from: Jahrbuch und Adressbuch der Land und Forstwirtschaft, Ergänzungsband 1930/1931. Wien, 1930.

²²Szmudits, Geschichte der Angliederung. p. 40

²³Ibid., p. 42.

²⁴Ibid., p. 43.

At the end of 1918, among the peasants, there was a growth of their consciousness of being German, and a growth in their desire to join Austria. This can be attributed to two events of that time: the definite separation of Hungary from Austria resulting from the Károlyi revolution of October 1918, and the return of the soldiers.

The ties of west-Hungary with Vienna had always been close. The imperial metropolis had become the principal market for the agricultural produce, and a major employment center for the surplus labor of west-Hungary. Economic and personal ties bound many families to Vienna. With the erection of an international boundary between west-Hungary and the metropolis, the sentiment for a reunion with Vienna gained strength and expressed itself in the slogan "Zurück zu Österreich" ("Back to Austria").

During their four years of armed service, the men of German west-Hungary had discovered that since they could speak the same language, they shared more in common with soldiers of Austria, or even Germany, than with the Magyars of Hungary.²⁵ The Magyarization of the schools had not been in effect long enough to bring about any change in the native language of the peasants; it had merely prevented them from learning any language well, by teaching a language that was not used, and giving no instruction in the one actually spoken. The soldiers had developed a kinship based on language, and had come to resent the form of schooling they had known.

With the exception of the efforts of Karl Wollinger, however, most work was directed towards obtaining some measure of self-government for the Germans within Hungary rather than towards separation. A "German People's Council for Hungary" was established on November 10, 1918, to work towards the cultural autonomy of the Germans, but with the preservation of the intactness of Hungary.²⁶ Such moves only hindered the process of transfer to Austria, since the Germans in other portions of the state were antagonistic to any decline in their numbers, for they were certain that such a decline in their numbers would weaken their then-strong position.²⁷ The leaders in

²⁵Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 91.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 78

the northern two-thirds of present-day Burgenland agreed with this point of view, and limited themselves to demands for autonomy.²⁸

In the extreme south, Wollinger had united a number of villages which had come to be known as the "forty gemeinden of Szt. Gotthárd." In Eltendorf^{B10}, on December 4, 1918, after speeches by Wollinger and pro-Hungarian officials, a meeting came to the following decision:

The Germans, gathered . . . in Eltendorf, demand for the Germans in west-Hungary the rights of self-determination and ask the Austrian government to intercede, with all its means, at the peace negotiations in Paris, to have German west-Hungary separated from Hungary and joined to German-Austria.²⁹

On December 15, the representatives of the "forty gemeinden" met in Heiligenkreuz to hear Wollinger, after which they announced their desire for union with Austria.³⁰

These "forty gemeinden"³¹ were all located in the lower Lafnitz and Raab valleys^{BC10-11}. Twenty-seven were in present-day Jennersdorf Bezirk, eight in Güssing Bezirk, and five in Hungary. These two valleys carried the only important through routes south of the Eisenstadt Basin. The Lafnitz was the path of the principal highway from Graz into Hungary, the Raab the route of the railroad.

²⁸Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 96.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁰Kunnert, *Vor Zehn Jahren*. Bgld Vierteljrst, p. 130.

³¹The forty gemeinden were: Jennersdorf Bezirk--Rohrbrunn, Deutsch Kaltenbrunn, Rudersdorf, Dobersdorf, Zahling, Eltendorf, Poppendorf, Heiligenkreuz, Potschendorf, Kroboteck, Wallendorf, Deutsch Minihof, Rax, Neumarkt a/d Raab, St. Martin a/d Raab, Welten, Gritsch, Doiber, Unterdrosen, Windisch-Minihof, Oberdrosen, Minihof-Liebau, Neuhaus am Klausenback, Tauka, Bonisdorf, Krottendorf, and Kalch; Güssing Bezirk--Limbach, Kukmirn, Neustift, Tschanigraben, Grossmürbisch, Klein-mürbisch, and Reinersdorf; Hungary--Rábadűzes (Raabfidisch), Jakabháza (Jakobsdorf), Felsőrönök (Ober-radling), Alsözölök (Unter-zamming), and Alsőrönök (Unter-radling). From: Szmudits, p. 101.

Access to Graz was relatively simple, and the important Styrian market towns of Fürstenfeld, Fehring, and Feldbach, located close to the boundary, attracted much of the local trade of the border area. Interestingly, the connections by road to the local market centers, rather than the connection by railroad to the much larger, but much farther Graz, evidently had the greater influence on local sentiments. Whereas most of the gemeinden along the railroad were not represented in the list of the "forty gemeinden," every gemeente south of the Raab (road connections to Fehring) and along the Lafnitz highway (connections with Fürstenfeld) as far as Alsbrunn (six miles east of Szt. Gotthard) was represented in the "forty gemeinden."

In the north, connections with Lower Austria, and particularly with Vienna, were as close as those of the Lafnitz valley with Fürstenfeld, but with the important exception that the north possessed market centers of its own, and in Sopron (Ödenburg), a major urban center. The north contained the major proportion of the intelligentsia, with a generally higher level of education. With the exception of Wolinger, all the leaders of the German language group were in the north, and these had been educated in Hungary. They were imbued with the spirit of the sacredness of the historic areal integrity of Hungary. In the south the peasants saw matters simply, and, under strong leadership, opted for the country of their language, Austria; in the north the intellectuals of Sopron and Neusiedl tried to compromise their German and Hungarian sympathies into a movement for autonomy within Hungary. In the half of the province represented now by the three bezirke, Oberpullendorf, Oberwart, and Güssing, there was relatively little agitation for either transfer or autonomy. (Oberpullendorf and Oberwart contained the largest enclaves of Magyars in present-day Burgenland.)

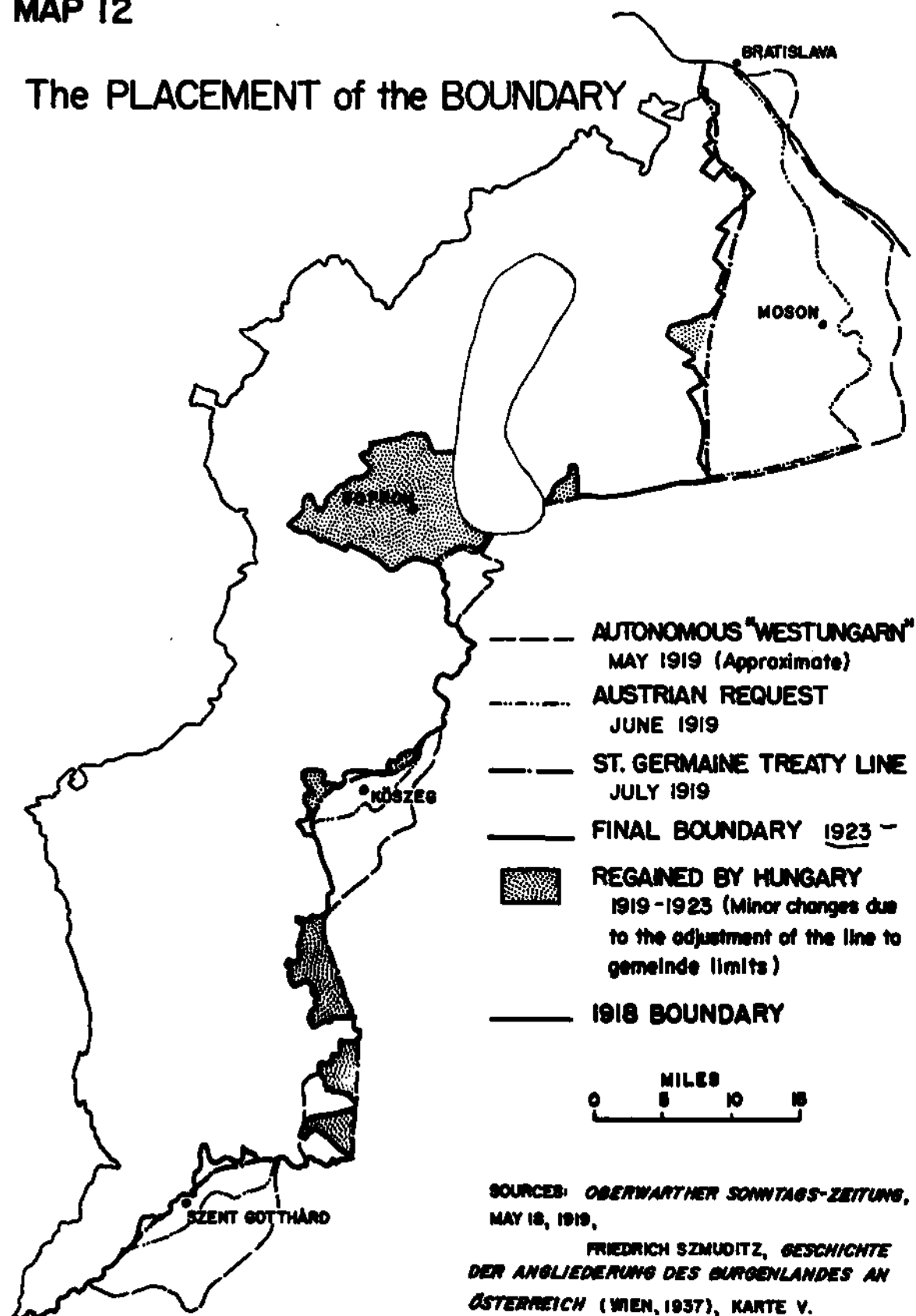
On January 27, 1919, the Hungarian government granted the Germans of west-Hungary full autonomy. Map 12 (page 57) depicts the boundaries of the new "Westungarn" autonomous German area, as announced, in May 1919, by the "German people's commission of the Hungarian Red-republic."³² The new German province was to contain all the German-speaking areas of west-Hungary, including numerous enclaves of both Magyars and Croats.

It is difficult to estimate how the situation would have developed had the Károlyi government been able to retain power. On March 21, 1919, Károlyi was forced to resign; he was succeeded by the

³²Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung (Oberwart, May 18, 1919).

MAP 12

The PLACEMENT of the BOUNDARY



communist government of Béla Kun. Autonomy had already been granted the Germans and might have satisfied them had not the Red-republic been proclaimed.

Undoubtedly, nothing united local opinion more than the advent of the communist regime. Since a high proportion of the intellectuals were clergymen, Kun managed to unite, for the first time, the peasants of the south and many of the leaders of the north. Wollinger was arrested as a "counterrevolutionary."³³

The chronology of the Red regime was of great importance; it coincided with the time of the peace deliberations in Paris. There is no doubt but that it proved to be the best possible propaganda for the transfer. Viennese newspapers were full of tales of terror and the flight of refugees.³⁴ Béla Kun envisioned the loss of west-Hungary in Marxist terms; he felt that he would be losing territory to capitalism as much as to Austria.³⁵ In May 1919, Kun stated that west-Hungary would agree to join Austria only if that country also established the dictatorship of the proletariat.³⁶ In July 1919, when the report that the Entente had promised west-Hungary to Austria was first heard, Kun remarked that he would be quite willing to have the question settled by a plebiscite, but one in which only the workers would be permitted to vote.³⁷

2. Within Austria

Rarely has a government advanced towards an addition of territory in as stumbling and irresolute a fashion as did Austria between 1918 and 1921. Despite the highly vocal efforts of the "Society for the Maintenance of the German Nationality in Hungary," official

³³Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 140.

³⁴For example: *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien, May 3 and May 9, 1919).

³⁵Szmudits, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³⁶*Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*. (Oberwart, May 25, 1919).

³⁷Szmudits, *op. cit.*, 153.

Vienna did virtually nothing to obtain west-Hungary, until the important plea of Chancellor Renner at the peace conference.³⁸ There were a number of understandable motives behind this lack of action.

1. Austria was besieged by problems of such magnitude that the acquisition of west-Hungary seemed trifling in comparison. These problems included the questions of South Tyrol, southern Carinthia, southern Styria, the 3,000,000 Germans in Bohemia, the separatist desires of Vorarlberg, and the advisability of Anschluss with Germany, in addition to the critical problems of finance, transportation, commerce and basic productivity that beset the mountainous stump of a great Empire.

2. There was a deep sympathy for Hungary. She had been the only portion of the old empire that had remained loyal through all the bitter years of the war, and she was now being torn apart by the same groups that were rending Austria. The common fear of the erection of the Corridor actually brought the Hungarians and Austrians together into a common effort to prevent this from occurring.³⁹

³⁸ Indicative of what appeared to be the official point of view were the remarks of Dr. Bauer, the Austrian envoy to Budapest, to members of the Hungarian government. In February 1919, he was quoted as stating that the Austrian government was little interested in the annexation of the German area. Should such attempts be made from the Austrian side of the boundary, these would be entirely from "irresponsible functionaries" whom the Austrian government refused to support. The Hungarian government would have every right to work against these people with all possible means. Josef Tschida, *Die Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse zum Anschluss und zur Einrichtung des Burgenlandes*, p. 124.

Again, in May 1919, Dr. Bauer answered a note from Béla Kun (concerning the journey of Dr. Beer to Paris as special envoy on west-Hungary), "The Austrian government has abstained from all agitation and propaganda concerning west-Hungary and will continue to do so.... The sending of Dr. Beer to the peace conference has only the aim of having an expert on hand in case the matter is broached. The same is true concerning the Czechoslovak question." *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien, May 15, 1919). These remarks do not seem to represent any diplomatic duplicity since the advocates of the transfer became highly incensed at the statements.

³⁹ *Tagespost* (Graz, January 5 and 29, 1919).

3. The governing party of Austria in 1919, the Socialists, hesitated to attempt to acquire territory at the expense of their Socialist (Károlyi) or Communist (Kun) comrades in Hungary.⁴⁰ Marxism was then a greater binding force between Socialists and Communists than it is now; the two Marxist parties shared the red flag and much of the same theory and terminology.

4. There was a notable continuance of legitimist thinking in Austria. Monarchism did not die suddenly in October 1918 (nor had it died by 1957); its adherents treasured the old order, and sympathized with the Hungarian desires to maintain the intactness of their land. The Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung⁴¹ often charged that the "Karlists" were striving for the continued areal integrity of Hungary in order to help Karl regain the throne of Hungary⁴² (as he actually attempted to do in his flight into Hungary in October 1921). This legitimist thinking influenced the second major party of Austria, the "Christlichsoziale Partei." When the Red-republic was succeeded by the Horthy reaction, on August 1, 1919, these people felt, as the Socialists had previously, that they could not take territory from their comrades in Hungary.⁴³

5. There was fear that Hungary would invoke some sort of economic sanctions, perhaps going to the extreme of stopping food supplies to a starving Austria.⁴⁴

The active protagonists of an annexation of west-Hungary were never more than a numerically insignificant minority. "The official opinion of Austria, from 1918 to 1920, in its overwhelming majority, had relatively little interest in the acquisition of Burgenland."⁴⁵

⁴⁰Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung (Wien, August 19, 1921). Also: Szumits, Geschichte der Angliederung. pp. 81, 149.

⁴¹The organ of the pan-German "Grossdeutsche Partei."

⁴²Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung (Wien, August 31, 1921).

⁴³Ibid., August 19, 1921.

⁴⁴Szmudits, Geschichte der Angliederung. p. 82.

⁴⁵Tschida, Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse. p. 298.

C. The Paris Peace Conference

1. The Corridor

Because of the preference of the victorious powers, the Slavic claims on west-Hungary were given priority at the peace conferences at Paris. German and Hungarian claims to the area were not examined until after the Corridor proposal had been rejected.

On February 6, 1919, Czech Prime-Minister Kramarsch, and Foreign-Minister Beneš, asked the Entente powers in Paris for a territorial connection between the new Czech-Slovak and Serb-Croat-Slovene states. "In this manner the Germans will finally be cut off from the East, and the new Czechoslovak state will have gained a greater stability."⁴⁶ Beneš further maintained that it was necessary for the establishment of stability in Central Europe that Bohemia have territorial ties with both Yugoslavia and Rumania. "Friendly relations with Hungary will follow as a matter of economic necessity."⁴⁷

The Czechs won considerable support for the Corridor from the Allies, particularly from the French who found the idea of a "Slavic Wall," barring all German advances to the East, very appealing. France also looked upon the "Successor States" as her protégées, and felt that any strengthening of the future "Little Entente" would improve her power position in Europe. The British and Americans were not strongly for or against the plan, though they would have probably acquiesced to the French support of the idea. British delegate Harold Nicolson accepted the Corridor as "just."⁴⁸

The plan was killed by the Italians, who expressed themselves as being so strongly opposed to such a corridor that the proposal had to be rejected.⁴⁹

Since the basic assumption behind the Corridor plan was the military and economic co-operation of the Czechs with the south

⁴⁶Berka, *Tschechische Irredenta*. p. 5.

⁴⁷K. Friedrich Nowak, *Chaos*. München, 1923, p. 240.

⁴⁸Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking*, 1919. London, 1933, p. 240.

⁴⁹Beneš, *Der Aufstand der Nationen*. p. 60.

Slavs, Italy could have looked forward to a vastly strengthened, unfriendly (because of the enmities concerning Trieste, Fiume, and Dalmatia) state on her flank. Were this plan ever to achieve its full ideologically envisioned dimensions, Yugoslavia could face Italy with the massed power of over 200,000,000 Slavs behind her.

Italy also hoped to be able to assume a posture of power in Central Europe. Since the "Successor States" had been already tied to France (or a Slavic union), only in Austria and Hungary could Italy find possibilities for an extension of its power and influence. Of these two, Hungary was certainly the more promising; Italy could not allow Hungary to be isolated from her and the West.

Would the Corridor have created a core of power capable of withstanding German and Russian expansionisms? The answer appears to be "No." The Slavs have never been able to work together, and the largest of the Slav states was to prove a great menace to the independence of the "Successor States." Both the Yugoslavs and the Czechoslovaks were disunited within their own borders, and the two states had different outlooks and foreign interests. Czech commerce preferred to move towards the North Sea rather than the Adriatic and it is highly doubtful that a Corridor could have altered this. The two states would have agreed (as they did) only to oppose Hungary, and perhaps Austria, neither of which was to constitute the serious threat to their power position and independence.⁵⁰

⁵⁰The Corridor dream did not die immediately. In January 1922 at a meeting (in Vienna!) of the Czechs of Vienna, Lower Austria, and Upper Austria, a former minister of the Czech republic, Zahradnik, said, "The Slavic Corridor from Prague to Trieste must be created." Many of the Slav officials expected Austria to fall apart. Thus a Slovenian, Dr. Janko Brejc, could, with evident sincerity, publish two proposed partitions of Austria. In the first Burgenland would have been split at its "waist" between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; in the second it would have been joined to Vienna, Lower Austria, and most of Styria in a rump buffer state, "The Free City of Vienna." Berka, *Tschechische Irredenta*, pp. 6-8, maps pp. 31-32. The post-World War II, Czech request for a widening of its bridgehead south of the Danube was interpreted in Austria as a new attempt to form the Corridor. *Burgenländisches Volksblatt* (Eisenstadt, August 17, 1946).

The Hungarians considered the Corridor to be the most diabolical and abominable plan that Hungary had faced in its entire existence.⁵¹ It would have virtually destroyed the independence of Hungary, leaving it a satellite of the Little Entente states.

2. The Award to Austria

After the defeat of the Corridor proposal, the matter of who should have control of west-Hungary was considered to be of secondary importance.⁵² The Entente powers established a commission to study the question but decided that as long as Austria and Hungary did not, themselves, raise the issue, the Allies would do nothing. Wilson stated that since Austria had, in 1867, recognized the boundary, it should remain as it was.⁵³

On June 16, 1919, the Austrian delegation made its first definite move towards obtaining west-Hungary by transmitting the following note to the Entente Powers at the peace conference.

It is correct that the Leitha has been for long the boundary between Austria and Hungary; yet, through the creation of the monarchy, this river became only an administrative boundary. This boundary had lost all significance for centuries, in all political, military as well as economic relations; now it should cut apart two states that have become completely alien to each other! One must reckon on the fact that this boundary is not further than the range of heavy artillery, namely 48 km, from Vienna, of only a rifle from Wiener Neustadt, and a distance of a day's march from Graz. Bruck a/d Leitha was a mutual maneuver field of Austria and Hungary; the Sopron vicinity has long been the vegetable garden of Vienna; the supply of milk and fresh meat to Vienna is met largely by the Komitats Sopron, Vasvár, and Moson; the city of Graz, finally, which lies at the foot of the Alps, draws its food supplies, in which it and its mountainous hinterland are deficient, largely

⁵¹Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 176.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 188.

from west-Hungary. If these areas are changed into foreign territory by the creation of not only a political but also an economic boundary, then the peace plan constructs a barrier, such as commerce has not known since before the discovery of America, and seals off our three greatest industrial centers from their vegetable gardens and their arable land. This boundary-making places the most sensitive points in our country within the reach of the artillery of our neighbor, a situation which already gives occasion for inconveniences and serious disturbances. One should only imagine that the boundary of France ran from Chantilly past Meaux to Melun, and that of England lay at Canterbury and ask yourselves if Paris or London could feel itself in full peace in such circumstances.

Geography, history, and economic life indicate the way one must follow to overcome these difficulties. The outliers of the East Alps extend, they dominate, as far as that area of west-Hungary in which, since the Middle Ages, predominantly Germans have lived, and since that time have stood unbrokenly in direct trade relationships with Vienna, Graz, and Wiener Neustadt. Budapest, which, on the contrary, lies far removed from this area, and, even more, speaks another language, has no need for its production since the neighboring Hungarian Basin supplies better and more richly what it needs for its food supplies. German-Austria has the right, on geographic, national and economic grounds, to claim this area; yet it does not strive for an arbitrary annexation, rather it leaves this question exclusively, as in all other territorial questions, to the decision of the free decision of the nations. On these grounds we ask *"verlangen"* that the inhabitants of these areas be given the right to decide themselves, through a free plebiscite, whether or not they wish to be united to German-Austria.⁵⁴

On June 25, the Austrian delegation handed the Powers another note, asking specifically for the continuous German-settled

⁵⁴Beilage 28. Berichte über die Tätigkeit der deutschösterreichischen Friedensdelegation in St. Germaine en Laye, Wien, 1919, pp. 130-131.

areas of Moson, Sopron, and Vasvár Komitats.⁵⁵ The request did not include Bratislava for fear of antagonizing the Czechs who had occupied that city on January 1, 1919.⁵⁶ As a result of these formal requests, the Council of Foreign Ministers decided to study the question.⁵⁷

The decision was reached on July 11, 1919. Britain, France, the United States, and Japan voted for the transfer of German west-Hungary to Austria; Italy voted against it.⁵⁸ On July 20, 1919, the second part of the Conditions of Peace was transmitted to the Austrian delegation. The terms included the transfer of west-Hungary, delineating in its general lines the future boundary.⁵⁹ There was to be no plebiscite because with the communist rule in Hungary, and the coincident chaos of the fighting between the Hungarians and the Czechs, Rumanians, and Serbs, it would have been virtually impossible to carry out such a plebiscite.

The award was made official in Article 27, Point 5, of the Treaty of St. Germaine, and in Article 27 of the Treaty of Trianon.⁶⁰ The boundary (indicated on Map 12, page 57) was not to include all the German-settled areas; the triangle of fertile, productive land east of the Neusiedler See was to be split between Hungary and Austria. In reply to an Austrian protest, the Allies declared that the boundary would have to remain west of the Bratislava-Csorna Railroad line so that not all the lines from Bratislava to the South would be in Austrian hands, thus that city would be assured of access to the Adriatic through both countries.⁶¹ The Czechs expected that they would scarcely be the enemies of both Austria and Hungary at the same time.⁶²

⁵⁵Beilage 32. Bericht ... Friedensdelegation, p. 197.

⁵⁶Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. February 22, 1921.

⁵⁷Szmudits, Geschichte der Angliederung. p. 196.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 201.

⁵⁹Beilage 52. Bericht ... Friedensdelegation, pp. 410-411.

⁶⁰Vorlage der Staatsvertrag von St. Germaine mit den alliierten und assoziierten Mächten, samt drei Annexen. Wien, 1919, pp. 36-37.

⁶¹Beilage 74. Bericht ... Friedensdelegation, p. 320.

⁶²Szmudits, Geschichte der Angliederung. p. 200.

Why did the Allied Powers grant Austria this territory? In order of importance the reasons may have been the following:

1. To grant Austria, and especially Vienna, a larger hinterland with a more secure source for its food supply.⁶³

2. To compensate Austria for the loss of most of her territory, and virtually all of her best agricultural land.

3. To grant the Czechs a pseudo-Corridor with connections to the Adriatic via both Austria and Hungary; perhaps also, to keep alive the possibility of a future establishment of the Corridor.⁶⁴

4. To push the feared communist thrust, eastward, back from Vienna. Hungary had become the westernmost extension of communism, placing the "red menace" within artillery range of one of Europe's principal cities and nodes of communication.

5. To satisfy the ideal of self-determination.

6. To place a thorn of enmity between Austria and Hungary, to prevent their collaboration.⁶⁵

7. To have Hungary made as weak as possible. None of the "Successor States" seemed to fear Austrian attempts to regain her lost territories, but they did fear such moves from Hungary, and with good reason as future events proved.

⁶³Alfred Walheim, "The principal idea was to make poor crippled Austria capable of existence. France had the hope of stopping Austria's cries for a union with Germany, with the foodstuffs of Hungary." *Wiener Deutsche Tageszeitung* (Wien, September 19, 1920).

⁶⁴In an article in the Czech paper *Vidensky Dennik* (April 24, 1920), Dr. Karel Zieny stated his hope of winning the Burgenland (Hraderco) Croats to the Corridor idea; they could establish it themselves from within Austria. Quoted in: *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (Wien, May 7, 1920).

⁶⁵According to Alfred Walheim, Benes favored the transfer of west-Hungary to Austria for this reason. *Wiener Deutsche Tageszeitung* (Wien, January 3, 1921).

D. The Sopron Plebiscite⁶⁶

Though the transfer of territory seemed decided in all but its minor details, the Hungarians continued to work for the retention of Burgenland. The Treaty of St. Germaine was completed on September 10, 1919, but did not go into effect until after the completion of the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, on July 26, 1921.⁶⁷ This time lapse allowed the Hungarian government almost two extra years in which to attempt to rally the Burgenlanders back to the consciousness of the sacred integrity of the "lands of King St. Stephen." Since the Red-republic had been overthrown on August 1, 1919, these attempts met with some success (see Map 12, page 57).

August 20, 1921, was the date set for the transfer of west-Hungary to Austria. The occupation of the territory by members of the Austrian gendarmerie was prevented, however, by bands of Hungarian "volunteers." After a brief period of small-scale warfare the Austrian police retired completely from the area.⁶⁸ The Hungarian government refused to accept any responsibility for the bands but certainly utilized the situation to press for compromise settlements which would have granted her substantial territorial retentions. A state of semi-anarchy existed for over a month within the disputed area.

The Allies saw the specter of an attempted return of the Habsburgs in the Hungarian actions,⁶⁹ and threatened Hungary with indefinite reprisals. The Czechs backed the Austrians throughout and threatened to march into Hungary.⁷⁰ After a conference between Beneš and Austrian Chancellor Schober on September 23,⁷¹ Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia expressed their willingness to mediate the dispute.⁷² Italy thereupon entered the dispute, evidently in great haste, and called the representatives of Austria and Hungary to a conference in Venice.

⁶⁶The city of Sopron was included in the area to be ceded to Austria, under the terms of the Treaties of St. Germaine and Trianon (see Map 12, page 57).

⁶⁷Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 208.

⁶⁸Tschida, *Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse*. p. 246.

⁶⁹The Manchester Guardian stated that the Hungarian troops in Burgenland were undoubtedly Karlist. Quoted in: *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, September 9, 1921.

⁷⁰Wiener Mittag (Wien, September 3, 1921).

⁷¹*Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, September 23, 1921.

⁷²Wiener Mittag, October 4, 1921.

The result of this Italian mediation was the Protocol of Venice of October 13, 1921. This agreement represented clearly a victory for Hungary. Austria agreed that she would refrain from any mass firing of officials in the acquired territory (the pan-Germanists wished, of course, a wholesale replacement of the Magyar officials by Germans), and to grant a general amnesty to ALL in west-Hungary (thus preventing the prosecution of those who had committed acts of thievery and terrorism during the recent months of anarchy).⁷³ In reply to furious denunciations of the agreement,⁷⁴ Chancellor Schober stated that he felt unable to refuse the offer of Italy, since such a refusal would have signified a rebuff to the entire Entente.⁷⁵

Most important, the Protocol of Venice called for a plebiscite in the city of Sopron (Ödenburg) and eight surrounding gemeinden, to determine to which country they wished to adhere. In delimiting the area of the plebiscite the Hungarians gained acceptance of the principle that no gemeinde was to be divided.⁷⁶ This decision was of considerable significance since the Free City of Sopron included within its gemeinde limits large portions of the Sopron Range with the coal mines of the Brennborg, and extended to within three miles of the former Austro-Hungarian border. As Map 13 (page 69) indicates, the city limits of Sopron are so intricate that they virtually surround the villages of Ágfalva, Sopronbanfalva, and Fertőrákos; these were, therefore, included in the plebiscite area as forming an intimate economic union with the city. The villages of Harka, Kőpháza, Balf, Fertőbóz, and Nagycschenk lay between Sopron and Hungary and were, of necessity, included also.

Everyone seems to have expected Austria to lose.⁷⁷ The ardent proponents of the transfer referred continually to the plebiscite as a

⁷³ Sarah Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War*. Vol. II, Washington, 1933, pp. 261-265.

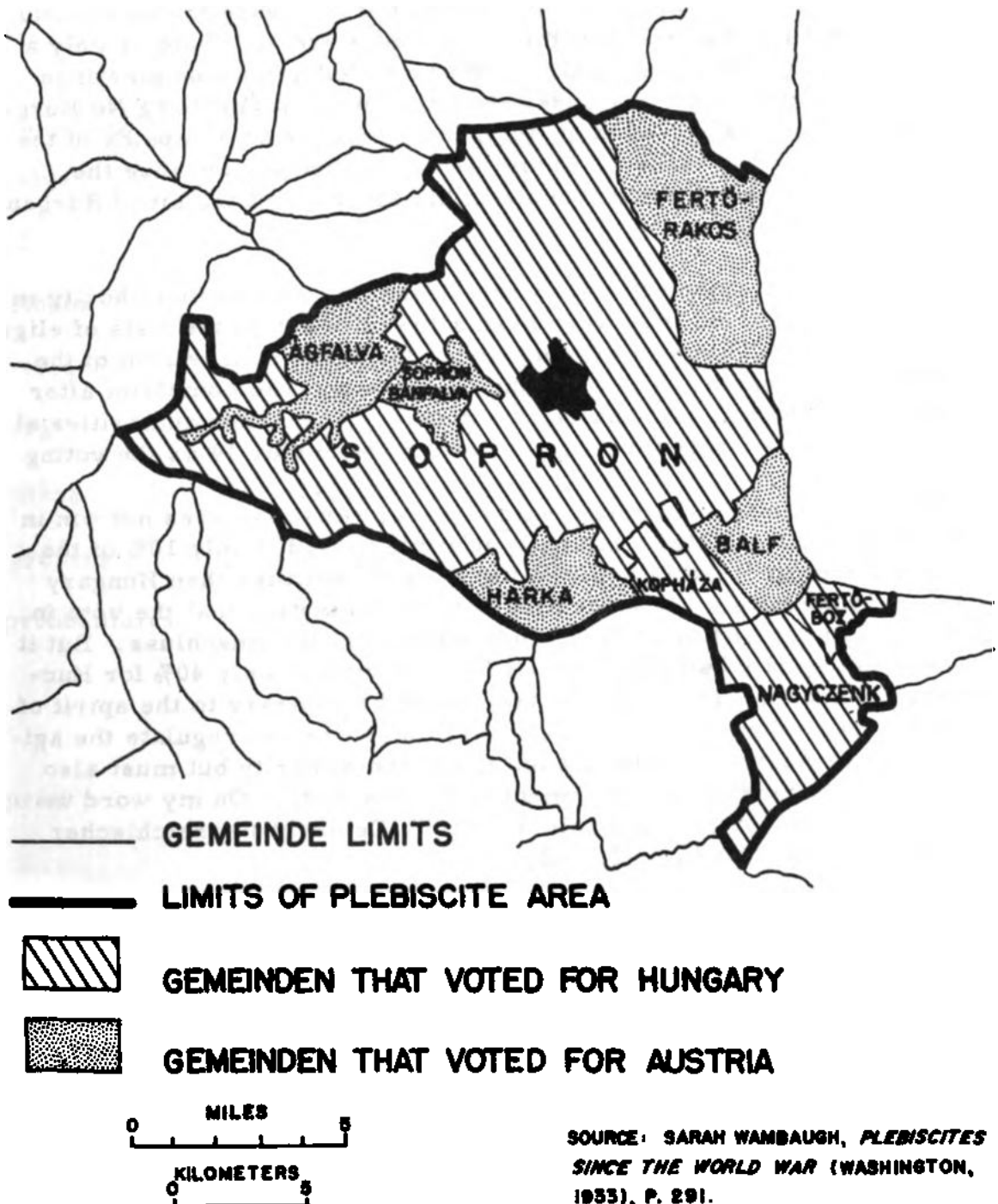
⁷⁴ *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, October 18, 1921.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, October 15, 1921.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ For example: France, Italy, and Hungary quoted in *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, on October 20, October 16, and October 22, 1921, respectively.

PLEBISCITE AREA



"comedy" or a "swindle." They were even warned by members of the Austrian government to expect to lose since Austria could not be allowed to win.⁷⁸ General C. H. Ferrario, who was the official supervisor of the plebiscite, supposedly remarked (much later) that the plebiscite had only had the aim of setting up the legal apparatus for a doubtless loss for Austria.⁷⁹

Walheim and his compatriots did not cease trying to influence a vote for Austria, but their opinions were still held by only a minority of the Viennese public. Walheim led numerous meetings and penned many articles under the title "Without Ödenburg No Burgenland."⁸⁰ He was incensed at the lack of concern or sympathy of the Viennese with the issue. "Should we lose Ödenburg because the Wiener [Viennese] feels trouble in his sleep about the bit of Burgenland?"⁸¹

Hungarian officials were allowed to remain in authority in the plebiscite area; they were even allowed to set up the lists of eligible voters.⁸² This was all done under the loose supervision of the Allied commission. The Austrian delegate entered complaint after complaint asking, continually, for delays. The Allied authorities allowed a delay of only three days, setting December 14 as the voting

⁷⁸"A high Austrian official [said] to me, 'Austria dares not win in the Sopron Plebiscite. Naturally it would be bad if only 10% of the votes were for Austria and 90% for Hungary because then Hungary would immediately come forward with the assertion that the vote in the remainder of Burgenland would be against the Anschluss. But it would be equally bad if 60% voted for Austria and only 40% for Hungary because a victory for Austria would be contrary to the spirit of the Venetian compromise. We must, therefore, so regulate the agitation that Austria will be not too far in the minority but must also endeavor to hinder the attainment of the majority. On my word we must prepare for an honorable defeat!'" Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, October 20, 1921.

⁷⁹Szmudits, *Geschichte der Angliederung*. p. 211.

⁸⁰For example: Wiener Mittag, September 5, 26, 28, October 3, 1921; Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, September 22 and 29, 1921.

⁸¹Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, September 22, 1921.

⁸²For a full discussion of the mechanics of the plebiscite see: Sarah Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War*. Vol. I, Washington, 1933, pp. 271-297.

date. Chancellor Schober thereupon withdrew the Austrian delegate, telegraphing to the Allied commission in Sopron, "We do not take part in the plebiscite. Our plebiscite-commissioner is being recalled immediately."⁸³

The vote was a victory for Hungary (see Table 4).⁸⁴

TABLE 4

<u>Gemeinde</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Ballots Cast</u>	<u>Percentages</u>	
			<u>Austria</u>	<u>Hungary</u>
Ágfalva	German	848	83	17
Balf	German	595	60	40
Fertőbóz	German	342	22	78
Fertőrákos	German	1,370	61	39
Harka	German	581	90	10
Kőpháza	Croatian	813	31	69
Nagyczenk	Magyar	1,039	0	100
Sopronbátfalva	German	1,177	81	19
			55% (3,607)	45% (3,007)
Sopron		17,388	27% (8,227)	73% (15,334)
Total result			35%	65%

⁸³Tagespost (Graz, December 14, 1921).

⁸⁴Wambaugh, Plebiscites. I, 291-292.

Most Austrians, and virtually all Burgenlanders, have maintained ever since that this plebiscite was a "swindle."⁸⁵ The Austrian plebiscite-commissioner claimed in his subsequent report that the voting lists had been completely falsified. Not a single house in Sopron had been listed correctly; dead people had been listed; non-residents had been imported to cast ballots, etc.⁸⁶ The Allied commission, however, accepted the vote as reasonably correct and, on January 1, 1922, awarded the Sopron area to Hungary.⁸⁷

In her excellent detailed discussion of the Sopron plebiscite, Miss Sarah Wambaugh concludes that "as proper safeguards for a free and fair plebiscite were lacking, the vote is not convincing either one way or the other."⁸⁸ The attitudes and opinions expressed at the time of the plebiscite indicate, however, that despite a number of inaccuracies and possible falsifications, the results were probably correct; a majority of the inhabitants of the plebiscite area wished to remain in Hungary.

This conclusion is based on the following considerations:

1. The city of Sopron had been the center of the movement for autonomy within Hungary rather than transfer to Austria. When the results of a local house-to-house poll were sent from the "forty gemeinden of Szt. Gotthárd" to the Paris peace conference,⁸⁹ the leader of the Sopron faction made the trip to Paris to protest in the name of 289 gemeinden, against a transfer to Austria.⁹⁰

⁸⁵The Socialist leader, Dr. Karl Renner, later termed the plebiscite a "Komodie," in "Wie es zur Befreiung des Burgenlandes kam." Die Gendarmerie. 10 Jahre Österreichische Gendarmerie im Burgenland, Wien, 1931, p. 10;

⁸⁶Tschida, Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse. p. 270.

⁸⁷Hungarian reaction was interesting; besides the rejoicing there was questioning. The Budapest paper Viradat commented, on December 23, on the surprisingly LOW percentage for Hungary. "How was it possible that even in the city of Sopron 4,500 people declared themselves against their motherland, denying their nation, to work for a union to a strange people, a strange power?" Quoted in: Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, December 24, 1921.

⁸⁸Wambaugh, Plebiscites. I, 297.

⁸⁹Szmudits, Geschichte der Angliederung. p. 129.

⁹⁰Tschida, Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse. p. 36.

2. The Hungarians evidently made a profound impression with their argument that, whereas Hungary had overcome communism, the "red" socialists were either in power or very close to it, in Austria.⁹¹

3. There had been numerous meetings in Sopron, designed to inflame the feelings of Hungarian nationalism.⁹² The pro-Germans had claimed that these were carried out either by outsiders or by traitors to the people.⁹³ There is no way of determining the efficacy of these meetings, but, because of the passion for the intactness of Hungary, they probably enjoyed considerable support.

4. Sopron had been strongly Magyarized. By 1920 the Magyars outnumbered the Germans, and the educated members of both groups were completely Magyar in national consciousness. Walheim, himself, asked "And which Ödenburg should be polled? The present one which the Magyars have made into a noticeably Magyar city, or the future one which we will have again made into a German city?"⁹⁴

5. There was a general disillusionment with Austria among the German peasants. One was quoted (by a Viennese newspaper) as saying, "If we had known that Austria is so weak, then we would have considered carefully before we chose Austria."⁹⁵ The completely ineffectual actions of Austria made the peasants willing to believe the Hungarian assertions that Vienna wanted Burgenland only as a food-producing colony.

6. There was the general fear of a move from a known condition into an unknown situation.⁹⁶

⁹¹Alfred Walheim, *Die Kommunistenfurcht im Heinenland*. Ostdeutsche Rundschau, (Wien, January 16, 1920).

⁹²For example: *Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung* (June 6, 1920).

⁹³For example: *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* (Wien, March 24, 1920).

⁹⁴*Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, (October 8, 1921).

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, November 9, 1921.

⁹⁶"The Magyar was lord, the admired, loved, feared, and hated lord. People were accustomed to his dominance; in good and evil one had become satisfied with him. Now comes, as many believe, a leap into the unknown. One should exchange the old lord for a new one of whom no one knows how he will conduct himself." Alfred Walheim, in *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, August 28, 1921.

7. Perhaps most conclusive as an indication of the probable validity of the results is the fact that the vote coincides with the tendencies notable in all the post-World War I plebiscites. These tendencies could be summarized as the following:

(a) The rural peasants will tend to vote for the country of their language, but (b) they will vote for the previously ruling country to a higher percentage than the actual proportion of the language groups, and (c) the urban population will tend to vote heavily for the previously ruling country. These trends appeared in the Upper Silesian, East Prussian, Carinthian, and Sopron plebiscites. Whereas most of the Polish, Slovenian, and German peasants voted according to linguistic adherence, some did, contrary to this, vote for Germany, Austria, and Hungary. In the cities of Upper Silesia, Schleswig, and East Prussia, as in Sopron, the Majorities were heavily pro-Germany and Hungary respectively, despite linguistic variations.⁹⁷

Why did Hungary agree to just this much territory? The answer may seem obvious in that she was hardly in a position to demand more. Yet, beyond this, there appears to have been a recognition of the future dilemma of Burgenland. Hungary (and perhaps Italy) seems to have hoped that a Burgenland without Sopron would be such a monstrosity that it would fall to Hungary of its own weight; it would be forced to unite itself to its lost capital city.⁹⁸ The Italian newspaper Passé stated that surely Austria would not be interested in receiving such a mutilated province.⁹⁹ Walheim had viewed the matter equally pessimistically, stating that with the renunciation of Sopron "nothing else would be achieved but the certain loss of the remainder of Burgenland."¹⁰⁰ Hungary was willing to accept this much also for its symbolic value: the Treaty of Trianon had been breached.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷For exact statistics on all these plebiscites, see: Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War*.

⁹⁸Prime Minister Bethlen of Hungary, in an interview, predicted that Sopron would maintain its dominance over Burgenland in passenger trade, and, possibly, in freight trade. *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, October 18, 1921.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, October 16, 1921; and *Wiener Mittag*, October 17, 1921.

¹⁰⁰*Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, October 8, 1921.

¹⁰¹*Viradat* (Budapest, January 2, 1922), quoted in *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*, January 3, 1922.

The prime agents in the entire matter of the plebiscite were the Italians. There can be little doubt that if the Allies had wished to enforce the full provisions of the treaties of St. Germaine and Trianon, Hungary, despite any volunteer bands, would have had to accede. The French, British, and Americans were not especially interested in what took place between Austria and Hungary, and were certainly in no mood to dispatch troops to quell the bands. The Entente powers had been far more concerned about the possible return to power of the Habsburgs than about Sopron; they now praised Hungary for having refused to accept Karl when he made his dramatic flight into Hungary in October 1921.¹⁰² The overcoming of the communist threat was also considered in Hungary's favor. The settlement of the Sopron dispute was left entirely in the hands of the only interested party among the Entente powers, Italy.

Why did Italy favor Hungary? (There seems little doubt that she did.) Italy found herself with a growing Slav power on her east. She had already hindered the union of the north and the south Slavs through her veto of the Corridor proposal. Now she saw in a stronger Hungary her only possible ally in the event of a struggle with the new Yugoslavia. One Italian military officer in Hungary declared, in an interview, that the Italians favored Hungary over Austria because only Hungary had the strength to prevent the erection of the Corridor between the north and the south Slavs.¹⁰³ Italy felt too that a Burgenland, with Sopron, in the hands of an Austria so weakened that she was bound to become an economic satellite of Czechoslovakia, would become a pseudo-Corridor for the Czechs.¹⁰⁴

In the boundary delimitation that followed, Hungary succeeded in regaining possession of several more bits of territory, mostly in the south (see Map 12, page 57).

Though there had been intense activity in Burgenland-west Hungary, all the important decisions concerning its future status were made elsewhere, by the members of the Entente, largely on the basis of their own foreign policies.

It is interesting to note that it was the weakest country and the one that used the most half-hearted and paltry means to gain its ends, that gained the most territorially in this three-cornered scramble for Burgenland.

¹⁰²Deutsches Österreichischer Tageszeitung, November 10, 1921.

¹⁰³Ibid., November 15, 1921.

¹⁰⁴Burgenländisches Volksblatt, January 1, 1923.

III. THE BOUNDARIES OF BURGENLAND

Burgenland is uniquely a border province. It bears the entire boundary between Austria and Hungary, and can best be visualized as a thin slice of territory between two boundary lines. No point in the province is more than 9 miles, no village center more than 8 miles from the provincial boundary! There is one mile of boundary for every 3.5 square miles of area.

These man-made lines exert a powerful influence on the life of the province. Since the principal topographic features and lines of transportation run across the province, this influence is yet more marked than would be caused by proximity alone. In almost every gemeente in Burgenland one gains the impression that the population is facing towards or away from an adjacent boundary.

The boundaries are, in themselves, a fascinating study. Both the western and the eastern boundaries of Burgenland represent borders of Hungary, borders that have been delineated in three different historical periods, on the basis of three differing sets of geopolitical concepts. The western boundary of Hungary was initially delineated around the year A.D. 1000, was altered between 1490 and 1702 on the basis of quite different criteria, and, finally, moved eastward to its present position after the First World War. Since the first two delineations are combined into the present western boundary of the province, the boundaries will be referred to here simply as western and eastern.

A. The Western Boundary of Burgenland

1. The Criteria

Through most of its 203-mile (326-km) length, the western boundary of Burgenland represents one of the oldest man-made lines still extant. In its southern two-thirds it remained virtually stationary for approximately 900 years, and is referred to, by Hungarians, as the 1,000-year boundary. These portions, dating from about the

year 1000 reveal certain characteristics which can be assumed to represent some of the criteria which, at that time, specified the location of boundaries.

1. The location of the boundary bears no relationship to the distinctions between settled and unsettled areas. Though this territory had been occupied for several millenia, it had been largely wasted and depopulated by 60 years of Magyar plundering raids. The line preceded the settlement patterns, and may, therefore, be termed an "antecedent boundary."¹

2. The boundary followed a general north-northeast to south-southwest direction from the Polish border to the Adriatic.

3. Wherever possible the line followed the courses of the larger streams, and, preferably, a larger stream in front of a major ridge barrier. Thus the Morava in front of the Little Carpathians, the Leitha in front of the Leitha Range, the Lafnitz in front of the sharp scarp edge of the interfluvial ridge, and, further south, the Kutschenitza, all carried the A.D. 1000 western boundary of Hungary (see Map 14, page 78). When one remembers that the larger stream valley bottoms were undrained marsh in early medieval times, the defense purpose of the delineation is obvious.²

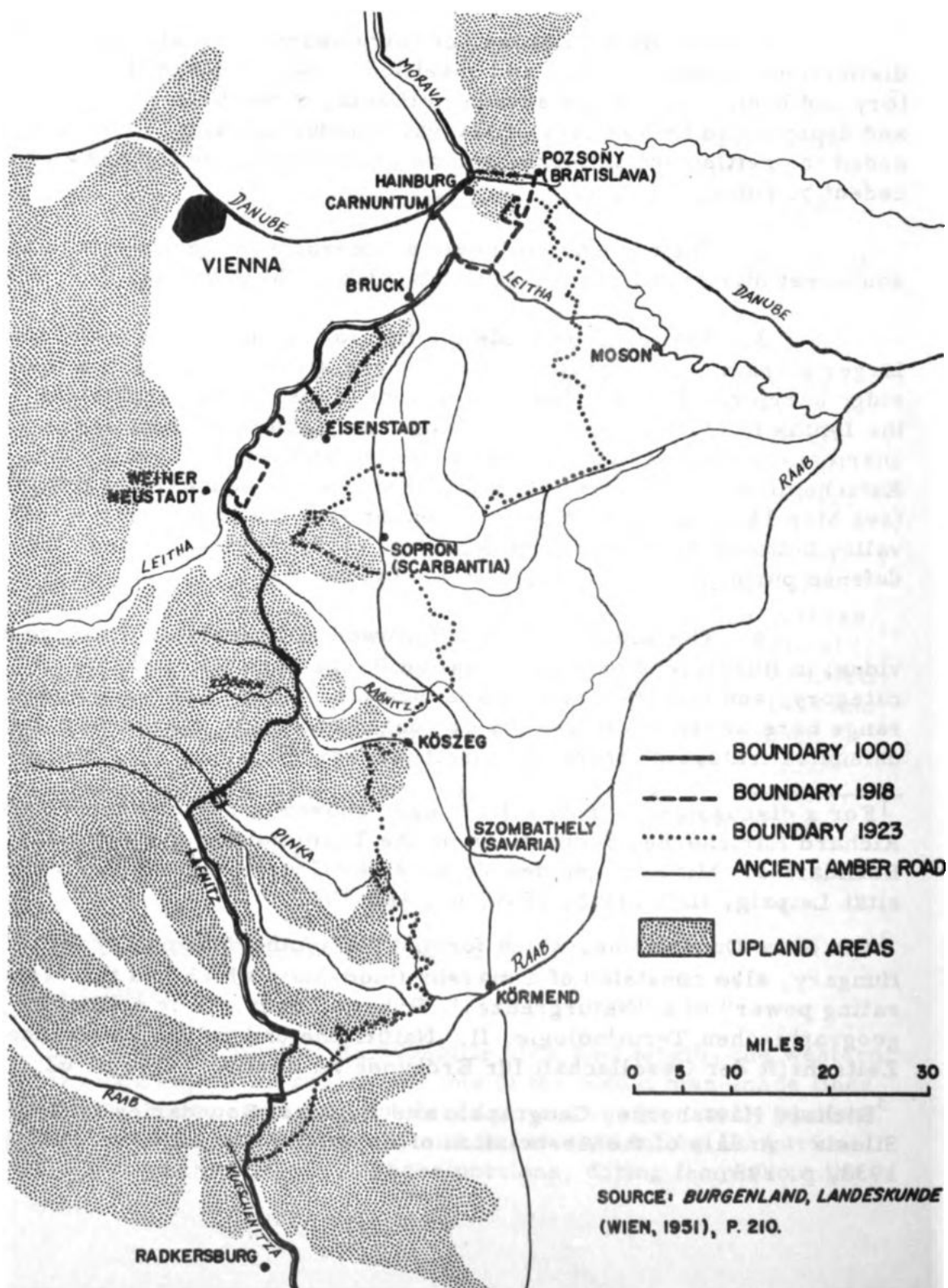
4. The boundary rarely followed hill crests or drainage divides; in Burgenland only the Rosalien Range seems to fall into that category, and even that example is dubious. There was no mountain range here whose crest was icy or rugged enough to represent a strong defensive feature ("natural defense boundary"³).

¹For a discussion of "antecedent" and "subsequent" boundaries, see Richard Hartshorne, *Suggestions on the Terminology of Political Boundaries*. *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen an der Universität Leipzig*, Heft 14/15, 1936, pp. 180-192.

²The Sava-Danube line, which formed the southern boundary of Hungary, also consisted of a marshy flood-plain which had the "separating power" of a "Naturgrenze." Robert Sieger, "Zur politisch-geographischen Terminologie, II. Natürliche und politische Grenze. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1918, p. 62.

³Richard Hartshorne, *Geographic and Political Boundaries in Upper Silesia*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XXIII, 1933, p. 198.

The WESTERN BOUNDARY of HUNGARY



5. Where the boundary was forced to cross important stream valleys (between the Leitha and the Lafnitz), it tried to cross them at right angles, and at the point where the valley flood-plain came to an end. The V-shaped valley remained in Lower Austria or Styria, the wide valley in Hungary.

6. Where no large stream could be utilized, the boundary made use of rivulets. Since this delineation preceded accurate surveying, the boundary was located along a linear feature clearly marked in nature,⁴ that is, a stream. This was particularly true where the line had to cross a major stream; the boundary in leaving the valley would follow a minor tributary (one too small to be accompanied by any cultivable lowland) out on either side. This produced local jogs in the boundary, since the two tributaries rarely entered the main stream at the same point.

Since this boundary was so simple, and since it preceded settlement, it remained unchallenged through most of its extent. The few changes that were made (between the late 15th and early 18th centuries) were based on late medieval, or feudal, criteria.

Feudal delineations were based, quite definitely, on settlement patterns. The boundary then succeeded the establishment of landholding systems and may be classified as "subsequent."⁵ Bits of territory were transferred, between Austria and Hungary, on the basis of the feudal areal entities, the *Herrschaften*. Occasionally the limits of the noble holdings coincided with prominent topographical features, but more often they did not. Continuity of territory or transportation connections with the principal body of national territory were not considered to be important. Since the line was drawn on the basis of *Herrschaften* limits, or of portions thereof, some rather strangely shaped holdings resulted, three of which are still notable as salients along the western boundary of Burgenland. In the 16th century the boundary was scarcely a line, but rather a zone, with bits of holdings interscattered; by 1702, however, the Hungarians had regained everything up to the present western boundary of Burgenland, and, in the process, had greatly simplified the border.

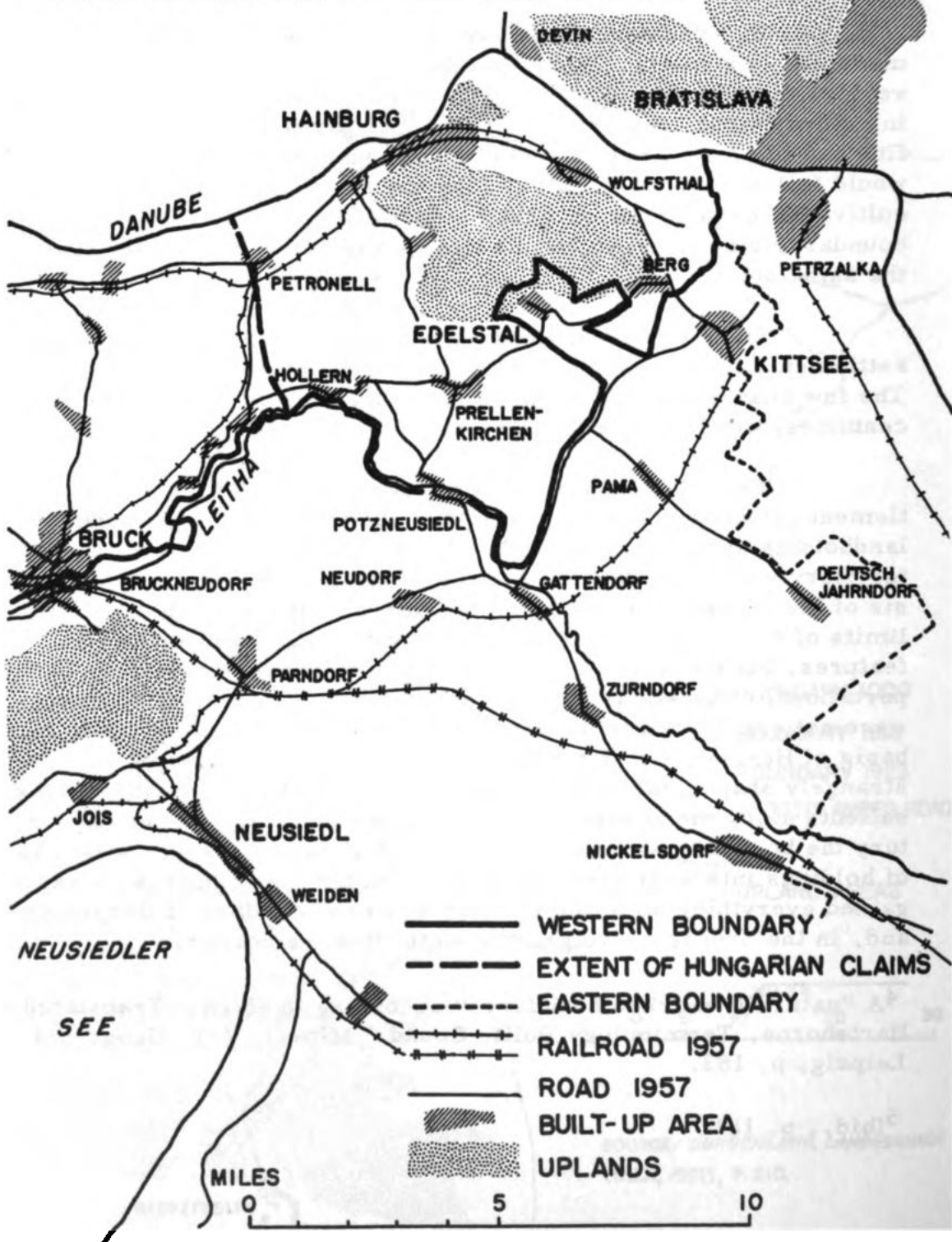
⁴A "naturally marked boundary," according to Sölch. Translated by Hartshorne, *Terminology Polit. Bound. Mitteil. Ver. Geog. Univ. Leipzig*, p. 183.

⁵Ibid., p. 181.

MAP 15

The WESTERN BOUNDARY

The DANUBE to BRUCK



2. Sectional Analysis

a. Between the Leitha and the Danube

The historic boundary of Hungary was claimed to cross from the Leitha to the Danube where these two rivers come closest to each other (see Map 15, page 80). Hainburg had been within the realms of the great Hungarian Kings St. Stephen and Hunyady Matyas (Matthias Corvinus). Actually this city and its fortresses had exchanged nationality frequently and probably was within Austria for longer periods of time than in Hungary (prior to 1526). This disputed city symbolized the struggle for control of the two principal gateways into the Vienna Basin, a struggle that continued for five centuries.

For the Romans the Danube represented a "natural defense boundary,"⁶ with the principal trade route, the Amber Road, running at right angles to it (see Map 14, page 78). Power concentrations were oriented north-south: the Barbarians to the north, the Romans to the south. The Romans constructed their center of authority at the point where the Amber Road crossed the Danube boundary, at Carnuntum (now Petronell^{E2}). With the rise of the Austrian and Hungarian kingdoms, the axis of power rotated 90 degrees. The Danube changed from a defensive line to a trade artery, and the new boundary roughly paralleled the Amber Road.

Much of the strife between Austria and Hungary concerned the control of the eastern and western gateways into the Vienna Basin. Hungarian kings St. Stephen and Matyas were able to conquer Vienna, but at all other times the western gap (at Vienna) remained securely in the hands of the Germans, and remained the seat of the power opposing the westward thrusts of Hungary. Being in the basin, and yet in the gap, with the power of the Empire behind her, Vienna was usually able to exert its control over the entire basin.

With the Austrian power anchored on the western gap, the eastern gap became not a position of strength but one of contention. With its broad gaps at Bruck and Wiener Neustadt, and narrower gateways at Hainburg and Bratislava, the eastern entrance was decidedly the weaker of the two and the one easiest to outflank. Only a very strong Hungarian force could entirely control this eastern gateway since the core of Hungary's power was much further from the gateway than was Vienna from it.

⁶Hartshorne, Upper Silesia. AAAG, p. 198.

North of the Danube the Hungarians were able to maintain their claim to the river boundary west of the Small Carpathians; this claim was anchored securely on the border fortress, Pozsony (Bratislava). Pozsony was, however, well sheltered from attacks from the west, and was not on the route of most of the armies from the west, since these preferred, because of the terrain, to advance south of the Danube.

After the Treaty of Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) in 1491, this disputed quadrilateral of territory between the Danube and the Leitha remained firmly in Austrian hands. The strange salient of Edelstal^{E2} represents the first step in Hungarian attempts to regain portions of this territory; in 1540 the lord of Kittsee occupied this gem-einde by force.⁷

The boundary around the Edelstal salient does not coincide with any feature marked in nature; no stream, ridge crest, or water divide was utilized. The line was drawn along the limits of the gem-einde and is, therefore, both "subsequent" to the patterns of settlement and "consequent" upon a purely cultural delineation.⁸

Edelstal has no direct road connections with Burgenland, nor did it with Hungary before 1921. The only road through the gem-einde ran (and runs) into Lower Austria at either end, to Prellenkirchen and Berg. The political and economic ties of the village are significantly scattered: it receives its mail at Berg (outside Burgenland), is protected by the police station at Kittsee, and is united for governmental purposes under the Standesamt (registrar's office) of Pama. Its inhabitants move to or through Hainburg (outside of Burgenland) for most economic activities. It is the only gemeente in the county without direct bus or rail connections to the county seat, Neusiedl; a five hours' trip through Kittsee is the fastest possible connection by public transportation.⁹

⁷Helmut Schilcher, *Die Grenzen Niederösterreich, ihres Entwicklung und Funktion* (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Vienna, Wien, 1950), p. 151.

⁸Hartshorne limits the classification "consequent boundary" to those boundaries which coincide with and obtain much of their strength from a strong natural divide. I have here stretched the meaning of the term because the location of this boundary was determined by a line in the landscape, albeit a man-made line.

⁹Amtliches Österreichisches Kursbuch. Wien, 1956.

Perhaps because the area surrounding Edelstal was often in both countries, there is no visible cultural divide coincident with the provincial boundary. Elsewhere the line between Burgenland and Old-Austria is clearly visible in village types, house types, and costumes of the population; here, however, there is a zone of transition rather than a sharp divide. Berg^{E2} looks like a typical Burgenland village, whereas Wolfsthal and Prellenkirchen^{E2} give the impression of a mixture of the cultural features typical of villages in Burgenland and in the Vienna Basin.

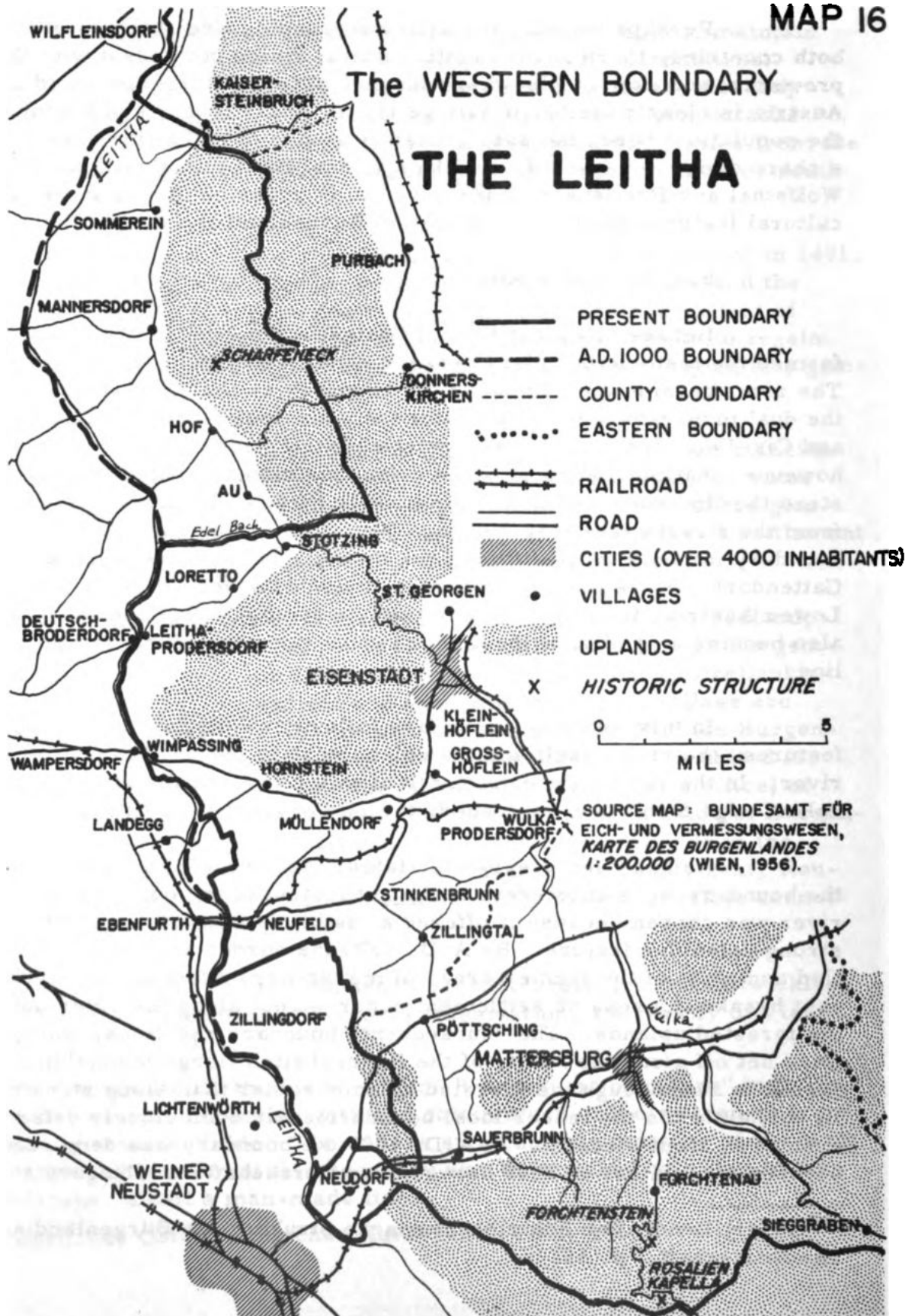
b. The Leitha River

Between Neudörf^{B4} and Gattendorf^{E2}, the Leitha River had formed the historic boundary between Austria and Hungary after 1048.¹⁰ The river became the symbol of the boundary so that the two halves of the dual monarchy were often referred to as Trans-Leitha (Hungary), and Cis-Leitha (Austria). The most cursory glance at the map reveals, however, that the Leitha is by no means consistently the boundary; instead the line moves back and forth, with three departures eastward from the stream (see Map 16, page 84). The Leitha carries the boundary for only three-fifths of the distance between Neudörf and Gattendorf. In the continuing border discord between Hungary and Lower Austria, the Leitha was not only a symbol of the boundary, but also became a symbol of the discord concerning the placement of the line.

In this extent the boundary follows two distinct topographic features, the river itself and the upland edge to the southeast of the river. In the two major departures of this line from the stream this upland edge forms the watershed, the rim of the Leitha drainage basin.

As has been previously stated, the Leitha River portions of the boundary were antecedent to the settlement of the border area. The river was chosen because it offered a visible line and, at that time, a strong defensive feature. By A.D. 1500 the border area was fully settled and most of the former areas of marsh were drained; the significant breaks in areas of settlement occurred not along the river but in the forested uplands. The "subsequent" boundary revisions, which were set off along the limits of the Herrschaften (large landholdings), tended to run through the forested uplands rather than along streams. By this time too the lesser local boundaries had been closely determined, even away from streams. In A.D. 1000 the boundary was demarcated between two states, in 1500 between two Herrschaften. Hungary and

¹⁰Hubert Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländischen Landwirtschaft. p. 55.



Lower Austria could scarcely delineate a precise boundary between them except by utilizing linear features such as streams ; but the Herrschaften of Scharfeneck^{D3} and Eisenstadt^{C4} knew where their lands met, even if in forest. Because of the development of the many local boundaries, the international boundary no longer had to rely on "features marked in nature" in order to be precise.

Just east of Neudörfel^{B4} a terrace surface continues northeastward from the end of the Rosalien Range, as a minor upland. This terrace presents a sharp face to Neudörfel and overshadows Sauerbrunn^{BC4} as a high hill. The western scarp edge carries the provincial boundary along the eastern limits of Neudörfel and the eastern edge carries it to the northwest of Sauerbrunn. As the terrace surface continues northeastward, it gradually declines to a low ridge which acts as the divide between the Leitha and the Wulka drainage basins. In its southern portion it is wooded, and forms a clear boundary-carrying feature. Further north it is cleared and gradually descends until it can scarcely be termed a crest; the boundary in this portion consists of straight lines with right-angled turns.

Between Landegg^{C3} and Hornstein^{C3-4} the boundary again leaves the river, producing a small extension of Lower Austria east of the Leitha.¹¹ This represents a portion of a formerly extensive marsh known as the Ebenfurter Moor.¹² To the east rises the scarp edge of the same terrace which carried the line in the first deviation. Here the edge resumes its scarp character and, forming a base for the Leitha Range, tends northward until, at Wimpassing^{C3}, it borders the river. The boundary is located in the wet area (largely drained, but still mostly damp pasture) immediately in front of the terrace edge.

The largest deviation, both in area and in distance from the river, occurs in the center of the Leitha Range. Except for the See, this portion of the range stands as the greatest barrier in north Burgenland. The highest portion of the range occurs at its southern end,

¹¹Helmuth Schilcher suggests that this deviation may be due to a change in course of the river. The right-angled character of the line argues against this thesis, however. Grenzen Niederösterreich, p. 150.

¹²Josef Lampel, Die Leitha Grenze. Blätter des Vereines für Landeskunde von Nieder Österreich. (Publication of the Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich), XXXIII, Wien, 1899, pp. 116-117.

entirely within the province, but since this end can be rounded, the center of the range represents the greatest actual barrier. Only one road crosses the crest of the range in this central portion, and that one is of recent construction and abominable on the Lower Austrian side.

The boundary leaves the Leitha, just east of Leitha-prodersdorf^{C3}, and follows up a minor stream, the Edel Bach, to reach the center of the range. In the ridge itself the boundary follows neither a line connecting the highest points nor the watershed, though it almost coincides with the latter. The range has no recognizable crest line, and the highest points are not prominent. The line approximates the center of the forested area, the center of the barrier area. At its northeastern end the boundary leaves the range, follows a stream to the village of Kaisersteinbruch^{D3}, and from there a ditch back to the Leitha. The probable existence of this ditch in early medieval times, in the flood plain of the Leitha, reflects both the extent of the marsh formerly along the river¹³ and the early date at which drainage efforts were begun (perhaps preceding the delineation of the Herrschaft limits). Here, as at Edelstal, the cultural divide does not coincide with the boundary. The four villages between the Leitha River and the Leitha Range are transitional; they present the appearance of a mixture of the cultural features typical of villages in Burgenland and in the Vienna Basin.

The three eastward offsets of the boundary have caused no local inconveniences comparable to those encountered by the western salient at Edelstal^{E2}. No Lower Austrian *gemeinde* is economically or politically tied to Burgenland. The Burgenland *gemeinden* of Neudörf^{B4}, Bruckneudorf^{D2}, and Kaisersteinbruch^{D3} are tied to Lower Austria because of the adjacent position of major centers (Wiener Neustadt and Bruck), rather than because of any boundary indentations.

As was indicated earlier, the present delineation of the boundary is representative of the extent to which the Hungarians succeeded in pushing the boundary back to the Leitha, rather than the extent to which the Austrians managed to push the line east of the river. Considering its compromise nature, the boundary can be termed a strategic victory for the Hungarians, since they succeeded in reaching the river at every important bridgehead: Wiener Neustadt-Neudörf^{B4}, Ebenfurth-Neufeld^{C3-4}, Wampersdorf-Wimpassing^{C3}, and Bruck-

¹³ Josef Lampel maintains that the entire eastern half of the Vienna Basin, particularly along the Leitha, was marsh. *Die Leitha Grenze*. Blätter Ver. Landesk. N. Ö., pp. 116-117.

Bruckneudorf^{D2}. By rounding the north end of the Rosalien Range and the south end of the Leitha Range, the Hungarians extended their territory to the Leitha River along both of the important routes through the Eisenstadt Basin (the Sopron and Wiener Neustadt gateways).

The eastward extensions of the boundary contain less-contested areas between the principal routeways, rather than along them. The southernmost of the three offsets represents the continuance of a late medieval award. In 1493 the Emperor Friedrich, having gained control of this area by the Treaty of Pressburg two years previously, awarded the wasted Herrschaft of Liechtenwörth, plus adjoining territory, east of the Leitha (around Zillingdorf), to the city of Wiener Neustadt in recompense for the many hardships it had endured in the frequent border warfare.¹⁴ The union of Austria and Hungary after 1526 precluded any possibility of this territory ever being regained by Hungary.¹⁵ The northern, largest of the offsets represents the medieval Herrschaft of Scharfeneck.

In its northern section the river boundary suffers from the maladies that usually characterize such a line in flat terrain. Over the centuries, the Leitha has shifted its course. Prior to 1914 the river was canalized to stabilize its course. (The river has evidently never been used for water transportation.) The principal channel of the river runs, however, to the southeast of the course carrying the boundary; in most stretches, therefore, the line is to the north and west of the river. This deviation from the principal channel is of significance in one locality, Bruck-Bruckneudorf. The boundary here follows the northern channel and, in effect, cuts the city of Bruck into two portions (see Map 15, page 80). Bruckneudorf, to the south of this channel, has most of its built-up area north of the canalized main

¹⁴Lampel, *Die Leitha Grenze*. Blätter Ver. Landesk. N.Ö., p. 125.

¹⁵"The union of several lands under one dynasty stabilizes an accidental momentary fluctuation." Robert Sieger, *Die Grenzen Niederösterreich*. Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich (Publication of the Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich), Wien, 1902, p. 176.

channel, is united to Bruck economically, religiously, and governmentally, but is, nevertheless, in another province.¹⁶

The other notable example of the orientation of a Burgenland gemeinde towards Lower Austria is Neudörf^{B4}. This village is so cut away from the remainder of the province that every road and railroad joining it to Burgenland passes through Lower Austria on the way (see Map 16, page 84). It is not, however, this territorial separation, as much as the immediate proximity of Wiener Neustadt, that turns the gemeinde westward. Neudörf is an industrial suburb of its large urban neighbor, and is within the Gerichts-bezirk (judicial district) of that city; but since it is large enough to have its own parish, post office, police station, and registrar's office, it remains more separated from Wiener Neustadt than Bruckneudorf is from Bruck.

The river boundary also separates a number of twin-villages, but in none of these is either the Burgenland or the Lower Austrian gemeinde large enough to dominate its partner. In these cases, on the contrary, the concept of the "1000 years boundary" has remained stronger than geographic proximity, and has produced separating rivalry rather than unification. As an example, Potzneusiedl (Burgenland)^{E2} and Deutsch Haslau (Lower Austria) have a combined population of less than 1,000 inhabitants, and yet they will have little to do with each other, insist on having their own Catholic Churches, and are oriented for postal, police, and registrar's services towards the gemeinden behind them in their own province.

c. From the Leitha to the Lafnitz

This is, in many ways, the most interesting of the five principal subdivisions of the boundary. In this section the boundary could not rely upon a main stream. To some who have attempted a study of the border, this portion has seemed indefinite and lacking in a strong physical basis for its location. Robert Sieger considered this long, irregular arc to represent a "solidified, unfinished"

¹⁶The "Burgenlandgesetz" (#143) of August 29, 1945 (which re-established Burgenland) made the adjustment of the boundary possible. Article I, Point 2, reads: "The boundaries between Lower Austria and Burgenland are re-established as of their condition on March 1, 1938; yet it is possible for the two provinces, with the approval of the provisional national government, to adjust their boundary, in minor details, before January 1." This opportunity was not acted upon.

boundary,¹⁷ and yet, this boundary has remained virtually unaltered for almost a millenium; this fact suggests that something more than accidentals have determined its location.

The primary physical differentiation notable near the border is the transition from the Bucklige Welt on the west, to the plains of the Pannonian Basin on the east. The Bucklige Welt is an area of gently rolling uplands and steep valleys; the ridge tops are usually cleared, whereas the valley sides are forested. The Pannonian plains, and their western indentations into the Bucklige Welt, have gently rolling cleared lowlands, or flat valley bottoms, with narrower, forested uplands. This contrast is significant when one bears in mind the character of the two opposing forces at the time the boundary was demarcated. The Magyars came from the east, the Germans from the west; the Magyars were horesmen and plainsmen, the Germans, by this time, were mountaineers, Alpinists, in this part of Europe. The Germans advanced their settlements along the upland pastures, whereas the Magyars advanced theirs along the lowland plains.

The patterns of the occupation of this area by the two ethnic groups can be summarized under the following six points:

1. All the lowland areas east of the Alpine massif were occupied by the Magyars.

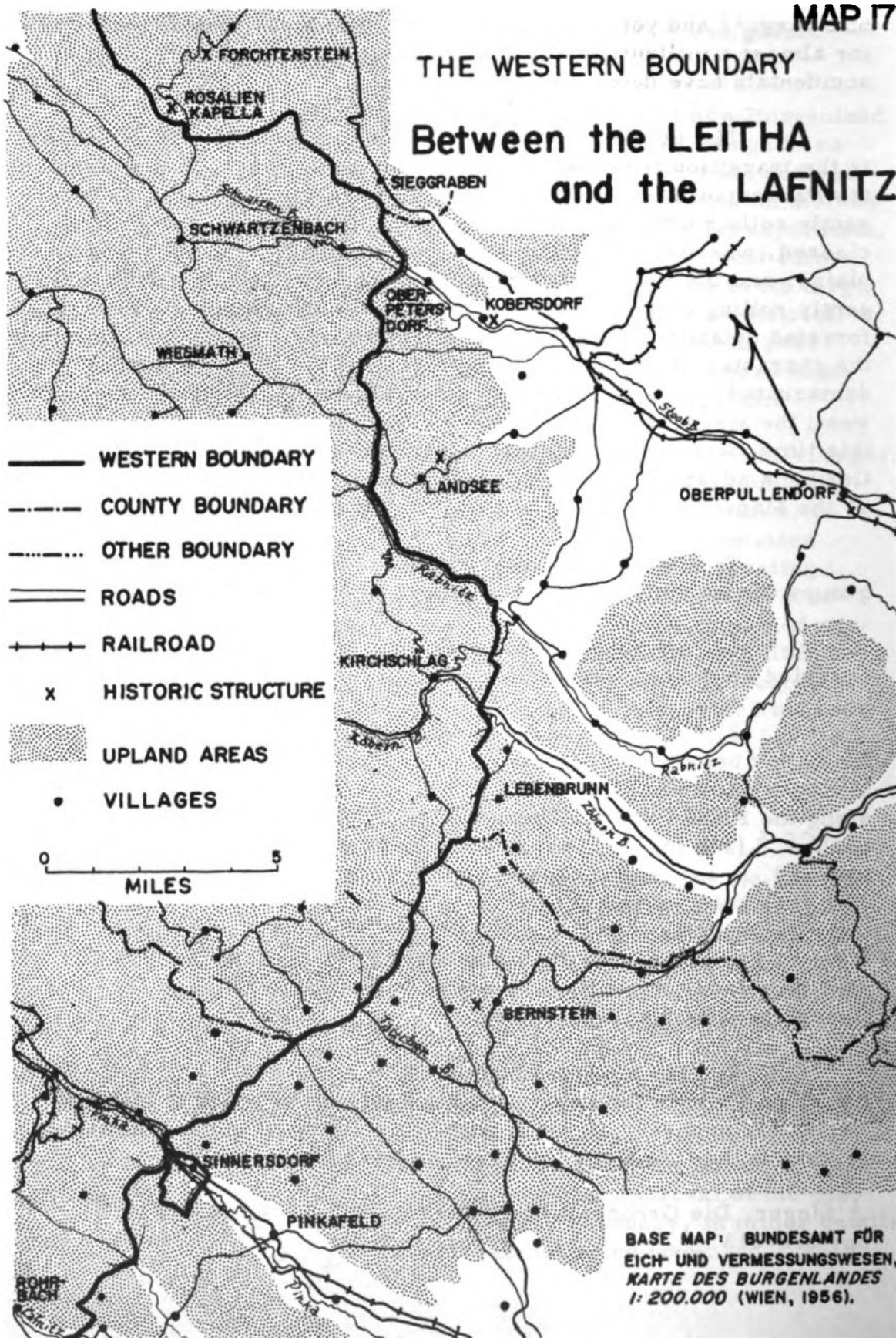
2. The Magyars advanced up the stream valleys as far as the valley bottom allowed them, that is as far as the point where the lowlands became cramped into a V-shaped valley. This is noticeable along the Pinka^{B7}, the Zöbern^{B7}, the Rabnitz^{BC6}, and the Schwarzenbach^{C5-6} (see Map 17, page 90). Schwarzenbach (Lower Austria) is pressed, in serpentine fashion, between the stream and the steep slope, with its road westward climbing in hairpin turns up the valley side onto the upland surface; in contrast, Oberpetersdorf (Burgenland), though the next gemeente, is situated in a broad valley. By Koberndorf, the next gemeente, the valley has widened to become a portion of the Oberpullendorf lowland.

3. The Magyars pushed their domains onto the edge of the Bucklige Welt, to the crest of the upland overlooking the lowlands. The entire boundary, in this portion, runs in upland areas. Most notable is the line along the Rosalien Range.

¹⁷Sieger, Die Grenzen Niederösterreich. Jb. Landeskn. N.Ö., pp. 212-213.

MAP 17

THE WESTERN BOUNDARY

Between the LEITHA
and the LAFNITZ

4. Where historic roads, by climbing onto the upland, crossed from the lowlands into Lower Austria, the Magyars moved their control beyond the first crest of the upland, to include portions of the Bucklige Welt within present-day Burgenland. This occurred in three localities which are still notable for their medieval fortresses: Forchtenstein^{BC5}, Landsee^{BC6}, and Bernstein^{B7}. Surrounding Landsee and Bernstein, Burgenland contains upland-surface types of agriculture akin to those in adjacent Lower Austria. These three localities show up on the map as three convex extensions of Burgenland counter to the generally concave shape of the boundary.

5. As was previously mentioned, the line was drawn along minor streams wherever possible; this was especially apparent at critical points, that is, where the boundary crossed a major stream valley.

6. Between the stream courses, the position of the boundary appears to be the result of local developments in the patterns of occupation. After the border area had been settled, the location of the line between adjacent Austrian and Hungarian villages was probably determined by their relative rates of growth. (The boundary in this portion is rarely straight and is generally equidistant between villages on either side.) Though the boundary is "antecedent" in all its broader features, many of its minor features were probably "consequent" upon lines determined by local settlement patterns. On a small scale this illustrates Penck's concept of a "Zusammenwachsgrenze"¹⁸ (growing together boundary).

Map 18 (page 92) depicts the manner in which the boundary crosses the Pinka valley. This case is of special interest in illustrating not only the A.D. 1000 criteria listed above, but also one of the late medieval alterations.

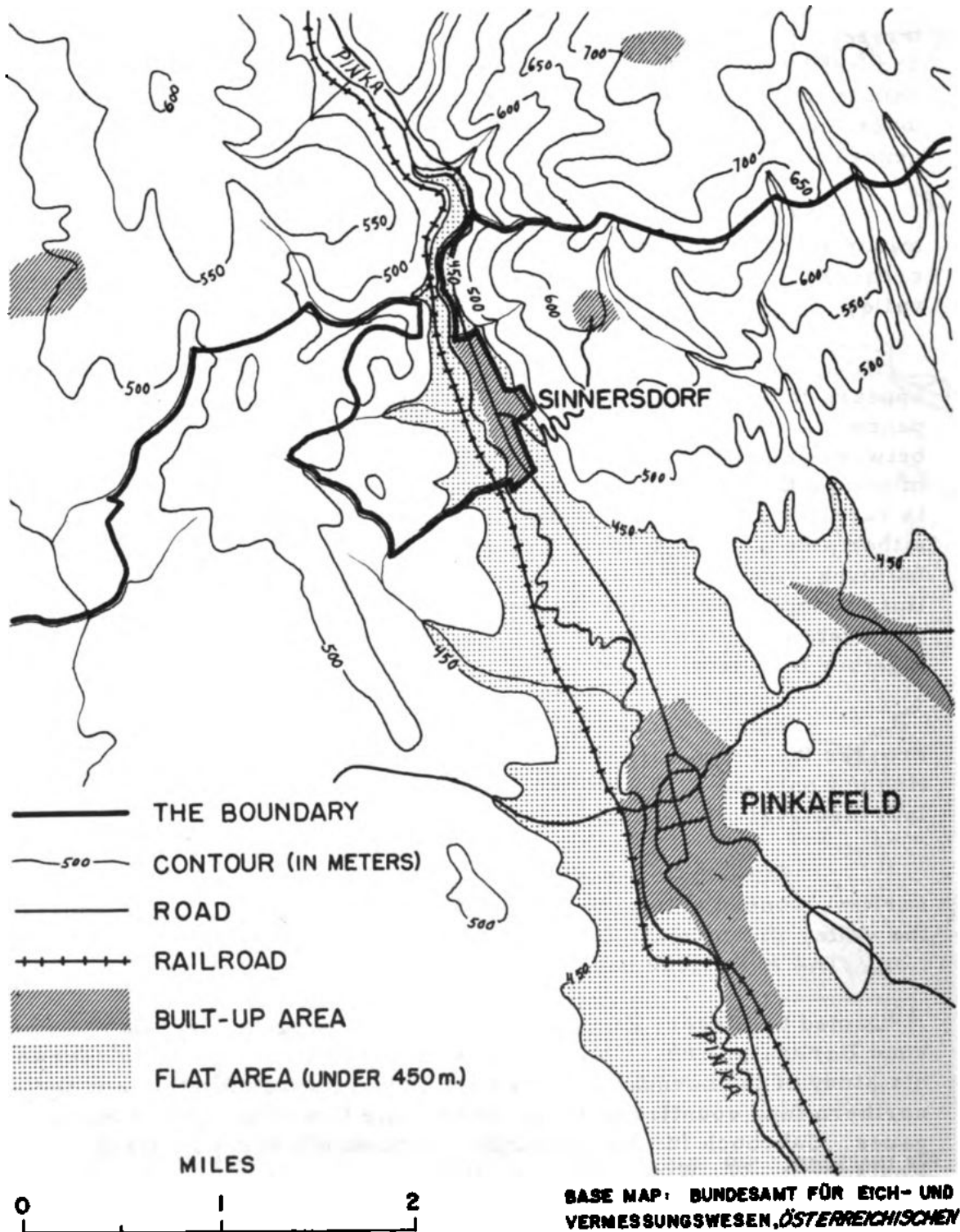
Immediately north of Sinnersdorf the Pinka flows through a narrow, wooded valley; Sinnersdorf is located just at a point where the valley widens enough to allow room for a village and some cultivation. The A.D. 1000 boundary crossed the river in the middle of this

¹⁸Quoted by Sieger, *Zur pol.-geog. Terminologie*. Zeit Ges. Erdkund Berlin, pp. 66. This term was also used by Hugo Hassinger in his study of the boundaries of Nieder Donau (Lower Austria and the northern four counties of Burgenland), *Die Grenzen unseres Heimatgaues*. Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, Becker Festschrift, 27, Wien, 1938, p. 21.

THE WESTERN BOUNDARY

MAP 18

THE PINKA CROSSING



BASE MAP: BUNDESAMT FÜR EICH- UND VERMESSUNGSWESEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KARTE 1:50 000, 136 & 137 (WIEN, 1952).

gap. The line did not, however, cross the river cleanly, but followed it for a quarter of a mile. The boundary coming in from the east followed a brook down to its junction with the Pinka. On the opposite side of the river was not another tributary but a headland; the line therefore followed the main stream southward to the first available minor tributary entering along the west bank, and then followed that brook westward out of the valley.

The curious Sinnersdorf salient dates from 1499. To reward the Styrian lord of Herrschaft Thalberg for his contribution of thirteen hundredweights of gunpowder at the siege of Kösegg, the Austrian Emperor separated the village of Sinnersdorf and the "Oberwaldbauern," a small portion of the hill to the west of the village, from the Bernstein Herrschaft (which came under his control at the Treaty of Pressburg), and awarded them to the Styrian lord.¹⁹ Sinnersdorf is, at present, closely tied to Pinkafeld, and, as such, represents the only *gemeinde* in Old-Austria which is oriented towards Burgenland. Despite these ties, it feels itself to be distinctly Styrian, and looks very Styrian. It is a bit of mountain Austria, in contrast to the plains settlements to the south and east.

Sinnersdorf has often been neglected by Styria. In the mid-1920's, when Styria was trying to obstruct connections between Pinkafeld and Vienna (the rail link was not completed until late 1926), the road through Sinnersdorf was allowed to deteriorate and the bus service was shifted to the road running west from Pinkafeld to Rohrbach.²⁰ During the recent Allied occupation of Austria, the Soviet troops, evidently ignoring the fine points of medieval boundaries, included Sinnersdorf in their occupied area. Neither the Styrian government nor the British, who were occupying Styria, cared enough to protest. This low evaluation of the salient village was shared by the Hungarians; though they frequently demanded the return of the remainder of the "lands of King St. Stephen" in the north, they never concerned themselves with the return of Sinnersdorf.

¹⁹Josef Karl Homma, "Zu den Grenzverhältnissen zwischen der Herrschaft Thalberg bzw. Bärnegg (Stm.) und dem Landesgericht Pinkafeld vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert," Burgenländische Heimatblätter, Eisenstadt, 1951, 13/4, p. 272.

²⁰Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. December 23, 1923.

d. The Lafnitz

This is the simplest portion of the boundary. The line follows the Lafnitz until the river turns towards the east, and hence, away from the prevailing north-northeast to south-southwest alignment of the boundary. The only departures from the present course of the stream represent former channels; from these departures Burgenland is clearly the gainer, since the large offset at the south end of the Lafnitz course (near Dobersdorf^{B10}) is much larger than the eastward offset of the line at Fürstenfeld^{B10}. Through most of its extent the boundary is actually in the present stream bed.

The river is by no means a barrier, though the bottom land may have been so in the past. The principal barrier now is the scarp-edged ridge to the east, which tends to separate the Burgenland gemeinden in this lowland from the remainder of the province (see Map 19, page 95). Ties are strong across the border, and weak across the ridge. This is evidenced in the names of the gemeinden: the Burgenland villages of Wörtherberg, Neudauberg, and Burgauberg are across the Lafnitz from the Styrian villages of Wörth, Neudau, and Burgau. Above all, it is the commerical and industrial center of Fürstenfeld, larger than any Burgenland gemeente, that draws both sides of the valley toward Styria.

The cultural divide, which is generally coincident with the boundary, here lies in the uplands east of the Lafnitz, rather than along the river. The Burgenland side of the valley appears to be a zone of cultural transition, and typically Styrian, individual farmsteads are scattered along the crest of the escarpment.

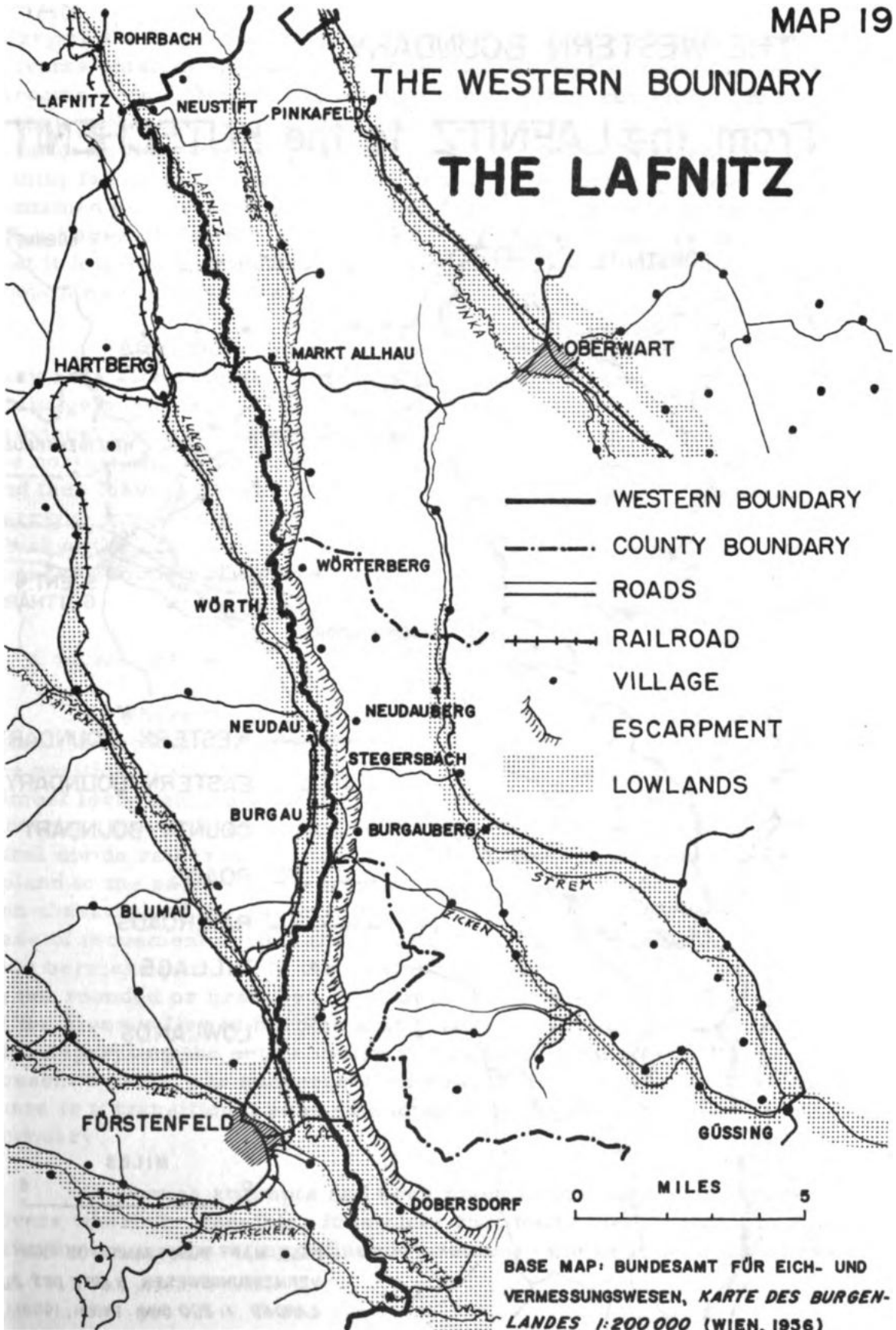
e. From the Lafnitz to the Kutschenitza

Approximately 13 air miles separate the Lafnitz and the headwaters of the Kutschenitza; the boundary covers this distance in an irregular line. In the middle of this stretch the line crosses the Raab, the major river of west-Hungary. The crossing is made at no special point since the flat valley bottom continues for a score of miles westward into the heart of Styria, but the crossing does illustrate the familiar procedure used in crossing a major valley (see Map 20, page 96). The line enters the valley from the north along a minor tributary, jogs westward 1.5 miles along the Raab, and then moves southward along a valley so small that it carries water only intermittently. Much closer to the mouth of the tributary

MAP 19

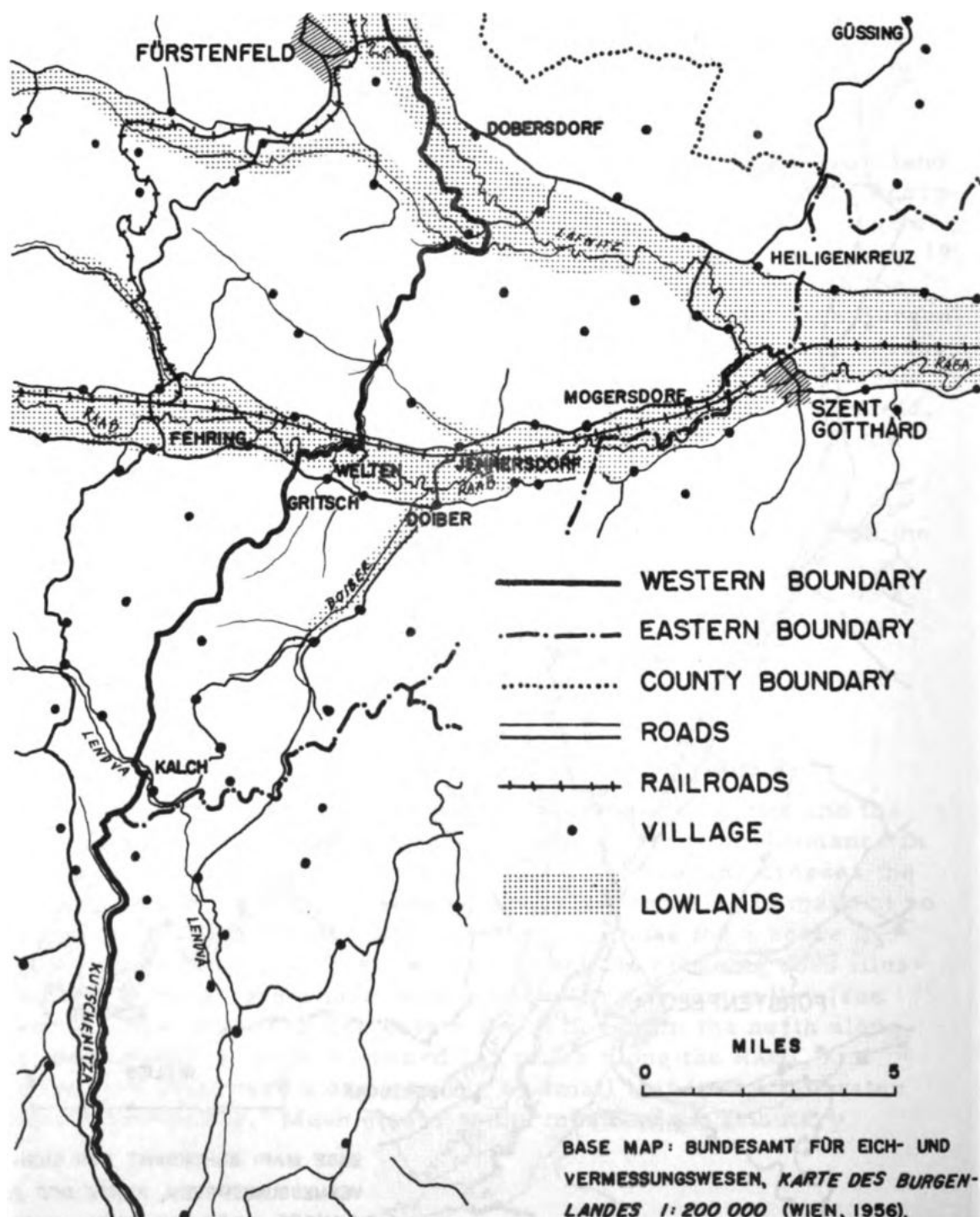
THE WESTERN BOUNDARY

THE LAFNITZ



THE WESTERN BOUNDARY

From the LAFNITZ to the KUTSCHENITZA



carrying the boundary on the north side of the valley are two other streams entering the valley from the south. Had either of these two streams been followed, the boundary would have run along a more notable tributary, with virtually no jog along the Raab, and with no alteration in the general direction of the boundary. The decisive determining factor seems to have been that the two larger tributaries each contained cultivated land in their valleys, and, more important yet, the villages of Gritsch and Welten^{AB11}. The line was so demarcated that it followed a tributary so minor that the accompanying valley would contain no nucleus of settlement.

After following this rivulet into the wooded bluffs, the boundary runs along the height of land forming the western edge of the drainage basin of the Doiber Bach. At the southernmost tip of the province, the line crosses the Lendva, by entering the valley from the north along a tributary, making a slight jog along the Lendva, and then leaving the valley southward in another gulley capable of carrying water only after rains. One mile further on, the boundary reaches the headwaters of the Kutschenitza which then carries the boundary southward.

3. Conclusions

Where the present western boundary is the same as the original, antecedent boundary, a sharp cultural divide coincides with the position of the line. This divide was still clearly visible in 1957, almost forty years after the transfer of Burgenland from Hungary to Austria. The only exception is in the Lafnitz valley; there the cultural divide rather than a line is a zone extending eastward into the upland to the east. This exception is probably a result of the unbroken character of the escarpment east of the Lafnitz and the contrasting ease of movement across the river. Of all the Burgenland topographic barriers parallel to the western boundary, only this escarpment is not rounded or breached by a lowland of some sort. The tendency of the river valley to become a unit has been accentuated by the barrier separating the entire valley from areas to the east. Where the present boundary is subsequent, instead of the sharp cultural divide, there is a transitional zone extending from the present to the original boundary.

Though attempts had been made to run the boundary along rivers wherever possible, it is clear that today the boundary is most effective as a separating influence precisely where it does not follow

major streams. The central portion, between the Leitha and the Lafnitz, coincides with a major divide in trade and local movement. Though long-distance buses and trucks do cross the boundary to tie middle Burgenland easily to Vienna, there is little local movement across the line in this central portion. Only at Sinnersdorf-Pinkafeld^{B7-8} and at Kirschlag^{B6} is there anything resembling continual local movement. In the north the forests of the Leitha Range constitute the most effective border barrier.

With the draining of the marshes, the broad stream valleys have become unifying rather than separating factors. The Lafnitz valley is an economic unit with most local movement crossing the river rather than the uplands that frame the valley. The Leitha River also tends to unite rather than to separate the gemeinden along its banks.²¹

Connections with Old-Austria have always been closest in the lowlands carrying the international trade routes: at Hainburg, Bruck, Sopron-Wiener Neustadt, and in the Lafnitz and Raab valleys. Though these continue to be of major importance in carrying all the international railroads and highways, there has been a radical alteration in their relative importance since 1918.

Bruck is now clearly the center for all movement between Austria and Hungary. The Sopron-Wiener Neustadt gateway is of the greatest importance to Burgenland, both north and south of Sopron, but has lost much of its importance as an international routeway. Hainburg has lost almost all of its function as a pass city. When Bratislava was in Hungary, the road from Vienna passed through Hainburg, which then played the part of a lesser border twin city; when Bratislava became a part of a new nation, this function continued, though of less importance because of the new border; since the erection of the "Iron Curtain" this border function has ceased, and the road connection to Bratislava has been allowed to deteriorate to its present overgrown, disused, uncared-for condition. The Lafnitz and Raab valleys are primarily important now, as is the Sopron gateway, in facilitating the connection of portions of Burgenland with Old-Austria. Until the Second World War, the Lafnitz and Raab valleys carried the principal rail and highway connections between Graz and Hungary; since 1945 there has been absolutely no rail and virtually no road service across the border in these valleys. All international movement is now funneled through Bruck and Nickelsdorf^{E3}.

²¹Sieger has noted the same transition from separation to unification in the case of the Danube-Sava valleys along the, then, southern boundary of Hungary. Zur pol.-geog. Terminologie. Zeit. Ges. Erdkunde Berlin, p. 62.

B. The Eastern Boundary of Burgenland

1. Characteristics and Criteria

The eastern boundary of Burgenland, the present international boundary, is one of the strangest boundaries in existence. It manages to cut trade areas, lines of transportation, systems of communications, and to ignore strategic considerations with a consistency that is astounding. Between Kittsee^{E2} and Kalch^{A12} the air-line distance is approximately 100 miles, the length of the boundary 225 miles.²² Its many indentations, coupled with the topography of the province, effectively cut the new Burgenland, in 1922, into at least seven separated pieces (see Map 25, page

The characteristics of this delineation may be summarized as follows:

1. Strategic relationships were considered only with respect to an outside nation, Czechoslovakia, and ignored with respect to Austria and Hungary.

2. The boundary rarely utilizes topographic features. The largest and most effective north-south barrier, the Neusiedler See, forms the boundary for only four miles, and then, in reverse (Hungary to the west, Austria to the east). The sharp scarp edge west of the lower Pinka valley or the less impressive forest belt east of the valley were not utilized; instead the line zigzags back and forth across the valley between them. No river carries the boundary for more than two miles. Only in the Sopron Range does the boundary coincide with a drainage divide, for five miles. The closest approach to a concurrence of the boundary with a physical feature occurs, oddly enough, in the flattest portion of the border zone. The line has been demarcated a few feet north of the Einser Kanal^{E5}; this, plus a tributary drainage ditch running north-south, carry the boundary for 14 miles. This can scarcely be considered a major barrier, since it was in this southeastern corner of the Seewinkel that the majority of the Hungarian refugees crossed into Austria late in 1956.

3. Broad settlement patterns do not coincide with the line. Basins and valleys are cut; in fact, the line was drawn through the areas of densest population. With a few small exceptions the boundary passes through arable areas in preference to forested areas.

²² 364 km. Fritz Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. Wien, 1940, p. 23.

4. Linguistic patterns did not coincide with the position of the line. In the northeast the German area extended beyond Moson^{F4} (see Map 10, page 46). Much of the area of the Sopron salient was German speaking. Several German villages remained east of the boundary in the south. The Croatian settled areas were split by the line, particularly in the south.

5. The minor civil divisions, the smallest settlement groupings, the gemeinden, largely determined the position of the boundary. The line was marked off along the gemeinde limits. Visible natural linear features, such as streams, were followed only when they coincided with the gemeinde limits.

A boundary commission, consisting of one Frenchman (chairman), one Englishman, and one Japanese, devoted most of 1922 to its task of determining the precise location of the new international boundary.²³ They were assisted by an Austrian and a Hungarian delegate.²⁴ This group of five moved from village to village in the doubtful areas (but by no means everywhere), with a list of 13 questions concerning local government, food and wood supplies, trade connections, markets, and religions, which they attempted to ask the citizenry of the concerned gemeinden. Unfortunately, these questions were probably rarely answered honestly or completely. As soon as it was heard that the commission was coming, the villagers would mass for a great demonstration, kissing the Hungarian flag or shouting "Hoch Österreich!"

The Viennese newspaper of the Gross-deutsch Partei frequently accused the commission of making decisions that were unduly favorable to Hungary.²⁵ Stories were told, evidently with much basis in truth, that the members of the commission were remaining overnight in the palaces of the nobility and having their just intentions led astray by the charming hospitality of the nobility.²⁶ At the present time one

²³Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, March 9, 1922.

²⁴Josef Karl Homma, Das Werden der Ostgrenze des Burgenlandes. Burgenländische Heimatblätter, 13/1, Eisenstadt, 1951, p. 40.

²⁵For example: Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, March 9, 10, 11, 12, 21, 25, 27, 29, and 31, 1922.

²⁶It must be remembered that since the few urban centers near the border area were all in Hungary, the only facilities available for the commission would have been in the large palaces. Even today Burgenland has very poor facilities for the traveler.

hears often in Burgenland that certain bits of territory remained in Hungary because the commission allowed itself to be swayed by the charm of the nobility. This assertion is not only repeated by peasants and schoolteachers (the latter are usually very nationalistic), but also is printed in scholarly publications. Upon examination of the actual placement of the boundary it becomes clear that the boundary commission performed its work as justly as was possible under the circumstances. It is true that the final line ran generally to the west of the vaguely delimited line of the Treaty of St. Germaine, but this was not the fault of the commission, as will be shown later.

The commissioners were also accused of establishing an unduly complicated boundary. As will be described, the commission had little choice in the actual placement of the line, and some of the most awkward configurations resulted from subsequent exchanges of territory between Austria and Hungary.

Even before the commission began its thankless task, two portions of the boundary had been determined. These were the sides of the Sopron salient, set by the results of the plebiscite, and the boundary between Kittsee and Petrzalka^{EF1-2}. Petrzalka was also German-speaking but had been awarded to Czechoslovakia as a bridgehead south of the Danube, and a potential industrial suburb for Bratislava (see Map 15, page 80).

The boundary commission evidently felt itself committed to several principles. In order of importance these were:

1. The railroad from Bratislava^{F1} to Csorna^{F6} must remain entirely within Hungary.
2. The self-determination of national adherence by the local population must be allowed as fully as possible.
3. The Gemeinden are not to be divided (cut internally). The boundary will, therefore, run along the gemeinde limits.
4. Local trade areas and communications routes are to be kept intact as much as possible.

In practice, point 4 could rarely be followed. Problems also arose, in the northeast, on the question of population vs. ownership. Though much of the area was in the hands of pro-Hungarian noblemen, the wishes of the resident population were given preference. Special cases were the huge manorial centers, the

"puszta"s and "hof"s which were spread over the flat northeast. These were populated by contract laborers who formed their own communities, almost completely removed from the village centers. The inhabitants of these manorial centers were usually Magyar and Pro-Hungary. If gemeente limits only were to be followed these Magyar clusters would pass to Austria; in two cases (on the immediate border) these clusters were separated from their gemeinden and allowed to remain in Hungary.

2. Sectional Analysis

a. Neusiedl County (from Kittsee to the See)

Once it had been decided that the Bratislava-Csorna railroad must remain in Hungary and that gemeente boundaries should not be cut, the present international boundary was approximated (see Map 21, page 103). The gemeinden on this flat plain are of such enormous size that the line remains well back from the railroad. Only three exceptions are to be noted. Pustasomorja^{EF4} is a gemeente west of the rail line, and yet it remained in Hungary; its population was predominantly Magyar. Two manorial centers were cut out of their gemeinden and allowed to remain in Hungary. These are Albértházpuszta and Mexiko M.H.^{E5}. The former was the largest of all the manorial centers in its province (Komitat, megye), with a population of 444, most of whom were Magyar.²⁷ The latter was also Magyar, and was integrated economically with the huge Eszterházy manorial-industrial center of Eszterháza^{E6,28}

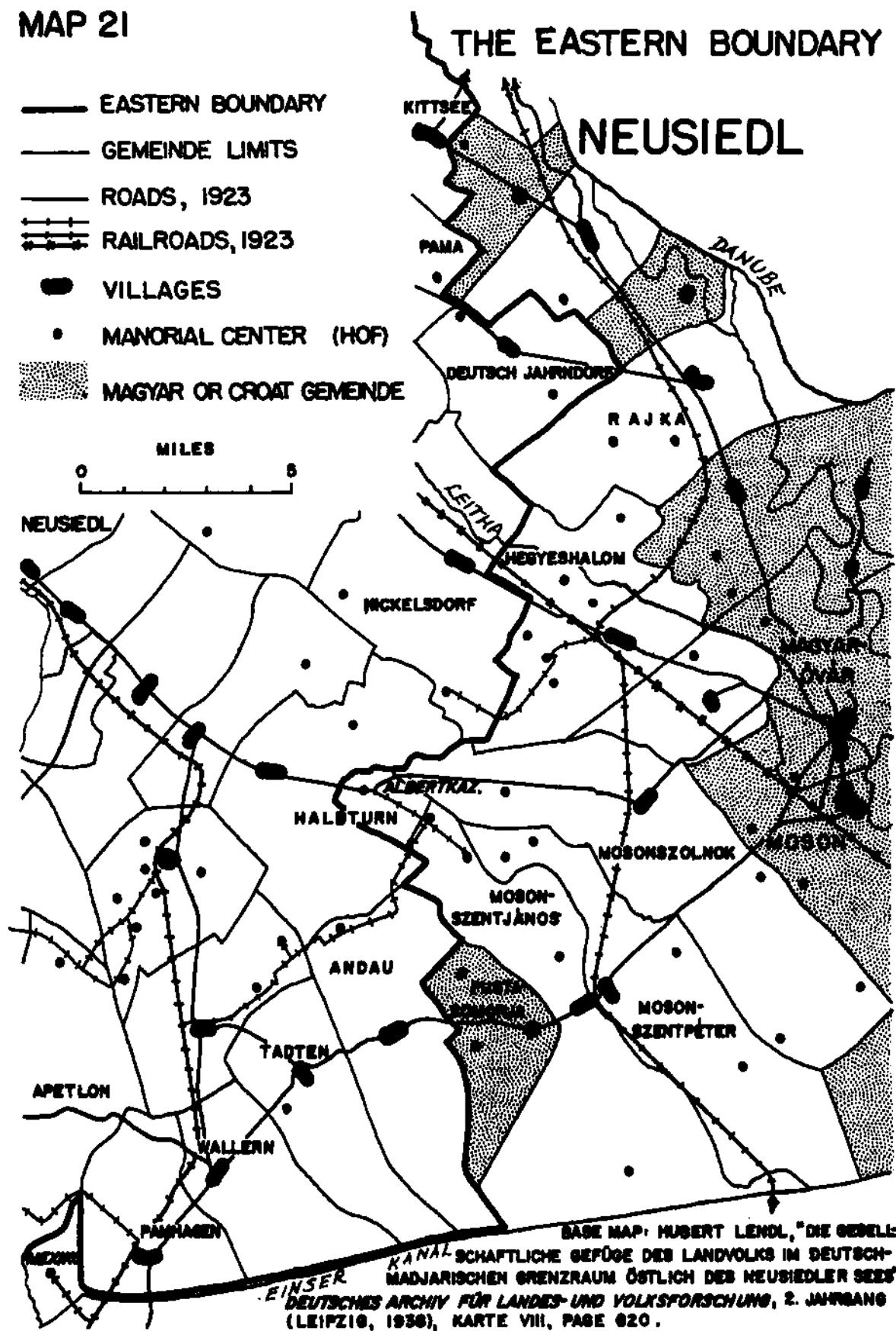
The boundary around Mexiko M.H. was so demarcated that the narrow-gauge railroad north of this "hof" remained entirely within Austria. At Albértházpuszta such an arrangement was impossible; three manorial centers in Hungary were at the end of a spur railroad line which led only into Austria.

With the exception of the Einser Kanal along the south, and another ditch in the southeast, this boundary runs across open country. Were it not for the post-World War II erection of barbed wire, watch towers, and the mine field, this line could scarcely be noted in the field.

²⁷Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 222.

²⁸Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, November 26, 1922.

MAP 21



The southern limit of the Seewinkel (along the Einser Kanal) is the best example of a consequent boundary along the entire eastern frontier of Burgenland. The line runs through the middle of a large area of marsh which has been a hindrance to movement through all recorded history. It is almost unpopulated and illustrates therefore both the "static" and "kinetic" aspects of a natural divide.²⁹ This 11-mile-long stretch is the only portion of the eastern frontier which coincides with a pre-existing provincial boundary. Since this provincial boundary between Moson and Sopron has been in the swamp zone for at least several centuries,³⁰ this portion of the international boundary may be antecedent (preceding "most of the features of the cultrual landscape")³¹ as well as consequent (upon a natural divide).

Despite the general lack of topographic features, this stretch is the most satisfactory portion of the entire length of the eastern boundary of Burgenland. The north-south line is located almost midway between the Hungarian center of Moson-Magyaróvár and the county seat, Neusiedl, and almost halves the trading hinterland. It is true that Neusiedl is not as large or as important as Moson-Magyaróvár, but the principal movement in this area is towards Vienna, so that it is the Hungarian rather than the Austrian portion that has suffered from the placement of the boundary.

b. The Sopron Gateway (from the See to Sieggraben^{C5})

This portion of the boundary had previously been determined by the delimitation of the Sopron plebiscite area. Much of the boundary coincides with the city limits of Sopron (see Map 13, page 69). For almost half of this distance the line runs through forest and is occasionally emphasized by the contrast between forest in one country and cleared land in the other. For approximately two miles the line crosses the cleared open lowland along the minor Tauchenbach.

The separation of Sopron from Burgenland was to plague the province for decades and even threaten its existence. Sopron was a

²⁹According to Hartshorne, the divisive strength of a natural divide is due partly to its being relatively devoid of population (the static aspect), and partly to its hindering connections between populated regions (the kinetic aspect). Terminology Polit. Bound. Mitteil. Ver Geog. Univ. Leipzig, p. 183.

³⁰ I do not know when it was first established.

³¹ Hartshorne, Terminology Polit. Bound. p. 180.

major route node; here the boundary cut two railroads, two highways, and four lesser roads (see Map 22, page 107). The important vineyard area extending north-south along the Neusiedler See was bisected, separating the northern three villages of this belt, Oggau, Rust, and Mörbisch from their primary marketing and distributing center. Schattendorf and Loipersbach^{C5} had road connections only with Sopron,³² while Mörbisch and St. Margarethen^{D4} were forced to reorient their trade connections.

The railroads still exist and operate, but only to connect middle Burgenland (Oberpullendorf County) with the rest of Austria. Sopron thus continues, despite the boundary delineation, despite the stringencies of the "Iron Curtain," to serve as an important transportation node for Burgenland! Little, if any freight and no passengers pass into Hungary through Sopron. The two highways still exist, though their use has diminished greatly; no through, in-transit traffic into Oberpullendorf County is permitted via the highways. The lesser roads have atrophied; beyond the last village before the border they virtually cease to exist as roads.

The important commercial center, Sopron, has been severely handicapped by the location of the new boundary. Since the animal market was the principal economic resource of Sopron, the following table illustrates the effect of the boundary on the economic life of the city.³³

TABLE 5

<u>Year</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Swine</u>	<u>Total</u>
1901	40,178	59,382	99,560
1913 (last year pre-war)	36,663	134,151	170,814
1918 (last war year)	15,403	65,706	81,109
1921 (before the plebiscite)	29,663	72,456	102,119
1922 (after the plebiscite)	16,007	36,073	52,080
1925	9,388	24,236	33,624
1929	6,078	28,958	35,036

³²Burgenländische Volksblatt. Sauerbrunn, August 25, 1923.

³³Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, January 19, 1930.

The market has continued to function, and with some minor importance for Burgenland before 1945. During the economic crisis of the 1930's the price of meat animals was so much lower in Hungary than in Austria that the Sopron market became the center of supply for large-scale smuggling operations across the border.

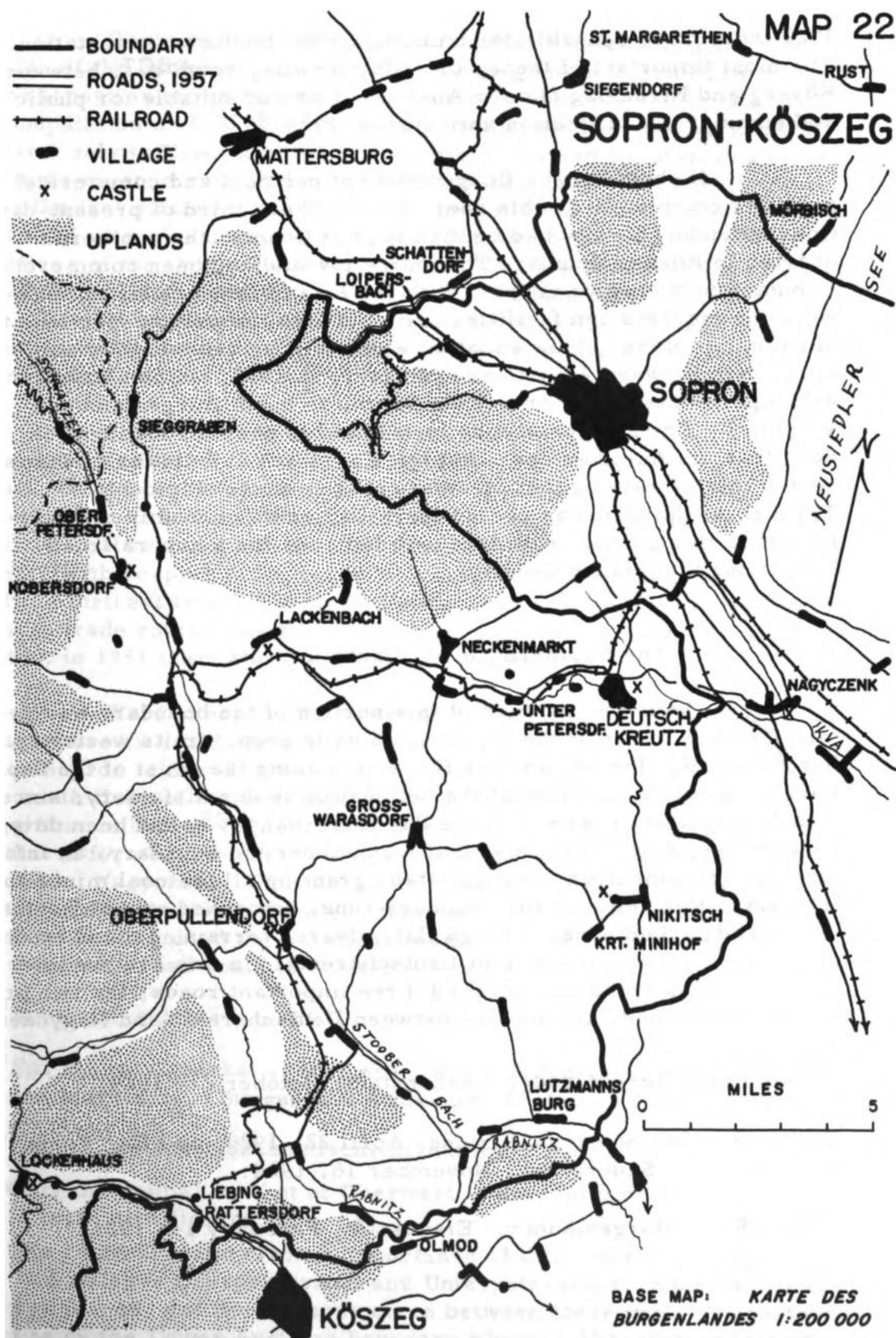
The Hungarians attempted to compensate the city for the loss of most of its hinterland by transferring a technical college from Kassa (Košice, which was lost to Czechoslovakia). This was more than offset, however, by the loss of its political significance; the remnants of Sopron and Moson provinces were joined to Győr Province.

The city now draws its supplies from the few surrounding villages within Hungary and from the Kis Álföld to the east, but its commercial significance has been largely destroyed by the boundary. Not only was its immediate hinterland cut away, but also Sopron was separated from its own primary market, Vienna. The sealing of the border during the past decade has accentuated the awkward location of Sopron. The Burgenlanders who knew the city before 1921 and have seen it recently lament over its past beauty and prosperity. Viewed from the railroad, it certainly looked decayed and lifeless in 1957.

c. Oberpullendorf County (Middle Burgenland)

South of Sopron the boundary forms a semicircle around the lowland of Oberpullendorf, with the northern and southern ends of this curve virtually severing this lowland from both north and south Burgenland (and Old-Austria as well). Every important route runs north-south and, in 1922, every one of these was cut by the boundary at both ends (see Map 22, page 107). The railroad and the principal roads focused on Sopron in the north and Kőszeg in the south, and both of these cities remained in Hungary. Perhaps the most important historic route in Central Europe, the Amber Road, running from Sopron through Neckenmarkt^{C6} and Gross-warasdorf^{C6}, was similarly cut, and not only has atrophied at both border crossings but also has ceased to be an important routeway within the county. Another road (somewhat less important) connected Sopron with Hungarian centers, such as Csepreg^{D7} and Sárvár^{E8} in the Repce (Rabnitz) and Rába (Raab) valleys, via the large manorial gemeente of Deutschkreutz^{D6}; this road also was cut twice, and remains now simply a local connection between Deutschkreutz and Nikitsch^{D6}.

At least three medieval roads crossed the former border into Old-Austria (at Schwarzenback, Landsee, and Steinbach), but in



1922 these were unusable for trucking or for public transportation. The most important of these, the Zöbern valley route^{BC7}, between Kőszeg and Kirschlag (Lower Austria), was not suitable for public and commercial utilization until August 1929.³⁴

No boundary in Burgenland cut political and commercial areas as completely as this one. The northern third of present-day Oberpullendorf County had been in Sopron County, the southern quarter in Kőszeg County. The entire lowland had been commercially tributary to these two cities. With the loss of these cities not only were the markets and facilities lost, but also the only connections to any other centers. This situation was partially remedied by an agreement between Austria and Hungary, in 1922, which allowed unhampered passenger travel via Sopron to north Burgenland and Vienna.³⁵ Freight was also to be allowed to pass through Sopron duty-free, in Austrian cars, but the Hungarian authorities circumvented this by raising their freight rates on these shipments.³⁶ Throughout the interwar period there was acute economic dissatisfaction in this county, with frequent demands for a new railroad across the Sieggraben Saddle.

i. The Northern Third, Deutschkreutz

The northern third of this portion of the boundary was determined by the limits of the Sopron plebiscite area. In its western part it runs through forest, and for five miles along the crest of the Sopron Range. Even this portion of the delineation is unsatisfactory, since a locally important coal mine, the Brennbergbanya^{C5}, had been developed on the crest. Since the shafts ran under the boundary, an international agreement was necessitated, granting all the coal mined to Hungary. Further east the boundary runs, unmarked except for the mines and barbed wire, through flat, cleared terrain, around two sides of the large gemeente of Deutschkreutz. In this arc the line crossed the railroad and severed three important roads, the two previously mentioned, and the one between Deutschkreutz and Nagycenk^{D6}.

³⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, October 27, 1929.

³⁵Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, April 22, 1923, and Der Freie Burgenländer, Sauerbrunn, November 16, 1924.

³⁶Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, February 14, 1926.

Deutschkreutz^{D6} has been peculiarly affected by the demarcation of the boundary. At first this large gemeente gained by taking over a portion of the animal trade formerly monopolized by Sopron.³⁷ Its population of 3,929 (within present gemeente limits) was in 1923 second only to Eisenstadt within the province, and its market was probably the most important one in middle Burgenland.³⁸ Deutschkreutz was the last station in the county on the railroad to the Viennese market, and was advantageously located to draw on the most productive portions of the Oberpullendorf lowland. In 1934 Deutschkreutz had 4,220 inhabitants, and with 433 Jews was second only to Mattersburg as a Jewish center.³⁹ (The Jews were the merchants, so that their number was an excellent indication of the commercial importance of a gemeente.)

Since 1938, however, Deutschkreutz has suffered a serious commercial decline. The recent development of trucking as the principal method of transporting animals to the Viennese market has virtually killed off the local animal markets;⁴⁰ trucking has supplanted the railroad as the principal means of commercial shipment within Burgenland. With respect to highways Deutschkreutz is not the closest to, but the furthest from, Vienna. Coupled with this radical reorientation in trade routes was the decimation of the Jewish merchants by the Nazis; in 1951 there were no Jews in the gemeente.

Were it not for the constrictive position of the boundary, Deutschkreutz could claim a promising crossroads site. The highway from Sopron to Sárvár was crossed here by the east-west road along the south flank of the Sopron Range. This latter route was of local significance before 1918; it could almost be termed a "noble road," in that it formed a connection between a number of major manorial centers: Nagyczenk, Deutschkreutz, Neckenmarkt, Lackenbach, and Kobersdorf. At its western end the route entered Old-Austria; at its eastern end it joined the principal road eastward from Sopron.⁴¹ Now only the road south to Nikitsch^{D6} is tributary to the

³⁷Burgenland Atlas. p. 21.

³⁸For maps of market areas, see: Wirtschaftskreise der Burgenländischen Marktorde. Burgenland Atlas, pp. 43-46.

³⁹Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 256.

⁴⁰Only the animal market at Oberwart is currently of more than negligible local significance.

⁴¹The continuity and former importance of this route are suggested by the two villages Oberpetersdorf and Unterpetersdorf. Such names are always paired, yet five villages come between these two. Oberpetersdorf is on the Lower Austrian boundary whereas Unterpetersdorf adjoins Deutschkreutz.

former market center; the more important road westward leads away from Deutschkreutz rather than towards it. At the present time there is almost no sign of commercial activity in the *gemeinde*; even the palace seems decayed. With a population, in 1951, of 3,852 (fourth largest in the province) it looks like nothing more than a larger-than-usual agricultural village, with the familiar Burgenland phenomenon of large numbers of weekly commuters to the industrial centers of the Vienna Basin.

ii. South of Deutschkreutz

South of Deutschkreutz the boundary is unique in that it contains four stretches that were decided upon in a series of exchanges of territory between Austria and Hungary, after the boundary commission had completed its work. The villages of Nikitsch^{D6} and Lutzmannsburg^{D7} received 848 acres (490 joch) of woodland and 43 acres (25 joch) of vineyard respectively in exchange for lands returned to Hungarian Szent Gotthárd further south. Nikitsch had been left with too little woodland to satisfy the needs of the *gemeinde* inhabitants, whereas the 43 acres of vineyard had formerly belonged to inhabitants of Lutzmannsburg.⁴²

The major exchange in this area consisted of the Croatian village, Olmod^{CD7} (to Hungary), for the German villages, Rattersdorf-Liebing⁴³ (to Austria). The boundary commission had awarded Olmod to Austria in order to include the Rabnitz lowland within Austria, and Rattersdorf and Liebing to Hungary because of their proximity to and intimate connections with Kőszeg. Olmod, however, petitioned to be returned to Hungary.⁴⁴ Rattersdorf was not returned entirely to Austria. The forested upland, immediately south of the village center, was owned by Prince Eszterházy who wished as much of his acreage as possible to remain in Hungary.⁴⁵ South and west of the village the boundary coincides with the edge of the forest.

Though the return of Olmod to Hungary did move the line back and forth across the Rabnitz valley lowland, the exchange was in

⁴²Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, December 17, 1922.

⁴³Rattersdorf and Liebing are united into one *gemeinde*; therefore their names are generally joined with a hyphen.

⁴⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. December 10, 1922.

⁴⁵Ibid., December 17, 1922.

the nature of a gain for Austria. Had Rattersdorf and Liebing remained in Hungary, the only road (until 1957) connecting north and middle Burgenland with the south, and the Zöbern valley with its county seat, would have been cut. In 1922 this road was in deplorable condition, but at least the road bed was there, and could, eventually (1929), be reconstructed.

West of Köszeg the boundary does not follow the crest of the Köszeg Range, but includes a large portion of the northeastern slope within Hungary. This forested area, largely owned by Eszterházy, was awarded to Köszeg in order to assist the city economically. This award involved 4,844 acres (2,800 joch) of forest land, 2,778 acres (1,600 joch) of which belonged to Eszterházy.⁴⁶

d. Between the Köszeg Range and the Eisenberg

Between the 2,900-foot Geschriebenstein atop the Köszeg Range and the 1,345-foot Eisenberg^{C9}, the boundary crosses another flat, cleared lowland, cutting through an area of dense rural population. The railroad from Szombathely to Pinkafeld^{B8} and the roads from Szombathely and Köszeg to the upper Pinka valley were cut by the line.

Similar to Deutschkreutz is Rechnitz, which, with 3,772 people in 1923, was the second largest gemeente in south Burgenland, and the fourth in the province. It too has had the boundary drawn along its eastern limits, and bears a relationship to Köszeg like that of Deutschkreutz to Sopron. Rechnitz, however, has suffered more than its northern counterpart, since it was never able to replace Köszeg as a market center for shipments to the Austrian market. From the very first, Rechnitz found itself at the extreme end of all important trade routes.

Because of its position in the middle of the gap between the two uplands, Rechnitz possessed, until the delineation of the boundary, a promising trade site (see Map 23, page 113). Running along the south flank of the Köszeg Range was a notable medieval road, characterized by the castles of Rechnitz, Stadt Schlaining^{B8}, and Bernstein^{B7}. At Bernstein the road split into two branches, one of which continued around the west end of the Range into the Zöbern valley at the fortress of Lockenhaus^{C7}, while the other ran northward into Lower Austria. At Rechnitz a road towards Gross-petersdorf^{BC9} and the upper Pinka

⁴⁶Der Freie Burgenländer. April 15, 1923.

valley branched off this "noble road." Another road connected the large village with Szombathely^{D9}. The roads across the border to the two Hungarian cities have atrophied as would be expected, but so has the connection between Rechnitz and Gross-petersdorf (via Dürnbach^{C8}); this further illustrates the decline in the local importance of the formerly nodal gemeente. Gross-petersdorf has become the most important node of transport routes in eastern Oberwart Bezirk. In 1918 there were almost 300 Jews in Rechnitz;⁴⁷ by 1934 this number had decreased to 170,⁴⁸ and in 1951 there were three.

Rechnitz was also a manufacturing center, specializing in the production of special boots called "czismen." For this business the border was a disaster; these boots could be sold only in Hungary or in Burgenland. The market in Hungary was eliminated by the boundary, and most of the Burgenland market was in the north. Unfortunately, Rechnitz is situated directly in front of the middle, widest, and highest part of the Kőszeg Range. In the 1920's and 1930's the peasant craftsmen attempted all manner of methods to surmount the mountain mass behind the village. (The present road across was not completed until 1947.)⁴⁹ Many tracks were utilized but the best route, and the one most used, was through Kőszeg, Hungary.⁵⁰ There were, however, the expected difficulties with the Hungarian authorities, who usually insisted on charging duty on all goods entering Hungary, even though it might be claimed that they were in transit to north-Burgenland markets.⁵¹

Rechnitz has slowly stifled. The new road, built at great difficulty across the mountain mass, came too late to help the "czismen" makers; very few boots are now being made. Many of the boot-makers have gone into the production of wine for the local markets. The population of 3,387 is still large but it remains at this level because of the maintenance of local residence by large numbers of wandering laborers who come home every second weekend (from Vienna), every fourth weekend (from Graz) or at the end of the agricultural season.

⁴⁷Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. August 11, 1929.

⁴⁸Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur, p. 256.

⁴⁹Burgenländische Freiheit. Eisenstadt, May 11, 1947.

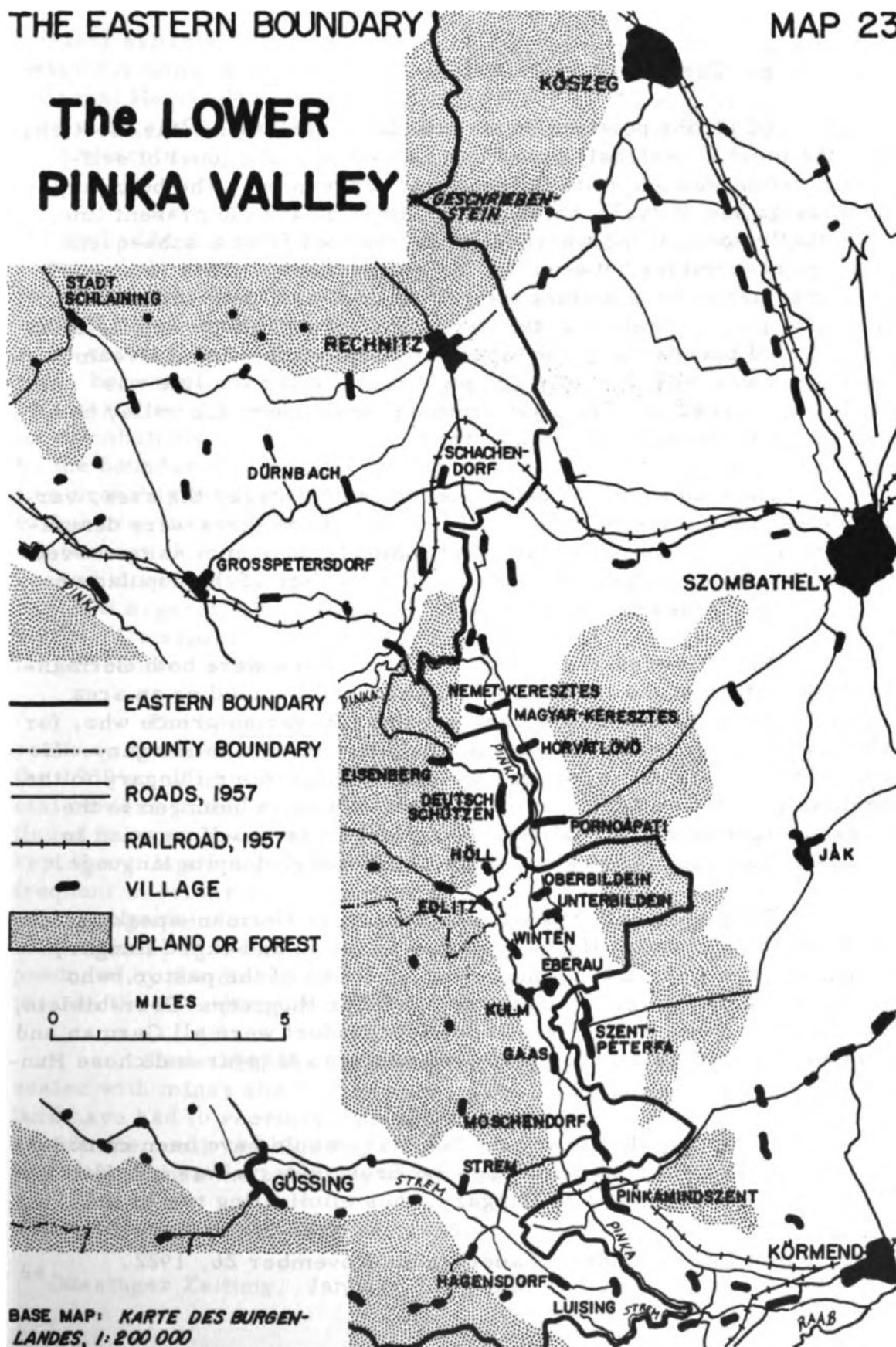
⁵⁰Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. August 11, 1929.

⁵¹Ibid., November 21, 1921.

THE EASTERN BOUNDARY

MAP 23

The LOWER PINKA VALLEY



e. The Lower Pinka Valley

Of all the portions of the boundary, this seems the most chaotic, the most senselessly drawn. It is here that the ideal of self-determination was given its fullest areal expression. The boundary commission had virtually no choice but to establish the present line, and actually some of the worst features resulted from a subsequent exchange of territory between the two governments. This is a proof of the inadvisability of making the principle of self-determination the controlling motivation in the delineation of the minute details of an international boundary. In the space of 13 miles the Pinka stream was cut seven times (see Map 23, page 113). After the line was finally established only the southernmost gemeente in the valley had road connections with its own country.

As soon as the boundary commission entered the area, various delegations came to meet it. In every village there were demonstrations for one country or the other. Slowly the commission moved through the valley, trying to ascertain the feelings of the populace in each village. It was not an easy task.

Német-keresztes and Magyar-keresztes were both German-speaking. Much of the land in Német-keresztes, including an area of vineyards on the Eisenberg, belongs to a Bavarian prince who, for political reasons, wished to have his holdings remain in Hungary. He evidently won over his villagers, who demonstrated for Hungary to the commission. Most of the land in Magyar-keresztes belonged to the Hungarian monastery of Ják^{CD9}. The clergy was pro-Hungarian in any case, and this village also opted for Hungary, despite language.

Eisenberg and Deutsch-schützen were German-speaking and chose Austria, whereas Horvátlovő was Croatian and chose Hungary. Pornóapáti was German, but under the direction of the pastor, who organized a demonstration, declared itself for Hungary. Ober-bildein, Unter-bildein,⁵² Eberau, Gaas, and Moschendorf were all German and demonstrated for Austria. Pinkamindszent was Magyar and chose Hungary.

As originally drawn, the boundary would have been considerably shorter and simpler than it now is; Szent-péterfa was included in Austria while Luising was in Hungary, thus eliminating two of the

⁵²Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, November 26, 1922.

present salients. The people of Luising, in notes to the commission, asked for union with Austria; they were German and had always gone to adjacent Hagensdorf to school and church. At the same time the Croatian village of Szentpéterfa asked to be reunited with Hungary. The two governments arranged the exchange.⁵³

Prior to 1922, all the political and economic contacts of the valley had been northeast, with Szombathely, and southeast, with Körmend. Only one road had existed in the valley and this ran north-south, parallel to the river; it was now cut several times by the boundary, so that all north-south movement ceased. A new north-south system had to be constructed on the Austrian side of the line. On the Hungarian side, however, the nature of the line virtually precluded any possibility of a north-south connection; the northern villages were focused entirely on Szombathely, the southern on Körmend. Szentpéterfa was isolated by the boundary on three sides and the forest on the fourth. This situation probably accounts for the initial award of the Croatian gemeente to Austria; it is now connected with the remainder of Hungary by a road cut through the forest. For Hungary, therefore, the lower Pinka ceased to be a continuous lowland capable of any kind of small-scale regional organization, but became, instead, three small lowland areas, completely separate from each other and connected only with the larger centers to the east.

The boundary did not become a major divide at first. The roads on the Austrian side of the boundary were not constructed until the 1930's. With the lack of roads westward and of important commercial centers to the west, the population of the Austrian villages continued to move towards Szombathely and Körmend. Familial ties kept the villages together despite the boundary, since there had been frequent intermarriage, prior to 1922, between the inhabitants of adjacent gemeinden. Cross-boundary landholding was also common. International agreements attempted to remedy some of the difficulties produced by the disruption of holding patterns; for example, the vintners on the Eisenberg could bring their wine home into Austria.⁵⁴

Since 1945 the boundary between the two countries has been sealed with mines and barbed wire. The Austrian portions of the lowland have had to reorient themselves; they now focus on Grosspetersdorf in the north and Güssing in the south. There is no movement of any kind across the boundary at the present time. Buses between

⁵³Tagespost. Graz, June 12, 1938.

⁵⁴Güssinger Zeitung. January 16, 1927

Güssing and Gross-petersdorf service most of the Austrian gemeinden in the valley. Only the southernmost salient, Hagensdorf and Luising, is not served by public transportation; the inhabitants of these villages are required to walk several miles to the Moschendorf-Strem road.

Though the boundary delimitation would seem to stifle the gemeinden in the valley, in actual fact the villagers do not seem to feel that it does. They have become so accustomed to the line that, except for the fact that it represents separation from loved ones, they rarely concern themselves with it. These gemeinden depend solely on agriculture, a subsistence type of agriculture, with animals sold as a cash crop to the Vienna market. Although the boundary limits some villages on three sides, with such a basic type of economy and the possibility of truck-shipment of the animals to market, the effects of the boundary are scarcely felt by most of the inhabitants. Some of the peasants in the southernmost, and most isolated, salient (Hagensdorf and Luising), when questioned concerning the difficulties caused by the border, answered that there had been no difficulties recently because the Hungarians had ceased threatening. Their replies indicated the complete absence of any idea of economic difficulties. Except for the desire to see relatives, the only complaint was that the boundary necessitated a circuitous route to reach the shrine at Gaas on certain feast days.

f. The Extreme South (Luising to Kalch)

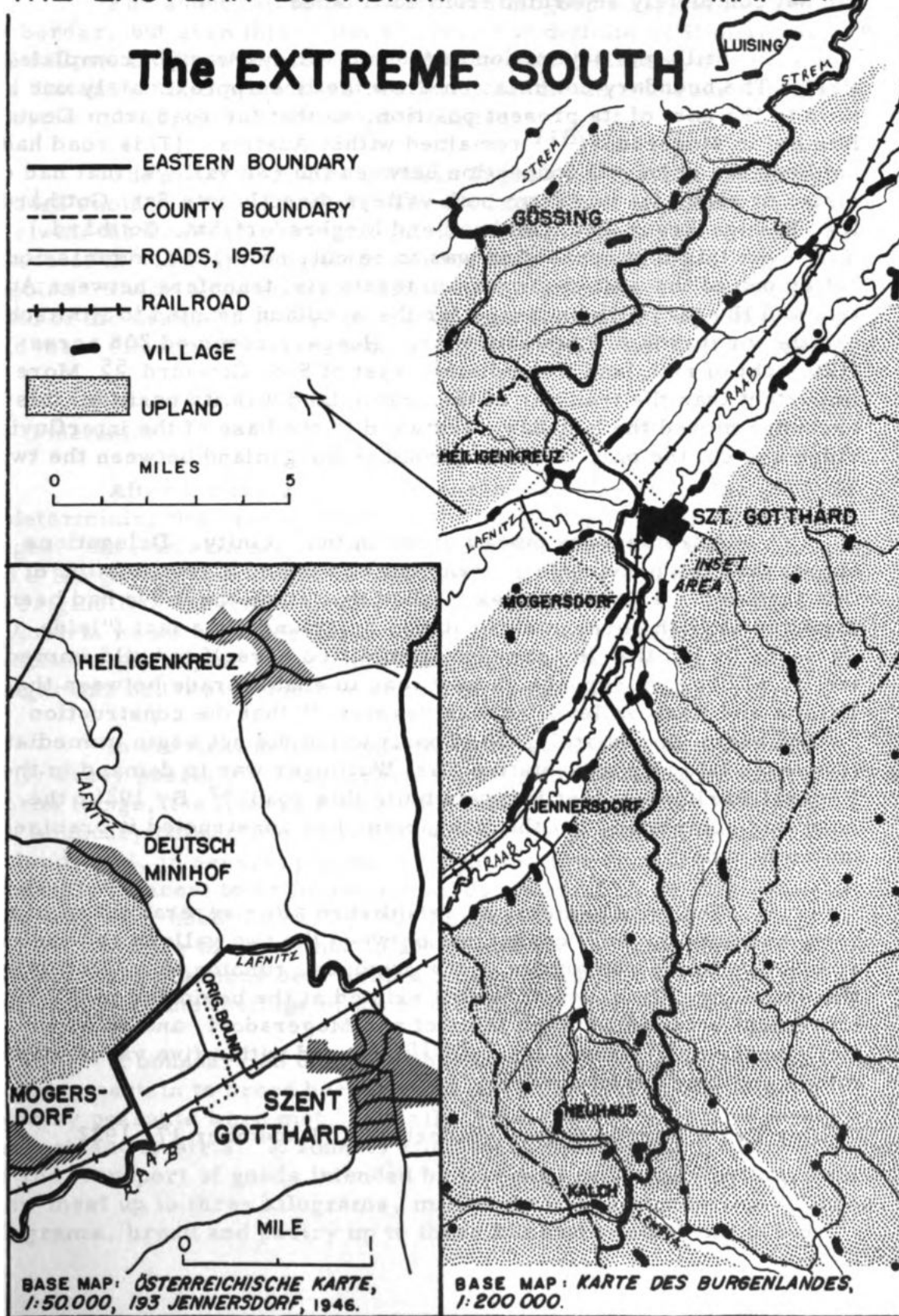
Between Luising^{C10} and Heiligenkreuz^{B11}, the boundary pursues a general east-west direction, approximately halfway between the Raab and Strem valleys. The line does not coincide with the drainage divide; instead it follows a saw-toothed path, crossing tributaries of the Raab at right angles and running along the divides between the tributaries (see Map 24, page 117). Though the entire area is populated with tiny villages, the boundary does not cut any routes and acts as a convenient divide between Güssing and Szent Gotthárd. As such, it is one of the least bothersome portions of the boundary.

In contrast, the crossing of the Lafnitz-Raab valley is one of the most inconvenient borders imaginable. The valleys of the Lafnitz and the Raab join at the governmental and commercial center of Szt. Gotthárd, yet because of the self-determination decisions of the local villages, the German gemeinden were separated from their only local center, Magyar Szt. Gotthárd, and the two valleys were

THE EASTERN BOUNDARY

MAP 24

The EXTREME SOUTH



almost completely separated from each other.

Still, the separation of the two valleys was not complete at first. The boundary commission drew the line approximately one half mile to the east of its present position, so that the road from Deutsch Minihof to Mogersdorf^{B11} remained within Austria. (This road had not been the principal connection between the two valleys; that had consisted of roads leading from both valleys directly into Szt. Gotthárd, i.e. Heiligenkreuz-Szt. Gotthárd and Mogersdorf-Szt. Gotthárd.) Yet, even this last connection was to be cut, not by the commission, but by one of the post-demarcation territorial transfers between Austria and Hungary. In exchange for the woodland granted to Nikitsch and the vineyards to Lutzmannsburg, Hungary received 208 acres (120 joch) of rich land immediately west of Szt. Gotthárd.⁵⁵ More important than the transfer of the arable land was its position; this exchange moved the boundary westward to the base of the interfluvial ridge and cut the only remaining road in Burgenland between the two valleys.

A tremendous outcry arose in the vicinity. Delegations approached the provincial government to demand a rectification of this transfer. The authorities replied that since the move had been accepted by both governments, it was unfortunately a fact ("leide Tatsache"), but that Hungary had committed herself to build immediately, at her own expense, a new road to enable trade between the Lafnitz and Raab valleys. It was "expected" that the construction "would begin immediately."⁵⁶ Construction did not begin immediately; two years later Representative Karl Wollinger was to demand in the Federal Parliament that Hungary build this road.⁵⁷ By 1926, the road was completed, but the Hungarians had constructed it precisely on the boundary.

The road system, as established after several years of effort, had both the only connection between the two valleys and the only connection to the remainder of the province, running immediately on the boundary. This situation still existed at the beginning of 1957; all movement between Deutsch Minihof and Mogersdorf, and between Heiligenkreuz^{B11} and Güssing^{BC10}, passed within five yards of the mines and the barbed wire.

⁵⁵Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, December 17, 1922.

⁵⁶Ibid., December 24, 1922.

⁵⁷Ibid., November 16, 1924.

For about two miles west from Mogersdorf, the Raab forms the border, but even this is not as clear and definite as it might be. The line follows an old channel, north of the present stream, for over half this distance. From the Raab southwestwards the line runs through forested upland, and causes no difficulties.

The short boundary between Yugoslavia and Burgenland cuts through another zone of forest. The location of the line does not coincide with the Raab-Mur drainage divide, but includes some of the headwaters of the Lendva, a tributary of the Mur within Burgenland. The linguistic divide between the Germans and the Slovenes runs four miles south of the drainage divide, probably because the line of highest points (and most effective barrier) occurs there, rather than at the watershed.

3. Conclusion

After the denial of the proposed Slav Corridor, the process of determining the eastern boundary of Burgenland consisted of two stages: the Austrian acquisition of important portions of west-Hungary, and a Hungarian counterattack that nibbled away at the awarded area. As originally demarcated in the Treaty of St. Germaine, the borders of Austria would have been extended eastward to the limits of the penetration of the Alpine ridges into the Pannonian Basin. In the end, the Hungarians had moved the line back onto the edges of these ridges.

In the final delineations Hungary attained footholds on virtually every possible strong military position: the Einser Kanal, the Sopron Range, the Kőszeg Range, the Eisenberg, and the Raab River. The boundary cut the life lines between the north and the south of Burgenland, and, in several places, brought the line up to a position immediately adjacent to an important road. None of these strategic positions was ever used militarily, but Hungarian irredentist warnings kept the new province in a continual state of anxiety, at least until 1938. At present these positions bear armed troops in watchtowers, and anxiety still underlies the feelings of the inhabitants of Burgenland.

A boundary so contrary to communications and trade was probably certain to breed border troubles. The difficulties encountered by peasants were met, partially, by a 1926 agreement between Hungary and Austria. A zone 15 kilometers wide was to be duty-free for the transport of goods intended by the local peasants for their own use: meat up to three kilograms, milled grain and legumes up to three kilograms, bread and pastry up to three kilograms, milk up to two

liters, and all materials to be used in their work. Doctors and veterinarians could practice on both sides of the border. The agreement also included special provisions to regulate the working of properties that had been cut by the boundary.⁵⁸

During the depression of the early 1930's, smuggling became a large-scale operation along the boundary. In one week in January 1934, officials estimated that over 350 wagonloads of Hungarian wheat had been smuggled across.⁵⁹ Herds of animals were driven across the border. There were exchanges of fire, resembling armed skirmishes, between the frontier guards and bands of smugglers.⁶⁰

Robert Sieger has commented that the "natural trade areas" ("natürliche Verkehrsgebiete") form the best basis for the development of political units.⁶¹ In order to delineate an effective boundary the representatives of the Entente powers should, therefore, have taken cognizance of the existence of functioning unit areas and treated these areas, as far as possible, as units.

Had the trade areas been kept in mind, Burgenland could still have been awarded to Austria on the grounds of self-determination, but Sopron should have been included also. From this point of view the plebiscite was an unwise move. In order to continue, as much as possible under the circumstances, the close union of the agricultural areas with their market centers, Kőszeg and Szt. Gotthárd should also have been transferred to Austria,⁶² and the lower Pinka valley retained intact by Hungary.

⁵⁸Oberwarther Sonntage-Zeitung. August 1, 1926.

⁵⁹Der Freie Burgenlander. Eisenstadt, January 25, 1934.

⁶⁰Ibid., September 4, 1932.

⁶¹Robert Sieger, *Natürliche Räume und Lebensräume*. Petermans Geographische Mitteilungen, Gotha, 1923, p. 254. "Verkehr" denotes all kinds of movement, not only "trade," but "trade areas" seemed to be the most concise way of translating "Verkehrsgebiete."

⁶²The placing of the boundary to the southeast of Kőszeg and to the east of Szt. Gotthárd would have separated these centers from portions of their hinterlands, but these two centers are faced, in any case, with the growing importance of Szombathely and Kőrmend. The transfer of Kőszeg, and the five villages between that city and Rechnitz, would have made feasible the completion of a north-south railroad joining five of the seven counties of Burgenland.

Once the plebiscite had been held, Sopron had to be awarded to Hungary. Even after this unfortunate result, adjustments of the boundary could have been made so as to maintain, as far as possible, intimate local connections. Deutschkreutz, Nikitsch, and Krt. Minihof (Map 22, page 107), Rechnitz, Schachendorf⁶³ (Map 23, page 113), and the entire lower Pinka valley could have remained in Hungary, whereas Szt. Gotthard and the ten villages to its south and southwest could have been transferred to Austria.

Unfortunately, such adjustments of the boundary to the local "natural trade areas" were not possible because the general path of the line had been decided on purely linguistic grounds, in Paris, and the boundary commission had authority to fix the boundary between gemeinden primarily on the basis of local preference. In the few cases where the commission awarded villages, against their desires, to one country or the other, Austria and Hungary reversed the decisions in subsequent exchanges of territory.

The only manner in which the adjustments could have been made would have been for the Entente to invest some agency with the necessary authority. This did not occur because of the predominance of the principle of self-determination over all other criteria for boundary making, and because the Entente powers were not much interested in what was decided along the Austro-Hungarian frontier.

This boundary is now of special interest in that it is probably the only boundary in Europe which, through much of its length, was drawn to give precise areal expression to the principle of self-determination. The boundaries in Schleswig⁶⁴ and in Upper Silesia⁶⁵ were based on the same principle but in each case the area concerned was treated in units larger than the individual gemeinden. In Schleswig the area concerned was divided into three zones, and the final boundary was drawn along the line between two of these zones. In upper Silesia the results of the vote, when plotted on a map, produced so chaotic a pattern that the final line was an attempt to satisfy the desires of the greatest number of the inhabitants of the entire area, and was not delineated according to the desires of individual gemeinden along a proposed frontier zone. Significantly, the Schleswig boundary has proven to be the most satisfactory of the three.

⁶³Nikitsch, Krt. Minihof, and Schachendorf are Croatian.

⁶⁴Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War*. pp. 46-98.

⁶⁵Hartshorne, *Upper Silesia*. AAAG, 1933, pp. 195-228; and Wambaugh, *Plebiscites*. pp. 206-270.

In both Upper Silesia and Burgenland a boundary was superimposed upon a maturely developed cultural landscape, on the basis of a principle which had almost no significance in the commercial life of the area. Because an industrial complex was split by the new line, the Upper Silesian boundary proved to be a greater handicap to the local economic life than did that of Burgenland, but the Silesian boundary lasted only 17 years, whereas the Burgenland boundary has remained in effect for 34 years and appears to be permanent. Within the past decade the people of Burgenland have been forced to sever all commercial and personal ties with the adjacent gemeinden in Hungary.

The work of the boundary commission along the frontier illustrates the difficulty of attempting to poll people, in such a time of upheaval, concerning their national preference. Those who were conscious of being German chose Austria, because their children had been forced to learn Magyar, and no German, in school. Those who did not share this deep consciousness of being German followed the "lords" of the village, the landholders and the priests.

Many of the peasants seemed confused when asked to decide on a nationality. They were assailed by arguments whose validity they could not evaluate. In 1922, the peasant of Hungary still focused his loyalty on his family, his land, and his gemeente. Nationality was an abstraction, frequently associated with taxation and conscription.

In this situation Hungary had a tremendous advantage; she represented the known, Austria the unknown. The peasant who was not aware of being German hesitated to leave the country he and his forebears had known. The Croats of the south almost always chose to remain in Hungary. All tradition was on the side of Hungary, tradition and the gemeente leaders.

The boundary has, by now, become firmly fixed in the consciousness of the local population. The decisions made in a time of flux have concretized into perhaps the strongest portion of the "Iron curtain." Even if Hungary were freed from communist rule it is doubtful if the line would change. Forty years of education and nationalistic preachings have turned the boundary into a sharp divide between German and Magyar.

IV. BURGENLAND, A SEPARATE PROVINCE

A. The Establishment of Burgenland as a Separate Province

1. Negative Factors (against the Establishment)

Few, if any, political units would seem to have had as many reasons for NOT being established in the first place, as had Burgenland in 1922. After the loss of Sopron there was serious discussion in the press and in official circles concerning the feasibility and advisability of organizing this territory into an equal, semi-autonomous province. It lacked urban centers, political centers and facilities, a tax base sufficient for its needs, a tradition of political unity, local leadership or even the beginnings of a bureaucratic class, and, most serious of all, it lacked all systems of interconnections between its different portions.

a. Burgenland lacked urban centers. With the loss of Sopron it lost its only large city, its only transportation node, and its capital. The largest "city" in Burgenland contained fewer than 5,000 people. Burgenland's closest approximation to a core area, the Eisenstadt Basin, lacked a core center; all the roads and railroads focused on exterior cities: on Sopron in Hungary, or, to a lesser degree, on Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria..

b. Burgenland lacked political centers. No gemeente could be considered the obvious second choice (after Sopron) as the capital of the province; the ensuing parliamentary quarrels over the selection of a capital were to consume over three years' time and threaten to destroy the new "Land." Every one of the provincial governmental centers of west-Hungary remained in Hungary. With the separation of the transferred territory from its former centers, Moson, Sopron, and Szombathely, it was also separated from all the buildings, facilities, and records necessary to effective government. Six county seats (Bezirkshauptstädte) represented the only governmental centers that remained in Burgenland. These six had not governed all of the territory within the province; almost a third of the Burgenland gemeinden had been in counties whose centers remained in Hungary.

c. Burgenland lacked a tax base sufficient for its needs. The province came to Austria lacking not only the facilities needed to govern itself, but also the local sources of wealth capable of bearing the cost of creating these facilities. Containing no urban center, Burgenland was virtually devoid of structures that could house the meetings of the governmental agencies, or grant living quarters for the required bureaucracy. There were no large halls (except in some palaces), no apartments, no hotels (except in two minor spas); only 129 hospital beds,¹ only one gymnasium and 5 Bürgerschule (junior high schools) remained for 286,000 people. The cities of west-Hungary had had 47 upper schools, 14 in Sopron alone.² Schools, hospitals, apartments, office buildings, even military barracks, a provincial museum, and a provincial theatre would have to be constructed by the province.³ Yet, there was virtually no industry or commerce to support the necessitated expenditures. The west-Hungarian cities that had possessed the required facilities had also possessed the taxable sources of wealth.

d. Burgenland lacked a tradition of political unity. Until the time of its transfer to Austria, Burgenland consisted of the western portions of three separate Hungarian provinces. Prior to 1921 there had been little movement north-south through west-Hungary; the prevailing flow was east-west, across the boundary or from the border areas to the interior urban and political centers. Differences in political and economic ties, in dialects, even in tradition (the southerners termed themselves "Heinzen," the northerners "Heidebauern") separated the various portions. The many differentiations between the north and the south, depicted on Maps 1 through 7, only emphasized the lack of contact and unity between the various portions of the province. With the exception of those meetings working for autonomy in the year 1918-1919, north, middle and south Burgenland had never worked together politically.

e. Burgenland lacked local leadership. It was a province of peasants, the overwhelming majority of whom had, at most, completed primary school. The educated class lived in the cities, and these remained in Hungary. If members of the smaller villages managed to attend upper schools they were usually lost to the peasantry by

¹Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 41.

²Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, November 16, 1924.

³Alfred Walheim, Ist das Burgenland lebensfähig? Österreichische Volkszeitung, Wien, June 1, 1924.

being strongly Magyarized, and by moving into the cities. The local political figures who had acted as the intelligentsia and the governing force in the minor political units, the counties and kreise, were Magyar or Magyarized, and left Burgenland as soon as it was transferred to Austria. There was, therefore, a serious lack, not only of leadership but also of an educated class who would be available for the setting up of a bureaucracy.

f. Burgenland was fragmented by topographic features into several separated areas. The physiographic barriers of the Neusiedler See, the Sopron Range, the Köszeg-Bernstein Hill-lands, and the uplands northeast of the Lafnitz tended to focus the different sections in different directions (see Map 9, page 18).

g. With the exception of the four international railroads, the rail lines of Burgenland were so aligned as to work against contact with Austria or between the various portions of the province (see Map 26, page 155). The one railroad in Oberpullendorf Bezirk ran into Hungary at both ends; the one railroad in Oberwart Bezirk led directly to Szombathely but extended westward only as far as Pinkafeld^{B8}, the last village in Burgenland; the only railroad in Güssing Bezirk led eastward directly to Körmend^{D10}, but extended westward only as far as Güssing^{BC10}. The railroad west of the See was well planned for connections between Sopron and Bratislava, but offered only awkward connections to Vienna. With the exception of the last-named line, no railroad connected two counties to each other.

As a result of the four years of war and three years of indecision, as well as the loss of the major Hungarian rail centers, the Burgenland railroads were in poor condition in 1922, and short of much of the necessary equipment and facilities. The bed of the Wulka-prodersdorf^{C4} to Kittsee^{E2} railroad was so weakened that the maximum speed allowed was 6 miles per hour (10 km/hr).⁴ Wulka-prodersdorf, the most important rail junction in Burgenland, did not have a single reserve locomotive; if an engine broke down, the passengers would have to wait until it was repaired.⁵ The "barn" at this junction center was too small to handle all the locomotives in use, so that in winter a locomotive would be kept at full steam all day long, out on the tracks, merely to make two short hauls. Freight from Vienna was taking three to four weeks to enter Burgenland.⁶

⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, June 13, 1926.

⁵Burgenländisches Volksblatt. Sauerbrunn, January 1, 1923.

⁶Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. Wien, February 20, 1920.

h. Road connections were in atrocious condition throughout Burgenland. The war and the three years' process of transfer had produced a serious deterioration in road surfacing. Only a few through highways were passable for motor traffic, and these ran across the province. Without leaving the province, there was no connection of any kind between north and south. In 1922, and for several years thereafter, the lack of passable roads fragmented Burgenland into at least six distinct areas (see Map 25, page 127). There was complete separation between north and middle Burgenland at the Sopron salient; this was especially serious, since the possible connections via Lower Austria lay far to the west and entailed travel over the Bucklige Welt and its sharp scarp face. A break in road connections between Rattersdorf and Lockenhaus^{C7} separated the Zöbern valley from the remainder of Oberpullendorf Bezirk. Another interruption in communications occurred south and west of the Zöbern valley, thus isolating this narrow valley from all other parts of Burgenland. The lower Pinka valley^{C9-10} lacked any road connections with any other portion of the province or of Austria. A final separation existed at Szt. Gotthard^{B11}, where the only roads connecting the Raab valley and the southernmost tip of Burgenland with the portions farther north were cut by the boundary.

In addition to these major breaks there were numerous examples of local isolation. Few villages could boast of all-weather connections with the next village in any direction. Within the most highly developed portion of Burgenland, for example, the villages of Wiesen, Marz, and Rohrbach^{C5} had connections with the adjacent center, Mattersburg, only by field track, whereas slightly more distant Schattendorf and Loipersbach^{C5} had no road connections with Mattersburg.⁷

2. Positive factors (for the Establishment of Burgenland as a Separate Province)

Whenever a Burgenlander was asked why, in view of the many reasons for not doing so, Burgenland was established as a separate and equally autonomous province, he replied that it was because of the differences between Burgenland and its people, and Old-Austria.⁸ The word "different" was always used. "We are a different people with

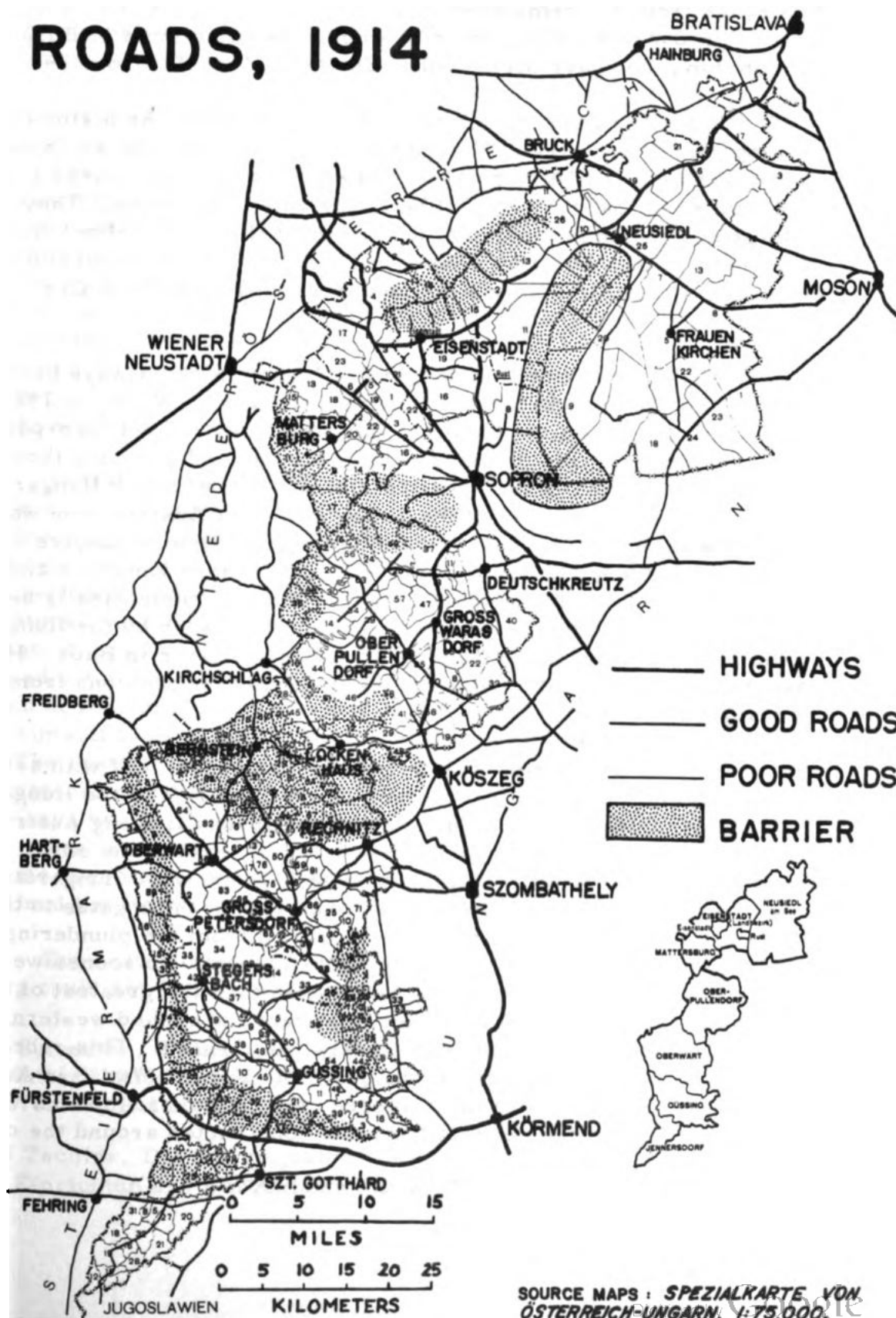
⁷Burgenländisches Volksblatt, August 25, 1923.

⁸"Old-Austria" was a term frequently used to refer to all of Austria, excepting Burgenland.

BURGENLAND

MAP 25

ROADS, 1914



a different history and a different way of life." It was this sense of difference from the remainder of Austria which, more than any other factor, produced a feeling of unity among the inhabitants of Burgenland, and, in doing so, gave birth to the "Staatsidee" of the province.

a. This concept of difference is rooted in the historical development of the area. Though the north, middle, and south had had, prior to 1918, little contact with each other, they shared a common history in that they had all been portions of Hungary. They had undergone a common historical development that was distinct from that known in Old-Austria, a development that had produced cultural and economic manifestations distinct from those visible in Old-Austria.

The separation of Hungary and Austria had always been definite and distinct, before as well as after 1867. When, in 1526, the Habsburgs gained the crown of Hungary, they did not incorporate their new domains into one large state; they gained a second throne.⁹ All maps of the 16th-18th centuries indicate that although Hungary was under the sovereignty of the ruling family of Austria, she was, nevertheless, considered to be outside the Holy Roman Empire. The reigning Habsburg was always termed "Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary." A newly crowned Emperor did not automatically become King of Hungary, but had first to be accepted as such by the Hungarian parliament meeting in Pozsony (Bratislava), or later in Buda. Hungarian leaders were often able to exact weighty concessions from the aspiring monarch.

This separation was frequently fought for, and with astonishing expenditures of blood. In the Thirty Years' War the Hungarians were, under Bethlen Gábor, allied with the forces fighting Austria. Both of the Turkish sieges of Vienna were, at least at the onset, culminations of Hungarian rebellions. In 1683 those west-Hungarian cities, e.g., Kőszeg and Eisenstadt, that opened their gates to the Hungarian rebels under Tökbély, were spared from the plundering of the Turks though they lay on the roads to Vienna. No sooner were the Turks driven out of the Pannonian Basin than the greatest of all Hungarian rebellions, led by Rákoczy Ferenc, scorched western Hungary and eastern Austria for eight years, 1703-1710. This rebellion was serious enough to merit the name, "The Kurucz Wars" in Austrian history; the broad semicircular avenue, the Gürtel, in modern Vienna represents the vestiges of fortifications constructed around the city

⁹The crown of Bohemia is being ignored here.

to protect it from the rebel forces. Finally, the revolution of 1848-1849 required the intervention of Russian forces to suppress it. When there were not actual rebellions, the threat of a rebellion was always there, spoken or unspoken.

The purpose of these rebellions and threats of rebellion was not to obtain as much as to retain independence. Much of the Hungarian opposition was generated by Habsburg attempts to integrate Hungary into the Austrian system. In this respect, every rebellion, even if suppressed, was successful, in that Hungary was able to maintain her parliament, her legal system, and her highly feudalized way of life. Hungarian lords were able to frustrate the Josephine reforms, the land reforms of Maria Theresa, and to continue their exemption from taxation. The Hungarian parliament was empowered to collect the taxes within Hungary, and the revenue was then delivered to the Habsburg ruler; this system gave the parliament a strong bargaining position in all disputes with Austria or the Emperor.

That this separation from Austria was felt strongly by all who lived within the borders of Hungary is attested to by the case of the composer Franz Liszt. Liszt was born, in 1811, in Raiding^{C6}, a completely German village at the geographic center of Burgenland. His great-grandparents were named List, Graf, Schlesak, Düring, Lager, Stöckl, and Schuhmann (one unknown). His father spelled his name List; it was Franz, himself, who Magyarized the spelling.¹⁰ Liszt lived outside of Hungary, and though most of his life preceded the Ausgleich of 1867 and the subsequent Magyarization policy, he yet considered himself to be a Hungarian and is thought of as such by musicians. The great 19th-century violinist, Josef Joachim, was also born in present-day Burgenland (in Kittsee^{E2}) but is always considered to have been a Hungarian. More important, perhaps, than these isolated cases is the fact, attested to by many Austrian authors, that "during the War for Freedom (1848-1849), the Germans in Burgenland⁷ joined the Magyars unanimously."¹¹

Even after the suppression of the revolution of 1848-1849 the Habsburg could not feel secure of his Hungarian crown. Opposition

¹⁰Hans Sylvester, *Franz Liszt und das Burgenland*. Burgenländische Heimatblätter, Mitteilungen des Burgenländischen Heimat und Naturschutzvereines, Eisenstadt, May, 1936.

¹¹Josef Tschida, *Die Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse zum Anschluss und zur Einrichtung des Burgenlandes*. p. 23.

within Hungary re-formed itself quickly. As Austria suffered the catastrophic wars with France and Sardinia-Savoy, and with Prussia, losing most of her Italian possessions, Franz Joseph tried in various ways to pacify the Hungarians. His attempted solutions included the Oktober Diplom of 1860 and the Februar Patent of 1861, both of which were resisted by Hungarians and anti-Hungarians alike. Meanwhile the astute Hungarian leader, Déak, worked to win over to the Hungarian cause the Slavs, who had been disappointed and angered at their situation since 1849. As a result of the disastrous war with Prussia in 1866, the Emperor capitulated completely to the Hungarians.¹²

The "Ausgleich of 1867" acknowledged the historic separation of Hungary and Austria. Union between the two halves was effected in the person of the Emperor-Monarch. Currency, foreign affairs, and military affairs were to be under the throne, and hence in common. In all other matters the two countries were to be completely independent ("selbständig. . . und voneinander unabhängig").¹³

b. Symbolizing the historic separation of the two halves of the Dual Monarchy was the boundary line between them. For much of its length this line had remained fixed for almost a millenium; even in the north it had not been altered in over two centuries. The concept of the "1000 years' boundary" helped to solidify the feelings of separation between west-Hungary and Austria. This line had been further emphasized by a tariff wall¹⁴ which lasted until the suppression in 1850 of the 1848-1849 revolution.¹⁵ In the "Ausgleich" Emperor Franz Joseph evidently felt it necessary to explain to the Hungarians why this intra-national tariff should not be resurrected.¹⁶

The separating character of the boundary was intensified by the road and railroad systems constructed after the Ausgleich; Austria

¹²Eva Priester, *Kurze Geschichte Österreichs. Aufsteig und Untergang des Habsburgreichs*, Wien, 1949, pp. 410-413.

¹³Johannes Emmer, *60 Jahre auf Habsburgs Throne. Festgabe zum 60. jährigen Regierungs-Jubiläum Seiner Majestät Kaiser Franz Joseph I*, Vol. II, Wien, 1908, pp. 82-84. For a fuller presentation of the terms of the Ausgleich, see Appendix B.

¹⁴Merchants had had to pay a "thirtieth" of the value of goods crossing the border.

¹⁵Priester, *Kurz Geschichte Österreichs*. p. 404.

¹⁶Emmer, *60 Jahre auf Habsburgs Throne*. pp. 82-84.

and Hungary each developed and regulated its own transport systems. The principal railroads and highways running east-west through Moson, Sopron, and Szent Gotthárd crossed the border, but other roads and railroads either paralleled the boundary or halted short of it (see Map 26, page 155). In 1888 a railroad was built west from Szombathely, up the Pinka valley, but only as far as the last gemeente in Hungary, Pinkafeld. In 1899 a spur line was constructed from Kőrmend to the locally important bezirk and manorial center of Güssing^{BC10}. In 1897 the lines through the Seewinkel^{DE3-4-5} and west of the Neusiedlerl See were built.¹⁷ An even more interesting example of the separating influence of the boundary within the Dual Monarchy was the line constructed, in 1910,¹⁸ south from Aspang Markt^{B6}, along the eastern frontier of Lower Austria and Styria. This railroad paralleled the Hungarian (Burgenland) border through its entire course, running within a few yards of it for several kilometers, yet never crossed into Hungary. No attempt was made to connect this railroad (at Friedberg^{A7}) with the Pinka valley line at Pinkafeld, only six air miles away.

Roads in west-Hungary were generally in poor condition and particularly as one approached the border. As much as possible, Hungary attempted to focus all the activities within her borders on Budapest, rather than Vienna. In the process of this attempt, the boundary line, which had not changed within the folk-memory of the population, developed a rigidity unique within a political state.

c. The regional distribution of power in Hungary differed from that in Austria. Hungary was far more centralized than Austria. In the former, everything focused on Budapest which was the seat of most, if not all, political power. In Austria the provinces (Länder) enjoyed a political life of their own; each of these had a deep historical tradition, and was focused on a capital city which symbolized the individualistic character of the province. Besides these provinces of "German-Austria," there were the many non-German portions of Austria which formed a long, narrow crescent around the central bulk of Hungary, and which focused more on their own centers such as Ljubljana, Prague, and Krakow, than on Vienna. In Hungary, on the contrary, there were no equivalents of Salzburg, Innsbruck, Prague, or Krakow. Instead of the Länder there were the Komitate (or megye), which rarely had had a tradition uniquely their own. They had focal towns for their centers. The governor of the province, however, was

¹⁷Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 41.

¹⁸Georg A. Lukas, Das Burgenland. Geographischen Zeitschrift, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 530-546.

not locally chosen, as in Austria, but was appointed by the Hungarian Central Government.¹⁹

In both countries the provinces were subdivided into bezirke (counties or districts), but, again, with differing functions. In Austria the bezirk was an administrative subdivision of the province and corresponded to what is usually referred to as a "district" in American governmental organization. No person or council was elected by the local inhabitants to govern the bezirk. The Bezirkshauptmann was a district supervisor; he was appointed by the executive branch of the provincial government and acted as the supervisor of the many local offices of provincial governmental bureaus which were located in the Bezirkshauptstadt (county seat).²⁰ In Hungary the bezirk (Stuhlbezirk) corresponded more closely to an American "county." Its principal positions were elective,²¹ and its officials enjoyed a measure of local power, notably in education, which was not under the direct jurisdiction and supervision of the provincial government.²²

The smallest political subdivisions in both countries were the gemeinden (townships or communes). In Austria the gemeinden were virtually autonomous. The gemeinde council was locally elected and could govern as it wished without any supervision from the state, province, or bezirk, except in those matters specified in the laws of the state or province.²³ In Hungary the gemeinden elected their own councils, but were treated as being under the jurisdiction of the bezirk. For administrative purposes the gemeinden were grouped together into Kreise unless they were very large. These Kreise were important locally, since each one was assigned a "Notar" who was to help the peasants in legal matters. Often this "Notar" was the only educated person in the Kreis, and for this reason exerted great political power and acted as an effective agent of the Magyarization policy.

To sum up, the Austrian and Hungarian systems of government differed and contrasted on each level. The Hungarian national

¹⁹J. Reisner, *Alte und Neue Verwaltung*. Reichspost, Wien, August 28, 1921.

²⁰See Chapter V, Section B.1., for a listing of these bureaus.

²¹Reisner, *op. cit.*

²²Tschida, *Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse*. p. 294.

²³Burgenländisches Volksblatt. March 15, 1923.

and county (bezirk) governments were relatively stronger than their Austrian counterparts. On the other hand, the Austrian provincial and gemeinde governments were relatively stronger than their Hungarian counterparts.

d. Hungary and Austria utilized different legal codes exemplified in different laws. For Burgenland the most notable of these was to be the Marriage Law. Because of its distinctive religious heritage, Hungarian law recognized both civil marriage and divorce; Austrian law recognized neither.

e. The two countries had had different religious histories. Austria had been a center of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation, whereas Hungary had become the only home of Calvinism in Central or Eastern Europe. The attempts of the Habsburgs to push their re-Catholicization through all their dominions helped to precipitate most of the Hungarian rebellions. Several treaties, such as Pressburg and Ödenburg, granted the Protestants in Hungary their religious freedoms.

As a result of this relative tolerance, Burgenland has a higher proportion of Protestants, 14 per cent, than any other province of Austria. (The national average is 6 per cent.) The two bezirke (Oberwart 32 per cent, and Jennersdorf 21 per cent) and the ten gemeinden with the highest proportion of Protestants in Austria are in Burgenland.

West-Hungary also became a place of refuge for the Jews, who found not only a relative security but also ready employment in the services of the great land barons. The decrees of banishment of 1491 and 1671 had such little effect on the lords of west-Hungary that Jews frequently established legal residences in present-day Burgenland and carried on trade in Vienna. After 1671 the Jewish communities in Eisenstadt^{C4}, Mattersburg^{C5}, Deutschkreutz^{D6}, Lackenbach^{C6}, Kobersdorf^{C6}, Frauenkirchen^{E4}, and Kittsee^{E2} were under the direct protection of Prince Eszterházy, who exercised his noble prerogative to protect them from various taxes and payments (e.g., "Schutzgeldes" and "Haussteuer").²⁴ The Jewish communities of south Burgenland, Güssing^{BC10}, Stadt Schlaining^{B8}, and Rechnitz^{C8}, developed after the expulsion of the Jews from adjacent Styria in 1496.²⁵ Ghettos of astonishing size developed in small villages. In 1818, the gemeinden of Mattersburg, Deutschkreutz, and Rechnitz, each of which had a population

²⁴Literally, "Protection-money" and ⁴House-tax."

²⁵Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 26.

of approximately 4,000, contained 1,400, 895, and 738 Jews respectively. Kittsee, with a population of less than 3,000, had a ghetto of 789 Jews.²⁶ In Eisenstadt, the Jewish ghetto comprised a separately incorporated *gemeinde*, Unterberg, from which all gentiles were excluded after sundown; this continued until the entry of the Nazis in 1938.

In the matter of the support of the clerics, priests, and pastors, west-Hungary presented an anachronism that was to plague Burgenland with a unique problem. In Old-Austria the clergy was supported by funds from the state, based partly on a complicated compensation for past confiscations; in Hungary the parishes were under the protection and support of the local nobility. Of the 157 Catholic parishes in Burgenland in 1938, 70 were supported by Prince Eszterházy.²⁷ Of greater impact yet was the continuance of the medieval barter-payment, the "Gieligkeiten," of the *gemeinden* to their clergy. This endured until 1929, when a payment of 4,250,000 schillings finally canceled these centuries-old agreements.²⁸

²⁶Hubert Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländischen Landwirtschaft*. p. 256.

²⁷Bodo, *Burgenland Atlas*. p. 26.

²⁸The individual "Gieligkeiten" totaled:

Wheat	141,490	kg	Field work	
Rye	117,467	kg	without	
Oats	27,210	kg	horses	3,612 man-days
Barley	10,799	kg	Tending of 906.75 joch land	
Millet	168	kg	Lumber	
Hay	34,260	kg	delivery	1,385 reams
Heather	1,609	kg	Woodworking	1,295 reams
Beef	5	kg	Weinstecken	2,000 pieces
Lard	49.3	kg	Flax	2,549 bundles
Chickens	3,125		Cabbage	104 heads
Eggs	9,666		Beans	427 dishes
Bacon	107	pieces	Wine	13,780 liters
Bread	557	loaves	Straw	2,380 bundles
Lambs	1		Manure	6 wagonloads
Calves	1-1/4		Various	
Field work			deliveries	10,016 schillings
with horses	1,279	man-days		(value)

From: Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*. p. 239c.

f. Though no religion was granted a position of special favor within Hungary, the faiths all enjoyed a position of greater power and influence in the important field of education than they did in Austria. In Austria almost all education was secularized; in Hungary it was almost entirely in the hands of the various religious communities. The teachers were usually laymen, but they were under the strict supervision of the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, or Jewish clergy who both owned and operated the schools. This contrast between the "confessional" and the state-operated schools was to become one of the greatest political issues in Burgenland.

g. West-Hungary knew a way of life that was, by 1900, almost unknown in Austria or western Europe. The dividing line between the remnants of feudalism and the western complex urban-commercial economy followed the Austria-Hungarian boundary. Western Europe had a city culture, west-Hungary a baronial culture. Burgenland's greatest center of the arts, Eisenstadt, was a palace, not a city. The only prominent structures were the medieval castles and the baroque palaces.

As late as 1930, 22 large owners possessed a third of all the land in the province. Prince Paul Eszterházy, though all his holdings were in the northern four of the seven counties, was, with 144,385 acres (58,432 hectares), by far the largest landholder in Austria, with 15 per cent of the total area of Burgenland.²⁹ Though much of this holding was forested, it also included some of the finest agricultural land in the province. Forty-three per cent of the area of fertile, treeless Neusiedl Bezirk was contained in the 52 holdings (0.87 per cent of the bezirk total number) of 247 acres (100 hectares) or larger.³⁰

With the transfer of Burgenland to Austria most of the large holders became foreigners; they retained their Hungarian citizenship and usually lived in Hungary. Paul Eszterházy lived in Budapest and rarely visited Burgenland. In 1928, 259,000 acres, 26 per cent of the total area of Burgenland, were held by foreigners, mostly Hungarians.³¹

²⁹Jahrbuch und Adressbuch der Land- und Forstwirtschaft, Ergänzungsband 1930/31. Wien, 1930.

³⁰Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 193.

³¹Hans Ambroschitz, Das Burgenland. Das Deutschtum des Südostens 1928 (Schriften des Deutschen Schulvereins Südmark über das Grenz- und Ausland-deutschtum, Graz, 1929, p. 56.

Not only the large palaces, but also the manorial work centers, the "hof"s, "puszta"s, and "major"s, developed their own patterns of living, removed from the gemeinden centers. They resembled smaller villages, with their lines of homes around a central courtyard, and often with their own schools and chapels. Though the workers were contracted year by year, in practice they usually remained on the hof for many years, with their children graduating from the local school into the service of the manor. The largest hof in Burgenland, Albrechtsfeld^{E4}, had in 1920 a population of 333, three-quarters of whom were Magyars.³² Whereas Apelton^{D5} village was entirely German, the two hofs within its gemeinde limits house, in 1934, 278 Magyars and 57 Germans.³³

h. Just as Burgenland was to contain the largest landholdings in Austria, it was to have some of the smallest also. Map 6 (page 14) illustrates the crowding of this dense peasant population on its limited land base. The excess population could not be employed in local industry since there was little of that. (Austrian writers have accused Hungary of having deliberately suppressed industrial and commercial development in the border area; however, the lack of development since 1921 suggests that the causes may lie elsewhere than in governmental policy. Hungarians did develop the economy of the larger towns in west-Hungary but these favored spots all remained in Hungary.) The poverty of the peasants prevented the adoption of the system of land inheritance practiced elsewhere in western Europe, the system in which the land passed intact to one child while the other children received cash or other forms of their share in the estate. In Burgenland there was no wealth available for division except the land.

The problem of the "dwarf-holdings" was to become so serious that the provincial parliament (Landtag) passed legislation specifying the limits below which a piece of land could not be subdivided. For plowed and meadow land these dimensions were approximately 20 feet in width and one-fifth of an acre in area; for vineyards 13 feet in width and one-ninth of an acre in area.³⁴

³²Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*, p. 221. For examples of the contracted payments to the manorial laborers, see Appendix C.

³³Hubert Lendl, *Das Gesellschaftliche Gefüge des Landvolks im Deutsch-madjarischen Grenzraum östlich des Neusiedler Sees*. Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung, ed. by Brackmann, Hassinger, und Metz (2, Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1938, p. 827.

³⁴Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*, p. 239c.

i. Because of the paucity of local employment opportunities for its population, Burgenland became the greatest area of migratory workers in either Austria or Hungary.³⁵ Map 7 (page 15) illustrates the magnitude of one aspect of this weekly, monthly, and annual migration. In some areas a specialization in the type of migratory work developed; e.g., many of the telegraph workers of Austria came from the vicinity of Stegersbach³⁶.

Besides this seasonal migration there was a tremendous postwar emigration from Burgenland. In the 1920's several of the largest steamship companies had branch offices in Güssing (population 2,500), and the largest advertisements in the Burgenland newspapers concerned these ship lines and their future sailings.

j. Burgenland was a province of minorities. The adjacent provinces of Lower Austria and Styria are listed as almost 100 per cent German-speaking, whereas Burgenland is only 87 per cent (1951 census). In 1923, even after the exodus of many of the Magyar officials, Burgenland was only 79 per cent German. The Germans had been partially Magyarized, so that the influence of the Magyars and the Magyar-sympathizers who remained was far out of proportion to their numbers. The members of the minority groups did not look favorably towards union with the completely German adjacent provinces, and, above all, not towards union with Styria, which had the reputation of being militantly pro-German. That special minority, the gypsies, constituted a problem completely outside the experience of Old-Austria.

k. Another linguistic difference, which seems rather subtle to an outsider, is yet always mentioned as significant. Burgenlanders speak a dialect different from that spoken in either Lower Austria or Styria.³⁷ This difference is evident in the extreme flattening of

³⁵Despite their devisive character, "i" and "j" are considered as "positive factors" because they contributed to the uniqueness of the area, and to the local feeling of being "different" from Old-Austria.

³⁶Ludwig Graupner, *Die Amerikawanderung im Güssinger Bezirk. Burgenländische Forschungen*, Heft 3, Wien, 1949, p. 5.

³⁷This difference in dialect has given rise to varying suppositions as to the land of origin of the Burgenlanders. It is generally agreed that they do not represent an overflow from Lower Austria and Styria, but rather descendants of migrants from southwestern Germany. The local inhabitants look upon themselves as being a "different people [Stamm]." "

some vowels, the diphthonging of others, and in the use of different expressions. In northern Burgenland this dialect difference can be noted on the map as the difference between the "p"s in Burgenland and the "b"s in Lower Austria; only the Leitha River separates the villages of Deutsch-Brodersdorf and Leitha-prodersdorf^{C3}.

1. Burgenland differs in appearance from the rest of Austria. This is the "difference" which is probably the most important for the non-Burgenlander; it has resulted in a sharing of this concept of "difference" by the people of Old-Austria with the people of Burgenland. To an Austrian everything about Burgenland has a Hungarian look. A Viennese picture of this province focuses on its flatness, its steppe-lake, its flocks of geese, its low spreading villages composed of similar long houses, each with its narrow end towards the road, its puszta-type long-handled wells, its ox carts. To the Viennese, Burgenland represents a portion of the broad, semi-barbaric yet fascinating expanses of Hungary.

On a field trip of professional geographers (celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien), into the area around the Neusiedler See, most of the guides referred to this territory as really a part of Hungary. Among Viennese, Burgenland is referred to, less flatteringly, as "Austria's Balkans," or described as primitive, simple, dusty, and run-down, with terrible roads.

m. These differences can aptly be concluded with the statistics in Table 6 which contrast the populations of Burgenland and Austria (including Burgenland).

Despite the lowest position of Burgenland, the proportion (27 per cent) in "Industry and Crafts" may seem high. Austrian statistics include such occupations as construction work, mining, quarrying, utilities, hotel service, laundry and cleaning and body-service (spas) in this classification. The largest single occupation in this category, in Burgenland, is construction work, which employs approximately 10 per cent of the total working force of the province. This construction work is certainly not within Burgenland; these workers, as well as most of the others in the "Industry and Crafts" classification, are migratory workers. Many, perhaps most, of the construction workers in Vienna are from Burgenland.

Though Burgenland has the lowest proportion in Austria of college graduates, that figure of 0.5 per cent is also misleading.

Twenty-four per cent of its total were in the faculty of Theology (Austria 8 per cent); these 24 per cent were undoubtedly mostly church-supported clergymen or seminarians.

TABLE 6

<u>Population in 1951</u>	<u>Percentages</u>	
	<u>Burgenland</u>	<u>Austria</u>
Born in the home province	88 (highest) ^a	76
Born in the home gemeinde	73 (highest)	51
Education ceased at end of primary school	87 (highest)	61
Education ceased at end of secondary school	95 (highest)	87
Attended trade school	2.5 (lowest)	6.5
Attended teachers' training school	1.9 (lowest)	4.8
Attended college or university	0.5 (lowest)	1.7
Employees	39 (lowest)	65
Self-employed	25 (highest)	17
Family-helpers ^b	36 (highest)	18
Engaged in agriculture and forestry	47 (highest)	22
Engaged in industry and crafts	27 (lowest)	37
Engaged in trade and transportation	5 (lowest)	12
Pensioners	10	15

^aThe terms "highest" and "lowest" refer to the position of Burgenland in a ranking of all the provinces of Austria on the concerned item.

^b"Mithelf Familienangehörige." This can be taken to mean the family members who, though not technically the owners of the land, work on the family farm.

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Though the name followed after, and was, for its acceptance, dependent upon the other unifying "positive" factors previously noted, beyond doubt the name, more than any common history or common customs, served to unite the people of west-Hungary. In finding a name, Burgenland also found its "Staatsidee."

4. Austrian Attitudes

a. In Vienna

The Austrian government, surrounded by the wreckage of an empire torn apart by "self-determination," seemed to be in mortal fear of acquiring any territory against the wishes of its inhabitants. Repeatedly at Paris the Austrian delegates asked for a plebiscite in the territory that was being awarded to them. They wished the world to know that they were receiving what was, by 1918 standards, rightfully theirs, and to forestall any future Hungarian claims on the area.

The Viennese government feared the word "annexation." Within Burgenland, the Magyars, in an attempt to gain the support of the peasants, asserted that the Austrians were trying to annex Burgenland in order to requisition the food supplies of the peasants. It was stated that the Socialist government of Austria would annex the new territory as a granary for the hungry masses of Vienna. The Viennese governmental leaders attempted, therefore, to avoid any semblance of an "Annexation" of the area. Dr. Renner said, "The liberation of Burgenland is, in our eyes, no annexation, either in aims or methods."⁴⁵ The people of Burgenland were to be allowed to decide for themselves in what manner their territory was to unite with Austria.

b. In Styria

Styria was involved in the question of the future status of Burgenland both by its proximate location and by the demands of Karl Wollinger and his followers that the southernmost portions of present-day Burgenland be united to Styria. In Graz this seems to have made only a very slight impression. The most important newspaper scarcely referred to west-Hungary at all; Wollinger's statements were never mentioned. As was true of Vienna, the far weightier matters accompanying the disintegration of the Empire (including the loss of Styrian territory

⁴⁵Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, August 21, 1921.

to the new Yugoslavia) monopolized the attention of the people, the government, and the press. When mention was made of Burgenland's coming to Austria, the Grazer Tagespost made no mention of any possibility that parts of the new territory might unite with Styria.

5. The Process of Decision

In the initial, provisional Austrian constitution (Verfassungsgesetz vom Oktober 1, 1920), Burgenland was not listed with the provinces of the new Federal Republic of German-Austria. An article stated, "Burgenland will be taken into the Federation /Bund/ as an autonomous and equal province, as soon as it has so expressed its will." Since it could not as yet express its will, it was listed separately by the constitution, and placed in the ambiguous position of being national territory (Bundes-gebiet), but not a province (Bundes-land).⁴⁶

This special status was promptly criticized by the Walheim group in Vienna; they called for the deletion of the special clause so as to bring Burgenland firmly into the constitution.⁴⁷ Future Chancellor Dr. Ignaz Seipel explained that this special status represented the attempt to allow the people of Burgenland complete freedom of choice; they were to decide their own political status.⁴⁸

Meanwhile it seems to have been assumed that Burgenland would be set up as a separate province. In January 1920, Chancellor Renner promised a delegation of the Vienna Burgenland leaders,

You will govern your land and your people yourselves. I hope that Ödenburg /Sopron/ will be the capital of this province The Burgen-wolk /will/ constitute a province and will, as a province with its own constitution and self-government, work together with the other provinces to build the Federal Republic of Austria.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Alfred Walheim, Der Ausschuss für Auswärtiges und das Burgenland. Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, August 25, 1921.

⁴⁷Wiener Deutsche Tageszeitung, October 6, 1920.

⁴⁸Ignaz Seipel, Der Kampf um die Österreichische Verfassung, Wien, 1930, p. 99.

⁴⁹Neue Wiener Tagblatt, January 29, 1920.

On January 25, 1921, the "Burgenland-law" was passed by the federal parliament. The title of this act was interpreted as proving that Burgenland now truly had equal rights with the other provinces: "Federal law concerning the establishment of Burgenland as an autonomous and equal province in the Federation, and concerning its provisional arrangement."⁵⁰ The question was virtually closed by Article 2 of the Constitution of August 28, 1921, which listed Burgenland, in alphabetical sequence with the other provinces, as a "selbständiges Land" ("autonomous province") of the "Bundesrepublik Deutschösterreich."⁵¹

It must be emphasized at this point that all the preceding developments occurred before the Sopron plebiscite, and while the city of Sopron (Ódenburg) seemed to be securely a part of the new province. When Burgenland was initially established it still had its capital city and node of transportation, as well as all the wealth, facilities, and educated personnel that were part of the city of Sopron.

Between August 1921 and June 1922, Burgenland was governed by a provisional council of 15 members, appointed by Vienna. This council had been viewed as merely a short-lived expedient to serve as a carry-over government between the expected Austrian occupation of Burgenland, in August 1921, and the first elections, which were to follow as rapidly as possible. The intervention of the Hungarian "bands," and the subsequent plebiscite, kept this council in power for almost a year. For 11 months, therefore, Burgenland had a government of its own, which, though not elected by the local inhabitants, was the only authority to which the people could turn during those troubled months.

After the loss of Sopron, the advisability of setting up this fragmented strip of territory as a new province was seriously questioned. By then, however, the matter had already been virtually decided, and the Austrian government wished to avoid any possible charges that it was not allowing the Burgenlanders complete freedom to choose their own political status. On January 20, 1922, Chancellor Schober assured a delegation from Mattersburg County that there would be no division of

⁵⁰"Bundesverfassungsgesetz über die Stellung des Burgenlandes als selbständiges und gleichberechtigtes Land im Bund und über seine vorläufige Einrichtung," from: Alfred Walheim, Der Ausschuss für Auswärtiges und das Burgenland. Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, August 25, 1921.

⁵¹Tschida, Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse, p. 285.

Burgenland. The Burgenland parliament, when elected, could decide as to the future status ("Gestaltung") of the province.⁵² (Mattersburg County was, at this time, the governmental center of Burgenland, so that this delegation represented a more vested interest than an expression of the desires of the majority of the population.)

The long-delayed election was held on June 18, 1922, supposedly to elect the Landtag that was to decide the status of Burgenland. This election was, however, in no sense a referendum on this key issue; the vital question was never debated and rarely alluded to. The campaign was waged by parties whose leaders, issues, and even, in many instances, candidates were imported from Old-Austria; it seemed as if the only vital issue was to see which of the parties could gain a majority in the first Landtag, and an increase in its membership in the federal parliament.

A provincial parliament was elected and began to govern. It was scarcely to be expected that the newly elected delegates would vote themselves out of their positions by deciding to destroy Burgenland as a separate province. There was not then, nor has there been since, a debate or a motion, much less a vote, in the Landtag on this issue.

Once the province was operating as such it could not be abolished by any power except itself. Article 3 of the Constitution of October 1, 1920, stated, "An alteration in the Federal territory that is, at the same time, an alteration in the territory of a province, can be effected only by agreement between the federal government and the province concerned."⁵³

The decision to establish Burgenland as a separate province was made, in a most indecisive manner, in Vienna; and then it was a Burgenland with Sopron, a Burgenland which never existed! The decision, never clearly stated, agreed with the opinion of Viennese leaders that the new territory had had an economic and political history differing from that of Old-Austria. Though it never came to a vote, the majority of Burgenlanders agreed with the decision. They had by this time been bound together by past history, recent hardships, fear of the Magyars, and their name. Though their union was scarcely strong, they undoubtedly preferred to "try it alone."

⁵²Der Freie Burgenländer, Sauerbrunn, January 22, 1922.

⁵³Alfred Walheim, Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. August 25, 1921.

B. Ist Das Burgenland Lebensfähig?⁵⁴

1. The Fear of Dissolution

For the first decade of its existence "lebensfähig" was the key word in the thinking and the oratory of the governmental leaders of Burgenland. In the budget reports, in articles, in speeches, in debates the word constantly appeared. It was as if the Landtag delegates felt it necessary to convince themselves, the statesmen in Vienna, and the inhabitants of Burgenland that the new province was indeed viable. Every principal issue, the budgets, the selection of a new capital, the construction of governmental facilities, had the appearance of a serious crisis. Frequently the charge was heard that certain "circles" wished the destruction of the province, but these circles were never identified.

Burgenland was trapped in a dilemma: a transportation network had to be constructed to provide the basis for commercial growth, but only an increase in commercial life could provide the funds necessary to construct the railroads and roads. Unable to find a way out of this circle, the Landtag turned towards, and against, Vienna.

Burgenland officials adopted the attitude that since Austria had signed the treaty with Hungary, recognizing the loss of Sopron, Vienna had the "moral duty" to supply the facilities lost with Sopron.⁵⁵

The federal government is at fault in losing Ödenburg /Sopron/, therefore it must pay the consequences and contribute the necessary means.⁵⁶

Burgenland with its industrious population is undoubtedly "lebensfähig," but still cannot raise the sum needed to construct the facilities necessary to its existence. The credit must come from the federal government.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Is Burgenland viable?

⁵⁵Landeshauptmann Rauhofer, Burgenländische Heimat. Sauerbrunn, November 9, 1924.

⁵⁶Landeshauptmannstellvertreter Leser, Der Frie Burgenländer. July 8, 1923.

⁵⁷Rauhofer, Burgenländische Heimat, November 9, 1924.

Since the help was not forthcoming in the amounts hoped for, bitter charges were hurled at the federal government. Franz Binder, the delegate from Burgenland, in the national parliament, condemned the other provinces for seeking their own interests first when Burgenland obviously required preferential treatment.

We cannot and will not . . . let it happen that we be treated as a stepchild. We are not a colony. We possess the full rights of a "Bundes-land" within the Federal State of Austria, and demand nothing but our rights.⁵⁸

Without investment by the "Bund" I can tell you already, there will not be a "lebensfähig" Burgenland We don't want to be always the stepchildren; we want to be treated as having the full rights of sons of the republic.⁵⁹

Landeshauptmann (Provincial Premier) Rauhofer accused the federal government of slighting Burgenland.⁶⁰ One of the bitterest commentaries on the situation was an article by Walheim entitled, "Ist das Burgenland lebensfähig?"

This time in the Landtag, sharp words have again fallen against Vienna. We cannot know, of course, the heavy financial position of the federal government . . . but a little more love Burgenland had believed it could expect. Our . . . retardation has its basis not only in the financial needs of Austria There were and are circles in Austria which have been against the union of Burgenland with Austria; it is these same circles who pin their hopes of a restoration on Hungarian help and therefore . . . look for a return of Burgenland to Hungary, and, on these grounds, refuse any investment in Burgenland. . . . In the division of the tax-funds we came out too low; there remain yet the hopes based on the always mythical remnant of the "Völkerbund-kredits." Let us say it strongly, that this hope is not very strong. And so can we become easily disillusioned.⁶¹

⁵⁸Franz Binder, Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. March 29, 1925.

⁵⁹Franz Binder, Burgenländische Heimat. June 1, 1924.

⁶⁰Burgenländische Heimat. March 22, 1925.

⁶¹Österreichische Volkszeitung. June 1, 1924.

The fear of division was strong. Landeshauptmann-stellvertreter (Provincial Vice Premier) Stesgal warned a party meeting in Güssing^{BC10}, "Voices can already be heard in Old-Austria [saying] that Burgenland is not ready to rule itself and must therefore be divided."⁶² Chancellor Seipel tried to reassure Burgenland leaders by stating that there would be no division of Burgenland "even though in circles, in Burgenland and out of Burgenland . . . much is said of it. The autonomy of the province is anchored in the constitution of the 'Bund' and can be changed only if the Landtag [provincial parliament] itself decides thus."⁶³

Still, the fears of attempts on the integrity of the province continued. When the Südburgenländischen Sängergaues joined the Steierischen Sängerbund,⁶⁴ the Güssing newspaper claimed that these people were working towards the division of Burgenland.⁶⁵ A few months later, a stern warning was directed towards the Premier of Styria, Herr Rintelen, who was advocating the erection of a district office ("Betriebsleitung") for Eastern Styria and South Burgenland, in Hartberg^{A8}, Styria:

The province does not want to know of Graz or any other "Betriebsleitung" in the south It would be about time to let Herr Rintelen understand, finally, that Burgenland will not be given over to him Hands away from Burgenland, Herr Rintelen!⁶⁶

During the 16 years between its creation and its destruction, Burgenland drifted along at a minimal level of political existence. It could not be destroyed, and it could not raise itself. Walheim, in his many articles, tried to counter the doubts concerning the new province.

One can ask doubters what Hungary . . . would have done for German west-Hungary. As little as for the "most loyal city of Sopron"! And the friends of partition should be asked if they really believe that we would

⁶²Güssinger Zeitung. February 3, 1924.

⁶³Der Freie Burgenländer. February 10, 1924.

⁶⁴The union of South Burgenland Choral Groups and the Union of the Styrian Choral Groups.

⁶⁵Güssinger Zeitung. January 18, 1925.

⁶⁶Ibid., October 4, 1925.

be better off if in January, 1922, one part of our province had gone to Lower Austria, and the other to Styria. Certainly not! . . . Austria is the torso of a large Reich . . . we are the torso of an ideal Burgenland of which we had dreamed but which will never exist. We are entirely without tradition, and disinherited. Despite that we will not fail.⁶⁷

2. Finance

a. 1922-1938

The fundamental tests of the ability of Burgenland to maintain itself occurred in the field of finance. Could Burgenland meet its operational expenses, and could it embark on the program of building that was essential to its development?

Heavy criticism greeted the first announced budget. One delegate went so far as to launch an attack on the existence of Burgenland; he predicted that when the taxes became too heavy the wives of Burgenland would ponder whether it would not be expedient to join the province to Lower Austria and Styria. Provincial Premier (Landeshauptmann) Rauswitz replied to the critics, most of whom had only recently entered the province, that they should not base their judgments on past experience.⁶⁸

Thereafter, there was little criticism of budgets; on the contrary, officials seemed to shout each other in maintaining that the budget on hand proved that Burgenland was indeed "lebensfähig" (viable). This occurred in 1922,⁶⁹ 1923,⁷⁰ 1925, when Provincial Premier Rauhofer claimed that the budget presented "irrefutable proof that Burgenland is lebensfähig,"⁷¹ and 1926, when Walheim stated that "the proposed budget has a special significance since it is the proof of the lebensfähigkeit [viability] of the province."⁷²

⁶⁷ Alfred Walheim, "Ist das Burgenland lebensfähig?" Österreichische Volkszeitung. June 1, 1924.

⁶⁸ Burgenländisches Volksblatt. December 1, 1922.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., August 25, 1923.

⁷¹ Burgenländische Heimat. March 22, 1925.

⁷² Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, March 7, 1926.

Actually, as Rauhofer stated, "The province can cover its ordinary expenses with its normal income."⁷³ Burgenland could continue to exist; in that sense it was economically viable. If the budget were limited to the expenses of ordinary maintenance, it could be balanced, but if it attempted to devote funds for construction work, there was a deficit.⁷⁴

Through the interwar period Burgenland was hampered by the Austrian system of revenue collection and distribution. In this regard Burgenland suffered from too much autonomy. Each province was permitted to establish its own rates of taxation, and to collect the funds. This revenue was then split with the federal government to meet the needs of the nation, the province, and the gemeinden. As a result of this system, each province received a proportion of the funds it had collected; the wealthier provinces had more money available for their own use, the poorer ones, less. Burgenland, which had the greatest need of funds, received, under this system, the lowest amount per capita.

Burgenland was forced, therefore, to ask for supplementary funds from the federal government which was hard pressed to prove itself "lebensfähig." Considering the conditions at the time, the federal government assisted Burgenland as much as could reasonably be expected. It built the governmental building in Eisenstadt, apartments for the officials, and necessary governmental buildings in various county seats. When the Pinkafeld-Friedberg railroad connection was being constructed, all other railroad construction in Austria was halted to concentrate the available funds. For approximately a decade (1927-1938), Burgenland received one million schillings per year above its share,⁷⁵ and, on its tenth anniversary, a gift of ten million schillings from the federal government. It was these supplementary funds that made possible the slow progress of road construction which gradually knitted together all the isolated sections and villages of the province.

b. 1945-1957

Since the close of the Second World War, finance has ceased to be a life-and-death matter for Burgenland. A new system for the

⁷³Burgenländische Heimat. March 12, 1925.

⁷⁴For a typical budget of the time, see Appendix D.

⁷⁵Güssinger Zeitung. December 12, 1926.

collection and division of the revenues of the country has been devised, and this had brought about a great change in the province. The federal government now collects all the tax revenue, and these funds are distributed among the provinces according to a system based not on the proportion raised in each province, but on the population of each province. This per capita system of distributions works in favor of the poorer provinces, and, above all, Burgenland, which receives far more than it pays into the national treasury.⁷⁶

With this steady, increased source of revenue, Burgenland has "bloomed." This is evident above all in the road system which now rivals that of any other province. So conscientiously has Burgenland devoted itself to the construction of roads, that today the provincial boundary with Lower Austria can usually be located precisely by the sudden deterioration of the road as it leaves Burgenland. New governmental buildings and schools have been built, and there is a gradual improvement in the condition of the homes of the peasants. It is still the poorest of the provinces of Austria, notably short of facilities of any kind for the traveler, but throughout the province there is evident a new pride in the advances that have been made.

Actually, Burgenland is now being subsidized by Old-Austria. It is being allowed to raise itself with the funds supplied by the other provinces. It could still, therefore, be asked, "Ist das Burgenland lebensfähig?" since it is questionable if the province could meet the expenses necessary to its maintenance and growth without outside help. Such a subsidy is, however, hardly unusual. There is scarcely a government in existence that does not keep some political units in operation by direct or indirect payments to them. This practice is a familiar occurrence within most states of the United States, and reaches the provincial level on a large scale in the striking case of Newfoundland within Canada.

Placing the powers of collection and division of revenue in the hands of the federal government represents a marked centralization of power within the Austrian state. Probably as a result of the Nazi rule and the war, the provinces came to recognize the needs of the country above those of the autonomous province. Between the wars this was not true; three of the provinces (Vorarlberg, Salzburg, and Tirol) even voted to join another country.⁷⁷ The autonomy of the provinces was jealously guarded against possible encroachment by the

⁷⁶225 Bundesgesetz. Finanzausgleichsgesetz 1953-FAG 1953. Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Wien, December 12, 1952, pp. 605-611.

⁷⁷Sarah Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War*, pp. 513-514, 545-546.

government in Vienna. The ordeal of the war seems to have bred the sense of an individual nationality in the people of Austria,⁷⁸ so that they think of themselves as Austrians and not only as Tirolian or Styrian. In a union of largely independent provinces, all of which were workable topographic-economic units based on ten centuries of tradition, Burgenland could, at best, but exist; within a centralized Austrian state, Burgenland could "blossom."

3. Transportation

a. Envisioned Railroads

In Burgenland the improvement of the transportation system was placed ahead of every other task of the provincial (and federal) government. It was felt that this was the life-and-death question for the province. Such importance was placed on this, that the construction of railroads became a panacea; if rail lines were built, automatically industry would enter the province, tourists would come thronging, and every isolated village would flourish.

In the critical period between the wars, the future importance of highways could not be appreciated. Buses and automobiles had not yet entered the province in sufficient numbers to transform the problem. All emphasis was on railroads. When funds were sought for a north-south connection, it was always a rail line, crossing the mountain areas, that was envisioned.

The proposed railroad constructions had two aims: to connect all parts of Burgenland to Vienna, and to tie together the various portions of the province. The first of these was suggested for economic as well as political reasons; the second was considered vital to the existence of Burgenland.

As long as the south Burgenlander needs three days to come to north Burgenland, the feeling of belonging-

⁷⁸It is difficult to ascertain whether or not the Anschluss (with Germany) in itself led to the growth of a feeling of individual Austrian nationality. My impression is that it was not the Anschluss itself, nor even the Nazi dictatorship (most of the countries of central, eastern, and southern Europe were then ruled by one man or one party), but rather the catastrophe Austria endured as a result of this Anschluss that bred a feeling of nationality separate from that of Germany proper.

together cannot attain the strength necessary to defy the danger of a division /of the province/. Only when the rail line runs through the whole Burgenland will Burgenland present a completed unity.⁷⁹

The proposals could be divided into two classifications: those that concerned attempts to link existing lines to the Austrian system and those that represented entirely new construction into areas not previously served by railroads. Though the latter were more numerous, the former were given preference in all planning.

Even before the attempted occupation of Burgenland by Austria, in August 1921, a plan for future construction was announced by the then-governing Landesverwalter, Dr. Robert Davy. This blueprint included three principal projects: 1) the construction of a short rail link between Pinkafeld^{B8} and Friedberg^{A7}; 2) the building of a causeway across the Neusiedler See to connect the southern Seewinkel with the sugar refinery at Siegendorf^{C4}, and with Sopron; and 3) the construction of the necessary links to complete a north-south railroad within Burgenland.⁸⁰

i. The North

Northern Burgenland was well serviced with railroads. Three lines led from the province to Vienna. The connecting railroads east and west of the See made it possible for many communities to reach Vienna, and the future capital of Eisenstadt. Only two projects were envisioned for north Burgenland, the crossing of the See, and a portion of the north-south line (see Map 26, page 155).

A crossing of the See near the southern end had been proposed, in 1921, by Dr. Davy. Since the Seewinkel already possessed rail connections with Vienna, and with the huge sugar refinery at Bruck^{D2}, this planned route was rarely considered seriously. In 1927 interest was reawakened by a non-governmental outside group which expressed its interest in constructing a super-express electric railroad from Vienna, through Eisenstadt^{C4}, across the See between Rust and Illmitz^{D4}, to St. Andra^{E4}. The total travel time was to be but 30 minutes.⁸¹ This fantastic plan was soon forgotten.

⁷⁹Provincial Premier Rauhofer, Burgenländische Heimat. November 9, 1924.

⁸⁰Neue Freie Presse. Wien, August 22, 1921.

⁸¹Der Freie Burgenländer. June 12, 1927.

More seriously considered was the proposed link between Wulka-prodersdorf^{C4} and Mattersburg^{C5}. Since the railroad from Kittsee to Wulka-prodersdorf already existed, this new link would have meant the completion of a north-south connection as far as the first serious upland barrier. Of greater importance locally was the fact that it would have afforded direct rail connections between the two principal centers of north Burgenland, Mattersburg and Eisenstadt. (There was no bus service between these two "cities" until September 1926.)⁸² In the intense rivalry between the two for the coveted position of capital, Mattersburg (with adjacent Sauerbrunn) portrayed itself as the candidate for the south. Until the choice of the capital, in April 1925, there was little, if any local pressure for the construction of the Wulka-prodersdorf to Mattersburg rail line, probably because its existence would have detracted from the strongest argument of the Mattersburg faction, that is, that Eisenstadt was extremely difficult to reach from the south. As soon as Eisenstadt was chosen capital, however, this rail link between the two cities became of great importance to Mattersburg; after 1925, demands for its construction were frequent.⁸³ The proposed route was actually surveyed in 1930. The surveying produced a storm of protest in the villages along the route; the peasants complained that their best land was to be cut by the line which could, if it were moved a few hundred meters, pass through woodland and pasture instead.⁸⁴ Work on this eight-mile stretch was never begun.

ii. Middle Burgenland

Oberpullendorf County had a railroad which, by rather devious routing, serviced most of the larger gemeinden of the county, but which led into Hungary at both ends. A treaty allowing the duty-free shipment of goods in sealed Austrian cars through Sopron had been negotiated in 1922.⁸⁵ This did not, however, alleviate the problems of the local peasantry and merchants, since the Hungarians charged so high a freight rate that it cost more for goods to travel the 13 kilometers through

⁸²Der Freie Burgenländer. September 12, 1926.

⁸³Burgenländische Heimat, April 12, 1925; and Der Freie Burgenländer, September 11, 1927.

⁸⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. October 18, 1930.

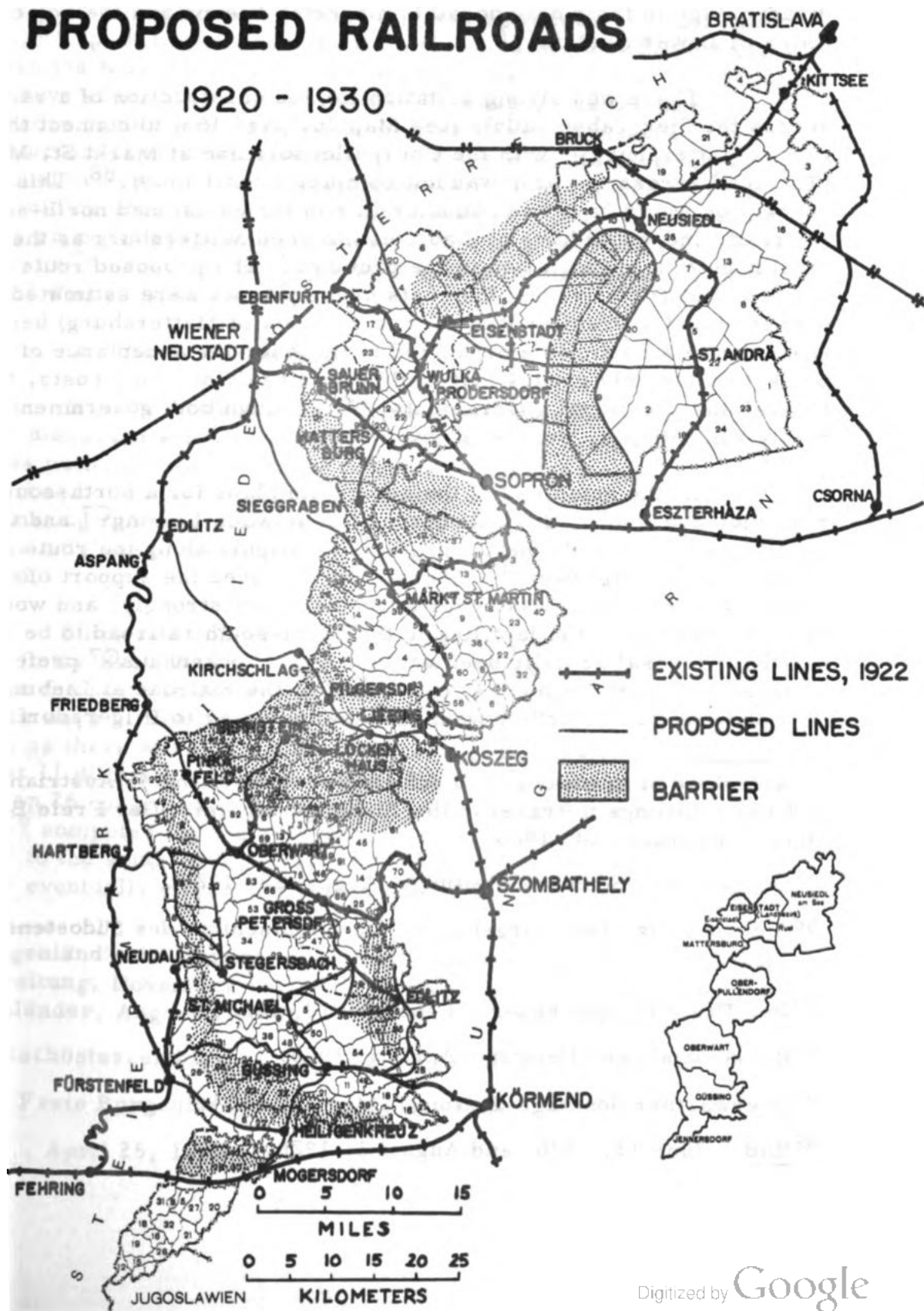
⁸⁵Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. April 22, 1923.

BURGENLAND

MAP 26

PROPOSED RAILROADS

1920 - 1930



Hungary than the 95 kilometers through Austria, between Oberpullendorf village and Vienna.⁸⁶ The peasants found themselves at a serious disadvantage in their only possible markets, Vienna and the adjacent cities of Lower Austria.⁸⁷

There was strong agitation for the construction of a rail line across the Sieggraben saddle (see Map 26, page 155) to connect the main line at Mattersburg^{C5} with the Oberpullendorf line at Markt St. Martin^{C6}. (The road across the pass was not completed until 1929).⁸⁸ This rail connection would have been another link in the envisioned north-south railroad, and would have probably established Mattersburg as the principal node of transportation in the province. The proposed route was surveyed unofficially, and the costs of the project were estimated. Former Provincial Premier Rauhofer (a resident of Mattersburg) became chairman of a committee organized to work for the acceptance of the project by the only groups that could conceivably bear the costs, the federal and provincial governments.⁸⁹ Although both governments were highly sympathetic, work was never begun.

At the south end of the bezirk the plans for a north-south railroad included a long, difficult connection between Liebing^{C7} and Oberwart^{B8}, across the Bernstein hill-lands (roughly along the route now followed by the highway).⁹⁰ Though this received the support of the federal government it was never advocated very strongly, and would probably have been the last link in the north-south railroad to be built, had that proposal actually been carried out. Lockenhaus^{C7} preferred to press for the more modest connection to the railroad at Liebing,⁹¹ or a short distance further westward up the valley to Pilgersdorf.⁹²

⁸⁶A carload of grain cost 125 schillings to travel the 95 Austrian km, and 130 schillings to traverse the 13 Hungarian km. *Der Freie Burgenländer*, February 14, 1926.

⁸⁷*Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*. August 28, 1927.

⁸⁸Ambroschitz, *Das Burgenland. Das Deutschtum des Südostens*, 1929, p. 73.

⁸⁹*Der Freie Burgenländer*. February 14, 1926.

⁹⁰*Burgenländische Heimat*. April 5, 1925.

⁹¹*Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*. May 25, 1924.

⁹²*Ibid.*, June 13, 1926, and August 1, 1926.

Oberpullendorf County also looked to the west for possible ways out of its isolated position. The most discussed route was to follow the path of the present federal highway west from the rail line at Liebing^{C7}, past Lockenhaus, up the Züßern valley into Lower Austria, and then via Kirschlag^{B6}, to the "Aspang Line" to Vienna.⁹³ This line would have eliminated any dependence on Kőszeg, as the line over the Siegraben saddle was intended to eliminate the dependence of the northern portion of the county on Sopron. Since it would have tapped several local centers in Lower Austria as well, it was hoped that the project would receive the support of that province. Another westward-looking proposal suggested the construction of a railroad from Markt St. Martin^{C6}, over the Bucklige Welt upland to the "Aspang Line" just south of Wiener Neustadt.⁹⁴

iii. South Burgenland

With the exception of the Pinkafeld-Friedberg line, which will be discussed separately since it was the only proposed rail line that was built, all the proposals in south Burgenland concerned possible methods of connecting Güssing County with the rest of Austria. The only existing line was practically useless because it led only to Hungary; it is the only one of the pre-1918 railroads that has been completely dismantled.

Since rail connections with Austria could be found to the south, in the Raab valley, to the west, the "Aspang Line," and, after 1926, to the north in the Pinka valley, there seemed to be as many possible ways of linking the county seat of Güssing with the established system as there were villages along the way that desired rail facilities. At least 11 different railroad routes within the county were proposed (see Map 26, page 155). To the north, Oberwart^{B8} and Gross-petersdorf^{BC9} competed for the role of connecting point for the spur to Güssing;⁹⁵ to the south Heiligenkreuz^{B11} tried to gain the coveted rail line,⁹⁶ eventually either to Fürstenfeld^{A10} or to Mengersdorf^{B11}.

⁹³Burgenländische Heimat, March 29, 1925; Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung, November 12, 1921, and February 24, 1922; Der Freie Burgenländer, August 1, 1926.

⁹⁴Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. November 12, 1921.

⁹⁵Der Freie Burgenländer. January 30, 1927.

⁹⁶Ibid., April 25, 1926.

Local opinion in Güssing seemed to favor as the most direct route to Vienna the route up the Zicken valley, with the difficult descent of the Lafnitz escarpment, to Fürstenfeld. The Güssinger Zeitung advocated the longer but more advisable route up the Strem valley (which contained the greatest concentration of population) through Stegersbach^{B9} to Oberwart, the most important center of the south.⁹⁷ The federal government preferred the shortest route, south through Heiligenkreuz to Mogersdorf^{B11}, and went to far as to prepare estimates of the costs involved.⁹⁸

Other proposals were those designed to grant outlets for the isolated lower Pinka valley. One of these proposed a serpentine route northwest from Güssing to St. Michael, then due east across a broad area of forest to Edlitz^{C9}, and back northwestward through the forest again to the Pinka valley railroad at Gross-petersdorf.⁹⁹

iv. Conclusion

Although over two dozen railroad construction proposals appeared in the Burgenland press, only one was carried out. The reason was simply that there was no one to pay the costs of construction. The provincial government could not sustain more than a miniscule proportion of the costs; the determining factor came to be, which projects the federal government would be willing or able to construct out of federal funds. Private sources of revenue never entered the picture.

In considering a specific proposal, the federal government distinguished between those in the national interest and those of only local, or provincial, importance. If a line was considered to be of interest to the province alone, the federal government would contribute one-third, the provincial government two-thirds of the costs of construction.¹⁰⁰ If a line was said to be in the interest of the entire nation, the federal government would contribute up to 90 per cent of the costs.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷Güssinger Zeitung, February 3 and June 15, 1924; Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, June 27 and July 6, 1924; Burgenländische Heimat, November 9, 1924.

⁹⁸Güssinger Zeitung, February 22, 1931.

⁹⁹Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, April 25, 1926.

¹⁰⁰Der Freie Burgenländer, August 1, 1926.

¹⁰¹Burgenländisches Volksblatt, April 1, 1923.

The federal government was, itself, in financial difficulties throughout the inter-war period. Only the Pinkafeld-Friedberg rail link was considered to be in the national interest. In 1925 the Ministry for Trade and Commerce stated that it would build the three necessary stretches of the projected north-south railroad, Wulka-prodersdorf to Markt St. Martin, Liebing to Oberwart, and Gross-petersdorf through Güssing to Heiligenkreuz, but that Burgenland would have to contribute 60 per cent of the "36 milliarden Kronen." In Burgenland this was considered to be "unjust and impossible."¹⁰² In 1931 a proposed bill, in the federal parliament, dealt with the anticipated construction of the Güssing-Mogersdorf railroad. The federal government was to purchase the Güssing-Strem line from its Hungarian owners for 300,000 schillings (\$43,000).¹⁰³ The 13-mile-long construction was to cost 12,000,000 schillings (\$1,700,000) and require three years to complete!¹⁰⁴ This bill was either not introduced or not passed; no further mention of it was made.

Of all the proposed railroads it is clear that only the Pinkafeld-Friedberg connection, and, possibly, a Güssing-Stegersbach-Oberwart line, could have paid their way. Every other project, if completed, would have involved not only heavy expenditures for the initial construction, but also a continuing deficit thereafter. The north-south railroad would have undoubtedly meant much to Burgenland politically, helping to unify the province, and would have been a great convenience for the relatively few people who had any reason for going to Eisenstadt, but financially it would have been a severe liability. Actually, the costs of constructing a railroad across the upland barriers relegated this project to the realm of visionary dreams; even a wealthy province within a prosperous nation could scarcely afford such an idealistic luxury as the north-south railroad. The fact is that except for those people actively involved in the provincial government, everyone and everything continue to move across rather than along the axis of the province. Burgenland continues to be a rural hinterland for the cities, above all Vienna, to its west. It is fortunate for Austria, in this respect, that her financial condition and that of Burgenland were so weak in the inter-war period that these railroads could not be built; had they been built, they would now constitute a continuing drain on the national treasury.

¹⁰²Burgenländische Heimat. April 5, 1925.

¹⁰³In December 1931, the rate of exchange was 7.08 schillings to \$1.00.

¹⁰⁴Güssinger Zeitung. February 22, 1931.

As the international depression threatened to swamp Austria in the early 1930's, the proposed railroads tended to be forgotten. The crises of the province were absorbed in the greater crisis of the state. The dream had not been completely forgotten, however; in January 1949, a Burgenland delegate in the national parliament urged an extension of railroads in Burgenland.¹⁰⁵

b. The Pinkafeld-Friedberg Line

Of the projects depicted on Map 26 (page 155), by far the most logical and economically sound was the construction of a link between the end of the Pinka valley line at Pinkafeld and the Aspang line, six air miles distant. Nowhere else could so much be accomplished with so little work. The Pinka lowland of Oberwart County contained the three largest settlements of the south, Pinkafeld, Oberwart, and Rechnitz, and the important road-railroad junction of Gross-petersdorf. This was the only project termed by the federal government to be in the national interest, and hence the only project that became possible of fulfillment.

It was by no means certain, at first, that the present seemingly obvious route would be taken. Though the inhabitants of the Pinka valley opted strongly for the present route, the Styrian government attempted to block this plan, and substitute a connection between Oberwart^{B8} and Hartberg^{A8}.¹⁰⁶ The connection from Pinkafeld to Friedberg, though running for most of its length in Styria, would actually serve as a connection of the Pinka valley with Vienna and Wiener Neustadt rather than with any Styrian center. The Oberwart-Hartberg line would result in rail distances more advantageous to Styria. Since Styria was expected to contribute a proportion of the construction costs, it wished to reap some benefits from its expenditures. Provincial Premier Rintelen of Styria objected to being asked to help build a line that would only increase traffic between south Burgenland, Vienna, and Lower Austria.¹⁰⁷

Even after the decision on the routeway had been made, almost four years were to elapse before the line was officially opened to traffic.

¹⁰⁵Burgenländisches Volksblatt. Eisenstadt, January 15, 1949.

¹⁰⁶Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, March 25, 1923.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

Both the federal and provincial governments experienced difficulties in gathering their shares of the required revenue. The federal government met 84 per cent of the total costs;¹⁰⁸ this was made possible only by the cessation of all other railroad construction within Austria.¹⁰⁹ The Burgenland government could not meet its share of the expenses; hence the inhabitants of Oberwart Bezirk were forced to complete the required sum through voluntary contributions by gemeinden and individuals.¹¹⁰ Styria contributed approximately 2 per cent of the costs; Lower Austria and Vienna (as a province) contributed nothing.¹¹¹

The completed connection, 9.8 rail miles (15.6 km) long, was opened with great festivity on November 15, 1926.¹¹²

c. Highways and Buses

i. 1921-1938

Despite the overwhelming emphasis on railroads in the early planning, Burgenland was to become united without them. This union was to be a slow process, however; the process of unification was not to be recognized as such until after the resurrection of Burgenland in 1945.

In the inter-war period most of the road construction was limited to local connections. Villages which had had no contact with each other except via field tracts were connected with adequate roads. Otherwise, roads were thought of as being supplementary to railroads. Between 1922 and 1926 the one road that received the most publicity was the connection between Pinkafeld and Friedberg. Until the rail link was completed, this short stretch, allowed by the Styrian government to deteriorate badly, was the most important short road in south Burgenland.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, June 13, 1926.

¹⁰⁹Burgenländische Heimat. November 15, 1925.

¹¹⁰Der Freie Burgenländer, March 9, 1924, and July 25, 1925; Burgenländisches Volksblatt, April 1, 1923.

¹¹¹Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. May 25, 1924.

¹¹²Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, November 22, 1926.

¹¹³Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. December 10 and 23, 1923.

As local roads were improved or newly built, and it became evident that railroad construction would be halting, and perhaps even nonexistent, attention came to be focused increasingly on the more important road connections between the separated portions of the still fragmented province. The vital road across the Sieggraben saddle^{C5}, connecting north and middle Burgenland, was completed in 1929,¹¹⁴ as was the important road between Liebing and Lockenhaus^{C7} which finally united the Zöbern valley to the remainder of Oberpullendorf Bezirk.¹¹⁵ The mid-1920's marked the completion of the road, Heiligenkreuz to Mogersdorf^{B11}, joining the Lafnitz and Raab valleys; the 1930's saw the construction of the roads joining the south and north ends of the isolated lower Pinka valley to the rest of Austria.

With the development of a highway system, bus lines were introduced, but very slowly, to reach the many areas far removed from the railroads. The first bus routes were those which were intended to join the upper Pinka valley to the Aspang line, prior to the completion of the rail link. November 1926 witnessed the first bus connection between Vienna and Eisenstadt.¹¹⁶ In September 1926 the first bus run within north Burgenland (Eisenstadt-Mattersburg)¹¹⁷ was initiated, and in December, the first within south Burgenland (Güssing-Gross-petersdorf).¹¹⁸ Gradually the number of bus lines increased, but bus transportation was not to become an adequate unifying force until after the Second World War.

ii. 1945-1957

Since the reconstitution of Burgenland in 1945, the motor bus, utilizing a rapidly expanding highway system, has become the principal means of tying the province together. With the new revenues granted to Burgenland, a fine network of roads, centered on the north-south axis of the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse (Eisenstadt federal highway), has effectively bound the fragmented province together (see Map 27, page 163). It is still a chore for a person from the south to come to Eisenstadt, but at least it is now possible, without a long detour westward.

¹¹⁴Ambroschitz, Das Burgenland. Deutschtum Südostens, 1929, p.73.

¹¹⁵Der Freie Burgenländer. October 27, 1929.

¹¹⁶Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. December 5, 1926.

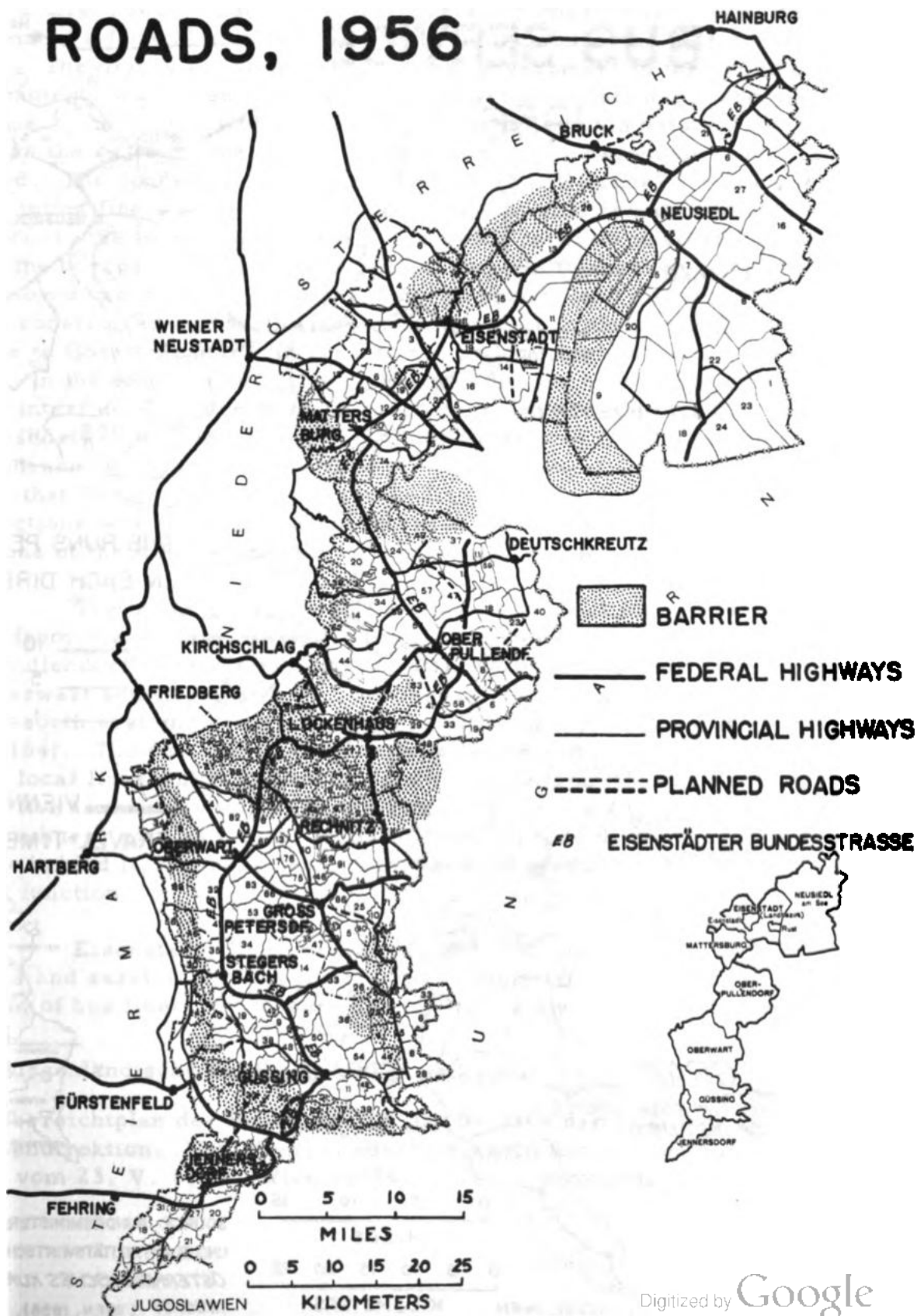
¹¹⁷Der Freie Burgenländer. September 12, 1926.

¹¹⁸Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. December 5, 1926.

BURGENLAND

MAP 27

ROADS, 1956

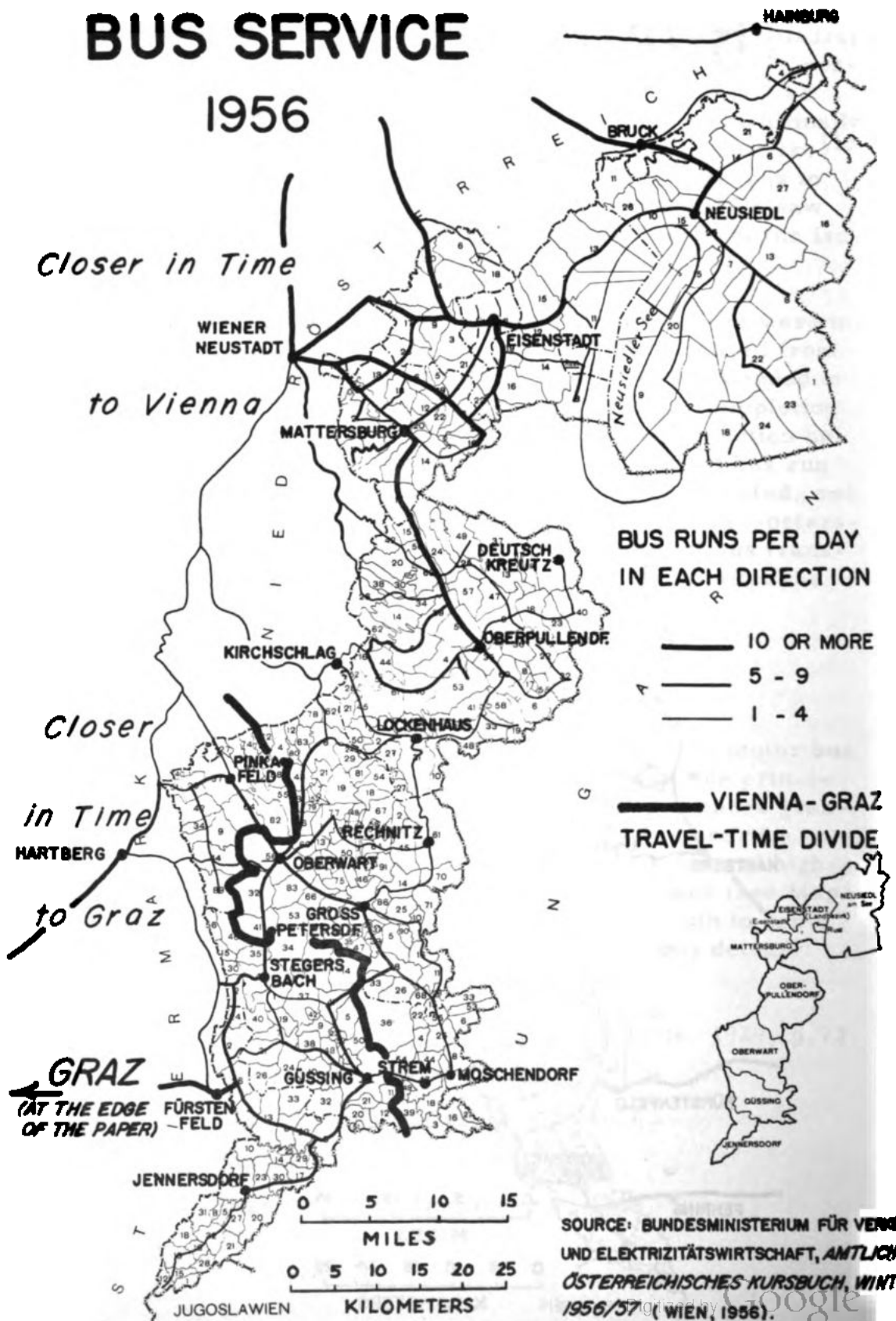


VIENNA • BURGENLAND

MAP 28

BUS SERVICE

1956



The Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse is the modern version of the old dream of a north-south railroad. The highway is still far from being a direct route, but it is being constantly improved. It has been designated a federal highway, and is therefore supported by federal funds. The money is given by the federal government to the provincial government, which uses the funds for the actual construction and maintenance. The portions of this highway that had existed before 1938, such as the section over the Sieggraben saddle^{C5}, have been vastly improved. The connection across the Bernstein Hill-lands^{B7-8} has been made into a fine highway. Those portions that still remain immediately adjacent to the Hungarian boundary are being reconstructed at a distance from the border. Early in 1957 the Güssing-Heiligenkreuz connection was moved two miles to the west of the boundary, and a new route is being constructed due north from Lockenhaus^{C7} to Unterrabnitz and thence to Oberpullendorf, to replace the present highway along the boundary. In the extreme south, the plan calls for the highway to cross the steep interfluvial upland between the Lafnitz and the Raab, south from Königsdorf^{B10} to Jennersdorf^{B11}, thus eliminating the present total dependence on the frightening road just west of Szent Gotthard. In order that Rechnitz^{C8} and its surrounding villages could have adequate connections with the north, a road across the broadest and highest portions of the Kőszeg Range was constructed in 1947.¹¹⁹

The basic pattern of bus routes consists of four lines radiating from Vienna towards the southeast, to Neusiedl^{E3}, Eisenstadt^{C4}, Oberpullendorf^{C6}, and Oberwart^{B8}, and two lines eastward from Graz, to Oberwart and Güssing^{BC10}. Connecting these local centers is the north-south system, centered on the capital, Eisenstadt (see Map 28, page 164). The five mentioned Burgenland centers act as cores for short local lines which radiate in all directions from them. Each of these five is a county seat. Of the remaining two county seats, one, Mattersburg, acts as a focal point for traffic crossing the Sieggraben saddle behind it, whereas Jennersdorf serves virtually no transportation function.

Eisenstadt, Oberpullendorf, and Güssing are the Burgenland offices and service stations for the "Postautolinien," the governmental system of bus lines.¹²⁰ Eisenstadt is, for its size, the most important

¹¹⁹Burgenländische Freiheit. Eisenstadt, May 11, 1947.

¹²⁰Übersichtplan der Postautolinien im Bereich der Post und Telegraphendirektion. Für Wien, Niederösterreich und Burgenland. Stand vom 23. V. 1954. Wien, 1954.

bus-line center in Austria. On an ordinary weekday, over 150 buses pass into, out of, or through the city.¹²¹ Oberpullendorf has great local significance as the node for all the routes within middle Burgenland, and as the junction point for the longer routes north, west and south. Güssing is less important as a local center since it has lost most of the area to the north and northeast to Oberwart and its forepost, Gross-petersdorf.

Neusiedl and Oberwart are centers of private bus lines. Oberwart is the headquarters of Südburg, the largest private bus company in Burgenland, and is the only major transportation node of the south. Of the three bus centers south of Eisenstadt only Oberwart has direct non-change bus connections with Vienna. Oberwart is the only city in the province with direct connections to both Vienna and Graz. The connection to Vienna reflects the independent spirit of the private bus line, since it runs in competition with the railroad. The government buses are planned to supplement, not to compete with, the railroad service. Even the route that could by-pass Oberwart has been tied to that city. Buses which cross the Kőszeg range from Lockenhaus to Rechnitz^{C8} turn westward from Rechnitz towards Oberwart, rather than continuing south along the shortest route between the north and Güssing, or the lower Pinka valley.

Scheduling of the runs is far from perfect. The local lines serve the primary purpose of affording easy connections between the outlying communities and the county seats. The convenience of connections to the longer runs out of the province, or to Eisenstadt, is evidently considered to be secondary. As Map 28 (page 164) indicates, much of Burgenland that is closer in mileage to Graz is nevertheless closer in time to Vienna. Güssing^{BC10}, with its direct bus connections, is much closer in time to Graz (three hours) than to Vienna (five hours), but gemeinden just to the east, e.g. Strem and Moschendorf, are closer in time to Vienna than to Graz, since they have bus connections with the early train from Gross-petersdorf to Vienna, but have no connection with the express bus run from Güssing to Graz. A similar situation exists in Oberwart County where Pinkafeld, though the closest to Vienna of all the communities on the Pinka railroad, is yet closer in time, via the express bus, to Graz. This express bus runs only as far as Oberwart, however, so that all the gemeinden to the east have more satisfactory and rapid connections with Vienna than with the closer Graz.

¹²¹ Amtliches Österreichisches Kursbuch. Wien, 1956, my count.

Many gemeinden do not have any kind of public transportation, but these are usually in the remote forested uplands. There are also several villages with very poor connections with their county seat, but these will be discussed in the analysis of the individual counties.

4. Landholding

The extreme disparity between the size of the holdings of the large magnate and that of the individual peasant was considered to be of critical importance to the well-being and development of Burgenland. Related to this question were the problems concerning the landless laborers who were employed, on a semi-feudal basis, on the large estates of the north.

In Burgenland the division of property by the peasantry, mainly through inheritance, had reached the stage where the provincial parliament (Landtag) felt it necessary to pass a law stating the minimum dimensions below which a parcel of land could not be subdivided. The minimum for a vineyard lot was set as 4 meters (13 feet) in width and 360 square meters (one-ninth of an acre) in area.¹²²

Beyond this law, the Landtag would not go. In this, as in every important matter except transportation, the Landtag was split into ineffectual halves by party warfare. From their traditionalist point of view, the members of the conservative party (CS and ÖVP) could never agree to the confiscatory type of land-reform envisioned by the Socialists. Though charges were hurled back and forth, nothing was accomplished.

In 1923 serious land-labor troubles erupted on the manors of the north. The lords had imported Slovakian laborers, and had evicted the people then living on the manors. Since there were no possibilities for employment for the dispossessed laborers, the importations were met with protest actions, arrests, and court actions.¹²³ Later that year there was a strike on the land, in Frauenkirchen.¹²⁴

In this, as in other matters of grave importance to the province, the problems were resolved by the gradual introduction into

¹²²Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 239c.

¹²³Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, May 20, 1923.

¹²⁴Ibid., December 12, 1923.

Burgenland of the fruits of the technological revolution of the 20th century. It soon became obvious that the old semi-feudal order could not long exist within western Europe. This fact was made strikingly apparent by a sharp rise in the taxes levied on the large holdings.¹²⁵ In eastern Europe the nobility had never paid its share of the taxes, if any at all; in western Europe the practice was to make them pay more than their share and, in effect, tax them completely off the arable land. The nobility in Burgenland began to sell and rent its arable holdings.

More important than the immediate increase in taxation was the introduction of good highways and bus lines into Burgenland. By the 1930's it had become feasible for local laborers to commute to the urban centers to the west; the poor peasant was no longer necessarily tied to his or the nobleman's land for his livelihood. The increase in transportation facilities helped to produce an agricultural revolution in Burgenland.

Coupled with the increase in emigration and commuting was a sharp decline in the birth rate of the province. In the eleven years between 1924 and 1935, the birth rate declined from 30 to 20 per 1,000.¹²⁶ The supply of cheap agricultural labor was dwindling rapidly.

In the inter-war period many of the large holdings were sold and, in effect, parceled out among the peasants. In Neusiedl County 2,956 hectares (7,300 acres) had been subdivided by 1937. However, the division of the land was not always managed as wisely as it might have been; the 129 hectares (320 acres) in Podersdorf, belonging to the Heiligenkreuz Monastery, were divided among 180 purchasers.¹²⁷ The largest landowners, Eszterházy in the north and Draskovitsch in the south, did not sell any of their lands.

After 1945, the Soviet occupying forces accelerated the process of subdivision. Soviet troops were often quartered in the larger palaces, and performed a magnificent feat of wrecking when they withdrew. The Soviet authorities did not indulge in wholesale expropriation, but they did look favorably upon gemeinde decisions in that direction. The most notable Soviet action was the declaration that the properties of Prince Eszterházy were "Deutsches Eigentum"

¹²⁵ Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 224.

¹²⁶ My calculations, based on: Bodo, Burgenland Atlas, p. 250.

¹²⁷ Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur. p. 250.

(German property), and therefore subject to confiscation. This declaration was based on the fact that German troops had made use of the properties.

The individual gemeinden were encouraged to take matters into their own hands, and this they did. In the spring of 1947 about 1,211 acres (700 joch) of Eszterházy land, that had been lying fallow, were divided among the land-laborers and small peasants in Taidten and Wallern^{E4-5}.¹²⁸ In Loretto, where sixty families had possessed a total of but 156 acres (90 joch) of land, the remaining 346 acres (200 joch) belonging to Eszterházy were divided among the peasants.¹²⁹ This procedure was duplicated in many other gemeinden of the north.

When the Soviet forces withdrew in 1955, the peasants on the land were placed in an uncertain position. The government of Austria (or Burgenland) would never recognize the expropriations but neither would they act to invalidate them. On the Eszterházy lands the situation remained unchanged because Prince Eszterházy had been in a Hungarian prison since the advent of communist power in Hungary.

During the revolution of October-November 1956, a group of his loyal workers made a dramatic dash into Hungary and brought Prince Eszterházy back into Austria. Upon achieving his freedom, Eszterházy announced that he would sell all his arable lands, principally to the people then on them. Community committees were to be established to divide the land, and to take care of the financial details involved in the transactions. In Kobersdorf^{C6}, the division of 222 acres (90 hectares) had already been agreed upon. The land was to be sold at a price of from 60 to 160 groschen per square meter (roughly \$81 to \$243 per acre). Eszterházy would retain his forest holdings,¹³⁰ which constituted 68 per cent of his total holdings.¹³¹

Despite the political overtones implied in the breakup of the arable portions of the Eszterházy lands, these moves fit into the general pattern; it is doubtful in any case if Eszterházy would have retained his arable acreage for long. The semi-feudal system of agriculture depended on low taxation and an abundance of cheap labor.

¹²⁸Freies Burgenland. June 4 and November 19, 1948.

¹²⁹Burgenländische Freiheit. July 17, 1949.

¹³⁰Burgenländisches Volksblatt. February 16, 1957.

¹³¹Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 16.

Perhaps complete mechanization would have made the operation of the large estates possible, but certainly none of the noble landowners seems to have attempted it.

Among the peasants there has also been a reversal in the trend of the size of the holdings. The flight from the land has reached such proportions that the holdings of several families are being amalgamated, through purchase or marriage. Few of the young people wish to remain on the land. In the northern gemeinden the villagers prefer to work in the cities and come home for weekends. A complete weekend free is a great temptation to a peasant.

The flight from the land is notable everywhere. The Lutheran pastor in Neuhaus am Klausenbach^{Al2} stated that in two years he had lost 120 of his 1,500 parishioners. In at least three localities there were instances of a local fellow who wished to live on the land but could not find a girl to marry him; very few young women are willing to assume the life of a peasant woman.

In one family three children, including both sons, had emigrated to America. The parents were expecting the youngest to return to take over the land, but he evidently had no intention of going back. In another family a son had emigrated to the United States after the war; shortly thereafter the daughter moved to Vienna and then on to America; in 1957 the remainder of the family sold the land and migrated to America. In yet another family two children had migrated to America and one son had remained at home to help his partially crippled parents work the land. In 1956 this son had married a local girl, and probably at her insistence, had left for America early in 1957, leaving his parents with a piece of land that they cannot work without him.

Besides overseas movement, there is a growing migration to Vienna. The lure of the big city cannot be underestimated; what is "modern" is sought after just as avidly by many Burgenlanders as by Americans. The Burgenlanders of Vienna have formed several singing groups and mutual-aid societies, and the greatest annual festival of Burgenland, the Martinifest (St. Martin's Feast) is held in Vienna, not in Burgenland.

There is scarcely a village in Burgenland that is not losing population; only the largest gemeinden have gained in the last two decades. In the seventeen years between 1934 and 1951 the southern four counties lost 10 per cent of their population, Jennersdorf losing

14 per cent. Since the population of Burgenland was still rising in 1934, most of this loss can be assumed to have occurred during and since the Second World War.

The loss has been most severe in the areas that were formerly the most remote. In the hill country of northern Oberwart Bezirk, around Bernstein, Schreibersdorf lost 50 per cent between 1934 and 1951, Holzschlag 43 per cent, Mönchmeierhof 42 per cent, Sulzriegel 36 per cent, Weinberg 38 per cent, and Unterschützen 26 per cent. Isolated self-sufficiency is no longer the goal of the young peasant.

Because of this continuing decrease in population, a steady amalgamation of the smaller holdings is taking place. The people who stay behind can, through purchase or marriage, acquire the property of the family that has been left without a son on the land. Signs of incipient mechanization are appearing. Even in the south, tractors are becoming obvious; the peasants are willing to sell much of the lumber of their wood lots to acquire agricultural machines. In 1957, Moschendorf^{C10}, in the formerly isolated lower Pinka valley, with a population of 600, had 25 tractors.

The problem of landholdings has been solved primarily by the social aspects of the technological advances of the 20th century. The larger and the smaller holdings are giving way to parcels of intermediate size. The poverty of the peasant has been alleviated by the improvements in transportation facilities. The breaking down of his isolation has suddenly widened the peasant's choice of ways to earn a livelihood. Even the vaunted peasant conservatism has crumbled before the technological lure of the cities. In this sense, Burgenland was saved from its problems by being born at the correct time in history. Tradition created the province, but technology made it work, by solving its problems, despite the ineffectualities of the provincial and national governments.

C. The Great Crisis

1. The Destruction of Burgenland, 1938

In March 1938, the German Army marched into Austria, annexing her to the German Reich. All newspapers were taken over immediately by the Nazi party, so that it is impossible to locate any unbiased printed appraisals of the move. The federal system of Austria, which had been turned into a one-party rule by Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, now

vanished completely in the absolute dictatorship of Hitler and his party. The tense interactions between Vienna and the provinces were replaced by the simple hierarchy of rule from above, without appeal.

At first the Nazis allowed the existing political subdivisions to remain as they had been, with Nazi officials in complete control. A new government was established for Burgenland; this consisted of 30 members, 20 of whom were chosen areally, to represent the bezirke (counties). A Kreis-leiter (County Supervisor), Kreis-organisations-leiter (County Supervisor of Organizations), and a Bauern-führer (Peasants' Leader) were selected for each of the seven counties, except that Jennersdorf was included under the jurisdiction of the Kreis-organisations-leiter for Güssing County.

The ten remaining members of the government were, of course, the true holders of power. They held such offices as Hauptmann (premier), his Stellvertreter (Vice Premier), and the Offices of Propaganda, Press, Finance, etc. Of these ten, nine were from the south. (The lone northerner was from Eisenstadt.) Every one of these nine southerners came from a gemeinde that had either a majority or a very strong minority of Lutherans. Eight of them came from within 7 km (4-1/2 miles) of the Lutheran educational center, Oberschützen^{B8}; three were from Oberschützen itself. (The three members specifically representing Oberwart Bezirk were from this same local area, the gemeinden of Oberschützen, Unterschützen, and Oberwart; eleven of the thirty-man total lived in or within 5 miles of Oberschützen.)¹³² This strongly suggests that the center of Nazi strength and popularity in Burgenland was in the uplands north of Oberwart, and that actual party adherence may have had a religious base.¹³³

Nazi Burgenland was of short duration. In May the new rulers of Austria promulgated a vast reorganization of the Ostmark (Austria), destroying or altering the areas of the provinces in favor of the system of "Gau"s and "Kreis"s¹³⁴ characterizing Germany. There were not one, but two reorganizations of territory.

¹³²Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, April 3, 1938; and Güssinger Zeitung, March 20, 1938.

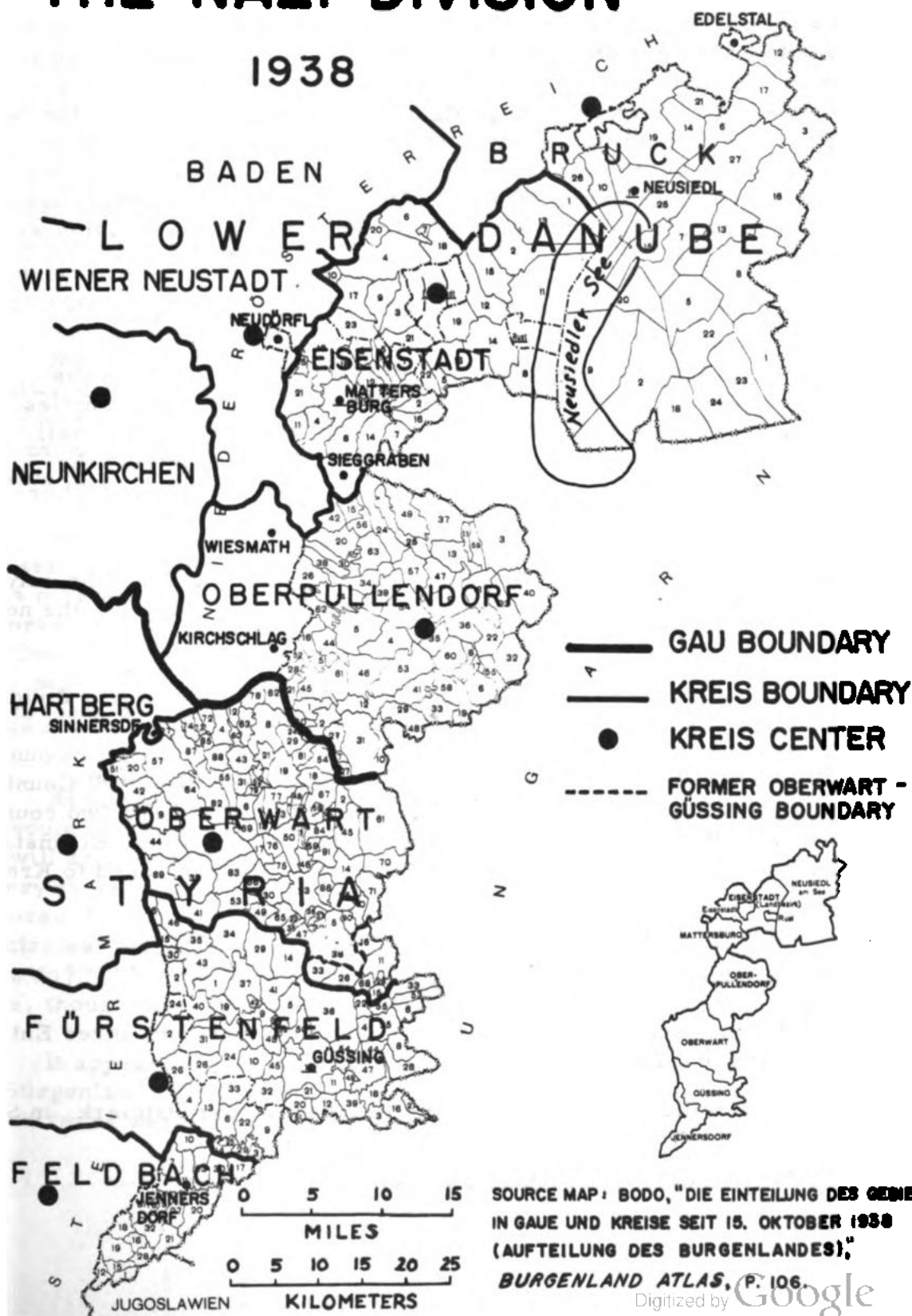
¹³³For a fuller discussion of this matter, see Chapter VI, Section A.2.

¹³⁴These were territorially similar to the previous provinces (Länder) and counties (Bezirke).

BURGENLAND

MAP 29

THE NAZI DIVISION



On May 24, 1938, it was decreed that the entire province of Burgenland plus the bezirke Wiener Neustadt, Neunkirchen^{AB5}, and Bruck a/d Leitha^{D2}, counties of the former province of Lower Austria, were to be added to "Gau" Styria.¹³⁵ This seems to have been intended as a reward to Styria for its support of the Nazi cause. This award would have brought Styria to the Danube, at Hainburg^{F1}, and increased its area from 6,310 to 8,880 square miles.¹³⁶ Though communications between Graz and Hainburg might have been possible over the Semmering Pass and then along the east side of the Vienna Basin, this new Styria would have been somewhat of a monstrosity. Unfortunately for Gau Styria, the affected population of Lower Austria protested strongly against being detached from their traditional province, and a new decision was deemed advisable.¹³⁷

On May 31, 1938, the Nazi power announced:

The former Austrian province, Burgenland, is dissolved; from it the four northern governmental counties and also the enclosed cities of Eisenstadt and Rust fall to the former Austrian province, Lower Austria, the governmental counties Güssing, Jennersdorf, and Oberwart to the former Styria.¹³⁸

The Grazer Tagespost had labeled the first decision as "the only correct one, the best one that one could ever encounter";¹³⁹ the newspaper maintained a complete silence on the second decision.

Map 29 (page 173) indicates how Burgenland was divided between her neighbors. The boundary between Lower Danube and Styria was to extend to the Hungarian border along the former county boundary between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf. Neusiedl County was joined to an enlarged Kreis Bruck a/d Leitha. The two counties, Eisenstadt and Mattersburg, were united into one Kreis Eisenstadt; but the salient gemeinde Neudörfl was detached and added to Kreis

¹³⁵Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. May 29, 1938.

¹³⁶Tagespost. Graz, May 26, 1938.

¹³⁷Helmut Schilcher, Die Grenzen Niederösterreich, ihres Entwicklung und Funktion. p. 154.

¹³⁸"Gemeindeverzeichnis für die Reichsgaue der Ostmark, in Schilcher Grenzen N.Ö., p. 154.

¹³⁹Tagespost. Graz, May 26, 1938.

Wiener Neustadt. Oberpullendorf County was enlarged with the addition of the adjacent portions of Lower Austria, into a greater Kreis Oberpullendorf. Oberwart County became Kreis Oberwart with the addition of seven gemeinden, in the lower Pinka valley from the former Güssing County. The major portion of Güssing County and the northern half of Jennersdorf County (the Lafnitz valley) were united to an enlarged Kreis Fürstenfeld. The southern half of Jennersdorf County (the Raab valley) was joined to an enlarged Kreis Feldbach.

Most of these alterations seem logical. The splitting of Jennersdorf County and the uniting of its two halves to Fürstenfeld and Feldbach provided an admirable solution of the problems of that county. The transfer of the northern portion of the lower Pinka valley from Güssing to Oberwart proved so acceptable that it was allowed to remain after Burgenland was re-established within its former boundaries. The joining of Neudörfl to adjacent Wiener Neustadt was an astute move. The two westward salients of Burgenland (Edelstal and Neudörfl) thus vanished from the map. In contrast, Styria's disconnected gemeinde, Sinnersdorf, was not united to Kreis Oberwart; that boundary aberration was allowed to remain.

Only one move, that of making Kreis Oberwart a part of Gau Styria, seems questionable. Though a first look at the map would suggest this move as obvious under the circumstances, the fact remains that at present, and even more so at that time before the development of buses, Oberwart Bezirk is tied more closely to Vienna than to Graz (see Map 28, page 164). The principal routes, both railroad and highway, run north towards Lower Austria and Vienna, rather than towards Styria.

At present it is impossible to ascertain how the majority of the people of Burgenland felt about the destruction of their province. No one will admit that they were in favor of anything that the Nazis did, yet, everywhere people said, "Of course, there were certain circles who favored it, because it does make sense economically"; however, these "circles" were never identified. Burgenlanders added, "What could we do?" "We couldn't say anything." It evidently came as a surprise, though there was a week between the two announcements.

It appears that most of the inhabitants were against the destruction of Burgenland, but that few, if any, cared deeply. As one person said, "Very few tears were shed." There seems to have been only one case

of local opposition to the attempted rearrangement: the inhabitants of Siegraben^{C5} protested successfully against being separated from Mattersburg and joined to Kreis Oberpullendorf. On a provincial or regional scale there was no sign of any opposition to the move.

Burgenland had experienced a very difficult 17 years of existence, and in that time had not been able to surmount the enormous difficulties confronting it. 1938 was less than two decades past the time of the attempts of the Lafnitz valley to join Styria, and the desires of the extreme north to be united to Vienna and Lower Austria. The political life of the province had not yet come to rest in its citizenry; most of the party leaders had been immigrants from Old-Austria, as had been almost the entire bureaucracy. There were, therefore, but few articulate persons who felt any deep identification with a Burgenland.

2. The Re-establishment of Burgenland

In February 1945, the Soviet Army entered Burgenland. Within two months the Nazi rule of Austria came to an end. In many ways Austria was back to where she had been in 1918: a ruined country, shattered by a disastrous war, dropped from a position of great power to one of powerless prostration, and, again, leading the country was Chancellor Renner. For several months there was no effective self-government in the provinces; during this time there was uncertainty as to the future status of the former Burgenland.

Reportedly there were movements in Lower Austria and Styria to keep their portions of Burgenland. In May 1945, at a meeting in Eisenstadt of the mayors of Lower Austria, Provincial Vice Premier Helmer stated that he was certain that, despite attempts to reintroduce a government for Burgenland, the majority of the people of north Burgenland would not feel this to be the time to tear the ties that bound them to Lower Austria.

All the less so when the only question may be whether or nor five hundred more officials will find employment.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰Neues Österreich. May 29, 1945.

In certain circles there was very great opposition to the resurrection of Burgenland. Leading positions in our state were of the opinion . . . that the Burgenland people . . . did not have the ability to govern themselves.¹⁴¹

A delegation representing party leaders of the former Burgenland formally appealed to the provisional government of Austria for the re-establishment of the province. Its request was quickly granted. A special law, the "Burgenland Law," was enacted on August 29, 1945. Article 1 stated, "Burgenland is re-established as an autonomous "/selbständig"/ province of the republic," and Article 2 stated that its boundaries were to be the same as they were previously.¹⁴²

Though Burgenland was now once more a province, its immediate resumption of its rights, privileges, and functions was not assured. The matter was debated at the September 8th session of the provisional national government. Chancellor Renner suggested the naming of a special commissioner who, with the help of a council chosen from the three permitted parties, was evidently to oversee the government of the province. This would have signified that Burgenland was to be handled as a "second-class province," considerably less than autonomous. Herr Figl, the leader of the Austrian People's Party (Volks-partei), and who later became chancellor, fought this proposal, energetically supporting the complete self-government of Burgenland.¹⁴³

On October 1, 1945, Burgenland again became an autonomous and equal province.¹⁴⁴ On November 10, 1945, the August 29 "Burgenland Law" of the Austrian government was accepted by the Allied occupation authorities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹Freies Burgenland. September 27, 1946.

¹⁴²¹⁴³Verfassungsgesetz vom 29. August 1945 über die Wiedererrichtung des selbständigen Landes Burgenland (Burgenlandgesetz). Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Jahrgang 1945, Wien, 1945, p. 191.

¹⁴³Freies Burgenland. September 27, 1946.

¹⁴⁴Neues Österreich. October 7, 1945.

¹⁴⁵Gazette of the Allied Commission for Austria 1, Vienna, December 1945-January 1946. Wien, 1946, p. 37.

In the moves that returned self-government to Burgenland, the population of the province was very poorly represented. Except for the delegation of interested persons that went to Vienna to request the re-establishment of the province, all activity concerned the leaders of the provisional national government in Vienna. Did the majority of the population wish a resurrection of Burgenland? It seems that they did; beyond doubt the inhabitants of Burgenland wanted their province back.

There remain yet the important questions: Why was Burgenland re-established? Why did its inhabitants want the province back? Why did they get it back so easily? No clamor, no demonstrations, no floods of letters to Vienna or Eisenstadt were required.

1. There was a revulsion to everything Nazi. After the catastrophic war Austrians seemed seized with the desire to reverse everything the Nazis had done, just because they had done it. The old boundaries and provincial entities were re-established: the Ost-Tirol was separated from Carinthia, even though it is topographically a continuation of the Carinthian valleys and isolated from the remainder of the Tirol; the territorial changes among Salzburg, Styria, and Upper Austria were reversed; and Vienna surrendered to Lower Austria the area it had gained in 1938. Unless there were compelling reasons for not doing so, everything was returned to its pre-1938 status. The presence of the Allied occupation forces strongly augmented this tendency. The Nazi-introduced marriage law, allowing civil marriage and divorce, and driving on the right side of the road remained in force.

2. The Allied Forces, in effect, reconstituted Burgenland even before the enactment of the Burgenland Law by the Austrian government. Early in August 1945, in the Allied agreement on the zones of occupation, the Soviet zone was specified to include all of Lower Austria, that portion of Upper Austria north of the Danube, one quarter of Vienna, and the former Burgenland.¹⁴⁶ Burgenland was thus designated as a separate zone of occupation, separate from Styria which was occupied by the British. Actually, Burgenland had been under Soviet occupation since February. The principal reason for this demarcation of Burgenland as a zone of occupation separate from Styria lies, undoubtedly, in its geographic position; by occupying this strip, the Soviet Forces prevented any direct contact between the western powers and Hungary. Furthermore, the Soviet authorities may have favored

¹⁴⁶Dated Moscow, August 9, 1945, Neues Österreich, August 10, 1945.

a separate Burgenland as granting them an added opportunity to influence political activities.

The occupation boundary was strictly enforced, turning the Burgenland-Styria border into a milder version of the "Iron Curtain." Barbed wire was strung along the border. People could cross back and forth with a pass, but the checking was often a dangerous and uncomfortable procedure; the Soviet authorities used the border check points as convenient places for apprehending wanted persons.

As a result, south Burgenland was forced to turn north. This dependence of the south on the north was of great importance, because it was in the north that political power in the province had been centered, hence it was there that the desire to have the province re-established was most strongly concentrated. The north had always feared that the south tended towards Graz; now the south was being forcibly turned away from Graz towards Eisenstadt and Vienna. The occupation boundary exerted a definite pressure towards the resurrection of a Burgenland government.¹⁴⁷

3. The war had produced a solidifying of the Burgenland provincial consciousness. Just as in the First World War, when the local men had served as soldiers of Hungary but had returned with an intensified consciousness of being German, so now the men returned with an intensified consciousness of being Burgenlanders. They had felt themselves different from the other German, or even Austrian, soldiers; when they met a serviceman from some other portion of Burgenland they would greet him as a provincial kinsman, as someone who could understand the mutual problems.

Among the civilians this consciousness of a difference was strengthened also. The people of the south, who were supposedly so similar to the Styrians, felt the difference keenly and referred to themselves as "New Styrians," in distinction to the Styrians themselves. This conscious distinction was based on the many "differences" mentioned previously; because of their different heritage, even because of the economic backwardness of their area, these people felt themselves to be different from their neighbors.

4. The "Grenzland" (borderland) consciousness rekindled the desire to try it alone. The Burgenlanders felt themselves a border folk, in a border area. They had been the "stepchild" of the Hungarians;

¹⁴⁷Freies Burgenland. September 27, 1946.

recently they had been the "stepchild" of the Styrians and the Lower Austrians. There was a borderland which was always neglected in favor of other areas or provinces.

They had grown to suspect any rule by any outsider. "For the Lower Austrian government Burgenland was only an area for the procurement of the necessities of life for the Lower Austrian market, but nobody concerned himself whether or not the needy areas of Burgenland were supplied."¹⁴⁸ One peasant put it into local terminology: "If I have five oxen and like four but am not too interested in one, then I will give all my best to the four and neglect the one. South Burgenland was only an extra bit attached to the rim of Styria." The prevailing opinion of the people of south Burgenland is that in Styria they paid their taxes but received nothing in return; in Burgenland there is less money to work with, but they know that they will get their share. As long as they remained somebody's borderland they would be neglected. They wished to rule themselves.

5. All the county seats that had lost their political functions wished to regain their positions and offices. This was true of Neusiedl, Mattersburg, Glüssing, and Jennersdorf. Not only the county seats themselves desired this resumption of political power, but all the surrounding areas as well wished a return to the former system, if only for the reason of convenience. Thus a peasant in Steingraben^{B10} explained that he had favored a re-establishment of Burgenland because Glüssing was close at hand, whereas Fürstenfeld, the Kreis center from 1938 to 1945, was several hours away by foot or wagon. Since this factor also carried weight in every village to the east of the former county seats, it may have had some influence on almost half of the inhabitants of Burgenland.

Thus Burgenland survived the most rigorous test a political area can endure, the test of dissolution. The destruction and division of Burgenland had long been contemplated as a possible, and perhaps a preferable, solution to the organizational problems confronting it. During the Nazi regime this alternate suggestion had been given the benefit of a trial, albeit under poor circumstances. It must be remembered too that the act of dissolution had occurred before the special unifying features of added finances and integrated road and bus systems had become operative. Yet in two decades the "Staatsidee" based on a complex of "differences" had grown from nothing to a power capable of maintaining a Burgenland when the organization of the area had been abolished.

¹⁴⁸Freies Burgenland. September 27, 1946.

V. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF BURGENLAND

A. The Selection of the Provincial Capital

1. The "Natural Capital"

If any city can be said to have been "predestined" to become the capital of a political area, Sopron (Ödenburg), within the limits of the original Burgenland, was that city. With a population of 34,000 it was over six times as large as the second largest "city," the only node of transportation routes, the site of the governmental buildings, hospital, upper schools, offices, apartments, hotels, etc., and the home of the only locally available educated group who could be expected to take on the tasks of running a government. There was NO other candidate for the role. The first paragraph of the constitution of January 25, 1921, stated, "The Landeshauptstadt of Burgenland is the city of Ödenburg."¹

The loss of Sopron was a disaster for Burgenland, one that seemed to produce a psychological fixation in the minds of Burgenland politicians. Even today, as soon as one discusses the capital of the province, in any connection, with a Burgenlander, he is told, "Of course, Ödenburg should have been our capital" The city is often referred to as the "natural capital" of Burgenland. Perhaps one reason why every Burgenlander is convinced that the plebiscite was a fraud is that he cannot, otherwise, resign himself to so grievous a loss.

During the more than three years that the capital question ("Hauptstadtfrage") was argued in the Landtag and discussed in the press, almost every speech and article began with the remark that Ödenburg was, and would always remain, the natural and the true capital of Burgenland. Probably the principal reason why the problem was

¹Der Freie Burgenländer, November 12, 1921. This issue contains the constitution, word for word.

allowed to remain unsolved for so long a time, without its ever coming to a vote, was that many, perhaps most, of the delegates to the Landtag nurtured the hope that within a short time Burgenland would surely regain Sopron. There were even suggestions in the press that Hungary should return Sopron to assure herself of the friendship of Austria, since all her other neighbors were aligned against her. Provincial Vice Premier (Landeshauptmannstellvertreter) Leser summed up the prevailing attitude: "For Burgenland there is no capital question, only a question as to the seat of the provincial government, since the natural capital of our province is, and remains, Ödenburg."² As late as two and a half years after the loss of the city, Alfred Walheim, himself born in Sopron, felt it necessary to warn his fellow delegates, "We cannot dream of obtaining Ödenburg /Sopron/ --it lies in the realm of fables. Hungary will never willingly give up Ödenburg. We have to help ourselves without Ödenburg."³ When the vote was finally taken, in April 1925, it was expressly for the "provisional" capital of Burgenland. Even on that day the only city whose mention was awarded noisy acclaim was Sopron.

2. The Interim Location of the Government

In August 1921, as the Austrian gendarmerie prepared to occupy the newly acquired territory, the provisional government of Burgenland, in Vienna, headed by Dr. Robert Davy, prepared to begin its operations in Sopron. Dr. Davy was in Sopron before the official occupation, when the fighting erupted between the "volunteer bands" and the advancing gendarmerie.⁴ The provisional government withdrew from the Sopron area, along the railroad, to Mattersburg, which was the first large gemeente west of the contested city. For a short time, therefore Mattersburg served as the capital of Burgenland, not because it had the best communications with the south, but because it was the first center west of Sopron along the main railroad line which became the means of both potential advance and retreat.⁵ As the gendarmerie evacuated all of Burgenland, the government soon retired to Vienna.⁶

²Der Freie Burgenländer. Sauerbrunn, March 2, 1924.

³Österreichische Volkszeitung. Wien, June 1, 1924.

⁴Alfred Walheim, Wer Weiss eine Hauptstadt? Österreichische Volkszeitung, February 24, 1924.

⁵Wiener Mittag. September 9, 1921.

⁶Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

When, under the terms of the Protocol of Venice, Austrian gendarmerie occupied all of Burgenland except the plebiscite area, the provisional government of the province returned along the same railroad line as before. It did not return to Mattersburg, however, since that large gemeente lacked the buildings that could be used to serve as offices or as dwellings for the bureaucracy. Instead it established itself in the spa of Sauerbrunn, halfway between Mattersburg and Wiener Neustadt.

Sauerbrunn had more hotels than any other community in north Burgenland. These quarters provided the needed facilities for government offices and for some of the necessary housing, but unfortunately, there was not a room in the spa large enough to serve as the meeting hall for the Landtag. The only building in the vicinity and yet in Burgenland that could satisfy this requirement was the military school in Eisenstadt.

And now there developed a most singular relationship. When the Landtag meets, the trucks of the provincial government [Landesregierung] rush, with documents, typewriters, officials and delegates, overland to Eisenstadt, where the otherwise-dead-still rooms of the buildings awake to active life for a few hours. But yet on the same evening--the sessions of the Burgenland Landtag are often very short--everything is dead again.⁷

Sauerbrunn and Eisenstadt are over 20 kilometers apart by present-day roads, and the roads were in very poor condition in the 1920's. Yet this bizarre situation was allowed to exist for over three years before a decision on ONE capital was reached in the Landtag, and actually for over eight years, until the completion in 1930 of the new governmental building in Eisenstadt.

3. The Candidates

In the consideration of the individual gemeinden as possible sites of the Burgenland provincial government, four factors were held to be of primary importance.

1. It should be easily accessible, or as nearly so as possible, from all portions of the province.

⁷Walheim, Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

2. It should have direct and easy connections with Vienna.
3. It should have at least some of the facilities required for the necessary governmental offices and the living quarters of the civil servants.
4. It must offer some of the necessary materials and labor for the construction of the required facilities.

With these four factors in mind, it was obvious that only a gemeente that formally submitted its candidacy could be considered. The shortage of funds was so serious in Burgenland that unless a gemeente agreed to help share the cost of construction, it could not be considered. An analysis of possible sites, independent of this limitation, would be but idle speculation. Yet it is evident that because of the transportational facilities in the years 1921-1925, middle Burgenland would have been impossible, since its only link with the rest of Burgenland (or Austria) ran through Hungary. The most promising areas would, therefore, be the southern portion of north Burgenland or the northern portion of south Burgenland. By coincidence, these were also the most highly developed portions of both the north and the south, the Eisenstadt Basin and the upper Pinka valley. All four of the actual candidates were from these two areas, three from the north and one from the south. The south was at a distinct disadvantage because of its distance from Vienna and the lack of good transportational connections with that city.

a. Eisenstadt

In the census of 1923 Eisenstadt city had an official population of 3,263 (fifth largest in the province). However, with the adjacent gemeinden of Oberberg-Eisenstadt and Unterberg-Eisenstadt, which were joined to the city in 1938, it had a total of 4,767 (the largest in the province). The city was located on the Wulka-prodersdorf to Parnsdorf railroad, a branch of the less important of the two Vienna to Sopron lines.

The claim of Eisenstadt was based chiefly on its proud title of "free city." Only Rust was also a "city," but it was both small and poorly located. All unbiased discussion of the capital question began with the consideration that there were only two "cities" in the province. During the chaotic days of September 1921 the Hungarian government

proposed the return of Sopron to Hungary, with the suggestion that Eisenstadt was to become the capital instead.⁸

Added to the glamor of Eisenstadt's title was the glory of its past. This was the city of the fabulous court of Prince Eszterházy, the city of Josef Haydn, and other locally famous cultural figures.

Eisenstadt was able to offer to the provincial government land donated by Eszterházy, the military school which was already being used by the provincial government, financial contributions by its citizens, free use of the city brickworks, and a free supply of sand and vehicles.⁹

The opponents of Eisenstadt always stressed its awkward transportation situation. It was not on one of the railroads between Vienna and Sopron, but on a branch of the less important of the two lines. According to its detractors, people riding to Eisenstadt from Vienna or the south would have to change trains twice, once at Ebenfurth^{C3}, and once at Wulka-prodersdorf^{C4} (see Map 26, page 155). It was stressed that because of its position off the main trade route, Eisenstadt had only small possibilities for commercial growth and would always remain a minor center. It was charged also that it lacked an adequate water supply, an adequate sewage system, was poorly paved and lighted, etc.¹⁰ (All of these charges could have been leveled against any Burgenland gemeente at the time.)

Eisenstadt gained its support from the two northern counties of the province, which were quick to point out that they paid half of the taxes of the province. Neusiedl County had rail connections with the "free city" but none with Mattersburg and Sauerbrunn. Because of the pattern of the railroads, there was a definite break in transportation through the center of the Eisenstadt Basin, approximately along the line of the Eisenstadt-Mattersburg county boundary.

People in Eisenstadt County will tell you right out, either Eisenstadt becomes the capital or we will force the division. If the dwellers of the Heide do not approve the decision, then they are above all for a division of Burgenland.¹¹ The north is decidedly for Eisenstadt or Vienna.

⁸Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. Wien, September 22, 1921.

⁹Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Der Freie Burgenländer. March 29, 1925.

b. Mattersburg

In the census of 1923 Mattersburg (then Mattersdorf) had a population of 3,706, third largest in the province, but fifth largest if Eisenstadt and Deutschkreutz are totaled within their present limits. It was located on the Südbahn, the principal railroad between Wiener Neustadt (and Vienna) and Sopron.

The claim of Mattersburg was based primarily on its commercial promise. It had taken over some of the functions of Sopron, becoming the largest animal market in Burgenland. Because of its position on the railroad, it claimed to be the candidate of the south. It is clear, however, that when the proponents of Mattersburg said "the south" they meant middle Burgenland, via the railroad through Sopron. Mattersburg's contacts with the south, as well as those of Eisenstadt, were of necessity through Wiener Neustadt (see Map 26, page 155).

One of the most interesting arguments advanced in favor of Mattersburg was that its selection would hasten the return of Sopron: "The more Mattersburg grows, the more Ödenburg sinks and the more Ödenburg's citizens will cry out for a union with Burgenland."¹²

Though Mattersburg promised land, lumber, gravel, sand, supplies, and financial contributions,¹³ it was handicapped by its lack of existing facilities. This proved such a barrier to its selection that in the final consideration Mattersburg united its cause to that of adjacent Sauerbrunn.

c. Sauerbrunn

In 1923 Sauerbrunn had a population of 1,357. It was a completely atypical gemeente, in that its village life centered on the mineral spring within it; it had no agricultural base.¹⁴ In contrast to the usual peasant homes, its houses were hotels or inns. It too was on the Südbahn halfway between Mattersburg and Wiener Neustadt. The provincial government had settled itself in this spa, late in 1921, because it contained the buildings that could be utilized for the offices of the government.

¹²^uÖsterreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴In 1951 only 7 per cent of the population was dependent on agriculture for a livelihood.

Strange to say, the inhabitants of Sauerbrunn, most of whom had previously been supported in one capacity or another by the spring, were not anxious to have their gemeinde chosen to be the provincial capital. The host of bureaucrats was acting as a plague on their business. The hotel owners petitioned the government several times to leave the spa, or at least to select the capital, so that they could try to regain their former trade before the time lapse would halt it completely.

Who then supported Sauerbrunn, and why? The bureaucracy itself supported Sauerbrunn. Since Burgenland had had no available educated class, whereas Austria, after the loss of most of her territory, had a surplus of former and potential civil servants, the bureaucracy was an imported force.¹⁵ It had had no previous ties with Burgenland, and was motivated more by its own necessities than by any concept of a Burgenland.

Many of the officials were from Vienna and they preferred to remain as close as possible to their "Mutter Boden" (home area). The Sauerbrunn Beamtenschaft (a union of the civil servants) declared itself unanimously against Eisenstadt, saying that it was a "place of horrors" ("Ort des Schreckens").¹⁶

Housing was a matter of prime importance to the imported officials. Sauerbrunn had better housing facilities than any of the other candidates, but even these accommodations were pitifully inadequate. "We know of cases where for weeks judges have had to sleep on straw heaps in their courtrooms, because not even the smallest room was available."¹⁷ Under such circumstances, the families of the bureaucrats were forced to remain in Vienna, so that many of the civil servants kept two households, commuting to Vienna on weekends. Yet the situation was far better than it would have been in Eisenstadt, because only a few miles west of Sauerbrunn, along the railroad, was the important city of Wiener Neustadt. Very few of the officials actually lived in Sauerbrunn, but many did live in Wiener Neustadt.¹⁸ This would have been impossible from Eisenstadt.

¹⁵Der Freie Burgenländer. January 28, 1923.

¹⁶Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

¹⁷Der Freie Burgenländer. January 28, 1923.

¹⁸Burgenländische Heimat. Sauerbrunn, February 15, 1925.

Sauerbrunn also afforded, along its railroad, a quick and easy route of evacuation. Most Burgenlanders were convinced that Hungary would be certain to reoccupy Burgenland at the first opportunity. The bureaucracy was scarcely immune from this fear; it remembered well the "volunteer bands," and with its weak ties to the new province preferred to be in a place from which quick withdrawal by rail or by foot would be possible.¹⁹ Compared with Sauerbrunn, immediately on the former frontier, Eisenstadt, with the ridge at its back, was most insecurely located.

d. Pinkafeld

The only candidate from the south was Pinkafeld, and it was the last one to announce itself. It had, in 1923, a population of 2,573, was the major manufacturing center of Burgenland (see Table 2, page 7), and was located at the west end of the Pinka valley railroad (see Map 26, page 155). During the time of the deliberations over the capital, it had only bus connections with the Austrian rail system at Friedberg or Rohrbach, but the important rail link, Pinkafeld-Friedberg, was well under construction when the actual selection of the provincial capital took place.

Pinkafeld could compete with Eisenstadt in the offer of a meeting place for the Landtag; it proposed to purchase the large local palace of the Batthyány family for that purpose. Like the other candidates, it offered financial assistance, land, lumber, sand, vehicles, and 1,000,000 bricks.²⁰

Pinkafeld was suggested as the candidate of the south, though officials in the north accused the Bauernbund (peasants' union) party, which was concentrated in the south, of bringing forward this candidate merely for political purposes. In the final debate, the Bauernbund delegate, Gesell, asked,

Where is it written that the capital of Burgenland has to be in the north? Why could not the south, which is otherwise treated as a stepchild, raise claim to the capital? Oberwart, for example, is just as easy to reach from Sauerbrunn or Eisenstadt as the other way around.²¹

¹⁹Osterreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Stenographisches Protokoll. 28. Sitzung der II Wahlperiode des Burgenländischen Landtages. Donnerstag den 30. April 1925. Eisenstadt, 1925, pp. 371-381.

The north, which held the power in government, never took the candidacy of Pinkafeld seriously.

e. Oberwart

The preceding four were the only official candidates, but Oberwart should be mentioned. If there were to be a candidate from the south, Oberwart would have been the most logical choice. It was, with 3,846 inhabitants, the largest gemeente in the province, and its connections with Vienna were no worse than those of Pinkafeld.

Delegate Gesell, though favoring Oberwart, said only that for reasons which he would not mention Oberwart had not offered itself as a candidate.²² No other reasons were ever given. It is significant, however, that chauvinistic pro-German statements were common at the time, and Pinkafeld was advanced as a completely German center, with a glorious German history. Hungarian connections were treated as odious, and Oberwart was the largest Magyar gemeente in Austria. As one Burgenlander said, the capital city of Burgenland could hardly be placed in a Magyar community.

f. Wiener Neustadt and Vienna

Though the choice of the capital was, under the constitution, to be Burgenland's own, because of the difficulty the province had in arriving at a decision, the federal government was increasingly involved. Federal agreement with the selection would be essential, in any case, for without federal funds no government building could be built.

Since Burgenland official opinion did not resign itself to the loss of Sopron for some time, there were early suggestions that a temporary seat of government be chosen outside the province. The pan-German newspaper in its lead article urged the selection of Wiener Neustadt, since Eisenstadt was, in its view, the candidate of "Esterházy, the Magyar-sympathizers, and the clerics."²³ Provincial vice Premier Leser opposed the selection of Eisenstadt, since he felt that

²²Stenographisches Protokol . . . 30 April 1925. pp. 371-381.

²³Der Freie Burgenländer, September 10, 1922.

as long as Sopron was not reunited to Burgenland, the province could be governed from Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, or Graz.²⁴

Of all the possible centers mentioned, Wiener Neustadt was the best located to act as the capital of Burgenland. This city was the most important commercial and transportation center for three of the counties, and occupied the key position for all rail traffic from the south to either Vienna or north Burgenland. Sauerbrunn was little more than an advance-post for Wiener Neustadt; the officials cramped into the tiny spa would not have felt the slightest hesitation in moving the few miles westward to the city that was acting as the center in every way except the narrowest political sense. Wiener Neustadt also had available a large building, the Akademie, which could be used for the provincial Landtag (parliament) and the government offices; this fact would save the federal government the expense of constructing a new building. In June 1923, Chancellor Dr. Seipel and federal financial officials met in Wiener Neustadt to inspect the Akademie, with a view to making it the home of the Burgenland government. (The commissioner of savings, Hornik, was against the Wiener Neustadt plan because he favored moving the Burgenland government to Vienna.)²⁵ Actually, Wiener Neustadt had only one drawback: it was not in Burgenland.

Burgenlanders, at least in the north, considered this plan to be a great danger to the existence of their new province, as it undoubtedly was. The Eisenstadt newspaper in full-page, front-page editorials pleaded that the title be given to any other Burgenland community rather than have the government moved outside the province.²⁶ Some Burgenlanders announced that they would accept the Wiener Neustadt proposal only if the Akademie, its grounds, and a connection eastward to the border were annexed to Burgenland.²⁷ In view of these protests, the federal government ceased its attempts to help settle the matter for Burgenland; it was to be the province's decision.

4. Regional Attitudes

As was previously stated, the two northern counties, Eisenstadt and Neusiedl, supported Eisenstadt to the point of threatening the

²⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. September 3, 1922.

²⁵Ibid., June 24, 1923.

²⁶Neue Eisenstädter Zeitung. July 1 and September 9, 1923.

²⁷Der Freie Burgenländer. September 24, 1922.

dissolution of Burgenland. Neusiedl am/See was an hour and a half from Eisenstadt, but four hours from Sauerbrunn (via Vienna and Wiener Neustadt) by rail. Most indicative of the lack of connections across the Eisenstadt Basin was the fact that it required five and a half hours to get from Eisenstadt to Sauerbrunn, and that by the circuitous route: north-east to Neusiedl, then northwest to Vienna, south to Wiener Neustadt, and finally southeast to Sauerbrunn.²⁸

Mattersburg County was, of course, in favor of Sauerbrunn. Oberpullendorf County, though it could reach either Eisenstadt or Sauerbrunn via Sopron, seems to have favored Mattersburg-Sauerbrunn. "Travel time to Sauerbrunn was a trifle less, and more frequent than to Eisenstadt, and the connections through Mattersburg and Sauerbrunn to Vienna had become familiar in the decades before and during the World War.

The south was remarkable for its apathy. Though Mattersburg claimed to represent the interests of the south, the inhabitants of the south were unmoved by this statement. The only reference to Mattersburg and Sauerbrunn that could be found in either of the southern newspapers was an opinion in opposition to their candidacy. The Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung maintained that these two candidates would be unable to grow any larger because they were too close to Wiener Neustadt; it would not be possible to develop a Burgenland consciousness as long as the officials spent only their working hours in Burgenland, and their free hours outside.²⁹

The Oberwart paper was conspicuous for its lack of interest in the question. While the newspapers in the north were treating it as a life-and-death matter for Burgenland, devoting space in every issue to details of all the speeches, delegations, meetings, claims, counter-claims, charges, and rumors concerning the "Hauptstadtfrage" (capital question), the Oberwart paper mentioned it exactly once,³⁰ and then only in a general way, during the first two years. This silence was suddenly broken on December 16, 1923, when the entire first page was devoted to the support of the just-announced candidacy of Pinkafeld. Three times more that winter the newspaper advocated the selection of Pinkafeld,³¹ and then,

²⁸These travel times are based on the railroad and bus schedules for 1924, in: *Der Freie Burgenländer*, June 8, 1924.

²⁹February 10, 1924.

³⁰May 27, 1923.

³¹December 23 and 30, 1923, and February 10, 1924.

again, silence. During the 12 months preceding the decision, the Oberwarther Sonntags Zeitung never mentioned the question. Its reporting of the selection of Eisenstadt was astounding for its lack of emphasis. Under the small headline "Burgenländische Landtag," the actions of the provincial parliament were reported in routine fashion. The last of these actions had decided the capital question. There was no headline, no sub-headline, not even heavy type, and no comment elsewhere in the paper to mark this momentous decision!³²

The other newspaper of the south, the Güssinger Zeitung, showed even less interest. It never advocated the candidacy of Pinkafeld (which was distant). During those three and a half years, this paper mentioned the capital question exactly twice,³³ and then briefly, without supporting any of the contending gemeinden. The decision was announced under a small headline, "The new seat of the provincial government of Burgenland." The article mentioned briefly and casually that Eisenstadt had been selected; most of the article lamented the loss of Sopron.³⁴

Nowhere else could there be found any indication of southern interest or involvement in this issue that kept the north embroiled for over three years. The south seems to have felt that this was strictly a northern affair, and watched it with the same degree of apathy with which a Bolivian Indian might watch the struggles among the cliques of La Paz for control of the country.

5. The Struggle

It had been assumed at first that the stay of the government in Sauerbrunn would be temporary, and that the new capital would be selected within two months.³⁵ The sharp division of official opinion between Eisenstadt and Sauerbrunn-Mattersburg prevented the achievement of a quick decision, since neither faction would press for a vote when it felt any danger of losing. Furthermore, since federal funds were necessary to meet the anticipated huge costs of construction, both factions tried to maneuver federal official opinion to their positions.³⁶ As

³²May 10, 1925.

³³September 23, 1923, and February 10, 1924.

³⁴May 10, 1925.

³⁵Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

³⁶For example, a delegation from Sauerbrunn to Chancellor Ramek, Der Freie Burgenländer, March 29, 1925.

time passed, patience was worn thin. On April 1, 1923, one newspaper published a special April Fool's edition, headlining the selection of an entirely new gemeente as the capital. On a spot exactly between the then three candidates, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, and Sauerbrunn, a new capital, called Eismatsaustadt was to be erected. Huge cranes were to lift all the available buildings in the three contending centers and move them to the new location. To finance the construction of the new capital, and the essential railroad tying it to Vienna, the finance minister of Burgenland, Herr Iweisvonnix (Mr. I-know-from-nothing) was to stand in the principal square of Vienna, with his hat in his hand until the necessary total of 720 billion kronen was collected. It was estimated that the railroad could be planned by 1960, and be completed by A.D. 2222.³⁷ This article was symbolic of the sense of impatience with which many northern Burgenlanders viewed the lack of decision by the Burgenland government, and the lack of support from Vienna.

In 1922, Professor Walheim was chosen to be the Provincial Premier. He was strongly in favor of Eisenstadt, and it seemed that the "free city" would soon be selected. A new election in 1923 gave power to a coalition headed by the Christlichsoziale Partei, whose leader, Rauhofer, thereupon became the new Provincial Premier. Rauhofer was a native of Mattersburg and favored that candidate. When Mattersburg was forced, by its lack of facilities, to defer to Sauerbrunn, Rauhofer, easily the most powerful political figure in the province, became the principal spokesman for that candidate. In at least one of his many articles, Walheim accused Rauhofer of deliberately obstructing a decision.³⁸

6. The Decision

If one is to credit the account of the Bürgermeister (Mayor) of Eisenstadt at the time, it required the intervention of the Viennese newspapers to obtain the selection of Eisenstadt. In a meeting held in Wiener Neustadt, the members of the Landtag decided, evidently in secrecy, to vote for Sauerbrunn. Actually, if the vote had been carried

³⁷Blaueste Nachrichten. Verkehrtes Anzeiger für das Surgenland, Unabhängigsten Blatt für das schlafende Volk. Der Freie Burgenländer, April 1, 1923.

³⁸Alfred Walheim, Wer weiss eine Hauptstadt? Österreichische Volkszeitung, February 24, 1924.

through, it would have meant a continuation of the bizarre status quo; Eisenstadt was to continue as the seat of the Landtag meetings, but the actual provincial government was to remain in Sauerbrunn. Evidently the expectation was that a new meeting hall for the Landtag could be built in Sauerbrunn or Mattersburg. This resolution came to the attention of Bürgermeister Koller, who, in a last-minute attempt to gain public support for Eisenstadt, invited representatives of the Viennese press to take a special bus tour of the three northern candidates. All the principal newspapers of Vienna agreed, and 12 reporters made the trip. The bus load of newsmen completely surprised Mattersburg and Sauerbrunn; after viewing these two gemeinden, the reporters were driven to Eisenstadt where a tour of the city culminated in a reception in the palace of the Eszterházy.

The results were most gratifying for the proponents of Eisenstadt. All the newspapers featured the tour and a comparison of the three competitors; all favored Eisenstadt. The consensus of their reports was that only Eisenstadt could pretend to the title of "city"; Mattersburg was but a large market village, Sauerbrunn a spa. The cultural tradition of Eisenstadt was stressed.³⁹

Herr Koller maintained that these newspaper reports won the vote for Eisenstadt. It is hard to tell if this is true or even if the articles exerted any influence on the delegates or not. It is however, significant that when the mayor found himself in a desperate position he did not protest to Burgenland officials, he did not try to influence a Burgenland newspaper, he did not try to organize any demonstrations or protest marches; he turned to Vienna. He reasoned that the politicians in Burgenland would find it impossible to take a stand contrary to Viennese public or official opinion. Even if Mr. Koller's bus tour did not decide the election, it was indicative of the fact that every important decision concerning Burgenland was not made within the province, but in Vienna.

The vote was taken on April 30, 1925. A two-thirds majority of the 29 members present was necessary for election. Rather than have each delegate choose one candidate, the contending gemeinden were voted on one at a time. The first ballot was indecisive. Pinkafeld had 7 for, 19 against, and 3 abstentions; Eisenstadt had 18 for and

³⁹Paul Koller, *Wie Eisenstadt die Hauptstadt des Burgenlandes wurde*. Eisenstadt, 300 Jahre Freiheit, Wien, 1948, pp. 20-23.

11 against; Sauerbrunn 12 for, 12 against, and 5 abstentions. After a recess Eisenstadt was elected (20 for, 9 against).⁴⁰ Eisenstadt was thus selected to be, not the capital ("Hauptstadt"), but the "seat of the provincial government" ("Sitz der Landesregierung").⁴¹ This was so specified in the subsequent Burgenland constitution of January 15, 1926: "The seat of the provincial government is Eisenstadt."⁴² Sopron was still the "Hauptstadt" of Burgenland.

7. The Aftermath

The selection of Eisenstadt was followed by a governmental crisis. Premier Rauhofer resigned, stating frankly that he could not attempt to work for the setting-up of this capital. The "Eisenstadt project" was impossible to carry out ("underchführbar").⁴³ Since no satisfactory person to replace Rauhofer could be found, after six weeks he was persuaded to resume office as Provincial Premier.⁴⁴ Despite his stated reluctance to work for Eisenstadt, he achieved notable results, considering the times.

Eisenstadt was not to become the actual "seat of the provincial government" until five years later. Construction of the new government building was not begun until December 1926;⁴⁵ this delay raised fears among the Eisenstadt citizenry that their city was not to be the governmental center after all.⁴⁶ Finally, in March 1930, the government was moved from Sauerbrunn to Eisenstadt.⁴⁷

⁴⁰Stenographisches Protokoll . . . 30 April 1925. pp. 371-381.

⁴¹Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, May 10, 1925.

⁴²Article 4, Die Verfassung des Burgenlandes von 15. Jänner 1926. Der Freie Burgenländer, April 8, 1926.

⁴³Burgenländische Heimat. May 10 and June 21, 1925.

⁴⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. June 14, 1925.

⁴⁵Ibid., November 28, 1926.

⁴⁶Ibid., January 31, 1926.

⁴⁷Hans Ambroschitz, Das Burgenland. Das Deutschtum des Südostens, 1930, Graz, 1931, p. 90

Mattersburg was not to forget easily. When the first bus line between the two rival centers was inaugurated in September 1926, the hope was expressed that this would help draw them together.⁴⁸ In 1928 there seemed a strong possibility that Burgenland would receive its own Gerichtshof (a provincial supreme court); it was urged that this be awarded to Mattersburg.⁴⁹ This court, however, was never established in Burgenland; to this day Burgenland remains the only province without its own Gerichtshof, and Mattersburg remains without any office of the provincial government. Even though Mattersburg had not been one of the three candidates voted upon in April 1925, the feeling that it was almost selected to be the capital persists in that city. Early in 1957, while discussing the selection of the provincial capital, the principal of the gymnasium in Mattersburg (a gentleman who had written his doctoral dissertation in history on the transfer of Burgenland to Austria) discounted Sauerbrunn as only a temporary site for the government, but maintained that Mattersburg had come within one vote of being selected as capital! He claimed if the money that has been spent on Eisenstadt had been funneled into Mattersburg instead, the latter too would now impress the visitor as the only urban center in the province.

Sauerbrunn and Pinkafeld returned to their gemeinde status without regrets. The inhabitants of Sauerbrunn had never actively sought the honor, and, now that the government was finally leaving, the gemeinde could get back to its primary business of alleviating other people's aches and pains. Pinkafeld had never had high hopes of being selected; its only rivalry at present is with neighboring Oberwart.

8. Conclusions

The selection of the provincial capital⁵⁰ was made when the railroads constituted the only feasible means of transportation. Despite its location near the "waist" of Burgenland, Mattersburg did not enjoy a favorable position in this regard. Both Mattersburg and Eisenstadt had a railroad connection to Vienna, to Wiener Neustadt, and through Sopron, to middle Burgenland. Eisenstadt was not on the through railroad line but it soon became evident that it was no difficulty for the railroad management to run a train directly from Vienna to Eisenstadt, despite the switch at Wulka-prodersdorf. Rail

⁴⁸Der Freie Burgenländer. September 12, 1926. ⁴⁹Ibid., May 27, 1928.

⁵⁰Eisenstadt is now always referred to as the "Landeshauptstadt" rather than the "Sitz der Landesregierung." The dream of obtaining Sopron has vanished.

connections to the south, while slightly better from Mattersburg, were also possible from Eisenstadt. Therefore Mattersburg's rail position was, contrary to prevailing opinion, inferior to that of Eisenstadt, since Eisenstadt had the railroad to Neusiedl which Mattersburg could not duplicate.

Mattersburg's central location was mostly potential. The fulfillment of Mattersburg's potentialities could not come until after the construction of the highway across the ridge behind it, in 1929.⁵¹ With the completion of this road Mattersburg symbolized the connections of the north with the south. Unfortunately, this stage of the technological development came five years too late for Mattersburg. Had the capital been chosen after the completion of this road, and certainly were it chosen on the basis of the present-day transportation system, Eisenstadt, despite its title and history, could scarcely compete with Mattersburg for the honor.

On the basis of the road and rail pattern which now exists, Mattersburg would seem to be the most favored location for the major bus center of the province. Yet it has not become this because, in gaining the government, Eisenstadt also gained the nodality of transportation. The node of traffic to south and middle Burgenland has, in effect, been moved, because of political considerations, 20 kilometers north of the actual funneling point.

Although, from the present-day viewpoint, Mattersburg would seem to have been the best located of the four candidates, in the final voting the choice was between Sauerbrunn and Eisenstadt. These two gemeinden represented the contest between the internal and the external forces trying to control the future of Burgenland. It was not stated in those terms, of course, but the contrast was there. Eisenstadt represented a Burgenland past, a Burgenland culture, and, by virtue of the ridge behind it, was turned away from Lower Austria and towards the neo-Hungarian Burgenland to the east. Sauerbrunn represented virtually nothing of Burgenland, none of its life, its past, its culture; Sauerbrunn's strongest argument was that it was close to Wiener Neustadt and Vienna.

Had Sauerbrunn been selected, it is doubtful if Burgenland could have developed a provincial consciousness and loyalty capable of enduring the extreme trial of its seven-year dissolution. Sauerbrunn was, politically, nothing more than a satellite of Wiener Neustadt;

⁵¹ Ambroschitz, *Das Burgenland. Deutschtum des Südostens*, 1929, p.73.

selecting Sauerbrunn as capital would have meant, in effect, the selection of Wiener Neustadt. It is paradoxical that Eisenstadt, though further removed than Sauerbrunn in time and convenience from most of Burgenland, was, clearly, the preferred candidate of Burgenland. In choosing Eisenstadt, Burgenland was electing to go its own way, and to develop itself along the lines of its own patterns and its own experiences.

B. The Counties (Bezirke)

In Austria the primary administrative subdivision of a province is the "Bezirk," which is in area somewhat analogous to the American count, and is therefore usually referred to here as a county. The bezirk differs from the county, however, in that the former has no organic governmental life of its own. No officials or representatives are elected by the local inhabitants to govern the bezirk or supervise its activities. The officials are civil servants who are hired, directed, and supervised by the executive branch of the provincial government (the "Landesregierung"). The bezirk is but a convenient decentralization of the many services and functions of the provincial government, and bezirk officials can be shifted from one bezirk to another. One county supervisor (Bezirkshauptmann) has served in this office in three different counties.

The bezirk is of special interest to an analysis of a province since the bezirk represents the primary areal subdivision of governmental functions in a province. Since the bezirke are not thought of in terms of traditional units with lives and histories of their own, the areas of these counties can be and have been changed to conform to new conditions. The areas of the bezirke have significance then in representing attempted small-scale governmental areas of the greatest efficiency. Their boundaries should conform to the travel-time divides between the county seats (Bezirkshauptstädte).

These areas and boundaries are important in the life of the peasant, since it is to the county seat that he must turn for everything official from a passport or a driver's license to unemployment compensation. If the boundary between county seats has been poorly drawn,

the peasant in the affected remote area will be greatly inconvenienced.⁵²

Because of the importance of the county seats, they have become the centers of transportation within each county. Bus lines attempt to connect all portions of the county to the county seat. As a consequence of this, most of the county seats have become active commercial centers as well. The focusing of the transport routes on the county seat tends towards a growing correspondence of the center's trade hinterland with the entire area of the county. However, when a center outside the county is either more attractive or closer in travel time to some of the gemeinden of the county, the lines of economic and political movement are at variance with each other. In such cases the affected gemeinden may wish to be joined to the exterior center for political as well as for economic purposes.

The bezirke were organized in 1860, though similar units may have existed previously. Following the suppression of the Revolution of 1848-1849, Hungary was treated as occupied territory by the Austrian forces. After the loss of the war with France and Sardinia-Savoy, the Austrian Emperor granted the re-establishment of the provinces of Hungary. The provinces were then in turn subdivided into bezirke, though these bezirke were organized somewhat differently from the Austrian bezirke.

There is little loyalty felt towards the county by the people, despite the fact that demands for railroads and roads were usually made in the name of a county. By European standards the bezirke were established only recently, and they were greatly changed in area in the years following the transfer of Burgenland to Austria. The inhabitants have no direct voice in the activities of the county supervisor or the many civil servants who assist him. Since the bureaucracy in the county seat in no way represents the inhabitants, the people also feel little identification with the area of the county. This lack of a county consciousness was put to the test in the Nazi move which transferred seven gemeinden from Güssing to Oberwart; this move has never

⁵²The bezirk governmental building in Neusiedl contains the following departments: the Supervisor and his secretary, the Assistant-Supervisor, Law, Records, Citizenship, Passports, Identification Cards, Occupation Costs, Police, Punishment, Price Control, Finance, Medical, Health, Veterinarian, Welfare, Gemeinde Affairs, Education and Crafts, School-Inspector, Vocations, Victuals, Hunting, Fishing, Drivers' Licenses, Truck-Permits, Licenses for Dances and Public Houses.

been reversed. The inhabitants of Güssing Bezirk do not object, and evidently have never felt that they were being deprived of something that was rightfully theirs.

1. The Process of Organization

In 1921, when Burgenland was transferred to Austria, it consisted of the western portions of three Hungarian provinces (Komitate or megye). Moson Province contained all that is now in Neusiedl County. The boundary between Sopron Province and Vasvár Province ran in the uplands separating middle from south Burgenland. This boundary had great historic significance since it approximated the boundary delimited in A.D. 811 between the bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau.⁵³ In 1921 this line marked the boundary between the bishoprics of Győr and Szombathely.

In the transfer of territory, six counties entered Austria intact. These were Neusiedl, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Oberpullendorf, Oberwart, and Güssing. As Map 30 (page 201) indicates, large portions of these counties (Sopron, Köszeg, and Szent Gotthard), and bits of four others (Rajka, Magyaróvár, Szombathely, and Körmend), were included in the transfer area also. Wherever possible these portions and bits of counties were joined to the counties that had been transferred intact.

The Magyaróvár and Rajka segments were united to a thus-enlarged Neusiedl County. The portions of Sopron were added to whichever bezirk they happened to adjoin; Mörbisch and Klingenbach were joined to Eisenstadt, and Schattendorf, Baumgarten, and Loipersback to Mattersburg; the string of large gemeinden at the south foot of the Sopron Range was added to Oberpullendorf Bezirk. The bits of Szombathely were split between Oberwart and Güssing, so as to include the entire lower Pinka valley within Güssing. The two segments of Körmend were added to Güssing County.

Köszeg County presented a special problem. Its western half had been based on the medieval roads north and south of the Köszeg Range. The road along the north flank of the hill mass followed the Zübern valley into Lower Austria, with an important branch leaving this road at Lockenhaus^{C7} to ascend the Bernstein Hill-lands, the road along the south flank passed through Rechnitz^{C8} on its way to Oberwart

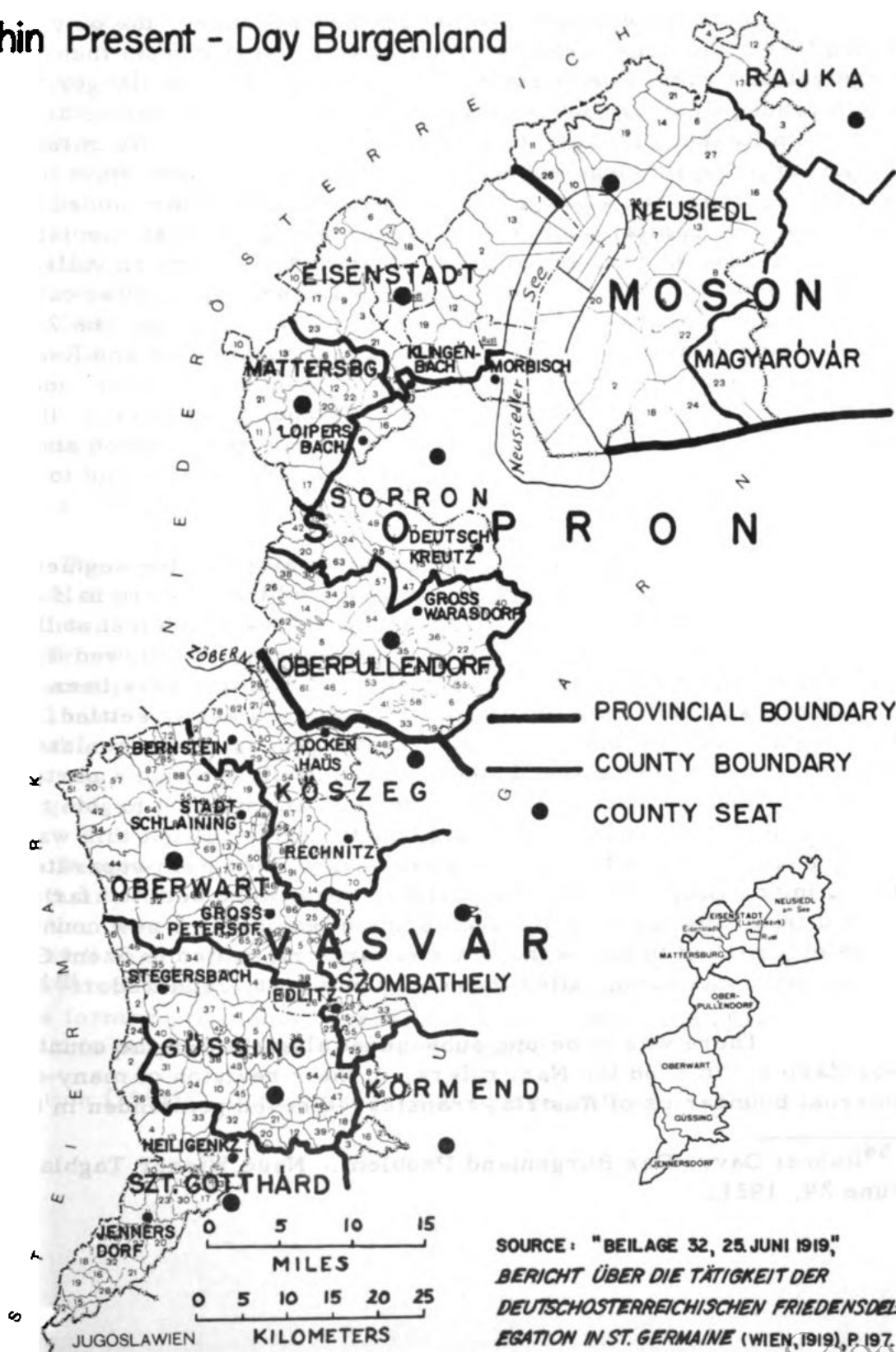
⁵³A. W. A. Leeper, *A History of Medieval Austria*. p. 108.

BURGENLAND

MAP 30

HUNGARIAN PROVINCES AND COUNTIES

Within Present - Day Burgenland



and Stadt Schlaining^{B8}. Such widely spaced medieval fortresses as Bernstein, Lockenhaus, and Rechnitz were all in Kőszeg County.

With the establishment of the new boundary, the only *gemeinde* that could unite these two roads was separated from them. The segment that came to Austria was of considerable area (larger than Mattersburg Bezirk), but consisted largely of unpopulated uplands, and had, with Kőszeg, lost all its governmental facilities. As in the case of the large Sopron segment this area should, therefore, have been united to some other county, but which one? Had it been added to Oberpullendorf, Rechnitz, south of the range, would have been isolated from its county seat; had it been added to Oberwart, the Zöbern valley would have been beyond effective contact with its county seat, Oberwart. Hence this segment was divided between the two counties, the Zöbern valley being joined to Oberpullendorf, and the Bernstein and Rechnitz areas becoming part of Oberwart. In this fashion one of the oldest boundaries in Europe (the Bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau, the Dioceses of Győr and Szombathely, and the Provinces of Sopron and Vasvár) vanished from the map, or perhaps could be considered to have been moved southward one valley.

A yet more serious problem was raised by the segment of Szent Gotthárd County. This also represented the western half of a Hungarian county, based on two important routes which met at the county seat, Szent Gotthárd^{B11}. The northern route followed the Lafnitz valley, the southern the Raab valley. Could this have been split, as Kőszeg was split, the matter would have been easily settled, but this segment had become the southernmost portion of Burgenland, so that there was no established county to the south to which a portion could be joined. There seems to have been an intention to join the entire segment onto its only adjoining county, Güssing, but this was soon recognized as impractical. The Raab valley, then even separated from the Lafnitz valley, and the "tip" farther south were both too far removed from Güssing to make such a union feasible. A new county had to be established to serve those areas formerly united to Szent Gotthárd.⁵⁴ This county was named after its new county seat, Jennersdorf^{B11}.

There was to be one subsequent alteration in the county boundaries. In 1938 the Nazi rulers, in their revision of many of the internal boundaries of Austria, transferred seven *gemeinden* in the

⁵⁴Robert Davy, *Das Burgenland Problem*. Neue Wiener Tagblatt, June 29, 1921.

northern portion of the lower Pinka valley from Glüssing to Oberwart County. Though most of these were gemeinden that Glüssing had received from Szombathely after the international boundary delimitation, two (Harmisch and Kirchfidisch^{C9}) had been in Glüssing Bezirk at least since the establishment of the bezirk system, 78 years previously. With the restitution of Burgenland in 1945, all other boundaries were returned to their April 1938 position; this one remained. This fact indicates the powerful attraction of the railroad and road axis of the upper Pinka valley. Because of this axis of communications, Oberwart, through its forepost, Gross-petersdorf, has been able to extend its political jurisdiction as far as Edlitz^{C9}, which is 25 kilometers from Oberwart but only 11 kilometers from Glüssing. It is everywhere agreed, even in Glüssing, that the transfer of these seven gemeinden had been a wise move that should not be reversed. In the lower Pinka valley the present Oberwart-Glüssing county boundary coincides with the divide between the trade areas of Glüssing and Gross-petersdorf.

2. Analysis of the Individual Counties

a. Neusiedl County⁵⁵

The northernmost county of Burgenland is the largest in area, the flattest, the least densely populated, the most productive, and the one most intensely engaged in commercial agriculture. It differs markedly from the remainder of the province in that it contains large, widely spaced gemeinden. Only four of the 28 gemeinden have fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. Neusiedl County is more of a topographic unit than any other county. It represents a portion of the Hungarian plain within Austria, and forms the basis for many of the Viennese ideas about Burgenland.

Despite its size, Neusiedl Bezirk has only a very short land border with any other portion of Burgenland. This boundary is much closer to Neusiedl am See than to Eisenstadt, the hauptstadt of the adjoining bezirk, and, as such, does not conform to an optimum administrative divide. The line predates Burgenland, however, since it was a part of the former provincial boundary between Sopron and Moson provinces; for this purpose it was very well located.

⁵⁵Population (1951): 50,572; area: 400 square miles.

The bezirk is divided into two separated portions by the Parn-dorfer Heide (see Map 9, page 18). This miniature plateau acts as a barrier to movement, with only one road crossing it from south to north. The physical separation north-south is accentuated by the main line of the Vienna-Budapest railroad, and the international highway, running along the north edge of the Heide; these arteries divert most traffic westward towards Bruck and Vienna.

The city⁵⁶ of Neusiedl am/See is admirably located to serve as the county seat. It stands at the head of two pass routes and at the base of the only road northward across the Heide. The northwest shore of the See, paralleled by the Leitha Range, forms a narrow pass route utilized by a railroad and the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse (the north-south highway of Burgenland). Similarly the northeast end of the lake, impinging on the base of the Heide escarpment, forms a pass-funnel for all connections between the fertile Seewinkel and the rest of Austria. The city commands all movement to and from the southern half of the county, the Seewinkel.

Neusiedl city gained much from the boundary delimitation. In 1923 it was not the largest gemeente in the county even though it was a county seat. With 2,764 inhabitants it was second to Frauenkirchen with 2,849. The inhabitants and the produce of the Seewinkel formerly moved toward and through the provincial capital Moson, its twin city Magyaróvár, and the great manorial center at Eszterháza^{E6}; they could also move through the villages on the railroad which is now just east of the boundary, or even southwestward through Sopron. The new boundary, with its westward salient at Albertkázsmér puszta, presented Neusiedl am/See with a captive hinterland.

As Map 31 (page 205) suggests, the bus. lines operating in the county focus on the county seat. With the exception of Edelstal, no gemeente is more than an hour and a quarter from Neusiedl city. Because of the railroad, however, the gemeinden along the north edge of the Heide are all closer in travel time to Bruck than to Neusiedl. The two northernmost gemeinden, Kittsee and Edelstal, are closer to Hainburg. Because the buses stress connections to Neusiedl rather than to the railroad or to buses from Kittsee to Hainburg, the gemeinden between the railroad and the northern tip are all closer in travel time to Neusiedl than any competing center.

⁵⁶Neusiedl was raised to the status of "city" in 1926 by the Burgenland Landtag (parliament). Josef Rittsteuer, Neusiedl am See, p. 202.

MAP 31

TRAVEL TIME TO THE COUNTY SEAT

NEUSIEDL COUNTY

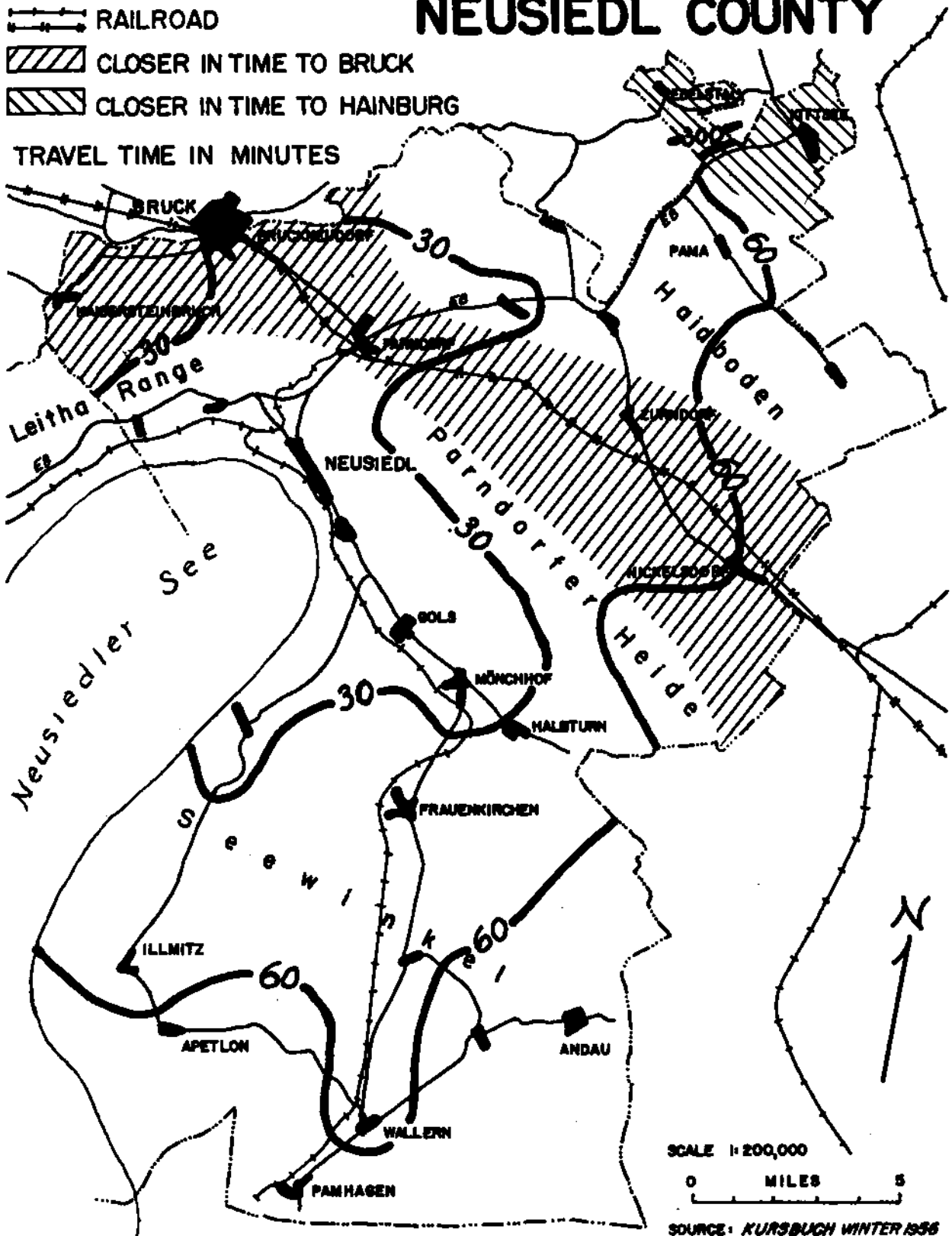
— ROAD

—+—+— RAILROAD

▨ CLOSER IN TIME TO BRUCK

▨ CLOSER IN TIME TO HAINBURG

TRAVEL TIME IN MINUTES



SCALE 1:200,000

0 MILES 5

SOURCE: KURSBUCH WINTER 1936

All the gemeinden north of the Heide look disparagingly at Neusiedl am/See. Its proud title of "city" is scoffed at as too grandiose for a village. Neusiedl cannot compete with Bruck and Hainburg either as a market or as a gateway city; the result is that even though Neusiedl has a captive hinterland to the southeast, its trade area stops abruptly at the escarpment behind it.

The county is large enough to require a breakdown in certain functions. There are 2 vocational schools, one in Neusiedl and the other in Frauenkirchen; the 4 Hauptschulen are in Neusiedl, Frauenkirchen, Kittsee, and Zurndorf; the only hospital is in Kittsee (this predates Burgenland); 2 of the 14 Highway Districts (Strassenmeister Bereiche) of Burgenland are centered in Neusiedl County, at Neusiedl and Frauenkirchen. Frauenkirchen acts, then, as a second, though minor, governmental center serving the Seewinkel. The northern third of the county has no clear sub-center, though Kittsee approaches that status.

Along the western boundary of the county are three gemeinden, Edelstal, Bruckneudorf, and Kaisersteinbruch, which are only tenuously tied to the remainder of the bezirk, and to the province.

Edelstal forms a curious late-medieval salient. No road connects it directly to Burgenland; its only through route passes into Lower Austria at both ends. Interestingly, no attempt has been made to afford it direct bus connections with Neusiedl am/See. Excluding the possibility of walking or riding by private conveyance the five miles to Kittsee, the most rapid bus trip from Edelstal to Neusiedl would consume five hours' time. The services for this gemeinde are scattered among three adjacent villages: the police station is in Kittsee, the registrar's office in Pama, and the post office in Berg, Lower Austria.⁵⁷ Though it has the appearance of a typical Burgenland village, Edelstal has most of its ties with Hainburg, Lower Austria.

Bruckneudorf represents an even more extreme case. In essence it is merely the Burgenland portion of the city of Bruck a/d Leitha. The provincial boundary here follows the minor, northern branch of the Leitha River. Most of Bruckneudorf lies between this and the broad, canalized stream of the Leitha. The union of Bruck and Bruckneudorf is remarkably intimate. The railroad station for Bruck is in Bruckneudorf. The latter has no church, but is included within

⁵⁷ The postal service does not deliver the mail in Burgenland villages; the mail must be called for.

the parish of Bruck, and hence outside the Diocese of Burgenland. Bruckneudorf is built along two streets radiating from the center of Bruck, and one cannot drive from one street to the other without entering Lower Austria. The police station and the post office for both are in Bruck, as was even the Standesamt (the registrar's office) for several years after 1945 (and may still be). Though it is within Neusiedl County (Verwaltungs Bezirk), Bruckneudorf is a part of the Court District (Gerichts-Bezirk) of Bruck, so that even for legal matters involving court cases, the inhabitants of Bruckneudorf are dependent on Bruck, Lower Austria, and not on Burgenland.

Kaisersteinbruch is several miles from Bruck, but is nevertheless closely tied to Lower Austria because of the ridge barrier separating it from the rest of Burgenland. Map 31 (page 205) indicates that a person from Kaisersteinbruch can reach Neusiedl am/See in less than an hour (54 minutes) but this is possible only by the complicated procedure of a bus to Bruck, the main-line railroad to Parndorf, and then the branch line to Neusiedl. Direct bus connections between Kaisersteinbruch and Neusiedl do not exist. Bruck is only 17 minutes by bus from Kaisersteinbruch, and serves as that village's market and transportation center. Kaisersteinbruch is also in the Court District of Bruck, and though within the Diocese of Burgenland, is maintained as a "mission" by the parish priest of Sommerein, Lower Austria. It has its own police station, but is joined to the registrar's office at Winden, across the ridge, and receives its mail at Wilfleinsdorf, Lower Austria.

Neusiedl County, then, represents a strongly unified political entity south of the upland edge formed by the Leitha Range and the Heide escarpment. North of the edge the gemeinden are turned away from the county seat, towards the larger markets to the west, and three of the border gemeinden are intimately tied to the neighboring province.

b. Eisenstadt County⁵⁸

This bezirk is unique in Burgenland in encompassing two "free cities," Eisenstadt and Rust, neither of which is, technically, within the limits of the bezirk. Eisenstadt is, therefore, the county seat of a county to which it does not belong. There is a consequent

⁵⁸Population (1951), including Eisenstadt and Rust cities: 42,420; area (including cities): 199 square miles.

duplication of agencies in the city of Eisenstadt but no one seems to mind. The inhabitants of Eisenstadt and Rust feel that the glory of the status and title of "free city" more than compensate for any added expenses of government.

Though not on either the railroads or the highways between Sopron and Vienna, Eisenstadt is well located to be the county seat. A local road network has been established, centered on the capital. With a heavy concentration of bus routes on Eisenstadt, the city is easily accessible to all the gemeinden in the bezirk. There is no competitor, nor is there a sub-center. The two Highway Districts centered in this county both have their offices in Eisenstadt city. The concentration of the provincial governmental offices has drawn to Eisenstadt all the bezirk offices as well. Only the Hauptschulen in Neufeld, Siegendorf, and Rust imply any dispersal of functions.

As Map 32 (page 209) indicates, three gemeinden north of Eisenstadt are closer in travel time to Vienna than to Eisenstadt. Leitha-prodersdorf, Loretto, and Stotzing are separated from Eisenstadt by the widest and the highest portion of the Leitha Range. These gemeinden had no direct road connection with the remainder of Burgenland until the construction of the winding road over the ridge in 1929.⁵⁹ This road is not utilized by public transportation, so that the inhabitants of these communities must take a roundabout route, requiring over two hours, in order to reach the capital. Though each of the three gemeinden has its own registry office and police station, they are all served by the post office in Deutsch-Brodersdorf, Lower Austria. Leitha-prodersdorf and Stotzing are both larger than Deutsch-Brodersdorf; this postal arrangement can probably be accounted for by the fact that these three adjacent villages were joined to the established system in 1921. These factors do not produce any notable diverging tendencies, however. There is no nearby center attractive enough to draw the gemeinden away from Eisenstadt. Vienna is this, and more, of course, but Vienna is above provincial considerations and not thought of in contradistinction to Eisenstadt; it is in a category by itself.

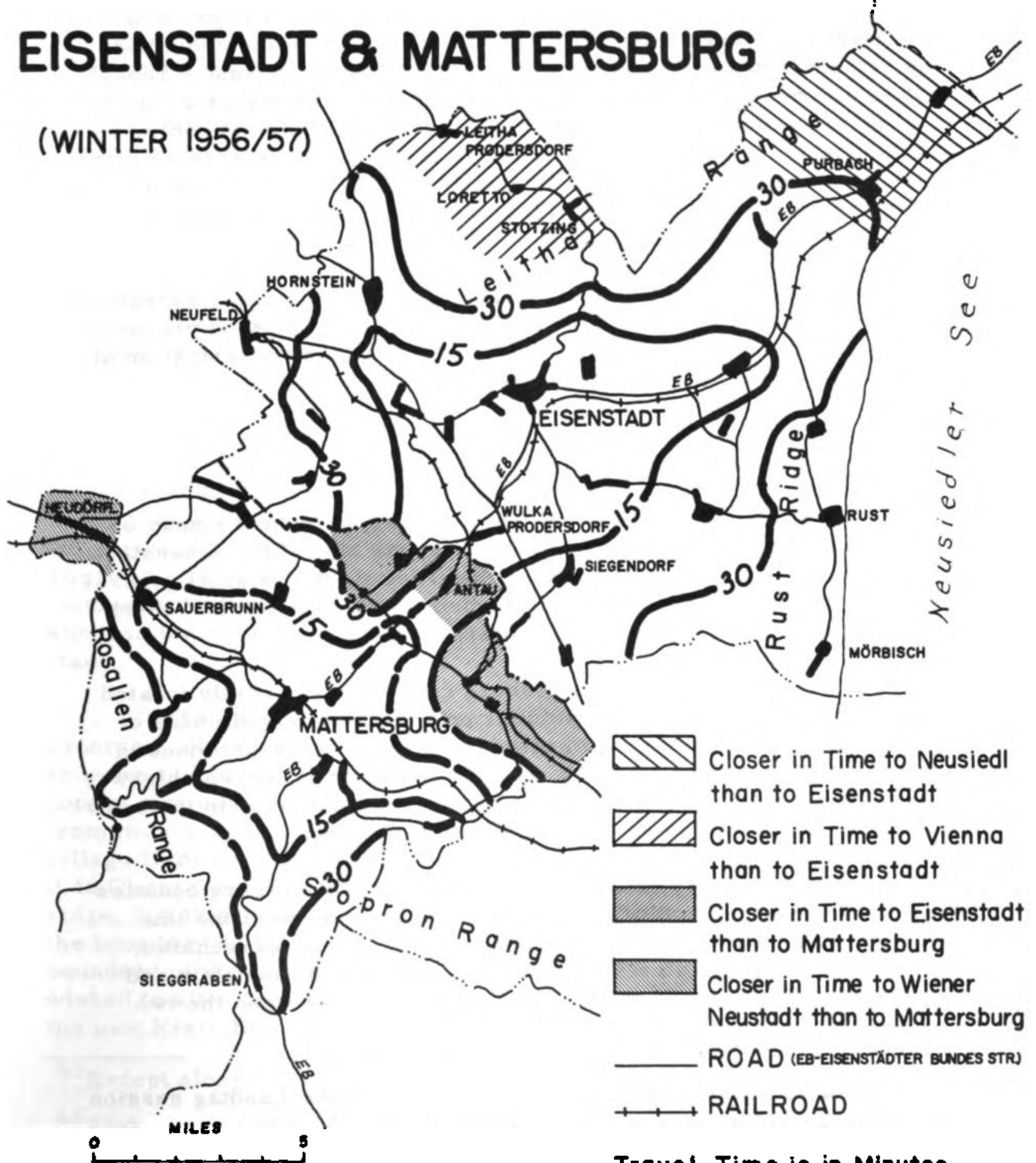
As Map 32 (page 209) indicates, the travel-time divide between Neusiedl am/See and Eisenstadt city crosses the highway and railroad two gemeinden south of the county boundary. The superior attractiveness of Eisenstadt politically and economically more than compensates for this offset.

⁵⁹Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte, Wirtschaftsbericht über das Jahr 1928. Sauerbrunn, 1929.

TRAVEL TIME TO THE COUNTY SEAT

EISENSTADT & MATTERSBURG

(WINTER 1956/57)



Mörbisch is slightly inconvenienced by its location on the international boundary, between the Rust Ridge and the Neusiedler See. This gemeente has only one exit, and that runs through Rust. Though Rust as a "free city" possesses many of the same offices as a county seat, these cannot serve the people of Mörbisch, who must continue on to Eisenstadt. Fortunately, the distance to the county seat is not great. In any case the two gemeinden, Mörbisch and Rust, have never felt any desire to co-operate with each other; they are active rivals for the Viennese wine and bathing trade.

Despite the isolating tendencies of its two ridges, Eisenstadt County is well unified. This unity is a result of the growing pre-eminence of Eisenstadt city within the province, as well as the concentration of local and provincial highways upon the city.

c. Mattersburg County⁶⁰

This is the smallest and most densely populated county of Burgenland. Its area is limited to the southern half of the Eisenstadt Basin, and includes Mattersburg and Sauerbrunn, the original governmental centers of the province and the primary competitors of Eisenstadt for the status of provincial capital.

The county seat, Mattersburg city,⁶¹ is admirably located at the exact center of the county. It is one of the principal nodes of transportation in the province, easily reached by every gemeente in the county. The city acts as a focal point for the railroad and highway routes uniting north and middle Burgenland. No gemeente in the bezirk is more than 40 minutes by public transportation from it.

The boundary between Eisenstadt and Mattersburg counties wanders through the center of the lowland. The course of the line seems to represent the former boundary between the Herrschaften (manorial holdings) of Forchtenstein to the south and Hornstein and Eisenstadt to the north.⁶² The travel-time divide between the two

⁶⁰Population (1951): 32,141; area: 92 square miles.

⁶¹Mattersdorf was raised to the rank of "city" at the Landtag session of January 15, 1926; in accordance with this change of status its name was changed from Mattersdorf to Mattersburg. Der Freie Burgenländer, January 24, 1926.

⁶²Ibid.

county seats runs approximately one gemeinde south of the bezirk boundary for most of its course (see Map 32, page 209). One of these border gemeinden, Antau, is the only community in Burgenland which receives its mail in another county. The inhabitants of Antau must go to the post office in adjacent Wulka-prodersdorf; in all other cases within Burgenland the limits of the postal subdivisions coincide with the county boundaries.⁶³

Despite its compactness, Mattersburg County includes two gemeinden, Neudörfl and Sieggraben, that are somewhat detached from the rest of the county.

Neudörfl is almost as extreme a case of attachment to a non-Burgenland center as is Bruckneudorf; it is virtually a suburb of Wiener Neustadt. During the Nazi times, Neudörfl was separated from the remainder of Mattersburg Bezirk, which was united with Eisenstadt, and was joined to Wiener Neustadt. Apparently the inhabitants would have preferred a continuation of that situation. At present, Neudörfl, though within Mattersburg County, is within the Court District of Wiener Neustadt; this means that legal matters are taken care of in the adjacent Lower Austrian city rather than in Mattersburg city. There is local dissatisfaction with a system that requires the men to journey to Mattersburg to obtain their unemployment compensation, whereas the employment situation is governed largely in Wiener Neustadt.

The second case of separation from the larger part of the county is not as serious, since it is caused by physical rather than economic factors. Sieggraben, the southernmost gemeinde of the county, is actually on the south flank of the ridge separating north from middle Burgenland. Whereas a sharp escarpment separates the village from Mattersburg city, a continuous band of cultivation joins it to Oberpullendorf County. There is now a fine highway across this ridge, but this road did not exist prior to 1929.⁶⁴ The location of the boundary south of Sieggraben coincides with the former southern boundary of the Herrschaft of Forchtenstein.⁶⁵ In 1938, the Nazis wished to alter this situation; they decided to draw the line between the new Kreis Eisenstadt and Kreis Oberpullendorf at the actual pass,

⁶³Except along the provincial boundary.

⁶⁴Ambroschitz, *Das Burgenland. Deutschtum Südostens*, 1929, p. 73.

⁶⁵Ernst Fiala, Map #3, *Entwicklung der Wichtigsten Herrschaftsgebiete in 17-18. Jh.* Burgenland Atlas, p. 68.

thus transferring Sieggraben to the southern Kreis. The inhabitants of the gemeinde protested and the plan was dropped. The villagers maintained that, despite the upland barrier, they had always been bound to Mattersburg. Their exports of lumber, fruit, and labor⁶⁶ flowed then, and still do, northward towards the railroad at Marz and Mattersburg city, from which points Vienna is quickly accessible. At present the travel-time divide between Mattersburg city and Oberpullendorf village coincides with the county boundary.

d. Oberpullendorf County⁶⁷

This large county is synonymous with "middle Burgenland." It could be described simply as a circular lowland area rimmed by uplands to the north, west and south. The county includes also, to the southwest, the Zübern-Güns valley which lies beyond the first edge of the forested uplands.

The village of Oberpullendorf is the most unusual of all the county seats. Starting from a very small local productive base it has become the most powerful gemeinde in the county. At present it is a purely governmental gemeinde, and on casual observation one is led to wonder why this village was selected as "county seat" in the first place.

In 1923 Oberpullendorf gemeinde was, with a population of 951, the 23rd largest (of 63) in the county. Deutschkreutz had an official population of 3,321 (3,929 within its present gemeinde limits). It is true that of the 22 gemeinden larger than Oberpullendorf, 8 were in the segment of the Sopron Bezirk and one in the Köszeg segment, but this still indicates that in the original (pre-1921) Oberpullendorf Bezirk, 13 (of 36) gemeinden were larger than the county seat. It must be noted too that the total of 951 represented a growth based on 60 years as the county seat. In 1869, the village had had 685, in 1830 only 370 inhabitants.⁶⁸ It had been chosen as the county seat in 1860.

The reasons for the selection of this village cannot be deduced from its present central position with respect to transport

⁶⁶Early every Monday morning approximately 90 people leave for Vienna. (The total population in 1951 was 1,276.)

⁶⁷Population (1951): 46,470; area: 271 square miles.

⁶⁸Burgenland Atlas, p. 36.

routes, since the railroad was not constructed until 1912, and the road pattern is even more recent.

In 1860, as now, the Stoob valley would have appeared to be the best area for the location of the county seat. This valley bisects the bezirk and contains a string of settlements. It did not, in 1860, carry the principal road; that ran from Sopron through Gross-warasdorf to Köszeg (see Map 25, page 127). Gross-warasdorf would therefore have been a logical choice. It was almost as centrally located as any *gemeinde* in the Stoob valley, and would have been offset towards the more densely populated half of the county. It was also on the main artery of the time (the descendant of the "Amber Road") and it was much larger than any *gemeinde* to its west. Within the Stoob valley, itself, Markt. St. Martin, Neutal, Stoob, and Lutzmannsburg were all larger than Oberpullendorf in 1923, and probably much larger in 1860.

The deciding factor seems to have been that Oberpullendorf is Magyar. With neighboring Mitterpullendorf it forms one of the two Magyar enclaves in Burgenland. In 1860, even more than in 1921, this contrast between the Magyar group and the German and Croatian surrounding areas would have been notable. Oberpullendorf was also the site of the palace of the only nobleman in the middle part of the Stoob valley. He was reportedly much interested in obtaining the seat of government for his village.

The three seemingly separated factors of central location, Magyars, and the palace of a member of the lesser nobility actually were integrally united. The Magyars were descendants of a group which, under its own nobleman, in early medieval times, was settled strategically near the border, in order to serve as loyal guardians of the frontier. When the county was organized in 1860, the local center of government was located among the Magyars of Oberpullendorf, who were still in the same strategic position and situation they had been in during the 12th century.

When middle Burgenland was transferred to Austria, Oberpullendorf was the only county seat within it, the only *gemeinde* possessing the records and facilities for county government. Automatically this village of fewer than 1,000 inhabitants became the county seat for all of middle Burgenland, and Oberpullendorf County was increased to twice its previous area. The additions of territory from Sopron and Köszeg were on the north and the south almost equal in area, and hence the central location of the small county seat was greatly enhanced.

In recent years Oberpullendorf has grown because of the concentration of governmental offices within it. No other gemeente in the county can compete with its central position. The three Highway Districts in the county are not centered in three different gemeinden, rather all three are centered in the county seat: Oberpullendorf East, South, West. The location of the village is so precisely central that when the Nazis reorganized Austria, portions of adjacent Lower Austria, including the important market center of Kirchschlag, and the larger Wiesmath⁸⁶ were added to a still further enlarged Oberpullendorf Kreis. By 1951 the village's population had risen to 1,377, making it the fifth largest gemeente in the county.

Still, because of the size of the county there is a tendency for some of the functions to be distributed. There are weights-and-measure⁸ offices (Eichämter) in Deutschkreutz and Oberpullendorf, tax offices in Deutschkreutz and Oberpullendorf, a major frontier guard station at Deutschkreutz, vocational schools in Oberpullendorf, Stoob, and Lockenhaus, Hauptschulen in Oberpullendorf, Stoob, Deutschkreutz, Lackenbach, Lockenhaus, and Steinberg (private). Because of its size, Deutschkreutz serves as a secondary center despite its poor location.

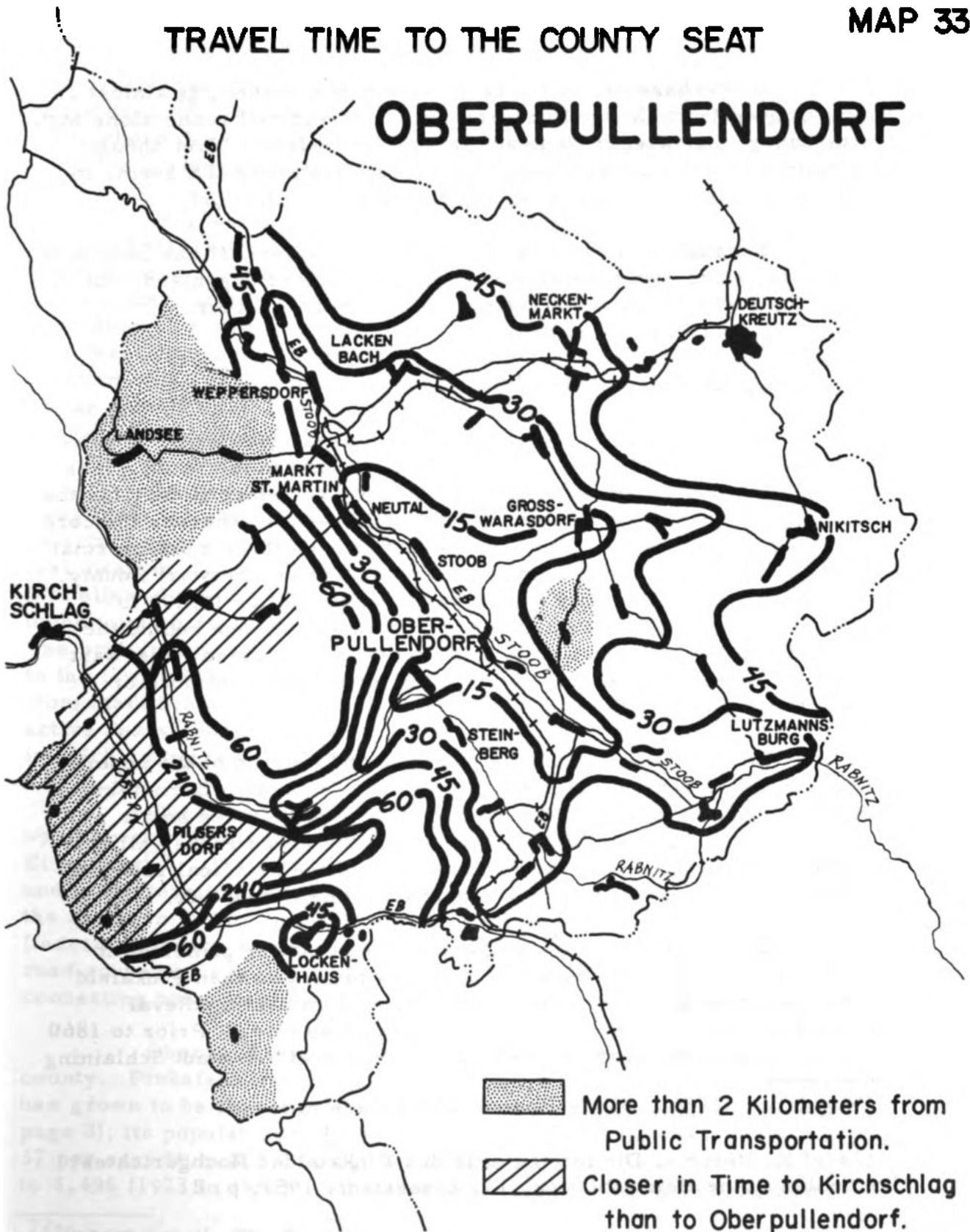
Map 33 (page 215) depicts the travel time to the county seat. The travel-time patterns are far more complex than those for the northern counties. Eight gemeinden, in the western and southern uplands, have no public transportation. A relatively simple pattern characterizes the eastern half of the county; this is based on the principal axis of transportation, the Stoob valley.

West of the Stoob valley there is a marked deterioration in public transportation service. With the exception of Lockenhaus, which enjoys express-bus service along the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse,⁶⁹ most of the western gemeinden are more than an hour from the county seat. Most remarkable of all is the Zöbern valley, which has not yet been effectively tied by public transportation to the bezirk center. Excluding walking or the use of private means of transportation, every village in this valley is more than four hours from the county seat. The only close connections enjoyed by the inhabitants of this valley are with Kirchschlag, Lower Austria, or with Lockenhaus. A shopkeeper in Kirchschlag stated that the village's principal hinterland was adjacent Burgenland; were it not for the villages of southwestern Oberpullendorf County, the shops in Kirchschlag would be forced to cease operations.

⁶⁹ The Eisenstadt Federal Highway; the north-south highway of Burgenland.



TRAVEL TIME TO THE COUNTY SEAT

OBERPULLENDORF



0 MILES 5

SOURCE: KURSBUCH, WINTER 1956/57

-  More than 2 Kilometers from Public Transportation.
-  Closer in Time to Kirchschlag than to Oberpullendorf.

— ROAD (EB-EISENSTÄDTER BUNDESSTRASSE)

+ + + RAILROAD

Travel Time is in Minutes

Deutschkreutz, in the far northeastern corner, is almost an hour removed from Oberpullendorf, but has direct rail connections with Mattersburg, and Wiener Neustadt and Vienna beyond. Even though this railroad leads across foreign territory, Deutschkreutz seems to be more closely tied to Mattersburg than to Oberpullendorf.

Because of its central location, Oberpullendorf has been able to monopolize the governmental functions of middle Burgenland, but it has not been able to draw the entire county firmly together.

e. Oberwart County⁷⁰

This, the second largest county in area since 1945, is politically and economically the most important county in the south. It is probably the most important county in the province since it contains the entire upper Pinka valley, the core area of the south, whereas the core area of the north is split between two counties. Of the six commercial centers of the south, the four most important are in Oberwart County. Oberwart city is second only to Eisenstadt in population (4,496 to 5,464) and in political and economic importance. Though behind the capital in number of buses and in total passengers carried, Oberwart challenges Eisenstadt for the status of the most important node of transportation in the province.

The county consists of the long broad lowland of the upper Pinka and the uplands to the north and south. The entire Bernstein Hill-land is in this county. Oberwart County also includes small portions of the Lafnitz valley to the west and the lower Pinka valley to the east. The upper Pinka valley contains both the principal railroad and road connections of the south with Vienna and Eisenstadt.

Oberwart city was not always the dominating gemeinde it now is. In the mid-19th century it was less important than Pinkafeld or Stadt Schlaining⁷¹. Pinkafeld had been a prominent medieval trading and crafts center and, for a time, a "free city." Prior to 1860 it was the equivalent of the present-day county seat.⁷¹ Stadt Schlaining

⁷⁰Population (1951): 52,691; area: 283 square miles.

⁷¹Josef K. Homma, Die letzten Akte des Pinkafelder Hochgerichtes. Burgenländische Heimatblätter, 13, Eisenstadt, 1951, p. 2.

was in medieval times and until 1888 the principal commercial center of the area.⁷² The city developed behind the old castle that marked the point where the road around the west end of the Kőszeg Range climbed from the lowlands onto the upland surface.

In 1860, the county seat was established in Oberwart gemeinde, or, in effect, moved there from Pinkafeld. The reasons for this move seem to have been the same as for the previously mentioned placing of the county seat in Oberpullendorf. Oberwart, along with two neighboring villages, represented the larger of the two Magyar enclaves in German West-Hungary. These Magyars had been settled in this strategic location in the 12th century to act as loyal defenders of the frontier, as the name "Wart" (watchtower) and the adjacent village name "Schützen" (defense) imply.

As was also true of Oberpullendorf, Oberwart was located away from the ancient routeway, and possessed, at the time of its selection as county seat, a potential rather than an actual ideally central location. In both cases it was the construction of the railroad that allowed this potential to be realized. The railroad from Szombathely was built up the Pinka valley through Oberwart in 1888.⁷³ The principal trade route was shifted from the base of the Kőszeg Range to the lowland trench, and, as a consequence, the trading center moved from Stadt Schlaining to Oberwart. Within a few years the previously active Jewish community of Stadt Schlaining had left the old city entirely. Schlaining is now a relic of little economic importance.

Oberwart city is located in the lowland, approximately halfway between the Styrian border and the end of the broad valley at the Eisenberg^{C9}. The city has good railroad and bus connections to Vienna, and is the terminus of an express-bus run to Graz. Oberwart marks the southern end of the long branch of the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse (federal highway) across the Bernstein Hill-land, and has excellent road connections with the upper Strem valley; it serves as the railroad connecting point to Vienna for the western third of Güssing Bezirk.

Oberwart city does not, however, completely dominate its county. Pinkafeld and Gross-petersdorf are active rivals. Pinkafeld has grown to be the largest industrial center in Burgenland (see Map 2, page 8); its population is increasing more rapidly than that of Oberwart, 37 per cent from 2,573 to 3,519, compared with 17 per cent from 3,846 to 4,496 (1923 to 1951). Pinkafeld has a large hinterland area to the

⁷²Hubert Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländische Landwirtschaft. p. 61.

⁷³Fritz Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 40.

northeast, though most of the Bernstein Hill-land is tributary to Oberwart. Though there is much local talk of the rivalry between the two large gemeinden, their functions are clearly different, and they do not compete nearly as much as their citizens think they do.

Gross-petersdorf is, with 1,928 inhabitants, much smaller than Oberwart. However, with the construction of the roads southeast over and around the Eisenberg, it has obtained a hinterland of its own, and has replaced Rechnitz as the most important commercial center of the eastern third of the county. This extension of its hinterland was followed up, as previously mentioned, by an extension of the territory of the county southeastward into the former area of Güssing County. The southeastern boundary of Oberwart County coincides exactly with the limits of the trade area of Gross-petersdorf. The gemeinden in the northern portion of the lower Pinka valley focus on Gross-petersdorf, but not on Oberwart beyond. If their inhabitants wish a far greater variety than Gross-petersdorf has to offer, they generally move right on to Vienna. Still, the animal market in Gross-petersdorf has ceased operating because of the competition of the superior Oberwart market, and the truckers.

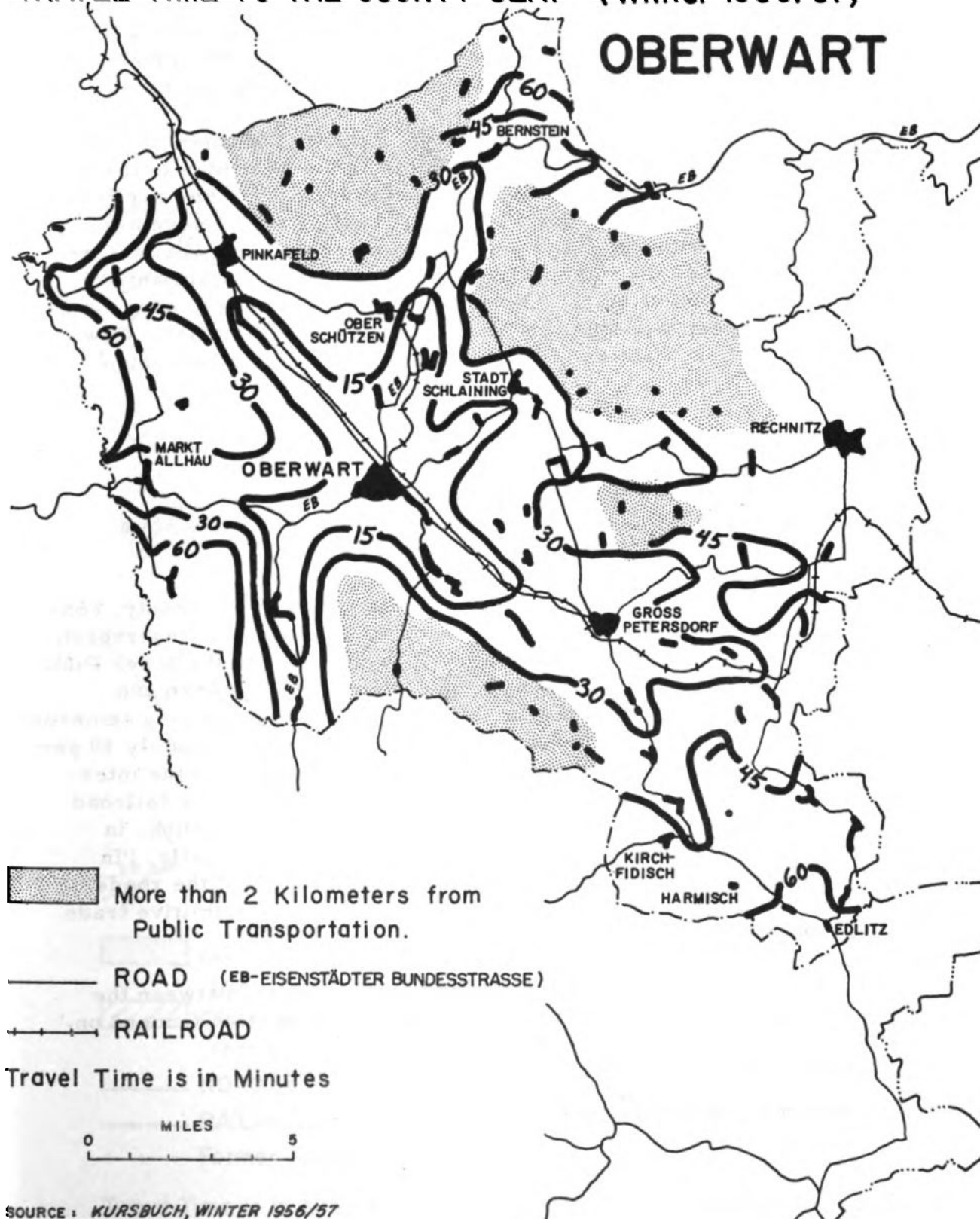
There is yet another large gemeente in the county, Rechnitz. In 1923, Rechnitz, with 3,772 inhabitants, was second only to Oberwart in Burgenland. Because of its awkward location adjacent to the international boundary, Rechnitz has lost most of its former importance. It is not a competitor of Oberwart. It is the only gemeente with a population of over 3,000 that has lost appreciably (10 per cent) since 1923.

Because of the size of the county and the number of important gemeinden within it, certain governmental services are distributed. Though the Finance Office for south Burgenland is in Oberwart city, a branch tax office is in Gross-petersdorf. The one teachers' training "gymnasium" in the south is in Oberschützen^{B8}. Vocational schools are in Oberwart (two) and Pinkafeld. The Hauptschulen are in Oberwart, Pinkafeld, Gross-petersdorf, and Rechnitz. The only hospital is in Oberwart, but there is a Catholic home for the aged in Pinkafeld. Rechnitz enjoys a special function as a headquarters for the border guards. Three Highway Districts are centered in the county, two in Oberwart city and one in Gross-petersdorf.

Map 34 (page 219) depicts the travel time of all the gemeinden of the county to the county seat. Along the northern boundary and the eastern half of the southern boundary the travel-time divide between

TRAVEL TIME TO THE COUNTY SEAT (Winter 1956/57)

OBERWART



Oberwart city and Oberpullendorf or Güssing coincides exactly with the county boundary. Large areas within the bezirk have no public transportation, however. Thirty-one gemeinden in the upland areas are thus isolated. The map clearly reveals these areas and the principal axis of transportation running northwest-southeast along the Pinka.

As in the case of Oberpullendorf Bezirk, the travel times to the county seat increase far more rapidly to the west than to the east. Three of the gemeinden along the Lafnitz are over an hour from Oberwart city. Fortunately for Oberwart, there is no large center nearby in Styria, although Hartberg^{A8} does compete somewhat. This competition produces the interesting phenomenon of the inhabitants of the western portions of Markt Allhau^{B8} going to Hartberg to shop, and those of the eastern portions, on the ridge, going to Oberwart. However, of the larger counties, Oberwart appears to be the best integrated.

f. Güssing County⁷⁴

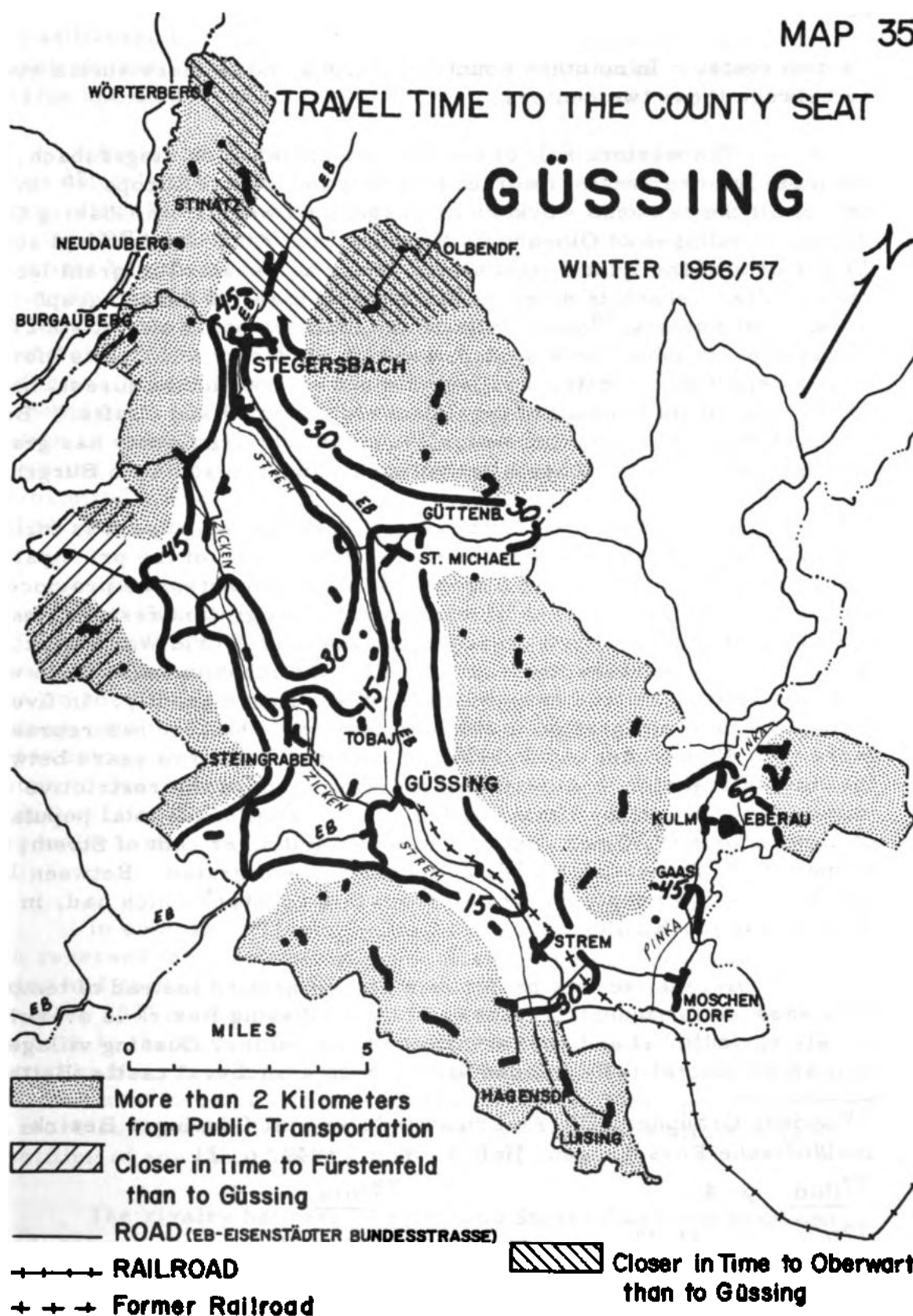
The most isolated county is Güssing. It alone has not a single mile of railroad trackage.

The Strem valley forms the principal axis of the county, containing the two principal commercial centers, Güssing and Stegersbach. The Zicken Bach, a southern tributary of the Strem, and the lower Pinka valley form two other belts of dense population. The northern and southern border areas consist of forested uplands encompassing numerous isolated villages. As Map 35 (page 221) indicates, approximately 40 per cent of the county is not served by public transportation. In the inter-war period there was much agitation for the construction of a railroad (see Map 26, page 155). When a bridge collapsed under a truck, in Ollersdorf^{B9}, the Güssing newspaper commented sarcastically, "In such a county where there is not yet any railroad, at least the roads should be kept in better condition, so that some kind of primitive trade might be possible."⁷⁵

Güssing is distinctive for the marked contrast between the eastern and western halves of the county, with each portion focused on

⁷⁴Population (1951): 31,312; area: 187 square miles.

⁷⁵Güssinger Zeitung. November 2, 1924.



its own center. In no other county of Burgenland is there such a rivalry as between these two centers.

The western half of the county, centered on Stegersbach, is the most intense area of migrant laborers in Central Europe.⁷⁶ In 1935, half of all the seasonal workers of Burgenland were from Güssing County. The three villages of Olbendorf, Neuberg, and Güttenbach^{B9} had some 25 per cent of their total populations acting as seasonal migrant laborers.⁷⁷ Stegersbach is noted as the home of many of the telegraph workers of Austria,⁷⁸ and, without any industry of its own, lists 27 per cent of its inhabitants as dependent on "Industry and Crafts" for their livelihood. Stinatz, a village almost surrounded by forest, has 44 per cent of its population dependent on "Industry and Crafts." Because of this industrial connection, western Güssing County has gradually become a center of Socialist voting strength in southern Burgenland.

The eastern half of the county, perhaps because it is further removed from the Austrian labor markets, was one of the principal local areas of emigration in Europe. It still dominates the province in this regard though, because of world-wide immigration restrictions, the numbers have dropped greatly since the post-World War I peak. Whereas in the western half of the county, the inhabitants leave to work and then return, in the eastern half they leave permanently. In five gemeinden the total emigration in the half century 1900-1950 has represented more than 40 per cent of the 1939 population. In the two years between the time of transfer to Austria and the enactment of the restrictive immigration law in the United States, 16 per cent of the total population of Tüdersdorf^{B10}, 9 per cent of Gaas^{C10}, and 8 per cent of Strem, Reinersdorf, Sumetendorf^{C10}, and Tobaj^{B10} emigrated. Between 1900 and 1938, 5,500 people emigrated from this county⁷⁹ which had, in 1934, only 34,000 inhabitants.

Because of this preference for emigration instead of temporary absence for industrial labor, eastern Güssing Bezirk is overwhelmingly agricultural and conservative.⁸⁰ Its center, Güssing village, is still an aristocratically minded village with a medieval castle (Batthyány)

⁷⁶Ludwig Graupner, *Die Amerikawanderung im Güssinger Bezirk*. Burgenländische Forschungen, Heft 3, Wien, 1949, p. 21.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 11-22.

⁸⁰In Burgenland, the industrial workers generally vote Socialist, whereas the agricultural peasants usually vote for the Conservative Party.

and a still-used baroque palace (Draskovitsch), and with a deep pride in its past glories. Stegersbach, on the contrary, thinks of itself as progressive and democratic.

A visitor to these rival towns gets the impression that Stegersbach is not only the more progressive but also the larger of the two. Certain officials in Eisenstadt have concurred with this impression, volunteering the opinion that if the choice were to be made today, Stegersbach might be selected as the county seat. It is surprising to note that Güssing is clearly the larger of the two (2,760 to 2,358). One might form the idea that Stegersbach is a bustling place that will soon overtake the older center, but the figures show just the reverse: since 1923, Güssing has gained 8 per cent, while Stegersbach has lost 9 per cent in total population. In 1923, Stegersbach was the larger of the two. This situation is somewhat paradoxical, since at the time of the transfer to Austria the expectations were clearly that Stegersbach would profit by its proximity to Old-Austria, whereas Güssing would suffer since its rail line was being cut by the new boundary.

The new situation, however, gained nothing for Stegersbach, but presented Güssing with a captive hinterland. Stegersbach found itself facing the established Styrian center of Fürstenfeld^{AB10}, the largest and most important industrial and commercial center in East Styria or south Burgenland. With the improvement of road connections, bus lines, and the advent of the automobile, Fürstenfeld has become an overpowering competitor. Had Stegersbach been able to obtain rail connections to Old-Austria it might have attracted industry and local trade, though that is doubtful; however, in the present situation, the gemeente is gradually losing its hinterland to the larger, better-located Fürstenfeld.

In contrast, Güssing gained by the delineation of the boundary which reversed the function and trade area of the village. Before 1921, Güssing had served as a railhead, with its trade area primarily to the west; after 1921 it became a node of bus lines (a "bus-head"), with its trade area to the east. The lower Pinka valley, which had formerly been centered on the much larger commercial centers Szombathely and Körmend, was now forced to turn westward, towards Güssing. Güssing, and even more so its trade hinterland, is too far east to be affected by the competition of any other center.

The rivalry between Güssing and Stegersbach has been continually active. In April 1923, when Stegersbach was attempting to obtain a courthouse, a delegation from Güssing made the long, inconvenient

trip to Vienna to combat the move. As soon as a Güssing-Stegersbach-Oberwart railroad was suggested, the leaders of a Güssing group attempted to force through a Güssing-Fürstenfeld line instead; this would have avoided giving Stegersbach rail connections.⁸¹ In 1924, a Stegersbach delegation presented the visiting Provincial Premier, Rauhofer, with requests for the Strem valley rail line and a courthouse, even though Güssing, as county seat, already had a courthouse.⁸²

When a group in St. Michael^{B9} attempted to plan a rail line to connect the county with the established system, it was forced to plan a fantastic system of three interconnected lines, in order to satisfy the partisans of both competing centers.⁸³ In 1931, when the construction of a Güssing to Mogensdorf rail line was about to be introduced in the federal parliament, the Burgenland delegate from Stegersbach, Johann Wagner, labeled the proposal only a partial solution and called for a Stegersbach to Neudau (a Styrian railhead) link also.⁸⁴

At present there are two Highway Districts and two branch offices in the county, one of each in both Güssing and Stegersbach. The four vocational schools are divided among Güssing (two), Stegersbach, and Eberau; the three Hauptschulen are in Güssing, Stegersbach, and Eberau. The labor office is in Stegersbach, with a branch office in Güssing. Each of the two centers has two dentists, one notary,⁸⁵ and one delegate to the provincial parliament. Nevertheless, Güssing is the county seat and, as such, is the locale for several governmental offices unshared by Stegersbach. The only hospital is in Güssing, which also contains the southern office and repair shop of the national bus-lines. At present there is some peace between the two rivals, since each has a political plum: Güssing has the county supervisor (Bezirkshauptmann), but Stegersbach is the home of the Provincial Premier (Landeshauptmann).

As Map 35 (page 221) indicates, this county is poorly integrated. Relatively large areas have no public transportation, and the western portions are more closely tied to outside centers than to the

⁸¹Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. April 22, 1923.

⁸²Ibid., July 6, 1924.

⁸³Ibid., April 25, 1926.

⁸⁴Güssinger Zeitung. April 5, 1931.

⁸⁵In every other county all the notaries are concentrated in the county seat.

county seat. The travel-time divide between Oberwart and Güssing extends southward to the vicinity of Stegersbach. Since Oberwart is not only larger than Güssing village, but also on the direct route to Vienna, the people of Stegersbach turn more towards the north than towards the east.

The western edges of the county are Styria-oriented. Two gemeinden are closer in travel time to Fürstenfeld than to the county seat, and many more turn west because of the superior attractions of the Styrian city. The gemeinden on the ridge overlooking the Lafnitz valley have no bus service to Güssing and are so closely tied to the adjacent Styrian villages that they share their names, i.e., Wörth-Wörterberg, Burgau-Burgauberg, Neudau-Neudauberg. Furthermore, these villages are included in the Styrian parishes, and hence are outside the Diocese of Burgenland.

The lower Pinka valley is somewhat isolated from the rest of the county. The village of Eberau^{C10}, which boasts of the only doctor, apothecary, and cinema in the Güssing half of the valley, serves as a diminutive local center for this valley. Along with the adjoining village of Kulm, Eberau has 745 inhabitants,⁸⁶ the largest total in the lower valley, and is the educational center for the Pinka lowland. This valley, badly cut by the international boundary, is poorly connected to the county seat; however, the valley is strongly bound to it, since the gemeinden in the valley have no other center towards which they can turn.

Güssing has poorly integrated its county. Since it is the only county seat that is not on a railroad, it is at a disadvantage. Besides facing competition from more advanced exterior centers such as Fürstenfeld and Oberwart, Güssing must also compete with an active rival within its own bezirk. Yet it is the best possible location for the county seat. Stegersbach is too far west, and the in-between St. Michael is far too small (787 inhabitants). Despite the many shortcomings of the present situation, no better solution seems to be possible.

g. Jennersdorf County⁸⁷

Despite the fact that it is the second smallest county, only six square miles larger than Mattersburg County, Jennersdorf is the

⁸⁶Eberau and Kulm are so closely connected that they form one settlement. In 1951, Eberau had 481 inhabitants; Kulm had 264.

⁸⁷Population (1951): 20,530; area: 98 square miles.

most poorly united and the weakest of the counties of Burgenland. It is the only county without a commercial center, and even without a location at which a successful county seat might be situated. It is the furthest removed from Eisenstadt, and the only *bezirk* that seems to be closely tied to Styria. Strangely enough, although it is the only county bordering on Yugoslavia, it is the most German county, with only seven Croats listed in 1951.

This county consists of two halves, the Lafnitz valley and the Raab valley, which had formed the two western arms of the Szent Gotthárd County prior to 1921. Jennersdorf County represents the stump minus the heart of what had once been a well-integrated political unit. The ideal location for the county seat was at the junction of the two valleys, Szent Gotthárd village. With the delineation of the international boundary, this one ideal site was cut away and, as was mentioned in the discussion of the boundary, a small exchange of territory cut the last remaining road link between the two valleys. For several years the two halves were separated from each other except by trail or a long detour westward through Styria. When the new road was completed it ran, and still runs, precisely on the boundary for several kilometers.

Of the seven counties of Burgenland, Jennersdorf is the only one that had to be created; no center within its area had ever served as a governmental center. The six other county seats had already served their political function within Hungary, and therefore possessed the experience and at least a few of the necessary facilities for government.

The first matter to be decided was the selection of the county seat. Perhaps the most feasible solution would have been to locate it as close as possible to the ideal location, that is, in Heiligenkreuz, Deutsch Minihof, or Mogersdorf. In 1921 there was as yet no connection between the two valleys but, more important, there was then and for many years thereafter a deep fear of the return of the Hungarians. A governmental center in Heiligenkreuz or Mogersdorf would have been within rifle shot of the border.

Jennersdorf was chosen for three reasons. First, it was in the Raab valley, at the head of the Doiber lowland leading southward to the furthest tip of the county and the province. It was the isolation of this southern half of the segment that had necessitated the creation of a new county. The Lafnitz valley could easily reach Glüssing, but

the Raab and Doiber valleys could not; it was advisable, then, that the new county seat be located in the Raab valley. Second, Jennersdorf was on the only railroad in the county. This was of vital importance in 1921. Lastly, it was the largest village in the county, with 1,916 inhabitants.

No county faced such difficulties as Jennersdorf. There were absolutely no facilities for government offices, or dwellings for the bureaucracy. For at least five years the county offices were housed outside the village center on a site that was frequently flooded. In May 1926, County Supervisor Podlatschetzky told a meeting in Jennersdorf that the office buildings could be constructed only if the gemeinden of the county met 25 per cent of the 6,750 million schilling cost. The villages replied that they were ready to contribute land, sand, and gravel; they could give materials but not money. The assistant mayor (Vizebürgermeister) of Jennersdorf demanded that the county should not be treated as a stepchild of the province; "otherwise we will be forced to join the movement which is working for the union of Jennersdorf county with Styria to which we belong economically and culturally." This statement was greeted with stormy applause ("Stürmische Beifall").⁸⁸

Five years later the same cry was heard. "Jennersdorf County will not be the stepchild among the Burgenland counties, and does not expect to be treated as such by the Provincial Premier."⁸⁹

A county seat developed slowly but never attained an importance equal to that of the other six county seats. Whenever it was possible to do so, Jennersdorf was brought within the jurisdiction of Güssing, in order to avoid the construction of new facilities. Even the Nazis followed this trend in their short-lived Burgenland government; six County Supervisors of Organizations were appointed for the seven counties, Jennersdorf being included with Güssing.⁹⁰ After ten years of existence, the county still could not feel secure; in February 1932, a special meeting was held in Jennersdorf village to protest against rumors that the provincial government was planning to dissolve the county as an economy measure.⁹¹

As Map 36 (page 228) indicates, the connections of the gemeinden to the county seat are very poor. The situation is actually worse than depicted, since the three gemeinden in the northern extension are not only over 90 minutes from Jennersdorf village, but also

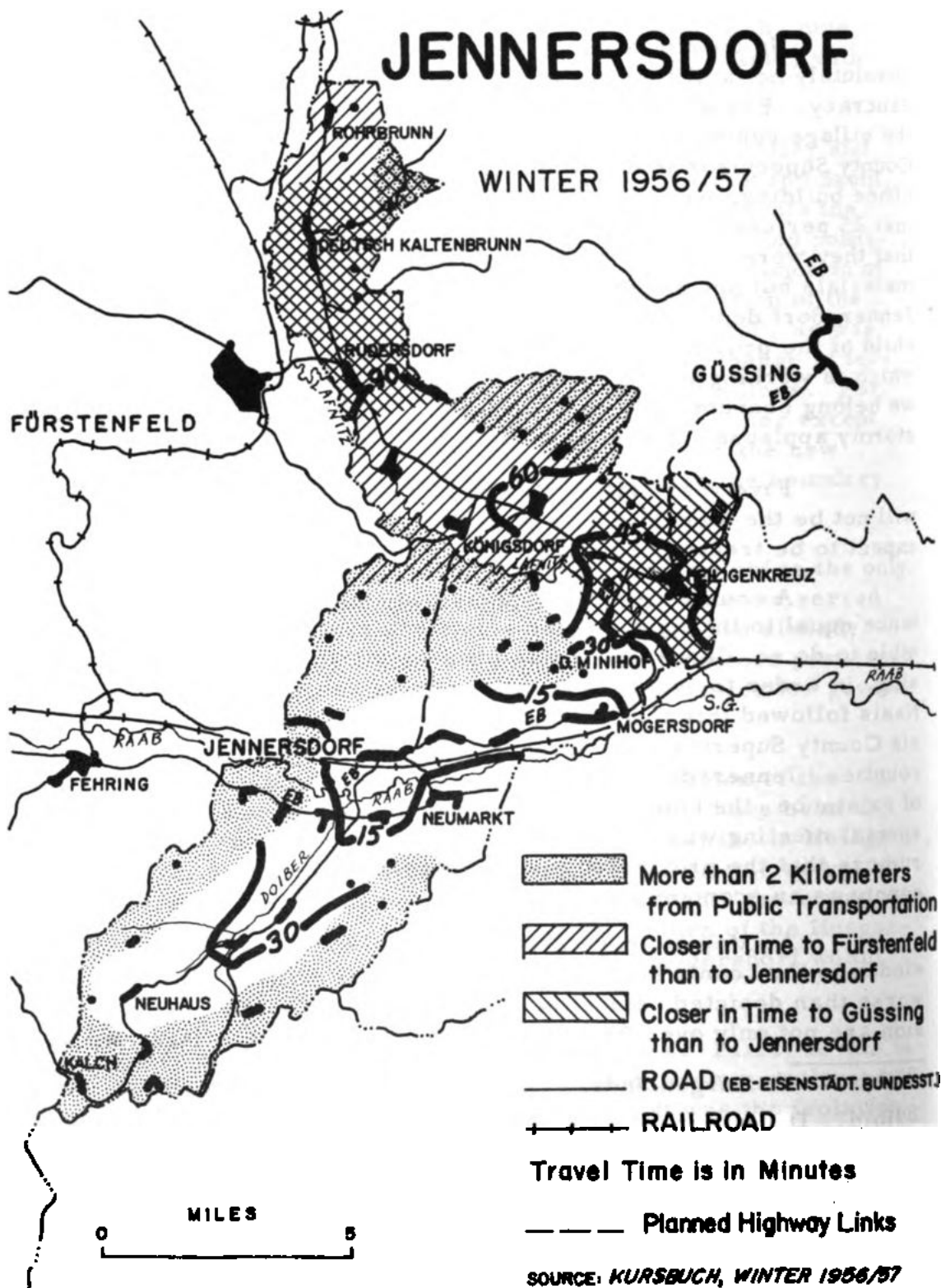
⁸⁸Der Freie Burgenländer. Eisenstadt, May 28, 1926.

⁸⁹Ibid., December 6, 1931.

⁹⁰Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. April 3, 1938.

⁹¹Der Freie Burgenländer. February 28, 1932.

TRAVEL TIME TO THE COUNTY SEAT



have only one bus run per day to the county seat, and that leaves before 6 A.M.

Every village in the northern half of the county is closer in travel time to Fürstenfeld than to Jennersdorf. Several of the gemeinden are closer to Güssing than to Jennersdorf. These two exterior centers are both larger and more attractive than the county seat, and enjoy more frequent bus service. Heiligenkreuz, which is virtually in the transportation center of the bezirk, is 33 minutes from Fürstenfeld (seven buses per day), 27 minutes from Güssing (five buses), and 45 minutes from Jennersdorf (four buses). Farther northwest this disadvantage of the county seat becomes even more marked. Deutsch Kaltenbrunn is 20 minutes from Fürstenfeld, 60 minutes from Güssing, and 99 minutes from Jennersdorf.

The southern half of the county is more effectively tied to the county seat, but even these connections are not as secure as a map would imply. Whenever possible, the inhabitants of the southernmost tip of the county go to Fehring or Feldbach, the larger Styrian commercial and transportation centers nearby.

Jennersdorf village is the only county seat within Burgenland that has declined in population since 1921. (Oberpullendorf--plus 44 per cent, Neusiedl am/See--plus 31 per cent, Oberwart--plus 17 per cent, Eisenstadt--plus 15 per cent, Güssing--plus 8 per cent, Mattersburg--plus 5 per cent, Jennersdorf--minus 7 per cent.)

The lack of adequate road connections between the two valleys has long been recognized as the fundamental cause of the county's lack of unity. A road across the interfluvial upland between Jennersdorf and Königsdorf was planned in 1922. Demands for the road were frequent. In December 1931, a delegation approached Provincial Premier Walheim to ask, again, for the necessary link. "The entire Lafnitz valley now gravitates towards Fürstenfeld Bezirk Jennersdorf would thus be united economically into a unity, and the county seat, Jennersdorf, would be not only as now, on paper, but actually the lebensfähig [viable] center of a lebensfähig county."⁹² This road does not yet exist nor is it under construction. Of all the planned portions of the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse (the north-south highway) this essential link is the last to be built. However, it is expected to be constructed within two or three years.

⁹²Der Freie Burgenländer. December 6, 1931.

What government offices there are in the county are all located in the county seat. With the exception of a border guard post in Heiligenkreuz and a vocational school in Rudersdorf, everything is concentrated in the county seat. Despite the fractured nature of the county, Jennersdorf village has no internal competitor.

Jennersdorf County is a prototype of Burgenland. Most of the difficulties that beset the province are present, on a smaller scale, in this county. With the completion of the Eisenstädter Bundesstrasse both county and province will finally be united.

3. County Combinations and Inter-County Boundaries

Though most of the functions mentioned in footnote 52 (page 199) are distributed among the seven counties, some governmental agencies do not require local offices in every county. Hence some counties are grouped together and these groupings are informative with regard to broader regional organization, the relative importance of the seven county seats, and the relative strength of the six inter-county boundaries.

If there is to be but one office in the province it is, of course, located in Eisenstadt. The provincial capital contains the headquarters of every governmental agency in the province. This fact illustrates the Austrian federal system; Vienna always works through Eisenstadt, even if the particular function, e.g., gendarmerie, is within the jurisdiction of the federal government.

If there are to be two offices in the province, they are located in Eisenstadt for the northern four counties, and Oberwart for the southern three counties. In this simplest subdivision of the province, the line between the north and south is not drawn at the waist of Burgenland, but between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf counties. The offices of Finance, Forest Inspection, Weights and Measures, and Gendarmerie Recruitment are thus divided.

In a three-fold division of Burgenland, the northern four counties are split into two pairs. For the Gendarmerie the divisional headquarters are in Eisenstadt for Neusiedl and Eisenstadt, in Mattersburg for Mattersburg and Oberpullendorf, and in Oberwart for the southern three counties.

A division of the province into four portions produces a detachment of the two southernmost counties from Oberwart. For both the Labor Courts and the Election Districts, Eisenstadt-Neusiedl, Mattersburg-Oberpullendorf, and Güssing-Jennersdorf are coupled, and Oberwart stands alone.

A five-fold division of Burgenland is the result of the attachment of the two smallest counties to their northern neighbors. In the distribution of hospitals, peasant-volcational schools (Bauernschule), and Survey offices, Mattersburg is joined to Eisenstadt, and Jennersdorf to Güssing.

In a six-fold division of the province Jennersdorf is joined to Güssing. This occurs in the Labor Office (Arbeitsamt), and in the branches of the Österreichischer Wirtschaftsbund (a government-sponsored chamber of commerce).

This analysis indicates that the strongest governmental centers are Eisenstadt and Oberwart. Güssing is third, though far less important. Of the county seats the weakest is Jennersdorf; surprisingly, the second weakest is Neusiedl am/See.

The strongest internal boundary in Burgenland is the line between Oberpullendorf and Oberwart counties, the line between middle and south Burgenland. Except for those agencies that require but one office for the entire province, not one jurisdictional area crosses this line. Oberwart and Oberpullendorf are never joined under the same office. Yet this boundary is the only one that was drawn completely new in 1921; it did not exist within Hungary. (See Map 30, page 201.)

The strength of this boundary can best be accounted for by assuming it to be the displaced counterpart of the line that had separated administrative units (the Bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau, the Dioceses of Győr and Szombathely, the provinces of Sopron and Vasvár) from each other since its delineation in A.D. 811.⁹³ This is a valid assumption, since the Zöbern valley, which lies between the former and the present boundary, is, as was indicated previously, a kind of neutral area, separated from the remainder of Oberpullendorf County, and from Oberwart, and focused westward outside the province (see Map 33, page 215).

⁹³ Leeper, *Medieval Austria*. p. 108.

The second strongest boundary within Burgenland separates Oberwart and Güssing counties. This is surprising, since all the ties of Güssing County with Vienna and Eisenstadt pass through Oberwart County. The strength of this boundary is a result of the large size of Oberwart. It is the most populous of all the counties and, in consequence, stands alone more often than any other county.

The third strongest boundary is even more of a surprise since it cuts in two the Eisenstadt Basin, the northern core area. Mattersburg is more often united with Oberpullendorf than with Eisenstadt. The waist of Burgenland, with its ridge barrier, is usually considered to be the principal breaking-point of the province, but, in fact, Burgenland has never been divided in any manner along the Mattersburg-Oberpullendorf boundary. Even before the construction of the road across the Sieggraben saddle, Oberpullendorf and Mattersburg were more closely tied together than either was with its other neighbor. Even after its award to Hungary on January 1, 1922, Sopron continued to serve its old transportational function of uniting the two flanks of the Sopron Range.

The weakest of the internal boundaries of Burgenland is the line between Güssing and Jennersdorf. Except for those functions that exist in both counties the two are always joined, either by themselves or under Oberwart. This is a result of the weakness of Jennersdorf County.

Another weak boundary is the line between Eisenstadt and Neusiedl counties. The tendency of these two counties to unite is more a reflection of the overwhelming attraction of the provincial capital than of any weakness on the part of Neusiedl County.

C. Other Organizations of Area

1. Gemeinde Combinations

Within the county the basic political unit is the *gemeinde* (the Austrian equivalent of the New England township). A *gemeinde* usually consists of a village center with its surrounding lands. In rare instances a large village may also include a minor community within its *gemeinde* limits, e.g., Deutschkreutz^{D6} includes Girm, and Neutal^{C6} includes Schwabenhof. In the case of villages that seem to small to

comprise a gemeinde two will be combined, as Hammer and Teich^{C7} and the separated communities of Rauhriegel and Allersgraben^{B8, 94}

In the north the gemeinden are large in area and population, and generally each contains its own registrar's office (Standesamt), post office, and police station. Elsewhere the gemeinden are considerably smaller, and hence are usually grouped together for these three services.

The processes of organization of the province into units for registry, postal and police service were carried out independently of each other, and on the bases of different criteria. The registry offices were located on the basis of local situations within the province; situations outside of Burgenland were not taken into account. The postal system also aimed at economy and convenience; it was extended from Old-Austria into Burgenland and did not allow the local placement of post offices to be determined by the provincial boundaries. Seven gemeinden, all in the north, were attached to post offices in adjacent Lower Austria. The primary police stations were located in the county seats and at the principal frontier crossing points; the other stations were placed as well as possible in between. No attempt was made to coordinate the three systems.

Map 37 (page 234) indicates the patterns of the combinations of these three services. The solid black circles depict the gemeinden that contain all three offices, the open circles those that contain two of the three. The heavy black lines indicate that a gemeinde is attached to another for all three services, the light lines that a gemeinde is attached for two of the three services. The areas of the gemeinden that have their three offices in three different gemeinden are indicated in a stippled pattern.

Table 7 indicates the number of gemeinden in each county that contain 3 or 2 of the three service offices (registry, postal, and police), that are attached to one other gemeinde for 2 or all 3, and that have the 3 services scattered among three different gemeinden.

One hundred and fourteen of the 320 gemeinden have at least two of the three offices within themselves; 173 gemeinden are attached to one neighboring gemeinde for two or all three of the services; and 33 gemeinden have their three services in three different gemeinden. Of these 33, 17 must go outside the gemeinde limits, in three different directions, for all three services. (Sixteen of the 33 have one of the service offices.)

⁹⁴Despite this union, the total area of Rauhriegel-Allersgraben is less than one square mile.

BURGENLAND

MAP 37

GEMEINDE COMBINATIONS

Based on the Location of Registry, Post, and Police Offices

By Gemeinden (Minor Civil Divisions)

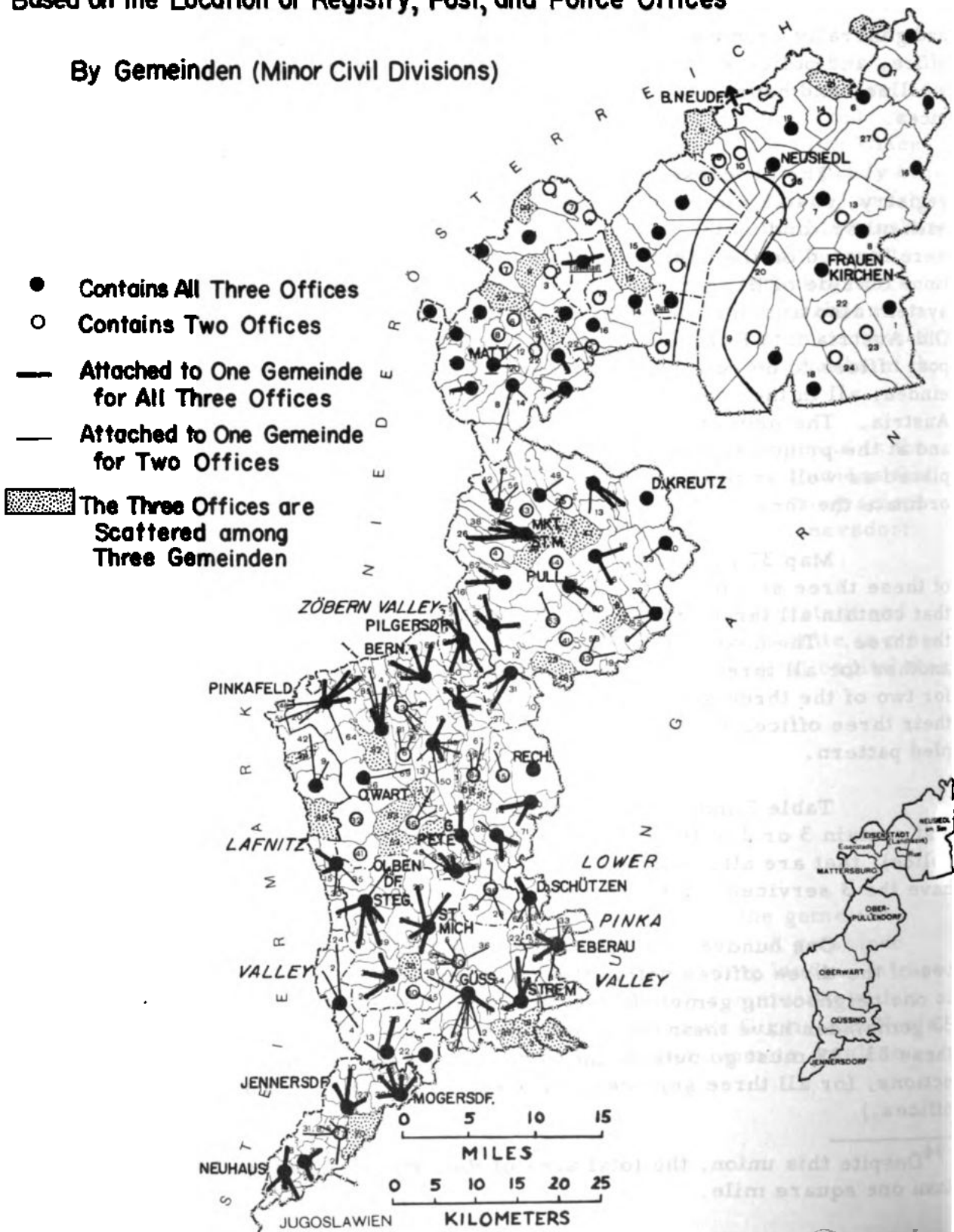


TABLE 7

County	Contains		Attached for		Scattered
	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	
Neusiedl	12	12	1	0	3
Eisenstadt	10	10	2	1	4
Mattersburg	9	3	3	5	2
Oberpullendorf	13	7	23	13	7
Oberwart	13	8	28	32	10
Güssing	7	2	20	21	6
Jennersdorf	7	1	15	9	1
Total	71	43	92	81	33

There is a noticeable trend from north to south in the agglomeration of gemeinden. In Neusiedl 86 per cent of the gemeinden contain at least two of the three offices; in Güssing only 16 per cent contain them. The variation from north to south is consistent: Neusiedl 86 per cent, Eisenstadt 74 per cent, Mattersburg 56 per cent, Oberpullendorf 32 per cent, Oberwart 23 per cent, Güssing 16 per cent, and Jennersdorf 24 per cent.

In Neusiedl County the "scattered" gemeinden are all peripheral, on the Lower Austrian border. In Eisenstadt and Mattersburg counties, they are in the center of the Eisenstadt Basin and represent the divide zone between the centers on the flanks of the lowland, notably Mattersburg and Eisenstadt cities. In Oberpullendorf County the "scattered" gemeinden are in three groups, each of which lies between competing centers. This is also true of Oberwart County, though two of the gemeinden are on the Styrian border. The five gemeinden in the southeastern corner of Güssing County form the largest grouping of the "scattered" villages and the only group on the international border. These five are also among the most isolated communes of Burgenland since they lack all public transportation. Only one gemeinde in Jennersdorf County has its three services in three different gemeinden.

The separation of the Zöbern valley^{BC7} from the rest of its county is again evident. There are only one registry office, one post office, and one police station in the valley and all three of these are in Pilgersdorf, which, by servicing seven gemeinden, is probably the most important center of local government in Burgenland.

The important county seats Oberpullendorf and Oberwart appear to be relatively unimportant in local government. Neither dominates within its immediate area. Pinkafeld acts as the center for nine gemeinden, the highest total in Burgenland, but must share four of these with other centers.

Probably the best example of the unco-ordinated nature of the three systems of small-scale areal organization is the forest clearing on the Oberwart-Güssing boundary which contains the villages of Oberdorf and Olberdorf. Though these two gemeinden form one settled area, and are separated from surrounding centers by poor roads and a ring of forest, they have no governmental office in common. Olberdorf is in Güssing County; it has its own post office and is connected to the registry office and police station at Stegersbach. Oberdorf, in Oberwart County, is attached to the registry office in Litzelsdorf (west), the post office in Rotenturm (northeast), and the police station in Unterwart (north). (Oberdorf is larger in population than either Rotenturm or Unterwart.) The post office in adjacent Olberdorf serves no other village but itself. Here the county boundary has been given preference over all other considerations.

2. Highway Districts (Strassenmeister Bereiche)⁹⁵

To facilitate the construction and maintenance of the road systems of the province the Burgenland Bauamt (Board of Public Works), in 1957, divided Burgenland into 14 Highway Districts. Though the number suggests two per county, the two smallest counties (Mattersburg and Jennersdorf) contain but one each, whereas two of the larger (but not the largest) counties (Oberpullendorf and Oberwart) contain three each. The extent of the roads under the jurisdiction of these offices is not limited by county boundaries. Since it is lengths of road and not areas that are organized, the extents of the Districts frequently overlap. Map 38 (page 237) shows the 14 centers, and the federal and provincial roads under the jurisdiction of each. (There are no county roads in Austria; the gemeinde roads are not maintained by the provincial government.)

The limits of the Highway Districts coincide with the county boundaries only between Eisenstadt and Neusiedl, where there is only one road concerned, and between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf, where three roads are concerned. The latter case is especially interesting, since the jurisdiction over the highways changes precisely on the county boundary even though, in all three cases, this is in the uplands. The road south from Lockenhaus to Rechnitz becomes the responsibility of Oberwart (II) at the boundary even though the Oberwart office is far removed from this road and the boundary is at the highest elevation on any road in the province. This case gives added evidence to the unusual strength of the Oberwart-Oberpullendorf county boundary. In every other case in Burgenland a highway crossing an upland is entirely within the responsibility of one District (Mattersburg-Oberpullendorf, Oberwart-Güssing, and Güssing-Jennersdorf crossings). For example, the highway across the Siegraben saddle is within the jurisdiction of Mattersburg as far as Weppersdorf, eight kilometers within Oberpullendorf County and in the lowland below the ridge.

⁹⁵The information for this map and table was obtained from Herr Peter Frass of the Burgenland Bauamt, Eisenstadt.

BURGENLAND

MAP 38

HIGHWAY DISTRICTS

(Strassenmeister Bereiche) 1957

- ① Frauenkirchen
- ② Neusiedl am/See
- ③ Eisenstadt Ost
- ④ Eisenstadt West
- ⑤ Mattersburg
- ⑥ Oberpullendorf Ost
- ⑦ Oberpullendorf West
- ⑧ Oberpullendorf Süd
- ⑨ Oberwart I
- ⑩ Oberwart II
- ⑪ Grosspetersdorf
- ⑫ Stegersbach
- ⑬ Güssing
- ⑭ Jennersdorf

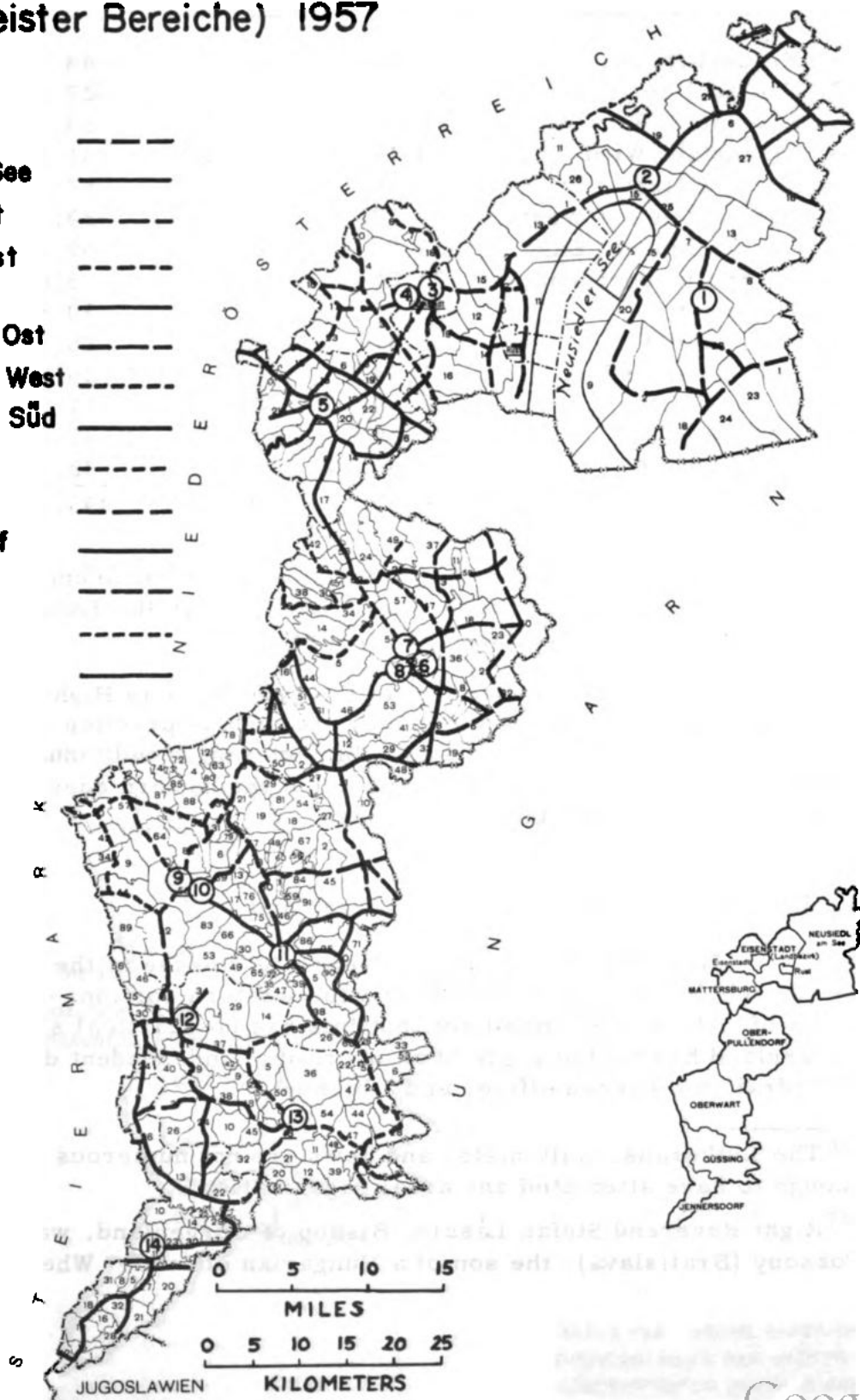


TABLE 8

Highway District	Kilometers			
	Federal Highways	Provincial Highways		Total
		1st Class	2nd Class	
1. Frauenkirchen	35.01	--	48.11	83.12
2. Neusiedl am/See	68.66	--	27.84	96.50
3. Eisenstadt East	28.26	4.68	54.36	87.30
4. Eisenstadt West	29.17	10.82	31.06	71.05
5. Mattersburg	52.06	--	57.68	109.74
6. Oberpullendorf West	13.17	6.38	39.99	59.54
7. Oberpullendorf East	28.70	--	60.44	89.14
8. Oberpullendorf South	73.26	--	3.64	76.90
9. Oberwart I	31.43	7.89	30.68	70.00
10. Oberwart II	25.37	22.39	28.24	76.00
11. Gross-petersdorf	31.04	--	25.98	57.02
12. Stegersbach	22.99	36.33	17.94	77.26
13. Glüssing	33.29	10.00	35.43	78.72
14. Jennersdorf	37.66	9.45	32.18	79.29
Total	510.05	107.94	493.57	1111.56

All of the Jennersdorf County is within the Jennersdorf Highway District, except for the northern extension up the Lafnitz valley which is under the jurisdiction of Stegersbach.

Though the subdivision of the province into Highway Districts was made independently of the county system, in practice it conforms fairly closely to the county areas. Jurisdiction of individual highways extends across the county boundaries, but the pattern does not show any notable variance from the county areas.

3. Ecclesiastical Subdivision of Burgenland

Burgenland is de facto a separate diocese of the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁶ De jure it still forms the western portions of the dioceses of Győr and Szombathely, but this has no practical significance. Burgenland has all the signs of an operating, independent diocese, a cathedral, a diocesan office, and a bishop.⁹⁷

⁹⁶The Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews are not numerous or widespread enough to have attempted any areal organization.

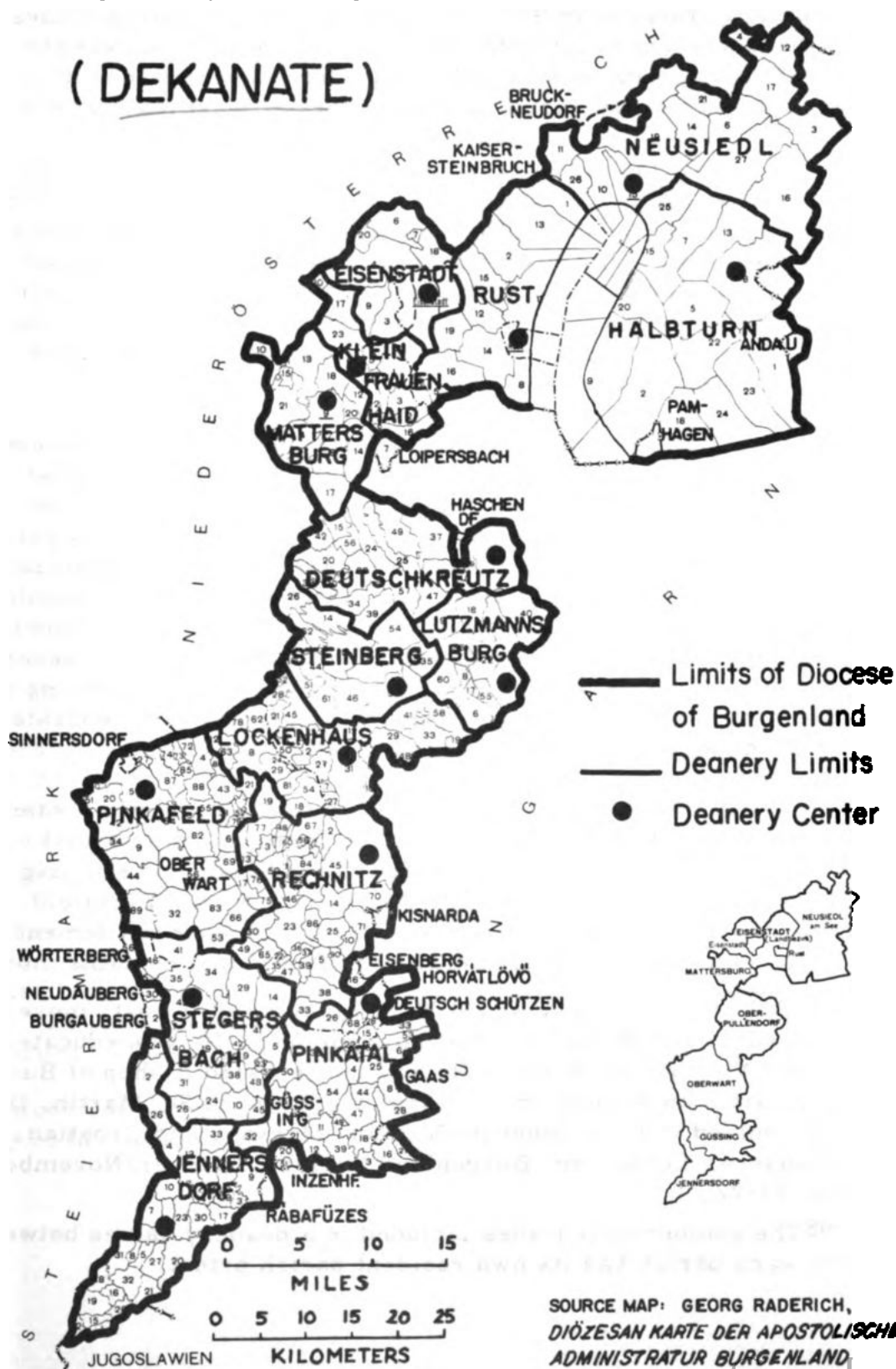
⁹⁷Right Reverend Stefan László, Bishop of Burgenland, was born in Pozsony (Bratislava), the son of a Hungarian official. When his father

BURGENLAND

CATHOLIC DEANERIES

MAP 39

(DEKANATE)



The diocese is subdivided into 15 areal units known as "Dekanate" (deaneries). Map 39 (page 239) depicts the boundaries of the deaneries and the center of each. The deaneries are grouped into three "Kreise," six in the northern kreis, four in the middle, and five in the southern kreis; however, this larger organizational unit does not seem to have any administrative significance. Within the deanery the only subdivision is the parish. Heading each deanery is one priest whose duty it is to visit every parish in the deanery at least once a year.⁹⁸

Of the six inter-county boundaries, three coincide with deanery boundaries (Neusiedl-Eisenstadt, Mattersburg-Oberpullendorf, and Güssing-Jennersdorf). The Güssing-Oberwart boundary before 1938 is approximated. The two remaining boundaries are straddled by one deanery in each case. This is somewhat surprising, since it means that the three strongest boundaries in the political subdivisions of Burgenland do not appear in the ecclesiastical subdivision, whereas the three weakest governmental boundaries do.

The ecclesiastical boundaries are among the oldest boundaries extant in Burgenland and the least likely to change. In most cases they were established on the criteria of a previous era, based on different local relationships. Thus the present very sharp boundary between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf does not appear in the deanery boundaries, but the previous (pre-1921) line does. The deaneries were established when this territory was still within the dioceses of Győr and Szombathely, and the internal lines were demarcated on that basis. The deaneries are considerably smaller than the counties; therefore straddling the strong Eisenstadt-Mattersburg governmental boundary is a separate deanery, based on an old pilgrimage church, rather than a line.

The deanery centers are generally the older centers, that is, those gemeinden that were important either as commercial or pilgrimage centers at the time the ecclesiastical subdivisions were originally made. Thus the deanery center is not Oberwart city, but Pinkafeld, not Oberpullendorf village but Steinberg. The Carolingian settlement, Lutzmannsburg, is a deanery center despite the fact that it contains more

was killed in the First World War, his mother, Croat, moved back to Trausdorf a/d Wulka, a Croatian gemeente. He was educated in Eisenstadt, Vienna, and Rome. He was consecrated Bishop of Burgenland in Eisenstadt on November 11, 1956, the Feast of St. Martin, the patron of Burgenland. He is fluent in German, Magyar, and Croatian. *Burgenländisches Leben, mit Burgenland Kurier*. October/November 1956, Wien pp. 21-22.

⁹⁸The number of parishes included in a deanery varies between 9 and 13; each parish has its own resident parish priest.

Protestants than Catholics. The old pilgrimage center, Klein Frauenhaid^{C4}, which is too small to be a *gemeinde*, is the center of the deanery that straddles the Eisenstadt-Mattersburg boundary.

Several of the deanery centers appear to be the replacements of centers that were separated from Burgenland by the international boundary.⁹⁹ Jennersdorf is the center of a deanery that must have been centered on the famous old monastery of Szent Gotthárd; Lockenhaus appears to be a replacement for Kőszeg; Deutschkreutz seems to replace Sopron.

The most unusual of the deaneries is the one named "Pinkatal" (Pinka Valley). This is the only such unit not named after a locality, and it is not certain that it does have a center. The priest supervising this subdivision lives in Deutsch-Schützen^{C9} in the northern end of the lower Pinka valley, and has just completed a fine new church in that village. Deutsch-Schützen, though the largest *gemeinde* in the valley, is much smaller and less important than the county seat, Güssing, which falls within the southwestern corner of this deanery. Why is Güssing not the deanery center? It has as old and glorious a history as any *gemeinde* in Burgenland, and is no further from the center of the deanery than Deutsch-Schützen. The only plausible explanation seems to be that this deanery was established to unite the Pinka valley and, therefore, a village in the valley was selected. Furthermore, just east of the international boundary is the old monastery of Ják^{CD9} which had large holdings in the valley, and, prior to 1921, had spiritual jurisdiction over several of the Pinka valley parishes. With the drawing of the boundary through the valley a replacement center (assuming that Ják had been a deanery center) may have been established in the largest *gemeinde* on the Austrian side of the Pinka valley, Deutsch-Schützen. Whatever the explanation may be, this deanery is an anomaly, with its center in an "ordinary" village instead of in the historic center, Güssing, or the pilgrimage center, Gaas.

Of special interest are the eastern and western boundaries of the diocese. The western boundary shows more adjustments to local situations along the border than any other system of subdivisions yet encountered. Bruckneudorf is outside the diocese, joined to Bruck; Kaisersteinbruch is technically within the diocese and Neusiedl dekanat

⁹⁹Such replacements occurred but it could not be determined in which or how many of the deaneries.

but is served as a mission ("filiale")¹⁰⁰ by the parish priest of Sommerein, Lower Austria; Sinnersdorf, Styria, is within the Burgenland diocese and the deanery of Pinkafeld, the only example in any system of areal organization in which a part of Old-Austria is joined to Burgenland; Wörtherberg, Neudauberg, and Burgauberg are all outside the diocesan limits and are parts of the Styrian parishes of Wörth, Neudau, and Burgau.

Whereas the western boundary has been admirably adjusted to local conditions, the eastern has remained, at least theoretically, as it was prior to 1921. In the delineation of the international boundary, several missions were separated from their parishes. In theory these mission-parish ties still exist as they were before the boundary was drawn. In practice, however, other contiguous parishes have, of necessity, assumed the priestly function.

As indicated on Map 39 (page 239), the diocesan boundary differs from the international boundary in several places. In Neusiedl County, three manorial centers that remained in Hungary are still technically within the jurisdiction of the parish priests of Halbtorn, Andau, and Pamhagen; in Mattersburg County the village of Loipersbach is a mission of Hungarian Agfalva; in Oberpullendorf County Haschendorf remains a mission of Hungarian Harka; in Oberwart County the Hungarian villages of Kisnarda and Horvátlövö are missions of Austrian Schandorf and Deutsch-Schützen while Austrian Eisenberg is a mission of Hungarian Nemetkeresztes; in southeastern Güssing County a Hungarian manorial center ("puszta") is still tied to Hagensdorf; and on the Jennersdorf-Güssing-Hungary border the Austrian gemeinden of Inzenhof and Tschanigraben are within the spiritual jurisdiction of Hungarian Felsőrönök, as Hungarian Rabafuzes is of Austrian Heiligenkreuz.

Along those portions of the boundary where it was possible to do so, in the lower Pinka valley and near Heiligenkreuz, simple exchanges were made. Thus in the Pinka valley Eisenberg became a mission of Deutsch-Schützen and Horvátlövö of Nemetkeresztes. In most localities, however, the mission had to be assumed as an added responsibility, by a nearby parish priest, e. g., the priest in Schattendorf now also serves Loipersbach. These necessary changes have been made in fact, but officially the diocesan limits are still drawn along the old parish-mission lines.

¹⁰⁰A filiale, usually called a "mission" in the United States, is a church without a resident priest, served by the priest in another village.

Eventually, when agreements between the Catholic hierarchy in Hungary, Austria, Rome, and the governments concerned are possible, the eastern boundary of the diocese of Burgenland will be made coincident with the international boundary officially as well as practically. H

D. Political Life

1. The Political Parties

In 1921-1922 Burgenland was a political vacuum. Its former governing class had voluntarily returned to Hungary. The few members of the educated class that remained, notably the clergymen, had the reputation of being "Magyaronen" (pro-Magyar), and did not attempt to organize any indigenous provincial political life. The German nationalists had planned the dismissal of all Magyaronen from all positions of influence, but were prevented from doing so by the terms of the Protocol of Venice.¹⁰¹ The province had to be organized politically, but did not have the resources to do this itself.

The political life of Burgenland was established and developed by the only groups that could do it, the Austrian parties already in existence. These parties moved their apparatus and slogans into the province as soon as it was possible to do so, and were preparing for the first election almost a year before the votes were cast.¹⁰² They were keenly interested in gaining new delegates to the national parliament, which was then as every year thereafter, almost equally divided between the "Socialists" and the "Catholics." By their rapid entry into Burgenland these parties stifled any possibility there may have been for the development of an indigenous political life.

a. The Conservative Party

Except for the brief period immediately following the conclusion of both World Wars, the Conservative Party was the governing party of Austria. Between 1918 and 1934 it was known as the

¹⁰¹ Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. October 18, 1921.

¹⁰² Ibid., August 19, 1921.

"Christlich-soziale Partei," usually shortened to "Christlich" (Catholic)¹⁰³ or CS. In 1927 this party ran, in union with the Gross-deutsche Partei, as the "Einheitsliste." Between 1934 and 1938, though theoretically no longer in existence, it dominated the country as the most important component of the ruling "Heimatfront." After 1945 it became known as the "Österreichische Volkspartei" (Austrian People's Party), usually shortened to its initials, ÖVP. The ÖVP is technically not a successor to the former Catholic Party but rather a union of all the non-Marxist elements. For convenience the above-mentioned party names have been combined under the heading "Conservative Party," because all these organizations have had the same leaders, the same platforms, and the same supporters.

The Conservative Party was for tradition, the home, and the Faith. Between the wars, members of the Catholic clergy were prominent among its leaders. After World War II all members of religious orders, and clerics, were forbidden by the Church from taking part in official political life.

Among its leaders were the unfortunate Schober, who signed the Protocol of Venice, Dollfuss, and Schuschnigg. Undoubtedly its greatest figure was Dr. (Rev.) Seipel, who served as Chancellor through most of the turbulent 1920's, and who obtained the vital foreign loan that enabled Austria to stumble along until the Hitler-forced "Anschluss."

The supporters of the Conservative Party could be classified most succinctly as the poor rural and the wealthy urban Austrians. In this respect one might say that the party resembled the Republican Party in Ohio or Vermont. The party also attracted the advocates of the former Imperial order.

In Burgenland this party attracted the peasants who obtained their livelihood from their own land. The migrant workers and the agricultural laborers voted for the Marxist parties. In the 1920's, because of its monarchical, legitimist tendencies and its clerical leadership, the Conservative Party gained the support of the Magyaronen.

Since it attracted the pro-Hungarian clergymen, the Conservative Party was the only party in which the imported leadership succumbed to local leaders. This party, as had all the others, imported a

¹⁰³"Christlich" translates as "Christian," but since this party was clearly a Catholic party it will be referred to as "Catholic."

cadre headed by a member of the national parliament. A group of former members of the Hungarian Parliament, under the leadership of a priest from Neusiedl,¹⁰⁴ formed a separate Christian Party cadre in Sopron in August 1921 (before the loss of that city). This group issued a statement demanding autonomy for Burgenland, and protesting that the territory was being handled by Austria as a conquered land, a colony, and an inferior province. The group maintained that they would refuse to allow non-Burgenland occupying forces, officials, bureaucrats, and teachers to be forced upon the province.¹⁰⁵ The members of this group were able to gain control of the Conservative Party within Burgenland. One of their number, Rev. Thullner, also of Neusiedl, was mentioned in 1923 in the party newspaper as the provincial party leader.¹⁰⁶ In 1929 Rev. Thullner became Landeshauptmann.¹⁰⁷

b. The Socialist Party

Except for its brief periods of power immediately following both wars, the "Sozial-demokratische Partei" has been continually the principal party in opposition in Austria. After 1945 its name was modified to "Sozialistische Partei Österreichs," usually referred to by its initials, SPÖ.

In American terms this party could be considered to be a liberal-radical party. It is Marxist-based. In the inter-war period it stressed the dominance of the proletariat, referred to its members as "comrades" (Genossen), was anti-clerical, and believed itself a part of the Communist-Socialist International. It differed from the Communists in not being as extreme in its policies, not being committed to the policies of the U.S.S.R., and in possessing, in Renner, Seitz, Körner, and others, leaders of statesmanlike stature.

The Socialist Party drew its support from the industrial workers. Its strength was overwhelmingly urban-based. Its surprising strength in Burgenland is attributable to the great numbers of migrant workers and agricultural laborers.

¹⁰⁴This priest, Dr. Johannes Huber, had published a letter in the *Pester Zeitung* (Budapest) on June 21, 1921, opposing the transfer of Burgenland to Austria. Quoted in *Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*. August 31, 1921.

¹⁰⁵*Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung*. August 23, 1921.

¹⁰⁶*Burgenländisches Volksblatt*. December 22, 1923.

¹⁰⁷*Der Freie Burgenländer*. July 28, 1929.

Since the Second World War the Socialist Party appears to be a considerably milder party than it was previously. The dichotomy between religion and socialism is no longer absolute. President Körner was buried, in 1956, with the last rites of the Catholic Church. The radical position has been taken over by the Communists, and the International has lost much of its ideological appeal. The Socialist Party is still, however, clearly the party of the urban worker. It is said that as soon as a "Conservative" peasant moves to the city he begins to vote Socialist.

The Conservative and Socialist parties have dominated Austrian politics since 1918. A number of lesser parties have campaigned, but with the exception of the "Bauernbund" none has ever enjoyed much success. Since 1945 there have been only two effective political parties in Burgenland.

c. The Bauernbund (Peasants' Union)

This party, in typical Austrian style, ran under several names. In 1922 and 1923 it was known as the "Bauernbund," in 1927 as the "Landbund für Österreich," and in 1930 as the "Nationaler Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund." This party will be referred to simply as the "Bauernbund."

Though the Bauernbund campaigned in most, if not all provinces of Austria, it differed from the other parties in that it entered Burgenland from Styria. The initial organizational meetings were held in the far south, adjacent to the important Styrian center of Fürstenfeld.¹⁰⁸

This party was a close approximation of the peasant parties then operating in other countries of southeastern Europe. It differed from the Conservative Party in its lack of urban support and the absence of monarchical and clerical ties. The Conservative Party despised it as a competitor for the vote of the peasantry. One Conservative newspaper considered it to be a Socialist-inspired wedge driven into the Conservative Party.¹⁰⁹ The Bauernbund was accused of being as class-conscious as the Socialists (the peasants against everyone else.)¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. December 28, 1921.

¹⁰⁹Güssinger Zeitung. April 23, 1922.

¹¹⁰Ibid., May 14, 1922.

The Bauernbund was to suffer from a leadership strangely split between "Professor"s¹¹¹ and peasants. In the election of 1923, of the ten names on its list, six were "Professor"s.¹¹² In 1926 several of the Bauernbunders from the south, in a letter to the president of the Landtag, requested that the Bauernbund delegate, Professor Voit, be deprived of his mandate because they did "not recognize Landesrat Voit as a member of the Partei des Landbundes für Österreich."¹¹³ The president refused to become involved in an intra-party struggle, but within seven months Professor Voit resigned his post.¹¹⁴

The Bauernbund showed surprising strength during the first two elections, but thereafter gradually lost its following. In the election of 1930 (the last until 1945), the party received 15 per cent of the votes cast in Burgenland.

This party was not reorganized after the Second World War. The Allied authorities decreed that only one non-Marxist party could campaign in the election of 1945.¹¹⁵ The ÖVP, dominated by the members of the former Catholic Party, was able, therefore, to gain the non-Marxist voters. In the election of 1949 other parties were permitted to campaign, but there was little incentive for the reorganization of the Bauernbund and little chance that it would be able to win back its former supporters from the ÖVP.

d. The Gross-deutsche Partei (Great German Party)

The Gross-deutsche Partei was locally important in the first two elections in Burgenland. As its name suggested, it was based entirely on nationalism; it was pro-Bismarck, anti-clerical, and anti-semitic, and antagonistic to every country except Germany and Austria. Its slogans and platforms paralleled those of Nazi Germany, and yet when the Nazis appeared, this party opposed them.

¹¹¹In Austria members of the faculty of upper schools, as well as of universities, bear the title of "Professor." Probably most of these "Professor"s were the equivalent of American high-school teachers.

¹¹²Burgenländisches Volksblatt. October 20, 1923.

¹¹³Der Freie Burgenländer, June 20, 1926; and Glüssinger Zeitung, June 27, 1926.

¹¹⁴Der Freie Burgenländer. January 30, 1927.

¹¹⁵Gazette for the Allied Commission for Austria I. Vienna, December 1945-January 1946, p. 26.

The Gross-deutsche Partei was confident of receiving support from the Burgenlanders, since most of the Viennese propagandists who had advocated the transfer of Burgenland to Austria were among its party members. On the first ballot it was able to list Karl Wollinger, Alfred Walheim, and Adalbert Wolf, three of the heroes of the transfer movement.

As soon as memories of the past were obscured by the practical problems of government and finance, the Gross-deutsche Partei lost its support. It had nothing to offer the voters except the projected union with Germany which the Great Powers had banned. The Magyars, Croats, peasants, and urban workers had all, in time, identified themselves with other parties.

e. The Wahlpartei der Unabhängigen (Independent Party)

The "Wahlpartei der Unabhängigen," known generally as the WdU, has been a significant minor party since 1949. Its strength has always been minor but it has been important as a collecting party for the dissatisfied elements, specifically many of the former Nazis who were treated as outcasts by the two major parties. Both major parties have considered the WdU to be obstructionist in its aims and methods.

In Burgenland its vote has never exceeded 4 per cent of the provincial total, but it has achieved notable percentages, though never a plurality, in those gemeinden which were known to be Nazi strongholds. There is a definite correlation between the gemeinden granting over 10 per cent of their vote to the WdU and those with a Lutheran majority.¹¹⁶ The most recent election, 1956, indicated a sharp drop in the total votes cast for this party.

f. The Communist Party

The "Kommunisten" represent the only other minor party active since 1945. Even during the Soviet occupation of Burgenland the Communist vote never exceeded 3 per cent.

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of this topic, see Chapter VI, Section A.2.a.

g. Other Parties

Between the wars there were a number of other minor parties. The ballot of 1922 included the "Bürger und Bauern Partei"; 1923, the "Kroaten Partei" (this will be discussed in the section on minorities, Chapter VI); 1930, the "Heimatblock" and the Nazis. Since the last election before the Second World War occurred in 1930, it is impossible to ascertain what the response in Burgenland was, in the middle 1930's, to the propaganda of the extremist parties.

The first government of Burgenland was not elected, but appointed. In 1921 the federal government in Vienna created a provisional government which was to govern the new territory until the first provincial elections, which were to be held as soon as possible. The Premier was originally Dr. Robert Davy, a non-Burgenlander, and later Herr Rausnitz.

When the 12 members of the council of this provisional government were being selected, the Conservative Party claimed a majority of the seats on the grounds that Burgenland, as a peasant province, was certain to vote heavily Conservative. The other two parties to be represented, the Socialists and the Great German, countered with the assertion that Burgenland was a new political area, and that since no one could tell just how its people were inclined, all three parties should be represented equally. This compromise, favoring no one, was accepted, and the 12-man council was composed of 4 members from each party.¹¹⁷

2. The Elections

a. The Election of June 18, 1922

This, and succeeding elections, were to be held in accordance with the Austrian system of proportional representation. For the election of delegates to the national parliament, all of Burgenland was to be treated as a single unit. Eight members were to be chosen to the federal parliament in proportion to the vote of the parties. For the Landtag (provincial parliament), Burgenland was divided into four election districts within each of which a set number of seats was to be divided proportionately.

¹¹⁷Josef Tschida, Die Stellungnahme der Wiener Presse zum Anschluss und zur Einrichtung des Burgenlandes. p. 276.

Each party entered a slate of candidates (and "substitutes") for the federal parliament, and a separate list for each election district. The names on the lists and the order in which they were listed were decided by the party leaders. The voter could vote only for the entire slate; he could not split his vote, nor could he rearrange the order of the names. A high official of a party was often placed on two or more lists to ensure his election.

Five parties entered lists for the first election: Conservative, Socialist, Bauernbund, Great German, and the "Bürger und Bauern." The Conservatives expected a clear-cut victory because of the peasant character of the province. The Great German Party, with its ticket led by Wollinger and Walheim, also looked forward to impressive totals.

The results were a complete surprise to everyone, even to the victorious party. The Socialists gained a majority of the votes cast in three of the four districts, and five of the seven counties. Güssing County voted Bauernbund, and Jennersdorf, Great German. The Conservative Party received the second greatest total of votes but could not carry a county.¹¹⁸ In total votes cast the Socialists had a plurality but not an absolute majority.

Why had the Great German Party done so poorly? It had made a fair showing only in the vicinity of Karl Wollinger's home gemeente, Heiligenkreuz^{B11}, in Jennersdorf County. Apparently the inhabitants of Burgenland did not share the pan-German zeal of the party, nor did they feel that the transfer to Austria should be attributed to the activities of the Viennese propagandists. One person referred to Walheim and his group as a "bunch of beer-hall table thumpers." The Great German claim to credit for the transfer to Austria was not accepted by the Burgenlanders who attributed the credit rather to the work of many "small peasants." The Vienna propagandists had been remote, and their many articles published in the Vienna newspapers would have had little effect on the peasants who had been taught to read only in Magyar.¹¹⁹

Why had the Socialists gained the plurality? There appear to be four principal reasons:

¹¹⁸The complete returns could not be found anywhere. These figures, almost complete, are based on *Der Freie Burgenlander*. June 25 and July 23, 1922.

¹¹⁹Many peasants could read German, but these were usually the Socialist-minded migrant laborers.

1. The Socialists gained much of the credit for the transfer of the area to Austria. Despite all the propaganda and claims of the Great German Party, the person who actually obtained Burgenland for Austria was Chancellor Renner at the peace conference in Paris.

2. The Socialist was the only party to have a local hard core of strength before 1921. Those Burgenlanders who had had close connections with Vienna were almost all confirmed Socialists, and far more active politically than the Conservative-minded peasants. The Socialists thus had a ready-made core for the development of a strong political organization as soon as Burgenland joined Austria.

3. The peasant vote was split between the Conservatives and the Bauernbund. In the southern three counties the Bauernbund outpolled the Conservative Party.

4. The Conservative Party had become the party of the Magyaronen. Several of the leading figures who had worked to keep Burgenland within Hungary became important and conspicuous members of the Conservative Party. The clergy, which had a tremendous influence in the Conservative Party, was known to have been zealously pro-Magyar.

b. The Election of October 21, 1923

The Landtag that had been elected in 1922 held office for only one year. In 1923 the federal parliament voted its own dissolution, and consequently the provincial parliaments were also dissolved.

The Conservative, Socialist, Bauernbund, and Great German parties were again on the ballot. The Bürger und Bauern Party had disappeared, but a new Burgenland-founded party, the Croatian Party, ran for the first (and only) time.

As was to be expected, the election results resembled those of the previous year.¹²⁰ The Socialists again obtained a plurality of the votes cast in the three northern election districts and in the five northern counties. The southern two counties, comprising the southern

¹²⁰The complete results for this election could not be found either. These figures, which are complete enough to plot every gemeente, are based on *Der Freie Burgenländer*, October 28, 1923, and *Güssinger Zeitung*, November 4, 1923.

election district, produced pluralities for the Bauernbund. Again the Conservative Party could not obtain a plurality in any county but it was clearly the second strongest party and had gained slightly over the results of the previous election.

The most notable result of this election was the sudden disappearance of the Great German Party. As previously mentioned, its appeal had been based on the glamor of some of the "heroes" of the transfer movement to Austria, and, after the first election, this glamor lost its electoral importance. This danger had been recognized by its leaders, and plans had been made to combine forces with the Bauernbund. This union was never effected, but in the attendant confusion Professor Alfred Walheim switched to the Bauernbund list.

c. The Election of April 24, 1927

This was the simplest of the prewar elections; only three parties ran. The Great German Party joined forces with the Catholic Party to form the Einheitslist.

The Conservative Party (Einheitslist), besides gaining the few supporters of the Great German Party, also succeeded in attracting many of the southern peasants away from the Bauernbund. For the first time the Conservatives obtained a plurality: Conservatives 57,665, Socialists 55,346, and the Bauernbund 22,384. The area of Socialist predominance was reduced to the three counties of north Burgenland.¹²¹

d. The Election of November 9, 1930

In addition to the three principal parties, three extremist parties ran in 1930. The Conservative Party increased its lead, though its proportion of the total vote was still only 34 per cent. The totals were: Conservatives 55,451, Socialists 50,804, Bauernbund 21,565, Heimatblock 5,026, Nazis 1,015, and Communists 632.¹²²

This was the last prewar election in Burgenland. It is impossible, therefore, to ascertain the proportion of the population which

¹²¹Statistische Nachrichten, Sonderheft: Wahlstatistik, Nationalratswahlen vom 24. April 1927, Wien, 1927.

¹²²Statistische Nachrichten, Sonderheft: Die Nationalratswahlen vom 9. November 1930, Wien, 1931.

was attracted by the promises of the extremist parties in the mid-1930's. The insignificant Nazi and Communist totals were concentrated in north Burgenland. The Heimatblock votes came from every county though concentrations could be noted in the Bernstein area of Oberwart County and in north-central Oberpullendorf County.¹²³

e. The Election of November 25, 1945.

In this first postwar election there were once again only three parties represented. The Socialists and the Conservatives (now transformed into the ÖVP) were joined by the Communists. Despite the Soviet occupation of Burgenland the Communists obtained only 3 per cent of the votes cast and were, therefore, not a principal party in the sense in which the Bauernbund had been.

For the first time in Burgenland's political history one party was able to obtain an absolute majority of the votes cast. The ÖVP received 67,804 (52 per cent), Socialists 58,991 (45 per cent), and the Communists 4,279 (3 per cent) votes.¹²⁴

f. The Election of October 9, 1949

The three established parties were now joined by the WdU (Independent Party). Since there was a rise of 25 per cent in the total votes cast, it is difficult to determine from what group the support for the new party came. Since most WdU strength lay in the Lutheran gemeinden, the gains of the new party were probably at the expense of the Socialists. (The Conservative Party is still considered a Catholic party by the Lutherans.)

The totals were: Conservatives 86,700 (52 per cent), Socialists 66,739 (40 per cent), WdU 6,398 (4 per cent), and Communists 4,805 (3 per cent).¹²⁵ The Conservatives had maintained their absolute majority and increased their lead over their principal rival.

¹²³An inkling of the growth of the extremist parties was given by the city elections of Vienna. In the 17 months between November 1930 and April 1932, the Nazi vote in Vienna rose from 27,457 to 201,365. *Der Freie Burgenländer*, May 1, 1932.

¹²⁴Österreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt, *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 25. November 1945*, Wien, 1946.

¹²⁵Österreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt, *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 9. Oktober 1949*, Wien, 1950.

g. The Election of February 22, 1953

The four parties of the previous election competed again. The results were: Conservatives 81,373 (48 per cent), Socialists 75,240 (45 per cent), WdU 6,205 (4 per cent), and Communists 5,417 (3 per cent).¹²⁶ The Conservatives retained their plurality but lost their absolute majority; the Socialists gained 8,000 votes over their 1949 total by accusing the Conservatives of planning to cut down pension payments.

h. The Election of May 13, 1956

This was the first election since 1930 held in an unoccupied Austria. The same four parties competed although the WdU changed its name to *Freiheits Partei Österreich* (Freedom Party). The Conservatives obtained 81,517 (49 per cent), the Socialists 76,266 (46 per cent), the WdU 4,919 (3 per cent), and the Communists 3,128 (2 per cent) of the votes.¹²⁷ Both the minority parties lost much of their support.

3. Areal Voting Patterns

Map 40 (page 255) represents a simplification of the results, plotted by *gemeinden*, of the eight elections Burgenland has participated in since its union with Austria. The province is divided into nine voting areas.

1. The northernmost portions of Burgenland have consistently voted Socialist. This area includes the flat *Haidboden* and the villages along the northern rim of the *Parndorf Heide* and the *Leitha Range* (compare with Map 9, page 18). The divide in voting tendencies that is represented by the upland line of the *Leitha Range* and the *Parndorf Heide* coincides also with the basic two-fold division of *Neusiedl County*; the *gemeinden* north of this line focus on *Bruck* and *Vienna* rather than on *Neusiedl am/See*.

The tendency to vote Socialist is most marked in the *gemeinden* along the escarpment edge. Of the eight *gemeinden* along the highland

¹²⁶Österreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt, *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 22. Februar 1953*, Wien, 1953.

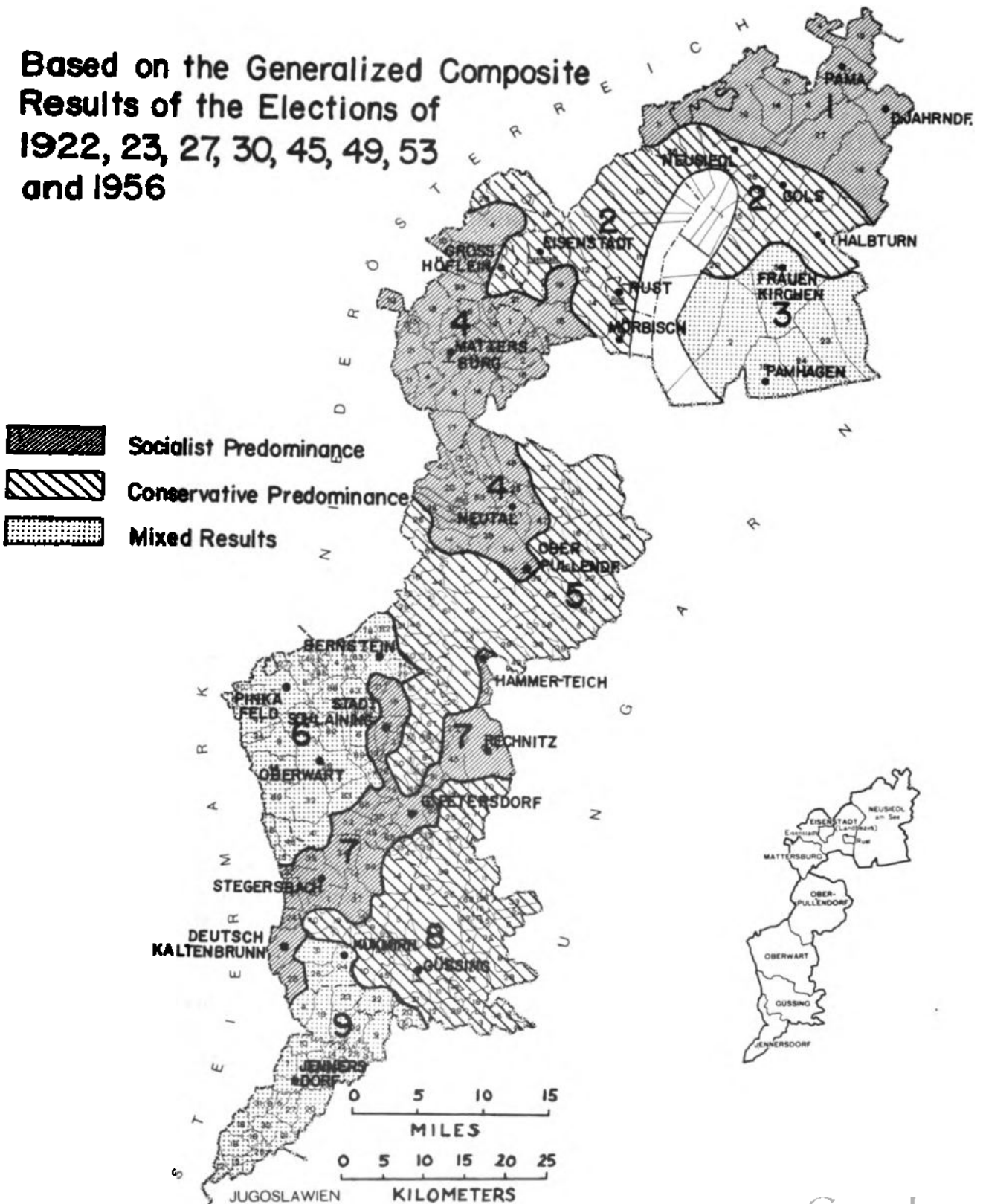
¹²⁷Österreichischen Statistischen Zentralamt, *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 13. Mai 1956*, Wien, 1956.

BURGENLAND

MAP 40

VOTING AREAS

Based on the Generalized Composite
Results of the Elections of
1922, 23, 27, 30, 45, 49, 53
and 1956



rim only two have ever failed to return a Socialist plurality in any election, and Socialist majorities as high as 91 per cent have occurred. These eight gemeinden lie along the principal railroad and highway to Bruck and Vienna, and many of the inhabitants commute on a weekly basis to Vienna. On the edges of these villages new apartment buildings specifically designed to serve the commuting workers, have been constructed.

The four gemeinden which occupy the northernmost extensions of Burgenland have not been strongly Socialist; they have supported both of the principal parties. Two of these four, Pama and Deutsch Jahrndorf, form an interesting contrast. Neither has direct access to an urban center and both are overwhelmingly agricultural. Pama is 98 per cent Catholic and has voted Conservative every time but once; Deutsch Jahrndorf is 39 per cent Lutheran and has voted Socialist every time. In the inter-war period the Great German and the Bauernbund both outpolled the Conservative Party in Deutsch Jahrndorf.¹²⁸

2. This area of pronounced Conservative strength follows the south slope of the uplands, the southern escarpment of the Parndorf Heide, and the southeastern slopes of the Leitha Range. This slope differs from the contrasting northern slope in two important ways. First, it is not on the principal routeways to Vienna, and second, because it faces south it is an area of prosperous vineyard villages. From Grosshöflein, west of Eisenstadt, to Halbturm, on the Hungarian border, every gemeente specializes in the production of wine. Area 2, therefore, is an agricultural area of prosperous small farmers and vinters who own their own land and are not involved in urban political activities.

Three gemeinden deserve special attention because of their odd electoral behavior. They are Gols^{E3}, Rust, and Mörbisch^{D4}. All three are prominent wine gemeinden; Gols is pre-eminent in Austria for the quantity of its wine, while Rust and Mörbisch are famous for the quality of their wines. These three are also the only Lutheran gemeinden in this area. Gols (81 per cent) is the largest Protestant gemeente in Burgenland, and probably in Austria. Mörbisch is 78 per cent, Rust is 42 per cent Lutheran. Gols and Rust gained the dubious distinction of being foremost Nazi centers.

¹²⁸Local personalities and situations may be responsible for such contrasts, but religious adherence does strongly influence individual voting, the religious differentiation has been pointed out in this case, and will be mentioned in others also.

Gols voted Great German twice and Bauernbund twice in the four inter-war elections. It was the only gemeente in Neusiedl County ever to vote Bauernbund. In the four postwar elections it always produced a Conservative plurality; it would not vote Socialist on economic grounds, but gave over 10 per cent of its total vote for one of the minority parties each time, twice to the Communists and twice to the WdU.

Rust has voted Socialist four times and Conservative four times. This "free city" has been remarkable in giving the Communist Party the highest proportion it was able to obtain anywhere in Burgenland. In 1945 the gemeente results were: Conservatives 36 per cent, Communists 34 per cent, and Socialists 30 per cent. There seem to have been three reasons for this remarkable Communist power: first, the city had been a Nazi center, and, after 1945, the former Nazis turned Communist to avoid persecution; second, a strong and highly influential Communist mayor (appointed by the Occupation Powers) ruled the city; and third, the mayor, with party help, divided some valuable Eszterházy vineyard acreage among party-loyal landless peasants, apparently those with the largest families.

Mörbisch is a good example of the unpredictability of a Lutheran gemeente. In the inter-war years it voted Great German once, Bauernbund twice, and Conservative once. It was the only gemeente in Eisenstadt County that ever returned a plurality for either the Great German or the Bauernbund parties. Since the war it has voted Socialist every time, the only "wine gemeente" in Burgenland to vote consistently Socialist. It has also given over 10 per cent of its vote to the WdU every time that protest party has run.

3. The gemeinden in the southern third of Neusiedl County form an area of vacillation, sometimes supporting the Conservatives and at other times the Socialists. The villages in this area are tied to Neusiedl am/See rather than to Bruck or Vienna; they are all overwhelmingly Catholic and are producers of grain and meat rather than wine. They share the tendency of the Catholic peasantry to vote Conservative on ideological, but not on economic, grounds.

This area differs from others in the great numbers of manorial centers, the "höfe," existing within but separate from the gemeinden. These "höfe" contain colonies of landless laborers who have consistently shown a Marxist tint in their voting; between the wars they supported the Socialists; since the war they have supported either the Socialists or the Communists.

The center of the Seewinkel, Frauenkirchen, exemplifies this most clearly. Frauenkirchen contains no less than six "höfe," which contained in 1923 approximately 20 per cent of the total population of the gemeinde.¹²⁹ In the inter-war period Frauenkirchen produced an absolute Socialist majority in every election; since 1945 the large gemeinde has voted Socialist twice and Conservative twice but has given over 10 per cent of its total vote to the Communists in every election. In contrast, Pamhagen, which does not contain a single "hof," has voted Conservative every time.

4. This area, including most of the Eisenstadt Basin and the northwestern quarter of Oberpullendorf County, is the largest and strongest area of Socialist strength in Burgenland. Mattersburg County, which lies entirely within this area, is the only county in Burgenland that has always shown a Socialist plurality. Much of the industry of Burgenland is located in this county and in the adjacent villages in Eisenstadt County. Most of the provincial leaders of the Socialist Party are from gemeinden along the Eisenstadt-Mattersburg County boundary. In the inter-war period Mattersburg city, then an important market center, consistently voted Conservative; since the war the development of rapid trucking connections with Vienna has destroyed this market function. The resultant rise in the numbers of workers from Mattersburg who commute to Vienna and Wiener Neustadt has probably been responsible for placing the city in the Socialist column in the last four elections.

The strength of the Socialist Party in the northwestern quarter of Oberpullendorf County seems to have become traditional. Before the First World War, the Socialists had organized cells in several gemeinden in this corner of middle Burgenland, cells based on the large numbers of men who commuted even then to urban industrial centers. This long-distance industrial labor connection is still strong. Neutal, though without industry, has 55 per cent of its population dependent on "Industry and Crafts" for its livelihood. Seven gemeinden in this corner of Oberpullendorf County depend more on "Industry and Crafts" than on "Agriculture and Forestry" for their livelihood.¹³⁰

¹²⁹The internal population breakdown of the gemeinden was not made available in the 1934 and 1951 censuses.

¹³⁰The Austrian census lists the following categories of occupations: Agriculture and Forestry (Land und Forst), Industry and Crafts (Industrie und Gewerbe), Transportation and Commerce (Handel und Verkehr), Professions (Freie Berufe), Governmental Service (Öffentliche Dienst), Domestic Labor (Hausliche Dienste), Other, None, and Unknown.

5. This area is strongly Conservative. The gemeinden are overwhelmingly agricultural and Catholic. The eastern half contains one of the three principal areas of Croats in Burgenland, but since the failure of the Croatian Party in 1923 these Croats have generally voted Conservative. In the inter-war elections several of the gemeinden supported the Bauernbund; these now vote Conservative also.

6. This is an area of confused voting results. It includes the largest area of Protestant gemeinden in Burgenland, the hill lands to the north and west of Oberwart city. The Great German and Bauernbund parties were both strong in this area in the inter-war period. Since the war the results have indicated mixtures of Socialist and Conservative pluralities in no clear pattern, and with strong support for the third parties. The third-party support seems to have been motivated by a desire to vote for a third party, rather than by any attractions inherent in the platforms or personalities of the specific minor parties. In 1945 seven gemeinden in this area gave over 10 per cent of their vote to the Communists, but after the appearance of the WdU in 1949 only one gemeente gave such minority support to the Communist Party. In 1949 thirteen gemeinden gave over 10 per cent of their vote to the WdU. With the end of the Allied Occupation of Austria and with the passing of a decade since the end of the war, the disgrace attributed to active membership in the Nazi Party has declined in political significance. In 1956 only two gemeinden in this area gave 10 per cent of their total votes to this protest party.

Oberwart city and Pinkafeld do not conform to this pattern of inconsistency; both have been consistently Conservative. Oberwart city contains more Protestants than Catholics, but the Protestants are divided between the Lutherans and Magyar Calvinists. The latter have not felt the religious issue as keenly as the Lutherans, nor have they experienced the ideological attraction to a greater-Germany which so enticed the Lutherans.¹³¹

Pinkafeld is an anomaly. It is the principal industrial center of Burgenland, and yet it has never voted Socialist. This fact seems to illustrate the manner in which the local industries have developed. Pinkafeld had for centuries been an important center of crafts. Around the turn of this century these crafts evolved into industrial establishments. The workers in the factories still feel the connections with the independent craftsmen, and have not yet identified themselves with the

¹³¹For a discussion of this matter, see Chapter VI, Section A.2.a.

"proletariat." They are still voting as independent businessmen rather than as industrial workers.

7. This area conveniently unites a great number of gemeinden which usually vote Socialist. Though there is areal continuity within this area, it is broken by topographic barriers into a number of separated sub-areas. Hammer-Teich and Rechnitz are separated by the massive Kőszeg Range, and wide bands of forested uplands separate Stegersbach from Gross-petersdorf to the northeast and Deutsch Kaltenbrunn to the southwest. The one feature that these gemeinden have in common is that in every one of them the number of people dependent on "Industry and Crafts" and "Communications" exceeds the number dependent on "Agriculture and Forestry." The Stegersbach area has previously been discussed as a center of migratory workers. Rechnitz and Stadt Schlaining have similarly become centers of migratory labor since the decline of their formerly important commercial functions. Deutsch Kaltenbrunn supplies many of the workers for the factories of nearby Fürstenfeld, Styria.

8. This area includes most of Güssing County and the adjacent southeastern corner of Oberwart County. It is an area of Conservative dominance. In all of the post-1945 elections every gemeente in the eastern half of Güssing County has given the Conservatives (ÖVP) a majority of the votes cast. In four of the gemeinden the proportion voting ÖVP has exceeded 90 per cent in one or two of the elections.

This is an area of Catholic peasants. It is the greatest area of emigration in Austria but has relatively few migrant workers. The inhabitants either remain as peasants or leave the area permanently. They do not, as is done in other sections of the province, cast their ballots in Burgenland on the basis of ideological identifications assumed outside of Burgenland.

In the inter-war years this one-party dominance was not apparent. The Bauernbund had much support among the local peasants. In the first two elections (1922 and 1923) this third party obtained a plurality in Güssing County. Perhaps because of the newness of the imported parties and the Austrian political system a settling period was required before the peasantry united behind any political party. In the first election, in 1922, the ten gemeinden of the isolated lower Pinka valley voted (north to south) Great German, Socialist, Catholic, Socialist, Catholic, Bauernbund, Great German, Great German, Catholic and Bauernbund. By 1930 the Conservative (Catholic) Party was dominant in most of Güssing County; then the entire lower Pinka valley voted Conservative.

9. This area consists of the forested upland areas north of the Lafnitz and south of the Raab, and the valley lowlands between them. The uplands contain several Lutheran gemeinden, one of which, Kukmirn, was noted as a local Nazi center. This is another area of confused voting results, with no apparent pattern, nor a dominant political party. Third parties have been very strong. In the election of 1922 the Great German Party gained a plurality of the votes cast; in the elections of 1923, 1927, and 1930 the Bauernbund was the plurality party. Since 1945 the majority of the gemeinden have supported the Conservative Party but with considerable support for the WdU.

As has been suggested in this analysis of the areal patterns of voting returns, the principal factor influencing the voting of an individual is the manner in which he makes a living. Industrial workers almost invariably vote Socialist, whereas peasants tend to vote Conservative.

Socialist support is concentrated into three types of gemeinden. First are those which contain industry of their own. This is a significant factor in the Eisenstadt Basin. It is these gemeinden, which employ the industrial workers within the gemeente itself, that have produced the majority of the Burgenland Socialist leaders.

Second are those gemeinden which have ready access to the major urban labor markets. This is a significant factor in the northern third of Neusiedl County and in the northwestern quarter of Oberpullendorf County. It is important also, though to a relatively smaller degree, in Mattersburg County.

Third are those gemeinden which, though remote from the urban centers, are major sources of migratory labor because the local economic base has not grown or has diminished to the point where high proportions of the local labor force think it advisable to seek their employment elsewhere. This is clearly the case in the southern Socialist area (#7). Whereas the home-employed industrial workers provide the Socialist party leaders for Burgenland, it is the migrant labor force which provides the majority of the votes cast for this party.¹³² These

¹³² As indicated in Table 2 (page 7), approximately 5,000 workers are employed in Burgenland industries. The 1951 census listed 36,938 Burgenlanders as engaged in "Industry and Crafts." Probably somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 are employed in local crafts, and this number is declining. Therefore, approximately 70 per cent of the persons engaged in "Industry and Crafts" are migrant workers.

migrant laborers, who spend more of their time outside of the province than in it, can be said to cast their ballot in Burgenland on the basis of ideological identifications assumed outside the province.

The strength of the Conservative Party in Burgenland depends principally on two groups, the Catholic peasantry, which is dependent on its own landholdings for its support and livelihood, and, to a far less degree, the wealthier Lutheran peasantry. The Lutheran wine-producing peasants now generally vote Conservative, though this tendency has become evident only since the Second World War.

Third-party support has come from three groups, one based on occupation, one on an area, and one on religion. The landless agricultural laborers on the huge manorial centers of the north have shown a strong tendency to vote Communist. The interfluvial forested uplands of the south were the strongholds of the Bauernbund in the inter-war period. The Lutherans have shown a remarkable tendency to vote for any third party. In the inter-war period, the Lutherans generally chose the Bauernbund as a non-Catholic peasant-based party. With the disappearance of the Bauernbund their choice has been made very difficult, since they feel a separation (economic and religious) from both of the major parties. Most Lutheran gemeinden now vote Conservative but have given notable support to the WdU.

Linguistic groupings do not influence voting. The largest linguistic minority, the Croats, is split almost evenly between the Socialists and the Conservatives. The Magyar gemeinden have voted individually, depending on occupation and religion, rather than as a unit, and have never voted for protest parties.

The governmental centers have shown a tendency to avoid the lesser parties and have revealed a measure of balance between the two major parties. Only Jennersdorf, the least important of the county seats, has ever supported any but the two major parties. Eisenstadt has split, four times for each of the major parties. Three other county seats have voted three times for one party and five times for the other.

Perhaps the most noticeable over-all trend in Burgenland voting has been the gradual extinction of the minor parties. Perhaps because all the parties have been imported from Old-Austria, Burgenland revealed a certain dispersal of loyalties and interest in the first few elections. Gradually, however, loyalties have strengthened, until now Burgenland is as much a two-party political unit as is any State of the United States. This gradual simplification of voting habits

implies a gradual growth of interest in the parliamentary life of Austria, and a gradual eradication of the attitudes left over from past experiences, attitudes that tended to produce local differentiations in voting. The hunger for land, and the religious antagonisms are dying out. Meanwhile the two principal parties have moderated from their inter-war dogmatic positions. A gradual transition towards an Austrian style of the Democratic and Republican parties seems under way.

The most significant ultimate cause of the strong non-Conservative voting in Burgenland has been the overpopulation of the province. The overcrowding of a peasant group on the available land has induced the mass movements of local labor to industrial centers outside the province. These migrants have remained peasants in every way except occupationally. They refuse to sell their holdings and their homes in the Burgenland village; consequently they practice inconvenient weekly, biweekly, or monthly commutation between the city and the village. Other factors, such as the preference of many of the young people for city work over farm work, and the scarcity of housing in Vienna help to maintain this phenomenon of a migratory industrial labor force. Thus, through the juxtaposition of an overcrowded agricultural area and a large urban labor market, this peasant province, almost devoid of industry, has become, at times, an area of Socialist strength, and has never given the Conservative Party more than 52 per cent of its votes.

4. Parliamentary Life

When the established Austrian political parties entered Burgenland, they imported ideologies focusing on factors that were divorced from the most pressing problems facing the new province. At the time when Burgenland desperately needed constructive action, much of the parliamentary debating dealt with the system of laws which had been inherited from Hungary and hence was at variance with the systems prevalent in Old-Austria. (After years of bitter debate most of the old laws were enacted in their old form.)¹³³

The Burgenland marriage law permitted divorce. The Conservatives campaigned to change this law to conform to the Austrian law, which allowed only religious marriage ceremonies and did not permit divorce; the Socialists worked to keep this law in effect. The

¹³³ Lendl, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur*. p. 232.

school law produced different reactions. The school system was clerical rather than secularized. The Conservatives approved of this system and attempted to maintain it intact, whereas the Socialists wished to make the schools conform to the Austrian secularized system. Probably more time and effort were devoted to attacks upon and defenses of the school system than on any other two or three problems that occupied the attention of the Landtag. The school issue was not settled until the imposition of the Heimatfront dictatorship; the Burgenland school law of 1936 declared that the confessional schools were official schools of Austria.¹³⁴ The Nazis subsequently secularized the schools.

The animosity of the two principal parties for each other did not prevent them from combining efforts against the Bauernbund whenever the opportunity arose. In the election of 1923 the Bauernbund received enough votes to entitle it to one delegate to the federal parliament. The first name on the Bauernbund slate, Professor Schönbauer, was consequently declared elected. Shortly thereafter a member of the Conservative Party in the Burgenland Landtag (parliament) charged that Professor Schönbauer's election was invalid because he had not obtained the requisite number (100) of valid signatures on his nomination papers. The two principal parties joined forces to rule in the Landtag that under the circumstances they would have to divide the eight seats in Vienna between themselves, four to each party.¹³⁵

Probably the most blatant example of the attempts of the two major parties to destroy their principal minor rival was the ouster of Professors Walheim and Voit from the Landtag. Early in 1926 the mayor of Sauerbrunn announced that three of the members of the Landtag, delegates Walheim, Voit, and Hoffenreich, though they were listed as residents of Sauerbrunn, did not live there.¹³⁶ He brought the matter to the attention of the Berufungskommission (appeals commission) in the county seat, Mattersburg. The commission consisted of six members, three Socialists, two Conservatives, and one Great German; it voted, strictly along party lines, not to strike Socialist Hoffenreich from the voting lists, but Walheim and Voit were judged to be non-residents and therefore were to be stricken from the lists.¹³⁷ Shortly

¹³⁴Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 47.

¹³⁵Burgenländisches Volksblatt. November 3, 1923.

¹³⁶Housing facilities in Sauerbrunn were inadequate to meet the needs of the civil servants.

¹³⁷Güssinger Zeitung. May 23, 1926.

thereafter a Conservative delegate rose in the Landtag to introduce the damaging evidence against the two culprits. A Burgenland law specified that only a legal resident of the province could run for office in Burgenland; since these two men were now not legal residents of Burgenland they should be deprived of their positions in the Landtag. The leader of the Socialist Party announced his party's position; this was that the matter was none of their concern, and that they should abstain from the deciding vote. In the vote, held on April 10, 1926, the Conservatives voted against the two delegates, the Socialists abstained, and the members of the Bauernbund voted for their two delegates. Professors Walheim and Voit were thereupon declared to be deprived of their mandates, and dismissed from the Landtag.¹³⁸ Later this move was appealed, and reversed by the constitutional court on another legal technicality.¹³⁹

These events have been mentioned (many more could have been added) as being significant in two ways to this dissertation. First, the opinion grew among governmental leaders in Vienna that Burgenland was not capable of governing itself. Provincial Vice Premier Stesgal warned in 1924, "Voices can already be heard in Old-Austria that Burgenland is not mature enough to rule itself and must, therefore, be divided."¹⁴⁰ The ouster of Walheim from the Landtag was followed by a chorus of dismay in the Viennese newspapers. To many in Vienna Walheim was "the Father of Burgenland." This belief, that Burgenland was not capable of governing itself, was to be one of the most formidable difficulties the province had to overcome in 1945, in its effort to re-establish its political identity.

Second, all the squabbles mentioned above, and many others, indicate clearly that enmities and dissensions in the Landtag were rarely based on sectional interests or on the desires of minorities. The party was usually supreme. Parties tended to think as blocs, fight as blocs, and vote as blocs. It is hard to find, in the meetings of the provincial parliament, much indication of sectional or group feelings. The importation of Austrian political parties, with the fool-proof system of proportional representation, made it probable that party interests would dominate parliamentary activity. By thus hindering the development of political localisms, the parties undoubtedly helped to unify the province and tie it securely to Austria, but at the price of true local self-determination.

E. Sectionalism

Though local desires for improvements were often expressed in terms of a particular county, the individual counties have not become the bases for any significant sectional feelings. Only Neusiedl County approximates a sectional tendency and that cannot be taken seriously.

Only one sectional division of Burgenland, north-south, has been productive of the regional attitudes associated with the term "sectionalism." The dividing line between this "north" and "south" follows the principal internal political boundary of Burgenland, that between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf counties. Oberpullendorf (middle Burgenland) has always been too closely tied to Mattersburg County to think of itself as a part of the south, or to consider itself a separate "section." The narrow "waist" of Burgenland is, again, not a significant divide.

A separation of the province into northern and southern portions was feared in the earliest days of Burgenland. In the initial organization of the province into electoral districts, the federal government proposed the division of Burgenland into two districts for the selection of delegates to the federal parliament. The Burgenland provisional government, fearing a split of the province, moved unanimously that the entire province should be treated as one district.¹⁴¹

The south has often maintained that the north looks on it with "disdain."¹⁴² The cries of "stepchild" formed a chorus in the 1920's.¹⁴³ In the debate attending the choice of the new capital, a delegate from Oberwart County repeated the charge of "stepchild" treatment, and asked, "Where is it written that the capital of Burgenland has to be in the north?"¹⁴⁴ The Sauerbrunn bureaucracy did not take the candidacy of Pinkafeld seriously, "and believed that the Pinkafelders could be satisfied with any kind of concession, such as the construction of the railroad."¹⁴⁵ In the final debate the speech nominating Pinkafeld was interrupted with such hooting and laughter that Walheim had to warn the delegates, "This is not a circus."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. April 11, 1922.

¹⁴²Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. February 10, 1924.

¹⁴³Güssinger Zeitung, February 3, 1924; and Der Freie Burgenländer, May 28, 1926, and December 6, 1931.

¹⁴⁴Stenographisches Protokoll. 28. Sitzung der II Wahlperiode des Burgenländischen Landtages. Donnerstag den 30 April 1925, pp. 371-381.

¹⁴⁵Österreichische Volkszeitung. February 24, 1924.

¹⁴⁶Stenographisches Protokoll. pp. 371-381.

1. Northern Dominance of the Government

Of greater significance than the slurs and emotional outbursts has been the continuing dominance of the provincial government by the north. Table 9 (page 268) depicts the percentages of the elected delegates who have had their residences in the seven counties, the four election districts, and the two sections. The delegates who were officially residing in Vienna are excluded.

The dominance by the north of provincial political life has had four principal aspects.

1. In the elections to the federal parliament all of Burgenland is treated as one district. Since party leadership is centered in the north, the north receives far more than its share of the delegates to the federal parliament. This proportion is far more striking if only the three northern counties, Neusiedl, Eisenstadt, and Mattersburg, are considered, since Oberpullendorf is very poorly represented. The three northern counties contain 45 per cent of the population of Burgenland, but have had 74 per cent of the delegates to Vienna. Jennersdorf County has had only one delegate to the federal parliament; he was Karl Wollinger, who was elected from the Great German Party and served for only one year, 1922-1923.

2. The elections for the Landtag, the provincial parliament, are localized into four election districts. Theoretically therefore each of the four districts should receive its proportion, according to population, of the delegates to the Landtag. In practice this has not been true, since it is the provincial party leadership which specifies the list of candidates for each district. Of necessity, local feelings have been carefully considered, but it has happened frequently, especially in the early days, that a party leader was placed on several district lists to ensure his election (Rauhofer once appeared on all five lists at one time),¹⁴⁷ and that a man from one district was placed on the list of another. As a result, though the proportions of delegates residing in the district approaches the proportions of the population distribution, the north again has had more than its share. If, as before, we subtract the numbers of poorly represented Oberpullendorf County from the northern totals, the remaining three counties, with 45 per cent of the

¹⁴⁷Der Freie Burgenländer, April 10, 1927. In this case the Conservative Party was evidently more concerned with utilizing to the utmost the popularity of Rauhofer than with ensuring his election.

TABLE 9*

<u>County</u>	<u>Population (Percentage)</u>	<u>Proportion of Total Number of Delegates (Percentage)</u>	
		<u>Federal Parliament</u>	<u>Provincial Parliament</u>
Neusiedl	18	22	16
Eisenstadt	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>
District I	33	44	39
Mattersburg	12	30	16
Oberpullendorf	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
District II	29	37	28
Oberwart (District III)	19	12	15
Güssing	11	5	12
Jennersdorf	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
District IV	18	7	19
THE NORTH	62	81	66
THE SOUTH	38	19	34

*The figures are based on: Adressenbuch des Burgenlandes, 1924 (Sauerbrunn), pp. 1-5; Burgenlandisches Adressenbuch, samt Amtskalender, 1928, Sauerbrunn, pp. 1-6; 1931, Eisenstadt, pp. 1-6; Adressbuch von Burgenland für Industrie, Handel und Gewerbe, Wien, 1938, p. 3; 1950, pp. 2-3; 1954, pp. 4-5; Amtskalender für das Jahr 1949, Wien, 1949, pp. 1-2; 1950, pp. 1-2; 1954, pp. 1-2; and various newspaper accounts.

population, have had 55 per cent of the delegates to the provincial parliament. Oberpullendorf has had the misfortune to be united with Mattersburg, the most active politically of all the counties.

3. The Landesregierung, the executive branch of the government, is chosen from the body of the Landtag by the members of the Landtag, and includes the Provincial Premier (Landeshauptmann), the leader of the plurality party, the Provincial Vice Premier (Landeshauptmannstellvertreter) usually the leader of the second strongest party, and three or four other members. It is this body which supervises the activities of the government agencies. Until 1956 the key position of Provincial Premier was always held by a northerner; the north has also dominated the other positions on the Landesregierung. Not until 1929 was there a southern delegate in the executive. One newspaper, in an editorial titled, "It should be the entire Burgenland," commented, "It may well have occurred to people that the north makes out better than the south because it /the south/ lacks a unified contingent in the . . . Landesregierung."¹⁴⁸

In 1956, with the resignation of Lorenz Karall (the provincial leader of the Conservative Party), Johann Wagner of Stegersbach, Güssing County, was chosen as the new Provincial Premier. This was the first time that a delegate from the south had been selected to be either Premier or Vice Premier. Residents of the south stated that Herr Wagner had been selected only over the strenuous opposition of several northern delegates. Whether this is true or not, the selection of Wagner has done much to alleviate the feelings of injustice felt by the inhabitants of south Burgenland.

4. The most striking feature of the control of the provincial government by the north has been its predominance in the bureaucracy. The center of government has always been in the vicinities of Eisenstadt and Mattersburg, and these counties have supplied most of the civil servants. In the earliest days of the province, many of the bureaucrats entered Burgenland from Vienna or adjacent Old-Austria. These immigrants settled in the capital, and rarely, if ever, visited the south. The bureaucracy is a completely northern institution, and has often been accused of intentionally or unintentionally ignoring the needs and desires of the south.

¹⁴⁸Der Freie Burgenländer. August 25, 1929.

2. Oberwart

The attempts of the south to increase its influence in provincial activities is best exemplified by the activity of Oberwart, the principal city and the governmental center for the south. In 1924 a south-Burgenland organization of choral groups (Südburgenländischen Sängergau) was founded in Oberwart city, and promptly joined to the Styrian "Sängerbund" rather than to any group in the north.¹⁴⁹ In 1925 a south-Burgenland bee-farmers' organization (Südburgenländischen Bienzüchter) was established in Oberwart County.¹⁵⁰ In 1929 the largest private bus system in the province (Südburg), with headquarters in Oberwart city, began operations.¹⁵¹ The Oberwart newspaper evidently had hopes of extending its hinterland northward to include Oberpullendorf County. For over three years (1934-1938) a special page "Püllendorfer Bote" was added to the paper. After resuming publication in 1949 (it had ceased publication in 1938) the Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung made an effort to become a paper for the entire province rather than just for the south. "Are you a Burgenlander? Then read the Oberwarther Zeitung, because the Oberwarther Zeitung is the only completely non-political paper printed in Burgenland."¹⁵² Towards this end an agricultural fair in Neusiedl am/See was covered in great detail.¹⁵³ Up to the present, this campaign of the newspaper has been fruitless; all its advertisements are from the south, and the paper cannot even be purchased in the north.

One of the most notable efforts of Oberwart to gain a position of prominence in all of Burgenland was its attempt to become the center of the sports leagues of the province. After 1945 a number of Fussball (soccer) leagues were formed in Burgenland. The strongest of these was the southern group centered in Oberwart city. As a union of the major teams into a Burgenland league was planned, Oberwart attempted to force the league to maintain its headquarters in Oberwart rather than in Eisenstadt. In 1949, the Oberwarther Zeitung carried a special page on "Der Burgenländische Sport," which dealt with the sports news from the entire province, and was by far the most complete summary of sports news in Burgenland. In 1950 the struggle between the north and the

¹⁴⁹Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. January 4, 1925.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., August 23, 1925.

¹⁵¹Ibid., August 25, 1929.

¹⁵²Ibid., January 29, 1950.

¹⁵³Ibid., September 17, 1950.

south reached its climax at the general meeting of the Burgenländischen Fussball Verein (Burgenland Soccer League).¹⁵⁴ The north won. Two-thirds of the sports groups were in the north, and Oberwart could not compete with Eisenstadt on any matter embracing the entire province.

The sectionalism of south versus north is not strong enough to constitute any danger to the continued existence of Burgenland, nor does it produce any serious animosity between the two halves of the province. Gradually, and particularly since 1945, the south has won greater representation in the provincial government. In 1950 the presidency of the Landtag (presiding officer at parliamentary meetings) was obtained by a southerner (from Oberwart County) for the first time, and in 1956 the south gained the chief governmental position, that of Provincial Premier.

The question of a north-south division was settled by the destruction of Burgenland in 1938. In this action the supreme sectionalist solution was attempted, and in the re-establishment the separatist temptation was overcome. After eight years of actual separation the north and the south chose to reunite. Since the time of that reunification, no sectionalism can be taken seriously. The north and the south have learned to live together with a growing mutual respect.

The only other example of sectionalism in Burgenland worth mentioning is the tendency for Neusiedl County to look directly towards Vienna rather than towards the remainder of the province. As previously mentioned, Neusiedl County had threatened to destroy Burgenland, by uniting with Lower Austria, if Eisenstadt had not been chosen as the capital. This sectionalist feeling is still implied by the existence of the Grenzland Kurier in Neusiedl city. This newspaper classified itself as an "independent weekly of the Lower Austria-Burgenland boundary counties." A map in every issue depicts the area serviced by the paper. This area includes all of Neusiedl County, the portion of Eisenstadt County northwest of the See, and Lower Austria south of the Danube, and between the environs of Vienna on the west and Bruck and Hainburg on the east. This area represents the east-west route-ways which, in every way but political, tie Neusiedl County to Bruck, Hainburg, and Vienna rather than to Eisenstadt. The sectionalism of Neusiedl County is, therefore, a reflection of its intimate economic ties to Lower Austria and Vienna rather than of any opposition to Eisenstadt, or of a sense of injustice. "Stepchild" has not been in the northern vocabulary.

¹⁵⁴Burgenländische Freiheit. January 22, 1950.

VI. EXTERNAL TIES

A. The Minorities of Burgenland

Burgenland is the least German of the Austrian provinces.¹ The 1951 census indicated that 13.2 per cent of the population of Burgenland was primarily non-German-speaking. As will be shown later, this figure is too low; approximately 15.5 per cent of the population of the province belongs to a linguistic minority (Magyar or Croatian). Burgenland also contains a higher proportion of Protestants, 14.1 per cent,² than any other province of Austria. Since most of the members of the linguistic minorities are Catholic, 29 per cent of the people of Burgenland are members of a minority group.

This figure has an interest beyond sheer numbers or percentages. The present Magyar minority had, until 1921, been a part of the national ruling group, and the Croats had known only a Hungarian existence since even Croatia was within Hungary until the shattering of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The transfer to Austrian sovereignty was a major reversal in national ties for both these groups. For the Protestants (mostly Lutherans) the transfer to Austria also meant a major alteration in situation, a move from Hungary with its tradition of Protestant revolutionaries (Rákoczy, Bethlen, and Tököly) to "Catholic Austria," the home of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation.

Under the impact of the persistent forces of Germanization, the revisionism of Hungary, the Slavic dream of a north-south "Corridor," the Nazi dream of a Great-Germany, and the introduction into Burgenland of all the political parties, slogans, and battles of Austria, the minority groups have displayed a fascinating diversity in their reaction to these forces and in their manner and degree of assimilation into the Austrian national culture.

¹Burgenland 87 per cent, Carinthia 94 per cent, Tirol and Salzburg 98 per cent, Vienna and Vorarlberg 99 per cent, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and Styria 100 per cent.

²Burgenland 14 per cent, Carinthia 10 per cent, Vienna 8 per cent, Upper Austria 7 per cent, Salzburg and Styria 6 per cent, Tirol, Vorarlberg, and Lower Austria 3 per cent.

TABLE 10

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Germans</u>	<u>Magyars</u>	<u>Croats</u>
1920	294,849	221,185 75%	24,867 8.0%	44,753 15.0%
1923	275,851	222,401 81%	14,931 5.2%	40,196 14.1%
1934	292,288	241,280 81%	10,430 3.5%	40,487 13.5%
1951	276,136	239,687 87%	5,251 1.9%	30,599 11.1%
1951 revised*		233,441 85%	7,669 2.8%	34,427 12.6%

TABLE 11

<u>Gemeinde</u>	<u>1951 Census Figures</u>		<u>Revised Figures</u>		<u>German-Magyars and Their Proportion of the Magyar Total</u>	
	<u>Germans</u>	<u>Magyars</u>	<u>Germans</u>	<u>Magyars</u>		
Oberwart	2,854	1,603	2,277	2,180	577	26%
Unterwart	148	789	147	790	1	0%
Siget in/der Wart	217	45	23	239	194	81%
Oberpullendorf	860	504	691	674	169	25%
Mitterpullendorf	85	362	59	388	26	7%

*The "revised" figure represents the transfer of the German-Magyars from the "German" to the "Magyar" column, and the German-Croats from the "German" to the "Croat" column.

1. Linguistic Minorities

Table 10 (page 273) lists the numbers and the percentages of the three principal linguistic groups in Burgenland. The data are from the Hungarian census of 1920³ and the three Austrian censuses since 1921.

The Austrian language figures are, however, misleading. As is common in such circumstances, many members of the minority groups have felt it expedient to declare themselves as being members of the majority group. In Siget in/der Wart, which is considered to be a Magyar village and in which the primary school and the religious services are still conducted principally in Magyar, the census lists 217 Germans and 45 Magyars.

Fortunately, the census of 1951 gives a detailed breakdown of the figures for Burgenland. The totals for German "Sprachzugehörigkeit" are subdivided into German, German-Magyar, and German-Croat. The other two linguistic groups are similarly subdivided but it is the German-Magyar and the German-Croat figures that are significant since they must indicate the members of the minority groups who have come to feel themselves, or felt it advisable to declare themselves, as being German first and members of the minority group second. (It can safely be assumed that no German would move towards a minority group.) The best indication of the actual totals for each linguistic minority is obtained by adding the German-Magyars to the listed Magyars and the German-Croats to the listed Croats. These in-between classifications are significant also in granting a good approximation of the proportions of each group that are on the threshold of linguistic assimilation.

Because the prominent leaders of the movement for transfer to Austria placed so much emphasis on German nationalism, both of the principal linguistic minority groups demanded, in 1922, autonomy for the province, and guarantees of political freedom for themselves. In April 1922, Karl Wollinger had told a political meeting in Jennersdorf, "We will have our province German. He who is not with us we tell: Get out of here, out of this German Land!"⁴ Alfred Walheim, in a visit to Eisenstadt, complained that he could still hear people "babbling"

³Richard Marek, *Die Entwicklung des Deutschtums in Österreichischen Burgenland*. Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1937.

⁴Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. April 7, 1922.

Magyar.⁵ The fears of the minorities were recognized and eased by Article 5 of the Burgenland Constitution: "German is the official language of Burgenland, but without harming the constitutionally established rights of the linguistic minorities."⁶ The cultural and political rights of the minorities have been carefully protected except for the years of the Nazi government.

a. The Magyars

i. Numbers

As depicted on Map 41 (page 277), the Magyars of Burgenland are concentrated in two small areas, the centers of Oberwart and Oberpullendorf counties. These Magyars are the descendants of colonies settled by Hungarian kings in the 12th century on these strategic sites to guard the frontier. Other border-watch settlements were established elsewhere but the centuries of warfare, the Mongol and Turkish invasions, and the linguistic assimilative force of the numerically predominant German-speaking peasants removed these other Magyar villages from westernmost Hungary. Because of their Magyar character and their strategic locations, the villages of Oberwart and Oberpullendorf were selected, in the 19th century, to be county seats.

As indicated in Table 10 (page 273), the Magyars have declined greatly both in numbers and in their proportion of the total population. The precipitous drop between 1920 and 1923 was due principally to the mass emigration of Hungarian officials and intellectuals.⁷ The 1923 total of 14,931 Magyars included 4,376 "Ausländer" (foreigners), most of whom probably emigrated subsequently, since the 1934 census listed but 10,430 Magyars. The extreme nationalism of the Nazi years and the maturing of a generation that has no recollection of Hungarian rule have helped to lower the Magyar total to only 5,251 (1.9 per cent). If the German-Magyars are added to this total (the "Revised" figures), the number rises to 7,669, 2.8 per cent of the provincial total.

⁵Burgenländisches Volksblatt. September 23, 1923.

⁶Die Verfassung des Burgenlandes, Das Gesetz vom 15. Jänner 1926 über die Verfassung des Burgenlandes. Der Freie Burgenlander, April 4, 1926. This constitution was re-enacted in 1945.

⁷The figures for 1920 and 1923 are not comparable since the former included 2,619 Gypsies and the latter did not.

These figures indicate a decline of 26 per cent between 1934 and 1951 (50 per cent if the German-Magyars are not included). Of the 7,669 Magyars, 31 per cent chose, for one reason or another, to declare themselves as being German first and Magyar second and can, therefore, be considered to be well on the way to becoming Germanized.⁸

Since the five Magyar gemeinden (see Map 41, page 277) have reacted in markedly different ways to the persistent pressures tending towards linguistic assimilation, they deserve individual analysis.

(a) Oberwart. Oberwart city is generally considered in Austria to be the center of the Magyars in Burgenland, and yet the 1951 total listed more Germans than Magyars. Table 11 (page 273) reveals that even if the German-Magyars are added to the Magyar total the number of Germans exceeds, slightly, the number of Magyars. Thus Oberwart had become primarily German and the Magyars are being rapidly Germanized; 26 per cent of the Magyars listed themselves as primarily German. There is still a strong Magyar core surrounding the only Calvinist church in Burgenland. This church, with its parish, forms a distinct community in the southwestern third of the city.

Within Burgenland Oberwart is second only to Eisenstadt, the provincial capital, in population and in economic and political importance. Oberwart serves as the principal market and transportation and political center for the southern three counties of the province.

Because of its great political and economic importance Oberwart has been subjected to intense pressure to Germanize. The development of the city as the principal governmental center of the south was accompanied by an influx of German-speaking officials. The locally born members of the bureaucracy were rapidly Germanized since all the provincial and county governmental agencies had to conduct their operations in German. As the most important market center of southern Burgenland, Oberwart was Germanized in its commercial as well as in its political life.

Linguistic pride and the religious community have worked for the continuation of the Magyar language, but the local inhabitants recognized that their children would have to speak German fluently if they were to advance in the commercial or political life of the city, province,

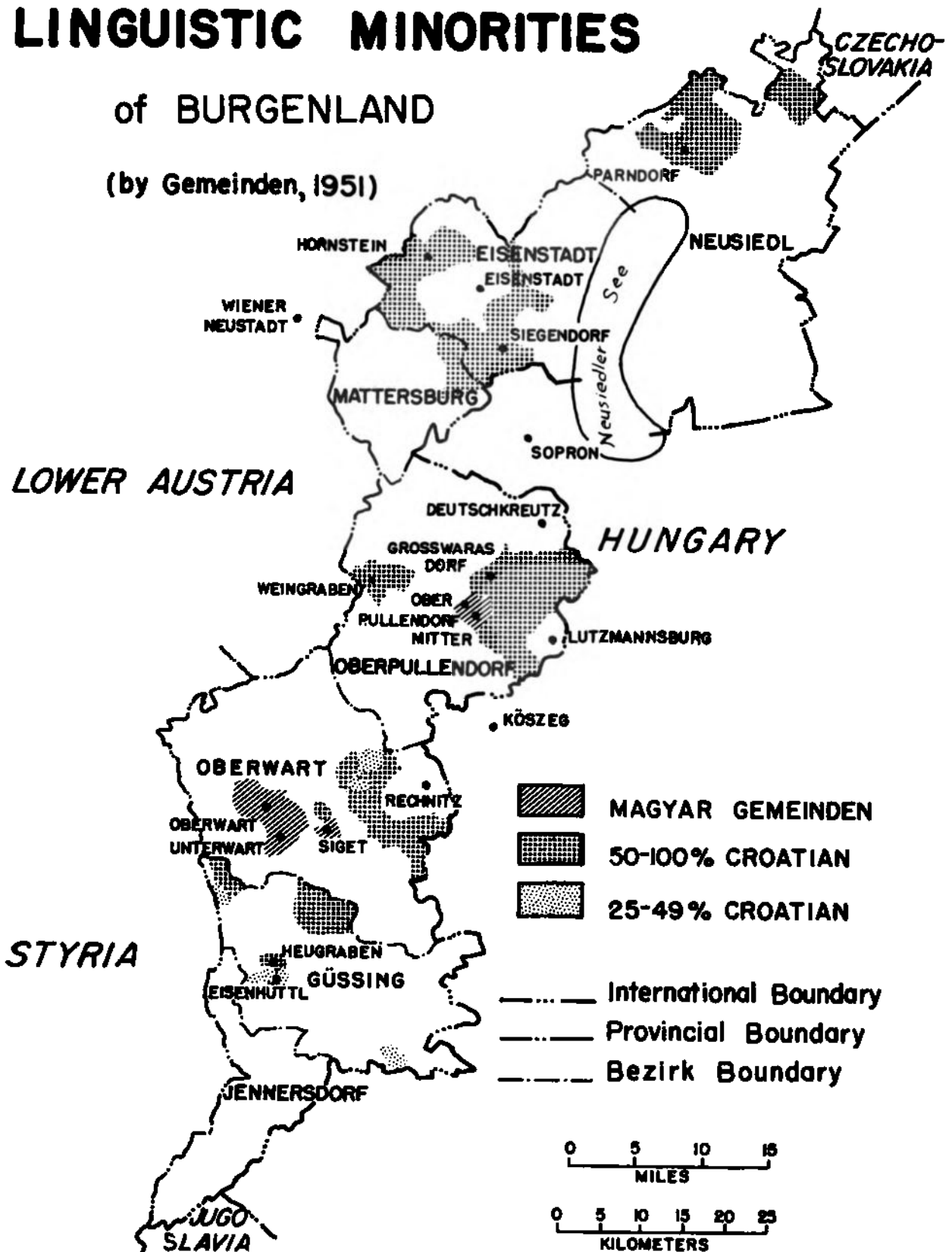
⁸The number of Magyar language schools declined from 9 schools, with 2,306 students in 1921, to 3 schools with 723 students in 1951. There seem to be 5 schools at present. Hans Nowak, *Das Erziehungswesen. Burgenland Landeskunde*. p. 540.

• VIENNA

MAP 41

LINGUISTIC MINORITIESof **BURGENLAND**

(by Gemeinden, 1951)



or state. In the inter-war years the activities of the civic government were conducted in Magyar but now these too have been Germanized.

(b) Unterwart. Unterwart adjoins Oberwart on the southeast and presents the prime example of a minority-populated gemeente that has succeeded in maintaining its original language and culture despite the continuing pressures towards linguistic assimilation. Only one German-Magyar was listed in the 1951 census.

The strong persistence of the Magyar language and culture has been the result of three socio-geographic factors. First, Unterwart is not a political or commercial center and does not, therefore, have to meet the other areas of Austria on their terms. Second, all the contacts of Unterwart with the outside world flow through Oberwart which thus serves as a protective shield for the smaller Magyar community. Though the inhabitants of Unterwart can all speak German (it is a required subject in the Magyar local school), they are able to use Magyar in their commercial and political dealings in Oberwart. Third, Unterwart has become, through the efforts of some of its local leaders, the center of an active Magyar cultural group. A local schoolteacher, in close co-operation with the local church (Catholic), has organized a group to perpetuate the Magyar costumes, songs, dances, and literature. When folk festivals are held in Vienna or elsewhere, it is always a group from Unterwart that presents the Magyar dances.

(c) Siget in/der Wart. Siget is an excellent example of a minority-populated village which is rapidly being Germanized. Eighty-one per cent of these Magyars declared themselves to be Germans first and Magyars second.

This rapid assimilation is attributable to the relative location and the religious adherence of the population. Siget is not far from Unterwart (three miles) but the immediately adjacent villages are all non-Magyar. Siget is not intimately tied to another Magyar community since there is little reason for the inhabitants to visit Unterwart and the village is just as close to a German-speaking market and transport center, Gross-petersdorf, as it is to Oberwart. (Gross-petersdorf is, however, less than half the size of Oberwart.) Probably of greatest significance has been the fact that the Magyars of Siget are Lutheran. Whereas the Calvinists of Oberwart look towards Hungary, and the Catholics of Unterwart look towards the richness of their tradition, the Lutherans of Siget look towards Germany.

(d) Oberpullendorf. Except that its Magyars are Catholic, Oberpullendorf strongly resembles Oberwart. It too is a county seat, and it too has experienced the influx of German-speaking civil servants, and the same pressure to Germanize for political and economic reasons as has Oberwart. Its German, Magyar, and German-Magyar proportions are almost identical with those of Oberwart.

The Magyars in Oberpullendorf gemeente are Catholics. Their church which was built in 1935 is an interesting combination of the two linguistic influences. The church is dedicated to St. Clement Hofbauer who is a patron saint of Vienna and had no connection with Hungary or the Magyars. Three of the stained-glass windows picture Hungarian saints. The window depicting King St. Stephen (the symbol of the historic concept upon which Hungary has based its claims to all its former territories, including Burgenland) was donated by the then Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg! The congregation sings the same Haydn-type hymns that are sung by similar congregations in Vienna.

(e) Mitterpullendorf. Mitterpullendorf strongly resembles Unterwart. The former adjoins Oberpullendorf just as the latter adjoins Oberwart. Mitterpullendorf is also agricultural and Catholic. The strong cultural life of Unterwart is not duplicated in this gemeente partly because the number of Magyars in the vicinity is much smaller than the number in the vicinity of Unterwart.

The only other communities of Magyars consist of groups of agricultural laborers on the manorial work centers in the north-eastern corner of Burgenland. Though there is no longer a Magyar school in Neusiedl County, Magyar is still the usual language in many of these semi-isolated work camps.

ii. Political Activity

The Magyars of Burgenland never attempted to form a political party. They felt themselves to be too weak, too few in numbers. An obviously Magyar party would have had to endure the violent denunciations of the German nationalists who appeared, in 1921, to have assumed many of the positions of power and influence.

The efforts of the Magyars, and particularly the pro-Magyar intellectuals known as Magyaronen (a smear word) were funneled into

the existing Austrian party structure, which had been promptly introduced into the new territory. Since the Magyar-Magyaronen intellectuals were mostly clerics, the party chosen was the Conservative Party. In August 1921, a group of former delegates to the Hungarian Parliament met in Sopron⁹ and organized a party cadre in opposition to the cadre then being imported from Vienna. This group demanded complete autonomy for Burgenland and protested vehemently against the strong influx of gendarmes, bureaucrats, and political leaders from Austria.¹⁰ This local cadre was able to gain partial control of the Conservative Party within Burgenland.

The principal Magyar center, Oberwart, has been notable for its attempts to increase its influence in the political and economic life of the province. This may have been motivated by the desire of the Magyars to regain a measure of their former power, though a simple rivalry of the two principal centers of the province has probably been a more important factor.

The publication of a Magyar weekly newspaper in Burgenland, was begun but this attempt failed.¹¹ A Magyar paper, Hetfő, was printed in Sopron and distributed until 1940 in Burgenland. This strongly revisionist newspaper was a frequent target of the newspapers of the Great German Party. After the Second World War a Magyar Communist newspaper, Magyar Újság, was founded in Vienna but it ceased publication in the summer of 1956. The only Magyar paper currently published is the Catholic Magyar Szó, which was founded in 1955 in Vienna.

iii. Irredentism

In 1921, and throughout the inter-war period, Vienna was beset by the constant fear of irredentist desires among the members of the Magyar minority. It was recognized that the Magyars were few, but it was feared that their influence was still great. When the bitter

⁹Sopron was at this time still considered to be the capital of Burgenland. The border warfare did not commence until later that month.

¹⁰Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. August 23, 1921.

¹¹Der Freie Burgenländer. August 17, 1930.

Austrian inter-party strife of the 1920's resulted in two deaths in Schattendorf¹² in 1927, the first impulse of the Viennese authorities was to blame the bloodshed on Magyar irredentist terrorism.¹³

Contrary to the powers attributed to them by the Viennese, the Magyars felt themselves to be but a weak minority. There was never any semblance of a movement among them for a return to Hungary.

The transfer to Austria was not, however, the shattering experience it may now have seemed to be. The older Magyars knew Hungary only within the unity of the Habsburg Empire. Those who do look, with nostalgia, back to Hungary, look to the Hungary under the Habsburg monarch, not to the Hungary of Horthy, Rákossy, or Kádár. The situation since 1945 has also had its effect on Magyar opinion. As one nobleman stated, "We were all against it [the move to Austria in 1921] but we are thankful now that we are not in Hungary."

An important deterrent to any development of irredentism has been the wise decision of the Austrian government to allow the minorities their primary schools, the full freedom to use their language and pursue their culture, and to avoid any policy of suppression, intimidation, or even watchful supervision. The Magyars of Burgenland feel no sense of injustice. They profess to be "zufrieden" (satisfied).

¹²On January 30, 1927, the Frontkämpfvereingung, which was virtually an armed force of the Conservative Party, held a meeting in Schattendorf. The Schutzbund, the armed force of the Socialist Party, evidently decided to break up the meeting. The members of the Schutzbund marched into Schattendorf, and while some marched to the railroad station to intercept a small group of Fronters who were arriving from Vienna, the remainder demonstrated outside the inn in which the Front was holding its meeting. In the uproar at the inn, shots were fired and two people, an elderly railroad worker and a seven-year-old boy, were killed. The sons of the innkeeper were charged with the shooting. Since Burgenland did not have its own high court, the trial was held in Vienna. On July 14, 1927, the jury freed the defendants on all counts. On the next day the Socialists of Vienna staged a demonstration which rapidly became a riot. In the ensuing three days of street fighting and general strike, 89 people were killed, the Palace of Justice was burnt down, and fears of a Marxist revolution gripped all of Austria. The Marxists in Bruck a/d Mur, Styria, actually proclaimed the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and ruled the city for two days. Burgenland remained quiet throughout the disturbances, but the three freed defendants fled across the adjacent boundary to Hungary. From this time on, armed forces of most of the political parties proliferated throughout Austria.

¹³See the footnote, Wambaugh, *Plebiscites Since the World War, I*, 297; and *Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*, February 13, 1927, and *Der Freie Burgenländer*, July 17, 1927.

The willingness of the Austrians to trust the Magyars is exemplified by the high position enjoyed by the principal Magyar centers of Burgenland, Oberwart and Oberpullendorf. No Magyar could feel that he was being discriminated against when his particular *gemeinde* was retained as the local political center and made prosperous by the attendant construction of government buildings, schools, and hospitals. Though financial considerations probably motivated the Austrian decision to keep the county seats where they had been, this development of political activities in the two Magyar centers was remarkably astute, since it assured the rapid assimilation of the Magyars without any coercion or attendant dissatisfaction.

The younger Magyars are content with their situation in Austria to the point of considering themselves to be completely Austrian. The leader of the Magyar cultural group in Unterwart clarified this feeling by stating that he considers himself to be "a Magyar but not a Hungarian." According to him (and this was corroborated by others), there is not the slightest desire among the Magyars for a return to Hungary; even if Hungary were freed from Communism there would be no favorable response to possible Hungarian demands on Burgenland. He then stated that the Magyars were no longer looking to this or that small state, but beyond, to a united Europe.

b. The Croats

i. Numbers

Table 10 (page 273) indicates that approximately one out of every eight Burgenlanders is a Croat and that the Croats are maintaining their language far more effectively than the Magyars. Of the 43 Croatian *gemeinden* (townships) in Burgenland, none is of any political or commercial significance so that the Croats have not, in their home *gemeinden*, had to meet the rest of Austria on its terms. The Croatian *gemeinden* also show a marked tendency towards clustering; this has facilitated the retention of their language.

The decline in numbers and proportion of the Croats, between 1923 and 1951, is by no means entirely attributable to the effects of Germanization. A study of the population totals indicates that 60 per cent of the decline in numbers is the result of a decline in the total population of the 43 Croatian *gemeinden*; the Croatian villages have been losing population at a faster rate than the provincial average.

This is in direct contrast to the case of the Magyars who have suffered a precipitous decline (49 per cent) in the same 28 years, despite a rise of 11 per cent in the total population of the five Magyar gemeinden.

Just as with the Magyars, the Croats show great local variation in their tendencies towards linguistic assimilation. Where the Croatian villages adjoin each other, forming clusters, the number of German-Croats is very low; where these villages are in the midst of German villages the number is relatively high. In the major cluster in eastern Oberpullendorf County (see Map 41, page 277), only 3 per cent of the Croats are German-Croats, whereas in the two gemeinden (Kaisersdorf and Weingraben^{C6}) in the westernmost portions of the same county the proportion is 52 per cent. In the large cluster in south-eastern Eisenstadt County only 3 per cent are German-Croats, whereas in Hornstein, on the highway between Eisenstadt city and Vienna and almost surrounded by German villages, the proportion is 31 per cent.

Though the Germanization of the Croats is a relatively slow process, it has, nevertheless, been continuous since the Croats first settled their areas, four centuries ago.¹⁴ The prevalence of persons with Croatian names who consider themselves to be German is striking. Persons with names such as Sinkovitz (pronounced Shinkovich), Dujmowitz, Kositz, Villovitz, Sinovatz, and Szmudits insist that they are "rein Deutsch."

An excellent example of the rapid Germanization of a village is provided by Eisenhüttel, in western Güssing County. Its neighboring village to the north, Heugraben, is still predominantly Croatian, but these two gemeinden are separated from the larger Croatian clusters. When the present schoolmaster (who is fluent in German, Croatian, and Magyar) arrived in the 1920's only three families in Eisenhüttel could speak German and most of the children knew no German. The parents were, however, not interested in, or did not consider it necessary, having their children learn Croatian in school. The peasants knew Croatian and some Magyar but would henceforth need a workable knowledge of German if they were to move outside the gemeente confined. Therefore, the emphasis in local education was placed by the Croatian peasants themselves on learning German.

Probably Eisenhüttel could, nevertheless, have remained primarily Croatian if it could have joined together with Heugraben to form

¹⁴See Josef Hůrský, *Vylidnování a asimilace slovanských obcí v Gradisti* (the depopulation and assimilation of slavic groups in Burgenland). *Slovanský ústav v Praze*, 1952. It contains valuable maps and charts.

one Croatian parish. (All the Croats are Catholic.) The parish boundaries were, however, so delimited that these two Croatian villages were connected as missions to different German-speaking parishes. In Eisenhüttl the hymns sung at Mass remained Croatian until 1955 though the sermons had long since been held in German; now all parts of the service (except the Latin) are in German. In 1951 Eisenhüttl was listed as containing 178 Germans and 67 Croats, with 29 German-Croats in the German total. Within three decades the village had changed from Croatian to German.

The Kroatische Kulturverein (Croatian Culture Society) has attempted to halt the process of assimilation before it becomes irreversible. After the close of the Second World War a letter was sent to the schoolmaster in Eisenhüttl advising him to begin giving one hour's instruction in Croatian per week. The schoolmaster interpreted this move to represent the first step in an attempt to change the village back to Croatian. He brought the matter before the Bürgermeister (mayor) and the Gemeinderat (village council); they voted against the introduction of the Croatian language into the school curriculum. The secretary of the Croatian Culture Society thereupon made a special trip to Eisenhüttl to speak before the Gemeinderat, but that body still refused. In attitude as well as in language Eisenhüttl was rapidly becoming German, and that through its own choice.

ii. National Loyalties, 1918-1923

The national desires of the Croats in the critical years of the transfer of Burgenland to Austria have never been investigated. The pro-Austrians claimed the support of the Croats; the Magyars maintained that they were non-German, lacking all vital ties with "German-Austria"; the Czechs looked to the Croats of "German west-Hungary" to form the linguistic base of the "Corridor" linking the North and South Slavs. Yet no one ever bothered to ask the concerned Croatian peasants how they felt. At the present time it is difficult to determine what the Croats wished in 1922; too much time has passed and it is still unpopular to admit that one might have been for Hungary. Yet the following points can be made.

1. The Croats of Burgenland were not in favor of any pan-Slavic Corridor to link the North and South Slavs. Their interests had always been oriented east-west and never north-south. The Corridor was too fanciful an ideological dream in any case.

2. They had never considered uniting with the Croats of Croatia. They had had virtually no contact with the main body of Croats for four centuries. (The southernmost county of Burgenland is also the only one without a Croatian gemeente.) Prior to 1918 the main body of the Croats had also been within Hungary; there was, therefore, not a Croatia outside the state to look towards until the post-World War I breakup of the greater Hungary.

3. Where local considerations were paramount and the peasants rarely left the area, the Croats had no marked preference for either Austria or Hungary, though there was a tendency to favor Hungary. This tendency was based on the attractiveness of a known situation in contrast to a move into an unknown situation. These Croats already knew their own language and they knew some Magyar; they often did not know German. A shift to Austrian sovereignty represented a transfer to a new language and culture.

4. The Croats in the northern three counties of Burgenland (the northern half of the Croats) were decidedly for Austria. These Croats had numerous commercial and personal ties with nearby Vienna. Many of them commuted as migrant industrial workers (as they still do today) to Vienna, had become Austrian Socialists, and subscribed to Viennese newspapers.

5. Those Croats, mostly in the southern counties, who worked on the agricultural estates of Hungary were clearly pro-Hungarian.

6. The Croatian intellectuals, i.e., the priests, were very pro-Hungarian. Where the situation allowed it, the local cleric used his influence to persuade the villagers to declare themselves for Hungary.

7. The Croats of Burgenland were not especially impressed by the arguments that they were leaving Hungarian "repression" to join a "free" Austria. This idea, that became so widespread in the West, seems to have had little support in this area at the time.

Why then were the Croats of Oberpullendorf and Oberwart counties awarded to Austria? In these two counties the large clusters fell on the boundary and could have been awarded one way or the other. The answer appears to be that in the boundary delimitation only the Germans and the Magyars were considered and the future nationality of the individual Croatian gemeente was made dependent on its location with respect to the German and Magyar gemeinden.

In Oberpullendorf County the German gemeinden of Deutschkreutz and Lutzmannsburg^{D7} evidently determined the location of the boundary. Had the Boundary Commission chosen to ignore the 1,500 Germans of Lutzmannsburg and a smaller adjacent village, a full quarter of present-day Oberpullendorf County, including the Magyar county seat, could have been kept within Hungary, as non-German. (See Map 41, page 277). But once Lutzmannsburg and Deutschkreutz were awarded to Austria the large cluster of ten Croatian gemeinden between them came to Austria also. This was clearly the wiser decision since these Croatian gemeinden focused on the adjacent German villages which carried the Kőszeg-Sopron-Vienna railroad.

In northeastern Oberwart County the site of the large German gemeente, Rechnitz^{C8}, became the decisive locational factor. Had the 3,700 Germans of Rechnitz and a smaller adjacent village been ignored, most of northeastern Oberwart County could have been retained by Hungary as non-German. A slightly further extension would have included the large Magyar settlement in and around Oberwart city within this non-German area. Again the wiser decision was to draw the boundary as it now is. Leaving the Magyars and the Croats of northeastern Oberwart County within Hungary would have created a fantastically unwieldy boundary; yet, because of Rechnitz, twelve Croatian villages were added to Austria.

It could be stressed that every Croatian village in eastern Burgenland that was given its option chose Hungary. Two Croatian villages, originally awarded to Austria, petitioned to be returned to Hungary, and were exchanged by the two governments for three German villages which had been awarded to Hungary.

Though the northern half of the Croats clearly wished to join Austria, the southern half were awarded to Austria not because they preferred Austria to Hungary (rather the contrary) but because they happened to be located to the west of German gemeinden.

iii. The Continuing North-South Split

Ever since 1918 (and perhaps previously) there has been a sharp north-south split in the political and cultural activities of the Croats of Burgenland. The divide between "north" and "south" in this case occurs at the "waist" of Burgenland, where the Sopron salient almost cuts the province in two. The northern Croats have long been tied to the industrial and commercial life of Vienna and Wiener Neustadt; the southern Croats have not. The northerners are principally industrial workers (many of them migratory); the southerners are principally land-based peasants. The northerners are overwhelmingly members or supporters of the Socialist Party; the southerners have tended to support the Conservative Party.

The northern Croats were assimilated into the Austrian economy and political life even before 1918, but the southern Croats did not readily accept the pre-existing Austrian political system. Perhaps as a reaction to the strong pan-German utterances of some of the more conspicuous leaders of the movement for transfer to Austria, the Croats of Oberpullendorf County attempted to form their own party.

The Burgenländische Kroatische Partie (Gradjansko Hrvatska Stranka) (Burgenland Croatian Party) was organized in Gross-warasdorf^{C6} in 1922; its first candidate for election was Lorenz Karall, a young lawyer of that village. The platform of this party revealed the basic fears of this minority group. The party demanded complete autonomy for the province and the enactment of the measures, designed to perpetuate the Croatian language and culture, that had been specified in the Peace Treaty.¹⁵ In the election of 1923 the Croatian Party garnered only 2,454 votes, 80 per cent of which were from Oberpullendorf County. Though over half of the Croats lived in the north, only 272 votes were cast for this party in the north. The largest Croatian gemeente, Parnsdorf^{E3}, did not cast a single vote for Karall.¹⁶

The Croatian Party never ran again; instead it amalgamated with the Conservative Party. Eager to gain the support of the non-Socialist Croats, the Conservative Party was willing to guarantee that its future ballots would be so arranged that at least two Croatian delegates would be certain to be elected to the Landtag in every election. Reportedly, Dr. Karall (who had received his LL.D. from the University of Budapest) had been against the transfer of Burgenland to Austria. If this is true it indicates that both groups of Magyar sympathizers entered the Conservative Party. Both groups that had demanded complete autonomy for Burgenland with home rule and minority guarantees thus

¹⁵The platform of the Croatian Party consisted of the following points: (1) the protection of the Croatian language in schools and in the government as promised in the peace treaty; (2) complete autonomy ("unbedingte Autonomie") for Burgenland; (3) the preservation of the ethnic ("völkisch") individuality of the Croats in Burgenland, though in the closest agreement with the German majority; (4) the furthering of the economic welfare and the cultural advance of the Burgenland Croats; (5) representation of the Croats in the Landtag (provincial parliament), the Nationalrat (federal parliament), and the Landesverwaltung (provincial governing bureaucracy). *Güssinger Zeitung*, April 30, 1922.

¹⁶*Der Freie Burgenländer*. October 28, 1923.

became active portions of the Conservative Party, and each group produced a future Provincial Premier of the province.¹⁷

After the amalgamation of the Croatian Party with the Conservative Party, the north-south split became crystallized in the voting returns. In the elections of 1927 and 1930 (the last elections prior to 1945), the 15 Croatian gemeinden of the north voted Socialist--23, Conservative--6 (and one result even), while the 28 Croatian gemeinden of the south voted Socialist--10 and Conservative--46.

Since 1945 the north-south differences have been accentuated by the emergence of the Kroatische Kulturverein (Croatian Culture Society) based, again, in Oberpullendorf County. This organization, spearheaded by intellectuals, has made a concerted effort to ensure the continuance of the Croatian language and culture in Burgenland. Most of its leaders appear to be Catholic clergymen who seem thus to have moved from their previous pro-Hungarian position to one now strongly pro-Croatian (in both cases a defense of tradition against the erosive pressures working towards linguistic assimilation). Their attempt to reintroduce the use of Croatian into the school in Eisenhüttel has already been mentioned. The intellectual motivation behind the Kulturverein is illustrated by the desires of some of its spokesmen to introduce "pure Croatian" (Serbo-Croatian), in place of the present Germanized/Magyarized dialect form, into the schools.

The Austrian Peace Treaty of 1955, in Article 7, "Rights of the Slovene and Croat Minorities," carefully guaranteed the rights of the Croats within Austria:

1. Austrian nationals of the Slovene and Croat minorities in Carinthia, Burgenland and Styria shall enjoy the same rights, on equal terms, as all other Austrian nationals, including the right to their own organizations, meetings and press in their own language.
2. They are entitled to elementary instruction in the Slovene and Croat languages and, in proportional number, of their own secondary schools; in this connection, school curricula shall be reviewed and a section of the Inspectorate of Education shall be established for Slovene and Croat schools.

¹⁷In 1929 Rev. Thullner, a member of the group of the former delegates to the Hungarian parliament (see Section A.1.a.ii. of this chapter), was selected to be Provincial Premier. Der Freie Burgenländer, July 28, 1929. Karall served as Provincial Premier from 1945 until 1956.

3. In the administrative and judicial districts of Carinthia, Burgenland and Styria, where there are Slovene, Croat or mixed populations, the Slovene and Croat languages shall be accepted as official languages in addition to German.

4. Austrian nationals of the Slovene and Croat minorities in Carinthia, Burgenland and Styria shall participate in the cultural, administrative and judicial systems in these territories on equal terms with the other Austrian nationals.

5. The activity of organizations whose aim is to deprive the Croat or Slovene population of their minority character shall be prohibited.¹⁸

The Austrian Peace Treaty, bearing these clauses, went into effect on July 27, 1955. Four months later, the Kulturverein published a memoir which it presented to the Austrian federal government. This paper¹⁹ made specific reference, point by point, to the pertinent clauses of the treaty, and thereupon made sweeping demands for increased Croatian educational facilities and representation in the bureaucracy.²⁰ The memoir closed with the warning that it was being brought to the attention of the signatory powers of the treaty, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. (The Powers were, under the terms of the treaty, to supervise for a period of 18 months the execution of the terms of the treaty by Austria.) Since the Austrian government had not satisfactorily acceded to these proposals, the representatives of the Kroatische Kulturverein and of a similar group from among the Slovenes, on January 15, 1957, petitioned the Powers that the rights enunciated in the treaty be put into effect.²¹

These actions of the Kulturverein have drawn violent denunciations from the Socialist Croats of northern Burgenland. At the time of the initial memoir, a gathering of the "Bürgermeistern /mayors/ and Vize-Bürgermeistern /assistant mayors/ of the Croatian and mixed-language gemeinden of Burgenland" met in Siegendorf, an

¹⁸Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich. Vienna, July 30, 1955, p. 763.

¹⁹Naš Tajednik, Neodvisni Glasnik Gradiscanskih Hrvator, Denkschrift des Kroatischen Kulturvereines. Wien, 1955. Printed in both Croatian and German.

²⁰See Appendix E for details of these demands.

²¹Burgenländische Freiheit. February 10, 1957.

industrial, Socialist, Croatian gemeinde of the north, and passed a resolution rejecting the memoir and declaring that the Kulturverein had no mandate to speak for the Croats of Burgenland. Only the freely elected village officials had such a mandate and they rejected the memoir.²²

The Socialist newspaper of Burgenland, Burgenländische Freiheit, has echoed the resolution of the mayors. Croats from the north have contributed articles denouncing the memoirs. The note to the Powers was interpreted as "an attack against Austria."²³

Since the leaders of the Kulturverein are prominent in the Conservative Party, the Socialist Party has demanded that the Conservative Party (ÖVP) accept responsibility for the actions of the Kulturverein. In a heated editorial the Socialist newspaper asked the leadership of the Conservative Party:

Do you agree with the resolution of January 15, 1957?
Do you agree with the charges made against the Ministry of the Interior? Do you agree with the charges made against the Courts? Do you support this Croatian Kadar who is giving strange powers, including Russia, opportunities for intervention in Austria? We ask you Herr Landeshauptmann We ask your party!²⁴

The leadership of the Conservative Party has maintained silence. Since the signatory Powers can no longer interfere legally in the internal affairs of Austria, the leadership of the Conservative Party evidently looks forward to a decrease in the intensity and frequency of the demands of the Kroatische Kulturverein.

Despite the memoirs of the Kulturverein, it is believed generally that the vast majority of the Croats feel themselves to be loyal and satisfied citizens of Austria. The word "zufrieden" (satisfied) is heard as often in conversations with them as with the Magyars. Though the meetings sponsored by the Kulturverein are supposedly well attended (in the south) the overwhelming majority of the Croats, south as well as north, seems far more interested in becoming adept at German than in retaining or improving its mastery of the Croatian language. We see here the intriguing phenomenon: the peasants who are the

²²Burgenländische Freiheit. February 10, 1957.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

bearers of the culture that is so prized by the intelligentsia are quite willing to surrender their inherited culture if human relationships or practical considerations so suggest.

The intellectuals of the Kroatische Kulturverein are trapped in a dilemma similar to that of the Magayrs; they cannot identify themselves with the main body of the Croats. The persons who would have been the most likely to establish close connections with the Croats of Yugoslavia, the clerical leaders of the Kulturverein, have been alienated from the linguistic international tie by the Communism of Yugoslavia.²⁵ In a statement intriguingly similar to that of a Magyar cultural leader, a past president of the Kulturverein stated that they do not look towards any country, they look towards a United Europe.

The peasantry wishes no part of Yugoslavia. It too has been alienated by the specter of Communism. More important, however, has been the historical-geographical fact that the Croats of Burgenland and of Croatia have not, since 1530, felt any close ties with each other. When in 1947 Tito asked at London that a free exchange of population be allowed, this was misinterpreted in Burgenland to mean that the Croatian peasantry would be forced to leave its lands and migrate to Croatia.²⁶ Local protest demonstrations greeted the spread of this report; some of the peasants removed their children from the Croatian schools for fear that the families would be identified as Croatian and forced to emigrate.²⁷

c. The Gypsies

Though fewest of all minority groups in number, prior to 1938 the gypsies presented Burgenland with more and greater problems than any of the other groups. This was doubly unfortunate, since of all the minority problems of the province this one was the least understood by the politicians of Old-Austria. The Viennese had known the gypsies only as night-club musicians, and had romanticized them in their operettas, but had never had to face the problems resulting from the rapid growth in numbers of a nomadic population within an overpopulated agricultural area.

²⁵A Croatian group from Oberpullendorf County has, on one occasion, displayed its dances at a folk festival in Croatia, but this seems to have been the only true cultural exchange.

²⁶Neues Österreich. Wien, January 17, 1947.

²⁷Freies Burgenland. January 31, 1947.

The gypsies were a unique inheritance from Hungary. They were scattered over most of Burgenland (126 of the 325 gemeinden had permanent gypsy camps outside the village),²⁸ though the greatest concentration was in the vicinity of Magyar Oberwart-Unterwart.

In 1925 there were 5,480 gypsies in Burgenland (2 per cent of the total population), but 1,419 (26 per cent) were under ten years of age. By the 1934 census there were 6,507, an increase of 19 per cent in nine years. Of these, roughly half (3,304) were in Oberwart County. In the village of Schreibersdorf^{B7}, though slightly less than half of its population of 450 was gypsy, in eleven years there was an increase of 84 people, 74 of whom were gypsy children.²⁹ It was this almost unbelievable fertility that made the gypsy problem so pressing for Burgenland.

The problem of the gypsies was enormously complicated by their unorthodox way of life. They had no fixed places of residence and no regular marriages, hence no recorded households. They did not register their births. Most maddening of all to the governmental record-keepers was their tribal system; everyone in a particular tribe bore the same last name. Of the 5,480 gypsies counted in 1925, 2,305 were of the Horvath tribe alone; many of these had the same first name also. Tracking down a suspected thief was difficult, or almost impossible. As a means towards establishing some sort of records, the Burgenland government began photographing and fingerprinting every gypsy over 14 years of age.³⁰

Of the 5,480 gypsies counted in 1925, only 354 (6 per cent) claimed regular employment of any type. Of these almost one-third (105) were unlicensed musicians; 30 were licensed musicians, 62 were smiths, and the remainder were occupied in a variety of crafts.³¹ Most of the gypsies would not work according to usual standards. They performed odd jobs, and often indulged in acts of petty thievery.

In April 1924, the Oberwart newspaper gave the first outcry of distress at the growing problem. In 1926 there were numerous meetings, articles in the newspapers, and petitions to Vienna. By the early 1930's the gypsy problem was termed "a life and death question for the Burgenland peasant economy."³² "The gypsy problem must

²⁸Fritz Bodo, Burgenland Atlas. p. 45.

²⁹Ibid., p. 45.

³⁰Der Freie Burgenländer. November 14, 1926.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., October 2, 1932.

be solved. Forty years ago there were about 800 in all Burgenland; now there are 5,000 in Oberwart County alone."³³

With increasing vehemence Burgenland continued to request special assistance from the federal government to meet the problem. The case of Glashütten bei/Schlaining^{BC8} (population 234) was presented to the federal parliament. This gemeinde had made the "mistake" that year of caring for a sick gypsy mother and three sick gypsy children. The total expense to the village had been 8,900 schillings though its entire tax income was only 1,200 schillings.³⁴ Probably the most immediate aspect of the problem was the question of who would pay for all the welfare, relief, and medical assistance required by the gypsies.

At the invitation of Provincial Premier Alfred Walheim, and with four other members of the Landtag also present, a "Conference on the Gypsy Problem in Burgenland" was held in Oberwart on January 15, 1933. Four resolutions were adopted by the participants of this meeting. (1) There should be a special law for the gypsies, removing the citizenship of those who would not work. (2) The welfare ("Fürsorge") of the gypsies should be the responsibility of the federal government. (3) There should be a stiffening of the punishment meted out for vagabondage and robbery. With each repeated conviction the penalty should be doubled. (4) The gemeinden should be granted the power to state a definite period of the year in which the essentials of life ("blosse Verpflegung") would be supplied to the gypsies.³⁵

The problem of the gypsies was not solved in 1933. Instead this matter, with all the other problems of the province, was swamped by the greater problems confronting the Austrian state itself. Since the Conservative-Socialist bloodshed of 1927, the principal question had become which of the two contending forces could gain control of Austria. It was an age of dictatorships, and Austria was no exception. In 1934 the intra-party struggle culminated in the victory of the Conservatives under Dollfuss. After 1934 there was no longer any parliamentary government in Austria, and all mention of the many vital questions confronting Burgenland ceased. Apparently no effort was made to resolve the dilemma presented by the gypsies.

³³Der Freie Burgenländer. January 1, 1933. (The figures are exaggerated.)

³⁴Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. January 29, 1933.

³⁵Ibid., January 22, 1933.

The problem was "solved" by the Nazis. The gypsies were forced to labor ten hours a day;³⁶ and in the latter years of the war the gypsies were nearly all exterminated. Stretches of the forested uplands of the south contain the mass graves of the gypsies.

The 1951 census did not list gypsies. Since there are no other linguistic minorities in Burgenland, it can be assumed that almost all of the 599 "others" (not German, Croat, or Magyar) are gypsies. If this is true, then the gypsy total is only 7 per cent of their number in 1938. Most of the "others" are concentrated in Oberwart County, with 89 in Oberwart and Unterwart gemeinden. The most notable gypsy camp at the present time is the cluster of huts behind Unterwart. Although small the huts appear to be in good condition. In extensive travels through Burgenland in 1956-1957 gypsy wagons were seen on the road only once, and then the "caravan" consisted of just two wagons.

The gypsies still do odd menial jobs. On one occasion a woman of Unterwart discussed, in Magyar, a piece of sewing work with a young gypsy woman. After the gypsy had left, the Magyar woman commented, "They are to us what the black people are to you."

2. Religious Minorities

a. The Lutherans

In 1951 there were 38,995 Protestants in Burgenland, approximately 37,500 of whom were Lutheran (Augsburger Bekenntnis). In numbers and in their proportion of the total population (14 per cent) the Protestants have remained virtually unchanged since 1923.

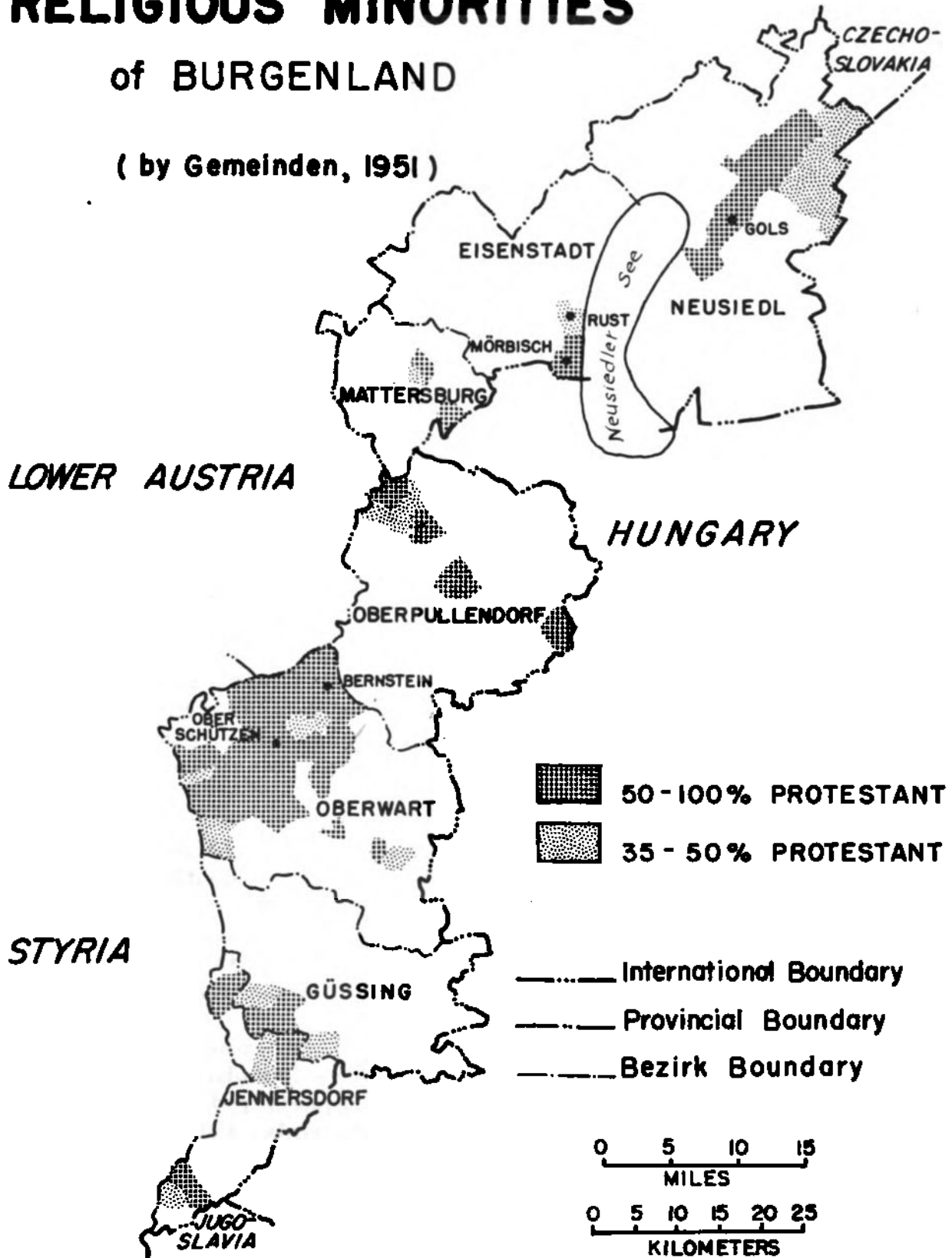
The religious minorities are, at present, not subject to the same pressures to assimilate as are the linguistic minorities. It should be noted, however, that it was not always thus. In the 17th century national unity, and the assimilation necessary to procure this unity, were thought of in religious rather than linguistic terms. It was felt to be a precarious situation for a state to lack a common religion much as it is now considered somewhat precarious for the average state to lack a common language. For two centuries prior to 1782, the Habsburg Emperors attempted to re-establish Catholicism in those portions of their realm in which Protestantism had taken root. Though the Protestants of Burgenland are not now under strong pressure to become members of the Roman Catholic Church, they have endured these pressures in the past.

³⁶Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. August 7, 1938.

MAP 42

RELIGIOUS MINORITIESof **BURGENLAND**

(by Gemeinden, 1951)



As Map 42 (page 295) indicates, the Lutherans are distributed through all seven counties. There is a distinct correlation with terrain features. Though the Lutherans were generally protected by sympathetic Magyar noblemen, the topography also seems to have had much to do with the locales of their survival. The largest grouping is in the rough upland area of northwestern Oberwart County. This is the largest and most isolated area of cultivated upland surface in the province. The location on the provincial boundary has no significance; the Lutheran concentrations do not extend into Styria or Lower Austria. Two other notable areas of Lutherans are in the rugged interfluvial upland along the Güssing-Jennersdorf boundary and in the southernmost tip of the province. The latter area coincides with the drainage divide between the Raab and the Mur. The northwestern corner of Oberpullendorf County is, similarly, an area of upland. The prosperous wine gemeinden of Rust and Mörbisch^{D4}, which lie between a ridge and the Neusiedler See, are the only Lutheran settlements in their county. The only notable concentration in a flat, open area occurs in the northeast. These Lutherans survived largely because of their late arrival. After the Turks had devastated this area in 1683 the destroyed villages were repopulated largely with Lutherans who migrated from southwestern Germany to the relative tolerance of western Hungary.

Religious memories are long and strong in Burgenland. For the average Lutheran pastor the Toleration Act of 1782 was enacted only yesterday and his church is still threatened by the rigors of the Austrian Counter-Reformation. The right to build church towers, regained in 1782, resulted in a number of edifices expressive of the desire to overshadow the Catholic churches in both height and grandeur. Whenever a village has both a Lutheran and a Catholic church (as in Bernstein^{B7}), the former can usually be singled out as the more ornate and conspicuous.

The average Lutheran seems to feel that he is, in fact, even if not legally, still persecuted. He claims (and evidently with much justice) that he cannot hope to obtain one of the higher governmental positions. The average Burgenland Catholic is not as conscious of religious differences as is the Protestant, and he tends to feel that the Lutherans are excessively touchy, clannish, and obstructionist.

In the inter-war years the Lutherans avoided supporting the Conservative Party since it was, in fact, the Catholic Party. Most of the Lutherans are land-based peasants and preferred not to vote for the other principal party, the Socialist. Fortunately, a third party, the peasant-based Bauernbund, was available. In the four inter-war

elections the 48 Lutheran gemeinden voted Bauernbund--114, Socialist--52, Great German--12, Conservative--7, and Heimatblock--5 times.³⁷

In the four elections since 1945 the Lutherans have had to choose between the Socialists and the Conservatives (ÖVP) since the Bauernbund no longer exists. The composite results are Socialist--108 and Conservative--84. Since the Conservatives obtained a majority or plurality in every one of these four elections, these results suggest that despite their peasant character the Lutherans still prefer not to vote Conservative.

The Lutherans of Burgenland believed in the unity of the German people. "The 'volk' is a God-given unity," one Lutheran pastor stated. It was this belief in the essential unity of the German people that motivated the Lutherans of Burgenland to favor the transfer to Austria despite the fact that the existence of a Lutheran minority in Burgenland was due largely to the protection of Magyar noblemen, and the willingness of notable Magyar Protestants to oppose with force the Habsburg Counter-Reformation. It was paradoxical that the Catholic clergy worked actively for Hungary, whereas the Lutherans favored a union with Austria.

The aim of the Lutherans went beyond the union with Austria to the "Anschluss"³⁸ with Germany. The attractiveness of a greater Germany was enhanced by the historical fact that Martin Luther had been a German and had lived, preached, and died within Germany. The Lutherans also saw, in the union with Germany, the opportunity to change from a minority to a majority status. In a greater Germany the Catholics, not they, would be the minority group. It was an unfortunate historical coincidence that the union of Austria and Germany was effected by Adolph Hitler.

Did the Lutherans recognize the evil aspects of Nazism? They now claim that they did not. Though the persecution of the Jews had been a brutal fact for several years in Germany, there was enough latent anti-semitism throughout Central Europe to allow this early manifestation of the scope of Nazi brutality to be accepted without serious

³⁷The results from two gemeinden are missing from the 1922 election.

³⁸The Anschluss (union) with Germany had considerable support in Austria at the close of the First World War. Unofficial plebiscites in Salzburg and the Tyrol in 1921 resulted in overwhelming majorities favoring the union of Austria and Germany. Had the Entente Powers not expressly forbidden such a move Austria would probably then have become a part of a greater Germany. Wambaugh, Plebiscites Since the World War, I, 545-546.

qualms of conscience. The peasants in the hills of Burgenland may well not have known, or believed, the extent of Nazi brutality. Even if they had heard, the Lutheran peasants may have refused to admit the shortcomings of their hoped-for saviors (a common enough occurrence among minority groups). As the wife of one pastor admitted, "shockingly many" of the Lutherans became Nazis.

It must be remembered too that the 1930's were years of dictatorship. In virtually every state of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe the powers of government were concentrated in the hands of one individual or one party. These were also years of grave economic crisis, and it was common practice for a dictatorship to focus the blame for the national economic plight on one group, such as the Jews, the Kulaks, the Communists, or the Socialists. Between 1933 and 1938 Austria was governed by a regime which was, in the eyes of the Socialists and the Lutherans, a Catholic dictatorship. The "Heimatfront," led by the leaders of the Conservative (Catholic) Party, outlawed all other political parties and established hand-picked governments for the state and the provinces.

In 1933 Chancellor Dollfuss signed a Concordat with the Vatican. The Lutherans saw in this a confirmation of their belief that they were looked upon as second-class citizens of Austria. They feared a return of the persecution they had endured prior to 1782. Motivated by this fear and by their Pan-German sentiments, the Lutherans of Burgenland preferred the introduction of a German dictatorship to the Austrian variety they were then experiencing.

It must not be assumed, therefore, that there was any inherent connection between Lutheranism and Nazism. Many brave pastors in Germany proved the opposite to be true, and one of the initial strongholds of the Nazi Party in Austria was, reportedly, in Styria, which contained very few Lutherans. The Lutherans were attracted by the prospect of union with Germany, not by Nazism per se.

Prior to their destruction of Burgenland in 1938, the Nazis established a short-lived government for the province. Despite an attempt at regional representation, 11 of the 30 members, including the holders of 7 of the 10 top offices in this government were from within five miles of Oberschützen, the Lutheran educational center of the province. Four of the members were from Oberschützen itself, a village of 1,179 inhabitants (in 1934).³⁹ Several of the Lutheran villages of

³⁹Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, April 3, 1938; and Glüssinger Zeitung, May 29, 1938.

Burgenland still bear the reputation of having been Nazi centers.⁴⁰ Gols^{E3} was referred to later as having been "a Nazi paradise."⁴¹ After February 1945 everyone who had had connections with the Nazi Party was held suspect. The two resurrected principal parties of Austria, the Socialists and Conservatives (ÖVP), announced that they would have nothing to do with the remnants of the former Nazi Party.

Some of the Lutherans thus found themselves excluded as "untouchables" from organized political life. These persons tended to adopt an attitude of "a plague on both your houses" and cast their votes for whichever third party happened to be at hand. In 1945 the only other party available was, paradoxically, the Communist. In that election the wine-producing centers of Gols^{E3} and Rust^{D4} gave the Communist Party 12 per cent and 34 per cent of their votes respectively. (Wine gemeinden are the homes of prosperous peasants who are about as "bourgeois" as a peasant can be.)

In 1949 another party, the WdU (Party of the Independents) appeared on the ballot. This party, which has been looked upon as purely obstructionist by the leaders of both major parties, became the rallying ground of the former Nazis. In 1949, 35 of the 320 gemeinden of Burgenland gave 10 per cent or more of their votes to this minor party; 20 of these 35 were Lutheran. With the end of the Soviet occupation and the passage of a decade, the Nazi issue has decreased appreciably in political importance. The strength of the WdU has declined also, from 6,398 votes in 1949 to 4,919 votes in 1956.

b. The Calvinists

At the present time there are about 1,500 "Helvetianer Bekenntnis" Protestants in Burgenland. The 1951 census did not distinguish between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, but the proportions between the two sects has probably not altered much since 1934 when there were 1,552 Calvinists. The Calvinists differ from the Lutherans in being Magyar and in being confined to one parish in the southwestern

⁴⁰There is the possibility that the Nazis, entering from Germany, may have made a concerted effort to gain the support of the Lutherans rather than vice versa, but in any case many Burgenlanders are convinced that there was a distinct correlation between the Lutheran villages and the centers of Nazi power.

⁴¹Freies Burgenland. November 16, 1945.

third of Oberwart city. They seem to be too few in number to have developed any feelings of antagonism against the majority group, or any hopes for a future increase in importance. Oberwart city had in 1951 approximately 1,450 Calvinists, 800 Lutherans, and 2,232 Catholics. Since Oberwart, despite its commercial importance, has voted Conservative in seven out of eight elections, it can be assumed that the Calvinists have had no ideological reasons for not supporting the Conservative Party.

c. The Jews

In 1951 there were only 39 Jews in all of Burgenland; they are, therefore, virtually insignificant in the political and economic life of the province. In 1934 the Jews numbered 3,632, and constituted 1.2 per cent of the total population. In that year they formed 12 per cent of the total population. In that year they formed 12 per cent of the population of Mattersburg city^{B5}, Deutschkreutz^{CD6}, and Frauenkirchen^{E4}, and 9 per cent of Eisenstadt. Their greatest concentration at present is in Eisenstadt, where there are 9.

In the 19th century the greatest concentration of Jews had been in the manorial centers. The number as well as the proportion of Jews in Burgenland was greatest in the early 19th century, when manorial life was strongest and when the larger urban centers to the east and west had not yet grown to monopolize commercial activity. Mattersburg city had 1,400 Jews in 1818, 511 in 1934, and none in 1951.⁴² The Nazi decimation of the Jews was, for Burgenland, merely a sudden dramatic step in the continuing decrease in the number of Jews in the province. Even if the number of Jews in Austria should increase dramatically it is doubtful if the number in Burgenland would show an appreciable increase.

3. Conclusions

Neither of the two principal linguistic minorities of Burgenland forms the united force that statistics of their numbers suggest. Both are split among themselves, the Croats politically, the Magyars religiously. All the Croats are Catholics, but the division by adherence to political party, based largely on economic occupation (based ultimately on location in relation to the urban labor market of Vienna), has

⁴²Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländischen Wirtschaft. p. 256.

resulted in two antagonistic factions. The Magyars are not split into antagonistic groups, but the three religious faiths have induced differing reactions to the minority situation in which the Magyar peasants find themselves.

The intellectuals among both the Croats and the Magyars distrusted the Austrians in 1921 and demanded complete autonomy for the province and precise guarantees of rights. The Croats, since they had the larger numbers and were more compactly grouped, attempted to form their own party. By 1924, however, both the Croatian and Magyar intellectuals (largely the clergy in both cases) were active members of the Conservative Party.

The assimilation of the Croats and the Magyars was enhanced by the Austrian system of proportional representation. Had the province been divided, as in the United States, into single-member electoral units, the Magyars around Oberwart might well have been able to elect a Magyar spokesman, and certainly the Croats could have elected locally representative Croatian delegates to the Landtag (provincial parliament). Within the context of proportional representation, the larger parties, with their broadly based apparatus, were able to submerge or incorporate all political localisms. Within three years the linguistic groups and their factions had been incorporated into the two principal parties.

In contrast the Lutherans have not been as effectively assimilated into the established political life of Austria. Whereas the Magyars and the Croats had no common politically virile ideological base which could unite them within one party, the Lutherans did possess such an ideology which manifested itself in political life in a negative rather than a positive fashion, against the major parties rather than for any party. (The Magyar Lutheran gemeente, Siget, voted the same way as the other Lutheran gemeinden.) The Lutherans, who entered Austria the most eagerly of all the minority groups, nevertheless became the group that supported the minor and protest parties.

Despite Viennese fears, neither of the linguistic minority groups has entertained any serious irredentist aspirations; paradoxically, the Lutherans supplied the only irredentism in Burgenland. The Croats never considered a union with Croatia, the Magyars never seriously concerned themselves with an attempted return to Hungary, but the Lutherans were supporters of the "Anschluss" with Germany — and seem to have welcomed the outside force when it arrived. In this, as in all other political activities, religion has been a far more potent factor than the overly publicized linguistic differences.

The Magyar and the Croatian peasants felt from their first days within Austria that their prime task was to learn German and to become acquainted with the Austrian political and economic systems. Both groups are essentially Austrianized in their national feelings.

The Croats have been linguistically assimilated far more slowly than the Magyars because the Croats have the larger number, are more compactly clustered, and have remained relatively more isolated than the two Magyar centers, both of which have become important centers of local government. Yet, unless there is a radical change in the situation of the minority groups, the Croats as well as the Magyars seem certain to be completely assimilated within a few decades.

X Since assimilation is rarely thought of in terms of religion, the Lutherans have not felt the same pressures, nor has the adoption of Catholicism been equated with Austrianization. Yet, at least until 1945, the Lutherans seem to have thought of themselves as German rather than Austrian, whereas the reverse was true of the Croats and the Magyars. The Lutherans now seem to be Austrianized in national feeling, and the reduction of the number of principal political parties to only two has forced a measure of political assimilation as well.

The pressure towards linguistic assimilation has, since 1945, been tremendously enhanced by the introduction into Burgenland of recent improvements in transportation and communications. The outside world can now enter the most remote Croatian village, and the peasant can, with ever-increasing ease, move beyond the gemeente limits to the glamorous cities and their market and employment facilities. The fabled long-livedness of the village linguistic cultures in Central Europe was a symbol of local, circumscribed peasant self-sufficiency. At the present time the peasant will no longer so limit his vision of the world; he now not only must, but is eager to, meet the outside world on its terms. As one Magyar priest commented, "Under 400 years of supposed repression by the Magyars, the Croats kept their language and music, their dances and costumes, and now, after 30 years of Austrian 'freedom' they have lost most of it."

The Conservative intellectuals of both the Croats and the Magyars have found themselves trapped between the inexorable advance of the forces of linguistic Germanization and the destruction by communism and nationalism, of their ties with Hungary and Croatia. In this dilemma the intellectuals of both groups have projected their hopes for linguistic and cultural survival on a United Europe, a Europe

which would be above nationalities, and in which one language and culture would be, in fact as well as in theory, as good as another.

~~Religion has clearly been the most important factor affecting the rate of both the political and the linguistic assimilation of the minorities of Burgenland.~~ In comparison, type of occupation and adherence to political party scarcely matter. The Croats close to Vienna are being linguistically assimilated at the same rate as those distant from all cities, the industrial workers as the land-based peasants, the Socialists as the Conservatives. The Croats are all Catholics, so that only the relative clustering of the villages has an important influence on the rates of linguistic assimilation. In contrast, the Magyars are divided into three faiths, and this division is accompanied by marked variations in the rates of linguistic assimilation. Agricultural, Lutheran Siget is being Germanized at a far more rapid rate than Calvinist Oberwart or Catholic Oberpullendorf, both of which are forced, by their economic and political importance, to act as German-speaking centers. The Lutherans as a group have shown the greatest reluctance, of all the minority groups, to assimilate into the political life of Austria.

The strongest efforts to halt the process of Germanization of the Croats and Magyars are in both cases being made in Catholic villages by Catholic leaders (clergymen and a schoolteacher). The Catholic Church's emphasis on historicity, legitimacy, and tradition would seem to be the ideological foundation of these efforts. Similarly, the ideal of a United Europe voiced by Catholic Croatian and Magyar leaders seems a reflection of the constant Catholic memory (and dream) of a spiritually united Europe.

B. International Ties

1. The Integration of Burgenland into Austria

a. 1921-1934

As soon as it was transferred to Austria, Burgenland was tightly knit to the Austrian political system by the influx of a great number of imported officials and civil servants. The gendarmerie serving in Burgenland during the troubled autumn months of 1921 was an imported force, consisting of German refugees from the Successor States.⁴³ Immigrant instructors from Old-Austria replaced the Magyar school-

⁴³Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. August 26, 1921.

teachers who had left the province. When the new county school inspectors were appointed in 1922, only one was from Burgenland; the other six were from Old-Austria.⁴⁴

The greater part of the bureaucracy was imported. The efforts of this group to have Sauerbrunn instead of Eisenstadt selected as the provincial capital have already been discussed. The senior civil servant, the Landesamtsdirektor, was a man who had been born and spent most of his life in Vienna.⁴⁵ Not until 1934 was there a county supervisor (Bezirkshauptmann)⁴⁶ who had been born and brought up in Burgenland. Since 1922 there have been in the seven counties of Burgenland a total of 32 county supervisors. Of these, 11 have been from Burgenland (mostly since 1945), 5 from Vienna, 2 from Moravia, and one each from Bohemia, Galicia, Germany, Transylvania, and Sopron.⁴⁷ In the 1920's Burgenland served Austria as a new employment center to which could be sent the host of civil servants who had lost their positions within the former provinces of the Empire.

As could be expected, this wholesale importation of officials was opposed by many Burgenlanders. One newspaper complained that Burgenlanders were finding it impossible to obtain any of the higher positions in the bureaucracy; these posts were all being filled by men from Old-Austria.⁴⁸ At least one delegate to the Landtag complained publicly of the attitude of the imported officials; they were working for their own or party interests, at the expense of the interests of the people of Burgenland.⁴⁹ Upon criticism of the first budget, Provincial Premier Rausnitz felt called upon to warn the officials that they had come into the province as "idealists" and should not judge present matters on the basis of their previous experience.⁵⁰ As has been previously mentioned, the Magyaronen wing of the Burgenland Conservative Party looked upon these imported bureaucrats as an invading, occupying force.

⁴⁴Güssinger Zeitung. June 25, 1922.

⁴⁵Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. June 1, 1924.

⁴⁶The county supervisor is appointed by the provincial executive.

⁴⁷This breakdown was compiled from the various Amts-Kalenders, with the assistance of members of the Burgenland Landesregierung and Dr. Karl Semmelweis (Landesarchiv), Eisenstadt. Nine could not be determined.

⁴⁸Burgenländisches Volksblatt. November 15, 1922.

⁴⁹Ibid., August 1, 1923.

⁵⁰Ibid., December 1, 1922.

The publicly elected officials were also frequently immigrants from Old-Austria. The first provisional government of Burgenland, established in 1921, consisted entirely of non-Burgenlanders.⁵¹ All the political parties themselves were imported except for the Magyaronen Conservative leaders. In the first elections many of the candidates of these parties were immigrants who established legal residence in Burgenland in order to obtain a seat in the government. Of the 8 members elected to the national parliament from Burgenland in 1922, 6 were from Old-Austria (4 from Vienna).⁵² Of the 10 members sent to the federal parliament in 1923, 5 were from Old-Austria (4 from Vienna).⁵³ Of the total of 41 delegates to the national parliament from Burgenland in the inter-war period, 17 were from Old-Austria (13 from Vienna). The Socialist and Bauernbund parties were initially led almost entirely by men from Old-Austria. Of the ten names on the Bauernbund list in 1923, six were "professors" (and almost certainly importees), five were definitely from Old-Austria;⁵⁴ the homes of the remaining five could not be determined.

In its earliest days Burgenland was, therefore, firmly integrated into the Austrian political system. Imported officials organized and ran the governmental agencies; imported party leaders decided the names to be placed on the ballots and the order in which they were to be placed; imported parliamentary leaders largely determined the voting results within the Landtag; imported delegates represented Burgenland in the federal parliament; and imported schoolteachers taught the children of Burgenland.

It is futile to seek for a distinctively Burgenland reaction to any of the national issues. Except for the special demands, such as for financial assistance, by one or two Burgenland-born delegates, the representatives in the federal parliament voted according to party interests rather than from any provincial motivation. Burgenland may have been officially autonomous, but it was not able to realize the full sense of this autonomy until it had produced its own leaders or had acculturized its imported leaders. Burgenland simply had no choice but to become completely integrated into the Austrian political system immediately.

⁵¹Deutschösterreichischer Tageszeitung. August 21, 1921.

⁵²Der Freie Burgenländer. April 9, 1922.

⁵³Ibid., October 28, 1923.

⁵⁴Burgenländisches Volksblatt. October 20, 1923.

b. 1934-1945

After 1934 Burgenland was openly governed from outside the province. In 1934, after a brief struggle in Vienna between the armed forces of the two major political parties, a one-party rule was established in Austria. This "Heimatfront" selected a government for Burgenland, and forced the ouster of Alfred Walheim from his second term as Provincial Premier. In this government, representation of all the principal economic and social groups in the province was attempted, but it was, nevertheless, an imposed governmental system. In 1938, this government was overthrown by the Nazis and a few months later Burgenland was abolished as a separate province.

This period of 11 years (1934-1945) of enforced outside rule was significant for Burgenland in effecting the integration of the province with Austria in the important matters of the systems of laws and education. Burgenland's legal system was integrated into that of all of Austria (in fact, all of Germany). The old legal differences dating from the centuries of Hungarian rule were abolished. The Burgenland marriage law recognizing civil marriage and divorce was, in a sense, extended to all of Austria. The Burgenland educational system was secularized, by the simple expedient of confiscating all the religiously owned and operated schools and bringing them under state control. After 1945, though most features of Austrian political and social life were returned to their pre-1934 status, these features were not. Austria still recognizes civil marriage and divorce; Burgenland's school system is still secularized, though this continues to be a problem in the matter of reimbursing the religious groups. The striking legal differences between Burgenland and Old-Austria no longer exist.

c. 1945-1957

Since its resurrection in 1945, Burgenland has enjoyed far more political individuality than previously. The delegates to the Landtag and the federal parliament are all genuine Burgenlanders. The provincial party leaders are men who have been born and brought up in the province. The established Austrian party life is still supreme in parliamentary deliberations, but not to the exclusion of local issues. Burgenland is still, however, the province that possesses the least measure of true autonomy and freedom of individual action.

Burgenland does not possess its own "Supreme Court" (Gerichtshof) though every other province of Austria has its own. Similarly,

Burgenland lacks the main offices of its Department of Education, its Department of Finance, and its Credit Office, its own Chamber of Advocate Lawyers, its own Flood-Control Agency, and a provincial office of the Austrian Dentists' Organization. These offices and agencies have provincial headquarters in every other province of Austria; however, for Burgenland the headquarters are in Vienna in an office labeled " . . . für Wien, Niederösterreich und das Burgenland."

Burgenland also lacks a number of governmental agencies that exist in every other province but one (usually Vorarlberg). These include the Office of Notaries, the Federal Bus Lines, the Surveying Office, and the Federal Office of Building Supervision.⁵⁵ Vorarlberg is also relatively poorly represented in the provincial offices of governmental agencies, but Vorarlberg does have all those mentioned in the previous paragraph, and has only half the population and two-thirds the area of Burgenland.

Although it has the greatest number of non-German features, Burgenland is the province most completely tied to the federal government. Formerly this was far more true than it is at present, but the province is still governed from the federal capital in the important matters of finances and the judiciary. It is, in a sense, more completely integrated into Austria than any of the older, prouder provinces.

2. Present Feelings of the Inhabitants

Beyond doubt the vast majority of the population of Burgenland feels a close loyalty to Austria. Burgenlanders have no memory of their province separate from Austria and are, therefore, not tempted to consider their provincial loyalties as separate from (or greater than) their loyalty to Austria (as so often seems true of the Tyroler, Styrian, Vorarlberger, etc.). Because of their history and their location along the Hungarian border, Burgenlanders in the inter-war period seemed to feel that they had to give the Austrians continual vocal assurance of their loyalty. Perhaps the surest proof of the profound development of this national loyalty, and of the Austrian certainty that it is genuine, has been the decrease in the number of statements to that effect. No Burgenlander now feels it necessary to convince an Old-Austrian, or himself, that he is a loyal citizen; it is taken for granted.

⁵⁵Österreichischer Amtskalender für das Jahr 1956. Wien, 1956.

Of all the provinces of Austria, Burgenland was the least tempted to look beyond Austria for the solution of its problems. In 1918 most of the provinces of Austria, remembering a prosperous former Empire, favored Anschluss with Germany; some individual provinces went so far as to vote in referendums, to unite piecemeal with Germany. Burgenland did not share this desire. The aspiration of the province and most of its people was to become a prosperous portion of Austria. In no part of Burgenland is there apparent the slightest dissatisfaction with being a part of Austria.

C. Extranational Ties

1. Feelings towards Hungary

The feelings of the inhabitants of Burgenland towards Hungary are complex and intricate, composed of many elements; they can be understood most readily when considered under the three headings, fear, antagonism, and affection.

a. Fear

Fear, in one form or another, appears to have been the most notable reaction of Burgenlanders to Hungary. The intense nationalism of the Magyars is cited everywhere in Burgenland.

In the critical years between 1918 and 1921, many people in Burgenland believed that the Magyars would never allow this territory to be taken away from Hungary and given to Austria. The protracted negotiations, the apparent weakness and lassitude of Austria, the intense propaganda efforts of the Hungarians, and, finally, the onslaught of the "volunteer bands" seemed to corroborate this belief. The bands evidently caused much local suffering, and made an indelible impression on the memories of the older inhabitants. The Sopron plebiscite and the boundary delimitation then returned bits of Burgenland to Hungary. Few, if any, Burgenlanders thought that the Hungarians would cease their revisionist efforts once the final treaty had been ratified.

In the decade that followed, the Hungarians seemed to live for nothing but the return of their lost lands. "Nem, nem, soha!" ("No, no, never!") was the national rallying cry. Special demonstrations were staged adjacent to the border in the hope that the Hungarian

revisionist ideals would seep into Burgenland.⁵⁶ A Magyar newspaper, *Hetfő*, was printed in Sopron and distributed in Burgenland; the revisionist propaganda of this paper caused resentment in Burgenland and led to official objections to its publication.⁵⁷

The continuing fear of a Hungarian return was expressed several times in the newspapers in 1926.⁵⁸ During the bloody Socialist riots in Vienna on July 15-17, 1927, rumors circulated through Burgenland that the Hungarians would march into the province if the "Red revolution" succeeded.⁵⁹ Later that year Chancellor Dr. Seipel attempted to allay the fears of a Hungarian return by announcing that Hungary had definitely renounced all claims to Burgenland.⁶⁰ The next year, however, Prime Minister Bethlen of Hungary stated that Hungary had not renounced Burgenland, and asked for a plebiscite in the province.⁶¹

This fear was considerably lessened by the rise of Hitler and the incorporation of Austria into the mighty German Reich.

Since the Second World War, Hungarian revisionism has evidently been superseded, at least temporarily, by the greater issues confronting Central Europe. The fear of a Hungarian return is still not dead, however. In the spring of 1957, in two widely separated *gem-einden*, the fear that the Hungarians would be back someday was expressed. In Edelstal^{E2}, a woman stated that she would have preferred that her village had remained with Lower Austria because then the Hungarians could not come back.

In a powerful manner that fear has been transformed and enlarged to mean a return of the huge force from the East. The predominating fear at the present time is not a return of the Hungarians themselves but a return of the Russians, through Hungary. During the Hungarian Revolution of October-November 1956, this fear gripped many portions of Burgenland, reaching panic proportions in at least one village. Significantly, a story was circulated in Burgenland that the Russians were all set to march into Austria on November 6, 1956 (the date of the American elections and two days after the attack on Budapest), but that on the previous evening President Eisenhower had

⁵⁶*Der Freie Burgenländer*. January 27, 1924.

⁵⁷*Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*. May 29, 1927.

⁵⁸*Der Freie Burgenländer*. March 14 and May 28, 1926.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, July 31, 1927.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, December 4, 1927.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, October 21, 1928.

called in the Russian ambassador and warned him that the planes were ready to deliver the atom bomb if Russia attacked Austria. This story was evidently believed by some people, and was told, in one instance, by a governmental official who held a Ph.D. degree.

Fear of a threatened return in force from the East is not the only form of expression of this fear of Hungary; it is expressed too in a fear of all traces of the Hungarian history and culture which still permeate Burgenland. One cannot read many Burgenland publications, or observe the archival research that is being pursued, without coming to the conclusion that most of this labor has one end, to prove that Burgenland was never actually a part of Hungary.

An intriguing manifestation of this fear of history is the series of six murals on the wall of the Rathaus in Eisenstadt. These sketches depict six important dates in the history of the "Free City": (1) the "Hallstatt" settlements in the area, approximately 1000 B. C.; (2) the Roman Times; (3) the settling of the Germans in the area by Charlemagne; (4) the transfer of the city to Austria in 1445; (5) the raising of the settlement to the status of "Free City" in 1648; and (6) the raising of the city to the status of provincial capital, in 1925. This sequence is significant in that every mention of Hungary is deleted. The date chosen for the transfer to Austria is medieval. That this transfer was shortly reversed, that Eisenstadt was founded in Hungary, that most of her history was spent in Hungary, that the greatest glory of the city occurred while it was within Hungary (the times of the Eszterházy court with Josef Haydn)--none of these points is alluded to, whereas the Hallstatt and the Roman times are chosen for special attention. The Hungarian experience is evidently still too close, too much a part of the local culture and memory to be safely publicized.

b. Antagonism

Coupled with the fear of an attack from the East is a feeling of antagonism against the Hungarians. This feeling is held by surprisingly few people, however, and is based more on nationalistic resentment than on memories of past injuries. It is the German nationalists who feel the antagonism most deeply; they still harbor a grudge against the Hungarians for having "robbed" Burgenland of its "Natural capital."

The anti-Hungarian feelings were considerably inflamed by the post-World War II expulsion of the "Volks-deutsch" from Hungary. This expulsion meant that the Germans who had been left behind in

Hungary by the boundary delimitation of 1921-1923, and who populated what has often been referred to by the German nationalists as the "Hungarian Burgenland," were expelled from the lands they had held for centuries. Some of the intelligentsia had hoped for an ultimate union of the "two Burgenlands," the Austrian and the Hungarian, into a truly "lebensfähig"⁶² Burgenland. Many of the border peasants had had close relationships with the Germans across the line in Hungary. Though by no means all the Germans were expelled, the mass expulsion destroyed many old ties, seemed to shatter forever the hopes of an ultimate reunion of adjacent areas, and intensified the nationalistic animosities that had existed since 1918.

In Nickelsdorf, one of the principal border crossing points, it was said that some of the villagers had refused to help the Hungarian refugees who surged across the boundary there in the winter of 1956-1957 because "they had it coming to them Now it is their turn to be driven out."

c. Affection

There is an emotion akin to love underlying much of the feeling of the Burgenlander for Hungary. The younger people do not feel this much, but it is common among the older peasants who remember Hungary. They definitely prefer to be in Austria, but they have not completely lost their sense of the historicity of Hungary. Austria has granted them freedom, and ties with Western Europe and its advances, but these cannot compete emotionally with the lure of the *Alföld* or the fierce grandeur of the Magyars. Among the older clergymen this feeling is still alive. Several people stated that it is not easy to change one's national loyalties.

While the fear is always expressed in terms of the entire nation (a fear of Hungary rather than of individual Hungarians), the affection is most evident on a personal basis. Even stronger than the lingering attractiveness of the Hungarian territorial concept are the many personal ties that still exist across the border.

The boundary delimitation cut across innumerable familial ties. Intermarriage between villages had been frequent and when the boundary separated two villages, the breaking of these close ties was an inevitable consequence. This was most severe in the lower Pinka

⁶²Viable.

valley. Until 1948 the boundary did not present too much of a hardship but since then the "Iron Curtain" has sealed off parents from their children, brothers from their sisters. When the boundary was suddenly thrown wide open in November 1956, there were mass visits of friends and relations who had not seen each other for almost a decade.

Other close ties had bound these border peoples. Prior to 1948, the Burgenlanders near the border had done their purchasing and sought their amusements in the Hungarian centers of Sopron, Kőszeg, Szombathely, Kőrment, and Szt. Gotthárd, as often as in centers in Austria. When the Austrian authorities attempted to enforce the international restrictions on materials brought across the border from Hungary, smuggling developed on a vast scale, and continued unabated until the Nazi occupation.

Sympathy for Hungary was intense in October-November 1956. It was more than merely "there but for the grace of God go we"; it was a sympathy based on deep affection. The annual provincial celebration, the Martinifest (St. Martin's Feast) scheduled to be held on the feast day of the saint, November 11, was postponed for over a month and a half because of the events in Hungary. This postponement was decided upon before there was any hint of the crowds of refugees that were to come from Hungary. With but few exceptions, the charity of the Burgenlanders was magnificent that winter.

The historical and geographical situation of Burgenland meant for many hopeful Austrians that the new province could serve as a "bridge" between Austria and Hungary. This was to be the "mission" of Burgenland.⁶³ Given other circumstances and developments, it is possible that Burgenland could have served as some kind of "bridge" between the two countries. The events and the passions of the mid-20th century have made such a role difficult. Strange to say, Hungary cut herself off from Burgenland more than Burgenland cut itself off from Hungary. Burgenland would have favored a continuation of the old personal ties, and the old economic ties with Sopron, Szombathely, and Kőszeg, but it was Hungary who enforced the separation. The "Iron Curtain" was erected from the Hungarian, not the Austrian, side, albeit under exterior pressure.

d. Revisionism

Though some of the "bridge" still exists in the spirit of Burgenland, revisionism and irredentism are utterly foreign concepts to the

⁶³Reichspost. Wien, August 24, 1921.

provincial population. No one in Burgenland will admit the possibility of a voluntary return to Hungary. It appears that even if the situation were entirely different, and a free and prosperous Hungary expressed aspirations for a return of Burgenland, none of the inhabitants of Burgenland would consider it; every one professes to be a loyal Austrian, without the slightest thought of ever returning to Hungary. The forty years of Austrian experience and education, as well as the harrowing events in Hungary, evidently have sealed the issue. Unless there is some unpredictable change in circumstances, Hungary cannot hope to regain the voluntary allegiance of the people of Burgenland.

2. Feelings towards Yugoslavia

The reactions of the Burgenland population to Yugoslavia have been mentioned in the discussion of the Croatian minority. Only the Croats of Burgenland have been affected by ties with Yugoslavia. The country to the south rarely enters the consciousness of the Germans or Magyars in Burgenland. Though Burgenland was awarded to Austria, and not transformed into the envisioned Corridor, the Croats and Serbs of Yugoslavia continued to pay attention to the status of the Croatian minority in the new Austrian province. In 1925 the Yugoslavs charged that Burgenland school authorities were not allowing sufficient education for the Croats in their own language.⁶⁴

After the close of the Second World War the Yugoslavs again made claims on the Croats of Burgenland. Because of their location far from the Yugoslav border, the claims did not include any mention of a transfer of territory. Tito asked for the power of supervision over the rights awarded to the Croats of Burgenland, and that a free exchange of populations be allowed.⁶⁵

The aspirations of the Yugoslav government have evidently evoked little sympathetic response from the Burgenland Croats. The suggested free exchange of populations was misinterpreted as an enforced transfer. There was some local rioting and a few Croatian parents withdrew their children from the Croatian schools for fear of being forced to move to Yugoslavia.⁶⁶ At present there are only the most slender ties between Burgenland and Yugoslavia.

⁶⁴Burgenländische Heimat. March 15, 1925.

⁶⁵Neues Österreich. Wien, January 17, 1947.

⁶⁶Freies Burgenland. Eisenstadt, January 31, 1947.

VII. CONCLUSION

A. Summary

At the close of World War I, German west-Hungary was claimed by German and Slavic nationalists, but most of the agitation within the concerned area was directed towards autonomy within Hungary rather than union with Austria or with the new Slavic states. Because it was beset by far weightier problems, and because it felt sympathetic to Hungary, the Austrian government made no move toward the acquisition of Burgenland until Chancellor Renner formally requested the area at the Paris peace conference. Burgenland was awarded to Austria as a token compensation for the loss of most of the arable portions of the former Empire, and because most of the inhabitants of the area were German-speaking. The majority of the inhabitants of Burgenland seems to have favored the transfer to Austria because the Hungarian authorities had discontinued the teaching of German in the village schools.

Military action by "volunteer bands" prevented the occupation by the Austrian gendarmerie of the capital city, Sopron. After a prolonged crisis Italy arranged for a plebiscite in Sopron and its immediate surroundings. The results favored Hungary; Burgenland was thus deprived of its anticipted capital and its major market center and node of transport routes.

The western boundary of Burgenland was established prior to A.D. 1048 and preceded the effective settlement of the border zone. In several areas in the north the boundary was moved east of the original, antecedent boundary in the late 15th century. Where this occurred, there is the lack of the sharp cultural divide which elsewhere tends to coincide with the boundary.

Prior to 1921 the western boundary was more of a commercial divide than it has been since. Though Austria and Hungary were united under one crown and there was no tariff barrier between them, the pattern of rail lines limited significant traffic across this border to the international railroads, most of which were in the north. Trucks, buses, and automobiles were not yet utilized extensively for commercial purposes. The proximate location of major local commercial

centers in western Hungary also served to turn much of the local traffic eastward away from the present western boundary of Burgenland. Even then, however, Vienna attracted many migrant industrial workers and bought most of the agricultural surplus of north Burgenland.

Since 1918 this boundary has ceased to be a significant commercial divide. The introduction of trucks and buses has facilitated movement across the full length of the boundary, and the new eastern boundary has turned the local inhabitants westward away from the cities of western Hungary.

The eastern boundary of Burgenland, the present international boundary, was superimposed upon the pre-existing patterns of settlement and trade. In only a few stretches was this boundary so drawn as to conform to the "natural trade areas." All the north-south railroads and roads of Burgenland were severed, and the principal commercial centers remained within Hungary. For much of its length the line was drawn precisely in accordance with local preferences, so that it is, in its southern portions, the ultimate example of a boundary based upon the principle of local self-determination to the exclusion of all other factors. The delimitation of this boundary illustrated the difficulty of attempting to poll the inhabitants of remote peasant villages, in a time of upheaval, as to their national preferences. The sealing of this boundary has forced the Burgenlanders to develop systems of communication across topographic barriers rather than along easily traversed routes.

Burgenland was established as a separate and equal province because the Austrian leaders in Vienna, as well as most of the local inhabitants of the territory, felt that the area had undergone an economic and political development different from that of Old-Austria. The Viennese proponents of a Burgenland demanded equal provincial status for the new territory, and the Austrian government which was fearful of any idea of annexation, granted these demands. The actual establishment of the area as a province was not the result of a clear-cut decision, but rather the end result of a gradual process tending in that direction.

Burgenland was established as a separate and equal province before the loss of Sopron, so that the Burgenland that was named in the Austrian constitution was not the Burgenland that came into existence. When it was legally established, the province still had its capital, its urban center, its upper schools and hospitals, its potential bureaucracy, and its node of international transportation. Once established in the constitution, the province could not be abolished except by itself, and

though there was speculation along these lines after the loss of Sopron, the provincial legislature that was elected supposedly to decide on this matter never considered the question.

The new province was plagued by the paucity of available finances and internal communications, and by the pressure of the small-holding peasants on the available arable land. There were constant fears that the province would be broken up and its area incorporated into that of the two adjacent provinces of Old-Austria, Styria, and Lower Austria.

Burgenland as a province was abolished by the Nazis in 1938 and its area was joined to that of these adjoining provinces. In 1945, at the end of the Nazi regime, Burgenland was re-established. The province had thus survived the most rigorous test that a political area can endure, dissolution. Burgenland was re-established because of a revulsion against the acts of the Nazis, because the Allied occupation forces had separated south Burgenland from Styria, and because the people of Burgenland had become aware of their provincial identity.

After the loss of Sopron, one of the major problems facing Burgenland was the choice of a new capital. Most of the legislators continued to hope for a return of Sopron, so that Eisenstadt was considered to be only a substitute and was officially designated as the "seat of the provincial government" rather than the "capital." The struggle for the selection of a capital lasted for three years, but with the exception of the candidacy of Pinkafeld, the south was unconcerned about the struggle or the result. The final choice lay between two gemeinden on opposite flanks of the Sopron to Vienna routeway: Sauerbrunn to the south and close to Wiener Neustadt, and Eisenstadt to the north. Eisenstadt was selected principally because of its history and because it was the only "free city" among the candidates.

The six counties (bezirke) which were transferred intact from Hungary continued to function as counties within Austria. The segments of counties whose county seats remained in Hungary were added to the existing counties they happened to adjoin. The large segment of Köszeg County was divided in half and added to the adjacent two counties. The large segment of Szent Gotthárd County could not be handled in this manner since it was the southernmost portion of Burgenland; it was established as a new county, Jennersdorf.

Neusiedl County is divided into two portions by the upland edge immediately to the north of the county seat. The southern half of

the county is a captive hinterland for Neusiedl city. In contrast, the northern half focuses on the Old-Austrian cities, Bruck and Hainburg, and on Vienna beyond, rather than on the county seat. Two of the *gemeinden* along the western border of the county (and province), Bruckneudorf and Kaisersteinbruch, are intimately tied to the adjacent city of Bruck, Lower Austria.

Eisenstadt and Mattersburg counties are small and compact, and their county seats are well located. Neudörfl, adjacent to Wiener Neustadt is, however, intimately connected to that city rather than to Mattersburg, the county seat.

Oberpullendorf County gained greatly in the adjustments of the county areas in 1921. The county seat is a relatively small village which has, however, because of its central location, obtained most of the governmental offices and much of the marketing of the county. Of all the *gemeinden* of Burgenland, Oberpullendorf village has enjoyed the most rapid rate of growth in population. The Zöbern valley in the southwestern corner of the county is poorly connected to the county seat and is turned instead towards Kirchschlag in Lower Austria.

Oberwart is the best integrated of the larger counties. This is due to the dominance of Oberwart city in the political life of the south. Oberwart is the only county that has acquired territory since 1921; since 1938 it has included several *gemeinden* which had formerly been within Güssing County.

Güssing is the most isolated of all the counties. It is also the only county in Burgenland in which there is an active internal rival of the county seat. Stegersbach is the center for the western half of the county and has attempted to gain governmental offices that are generally located within the county seat. Stegersbach is, however, slowly declining in population, because it must compete with the larger Styrian center of Fürstenfeld; on the other hand, Güssing has expanded since it has a captive hinterland to its east. The *gemeinden* along the escarpment overlooking the Lafnitz valley seem to be tied in every way except political to villages in adjacent Styria.

Jennersdorf is the most poorly integrated of all the counties. It is the only county that was newly established in 1921, and consists of two valleys, the Lafnitz and the Raab, which have little contact with each other. The Lafnitz valley is focused on the Styrian border city, Fürstenfeld, rather than on the county seat. The system of public transportation is especially poor, and over half the inhabitants of the county enjoy more rapid and frequent service to Fürstenfeld than to Jennersdorf village.

Jennersdorf village is the only county seat in the province that has decreased in population since 1923.

The seven county seats are as well located within their counties as is possible under the existing circumstances. Despite the difficulties facing Güssing and Jennersdorf, no better located county seats could have been selected.

Of the county seats, the most important are Eisenstadt in the north and Oberwart in the south. These are the governmental centers for the many functions that are treated in areal units comprising combinations of counties. The least important of the county seats are Jennersdorf in the south and Neusiedl in the north.

Of the principal internal boundaries of Burgenland, by far the strongest is the line between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf counties. Except for those functions for which there is only one office for the entire province, Burgenland is always split along this line. Oddly, this line is the only county boundary that was newly drawn in its entirety in 1921. However, this line can be considered a displacement of a major historic boundary which had separated the Hungarian provinces of Sopron and Vasvár. The Zöbern valley which lies between the pre-1921 and the post-1921 boundaries has been poorly connected to its county seat, is focused outside the province (on Kirchschlag), and forms a separate unit in local government, with the village of Pilgersdorf containing the only registry, post and police offices in the valley.

The second strongest internal boundary is that between Oberwart and Güssing. The weakest internal boundaries are those between Jennersdorf and Güssing, and between Eisenstadt and Neusiedl. The "waist" of Burgenland has never been an important breaking point, since the two counties on either side of this narrow point have always been more closely linked with each other than with their other neighbors.

The principal sectionalism of Burgenland is that of south and north. The dividing line between these sections is along the strongest internal boundary, the line between Oberwart and Oberpullendorf counties. The north has received more than its proportionate share of delegates to the federal and provincial parliament, and has dominated the provincial executive and bureaucracy. The south has resented this inequality, but this resentment was appreciably lessened in 1956 when the principal governmental office of the province, that of Provincial Premier, was for the first time bestowed on a delegate from the south. Oberwart city, the commercial and governmental center of the south, has attempted to challenge the supremacy of Eisenstadt, but with little success.

Sectionalism is no serious danger to the continued existence of Burgenland. This question was settled in 1945 when the province was re-established after the seven years' period of dissolution. In this action of re-establishment the ultimate separatist temptation was overcome.

Burgenland political party life has not been especially different from that of Old-Austria. The Conservatives and the Socialists dominate in this province as they do elsewhere in Austria. The Socialist Party has received a surprisingly large share of the votes of this agricultural province; this strength has been based on the support of the numerous industrial workers who commute on a weekly or monthly basis to the cities, particularly to Vienna. The Conservative Party has gained most of its strength from the land-based Catholic peasants. The third parties have gained their support primarily from the agricultural laborers on the manorial centers of the north and from the principal religious minority group. There has been no noticeable correlation between language groups and political parties.

Neither of the two linguistic minorities forms a united political or social force. The Magyars are split by religious differences, the Croats by political differences, into groups which rarely if ever cooperate with each other. Both minority groups felt an initial distrust of the Austrian government, but the protesting intellectuals were rapidly integrated into the established Austrian political parties. The peasants of both linguistic groups have been eager to learn the language and customs of Austria; they now profess to be "satisfied" with their situation within Austria. Neither group has developed any irredentist aspirations.

The Croats have been assimilated linguistically at a slower pace than the Magyars because the Croats have the larger numbers, are more compactly grouped, and because no Croatian gemeente has become an important political or commercial center. The assimilation of the two groups has been aided in two ways: linguistically, by the introduction into the province of recent improvements in communications; politically, by the system of proportional representation, which has given a party cadre the power to select the party ballot lists and, in effect, to stifle most local reaction to political issues.

Opposition to the rapid assimilation of the linguistic minorities has come principally from a few Catholic clergymen and school-teachers. Faced with the destruction by communism of ties with Hungary and Croatia and the growing tendency toward Germanization, these men have fastened their hopes for linguistic and cultural survival on the dream of a United Europe.

The most important religious minority, the Lutherans, has maintained its numbers and has not assimilated easily into the two major political parties. Though they favored the transfer from Hungary to

Austria, the Lutherans have since felt keenly their minority position. They have voted for the protest parties, and seem to have supported the Anschluss with Germany in 1938. Religion has been a more important factor than language in the political life of the province.

B. Integration into Austria

1. Annexation

One of the principal reasons for the initial establishment of Burgenland as a separate province was the Austrian fear of the charge that Austria was annexing Burgenland. The federal government in Vienna frequently stated that the future status of the newly acquired territory was to be decided by its inhabitants. Burgenland was therefore accorded in theory the full freedom to decide its own political destiny and to rule itself as it saw fit.

Contrary to this stated and believed ideal, Burgenland actually was annexed by Austria in all but the most theoretical sense of that term. This annexation was rarely recognized as such, but proved to be the most important initial factor in the integration of the new territory into the Austrian political system.

In its first years Burgenland was governed primarily by Old-Austrian politicians and civil servants. Imported officials from Old-Austria organized and directed the agencies of the provincial government; imported party leaders decided the names to be placed on the ballots and the order in which they were to be placed; imported parliamentary leaders largely determined the voting results within the provincial parliament; imported delegates represented Burgenland in the federal parliament; imported schoolteachers taught the children of Burgenland. Though there were a few conspicuous local leaders in the Conservative Party, the immigrant political leaders and civil servants hindered the possibility of any development of an indigenous political life or of a distinctively Burgenland response to national problems.

The dominance of the imported parties was enhanced by the system of proportional representation. Since ballots were prepared by the parties on the basis of the entire province or the election district, party interests easily became paramount to local interests. The party leadership had considerable power over all the members of the

party and was able to maintain unified party blocs in almost all parliamentary voting. At present a Burgenland voter can rearrange the order in which the names on the ballot are placed, but this development came three decades after the political organization of the province, and seems to be practiced only on the gemeinde level.

The importation of the parties, with the guarantee of party power inherent in proportional representation, helped to unify the province, and integrated it securely into Austrian political life, but at the price of true local political self-determination. Yet, because of the technical autonomy of the province, Burgenlanders believed that they were governing themselves. This belief may have been a reflection of the peasant attitude toward politics. The peasant generally is not interested in taking part in the actual functions of government beyond the gemeinde; the provincial or national government is remote from him. Since Burgenland was a separate province within Austria, and since the inhabitants could vote for their representatives, they felt that they were governing themselves.

The manner in which the legal and school systems, which had been inherited from Hungary, were integrated into the corresponding Austrian systems was also fortuitous. In that it was an enforced integration this was another form of annexation, but this did not occur until after 17 years of provincial existence, and the power that forced this integration was from beyond Austria. The Nazis decreed this move in 1938, and thus made possible the removal of these intra-national differences without any of the possible antagonism being directed against the Austrian government.

At present Burgenland still enjoys less self-government than any other province of Austria. Most notable is the fact that Burgenland lacks its own ultimate authority in judicial and financial matters.

2. The Expanding Economic Influence of Vienna

With the extension of the highways and their utilization by trucks and buses, the economic influence of Vienna has extended increasingly into Burgenland. Economically most of the province has been annexed by the metropolis.

This extension of Viennese influence into Burgenland was true even prior to 1921. Most of the surplus grain, meat, wine, sugar, fruit, and labor of north Burgenland was exported to Vienna. Moson and

Sopron were local market centers focused commercially on the greater market to the west. Since buses and trucks had not yet become important, most of this traffic in goods and labor moved by rail, and hence was largely limited to those portions of north Burgenland which enjoyed rail connections to Vienna.

Since 1921 this trade has expanded greatly. The movement of foodstuffs and laborers is no longer limited to rail routes; rather most of it now moves by truck and bus. All of Burgenland is now an actual or potential hinterland for Vienna. The cities of west-Hungary which were formerly the gathering points for the export of food and labor now lie beyond the international boundary, so that all traffic is of necessity routed westward or northward. Even so remote a *gemeinde* as Moschendorf^{C10}, in the southeastern corner of Güssing County, ships its meat animals by truck directly to Vienna.

Whenever it is possible for the local inhabitants to reach Vienna quickly, or where local conditions have induced many of the inhabitants to seek employment outside the area, relatively high percentages of the labor force migrate to jobs in Vienna. In the *gemeinden* along the principal railroad of Neusiedl County, small apartment buildings have been constructed on the outskirts of the villages to house the ever-increasing numbers of migrant workers. The vastness of this movement to the metropolis is borne out by the surprising strength of the Socialist Party within this agricultural province.

The attractiveness of Vienna is increased by the lack of any important commercial center within Burgenland. Eisenstadt and Oberwart are important only in relation to the other villages of the province. Three decades after the establishment of the province, the capital, Eisenstadt, had only 5,464 inhabitants. Eisenstadt is off all the important trade routes and is an important bus center only because it is the capital.

Because there is no important commercial center within the province, all improvements in local transportation manage only to facilitate transportation to Vienna. With continuing improvements in both the system of highways and the forms of motorized transportation the people of Burgenland tend more and more to move toward Vienna. Though there is no doubt expressed that Burgenland will continue to exist as a separate province, economically the province seems to be becoming increasingly subordinate to the federal capital.

3. National Loyalty

It seems evident that in 1921 most of the inhabitants of Burgenland preferred to be transferred to Austria, and that they have since felt themselves to be loyal citizens of Austria. The majority accepted the importation of the political parties and the bureaucracy from Old-Austria without strong feelings of antagonism. Though there were frequent complaints against the federal government for its supposed lack of financial support of the new province, the complainants never publicly expressed a desire for a return to Hungary. There was not then, nor has there been since, any movement for a return to Hungary or for a union with any other national state. The Lutheran desire for an Anschluss with Germany may well have been largely a result of their minority status within a consciously Catholic Austria. Of all the provinces of Austria, it appears that Burgenland may have been the only one that did not look beyond Austria for a solution of the problems of the province and the state. Perhaps because of their Hungarian background, the people of Burgenland felt themselves to be Austrian rather than nationalistically German throughout the inter-war years.

C. The Integration of Burgenland

1. Adjustments to the Separation of the Territory from the Cities of West-Hungary

Most of the initial problems that beset Burgenland were attributable to the separation of this territory from the cities of west-Hungary that had formerly acted as its political and commercial centers.

a. Sopron

The problems facing Burgenland in 1921 were vastly amplified by the loss of the anticipated capital, Sopron (Ödenburg)^{D5}. Many of the initial problems stemmed from the necessity of finding ways to compensate for the loss of Sopron.

Of primary importance to Burgenland was the development of some method of intercommunication between the north, middle, and south portions of the province. Though Sopron had had only poor connections with south Burgenland, it still had been the primary node of transport routes in the province. Connections between north and middle

Burgenland were quickly re-established along the former routeway through Sopron. As the result of a railroad agreement between Austria and Hungary, Sopron remained the principal transport link between north and middle Burgenland.

Connections between the north and the south were initially established through Wiener Neustadt^{B4}. In relation to Burgenland this city was in a position somewhat analogous to that of Sopron. Through the inter-war years, Wiener Neustadt was the principal transport center for Burgenland, and was, for a brief time, considered to be the best location for the capital of the new province.

Since the close of the Second World War, buses have replaced the railroads as the principal means of transportation within Burgenland. With the development of a highway system utilized by networks of buses and trucks, the primary line of north-south communication has been located entirely within the province, about halfway between Sopron and Wiener Neustadt. The roads across the Sieggraben Saddle and the Bernstein Hill-lands are the principal links connecting north, middle and south Burgenland. Sopron has thus been by-passed by a road across the Sopron Range. Instead of the previous single node of transportation, Sopron, there are now three lesser nodes of communication. Eisenstadt^{C4}, northwest of Sopron, is the primary focal point for bus routes in north Burgenland, but all the routes from Eisenstadt, as well as those from Wiener Neustadt, must funnel through Mattersburg^{C5} before crossing the hill barrier at Sieggraben^{C5}. Oberpullendorf^{C6} has become the principal transport node of middle Burgenland. Whereas previously all the routes converged on Sopron and then fanned out north and south of that city, now the routes converge on Eisenstadt and Mattersburg in north Burgenland, and on Oberpullendorf in middle Burgenland, and are concentrated onto one road across the hill barrier.

Sopron was also the principal market center of north and middle Burgenland. Initially Wiener Neustadt became the principal market center for these areas. However, since it was necessary to have local concentration centers for the shipment of goods to Vienna, two gemeinden, one to the north and one to the south of the Sopron Range, became substitute market centers. Mattersburg, north of the range and along the principal railroad to Vienna, became the most important animal market center in Burgenland; Deutschkreutz^{D6}, on the same railroad, but beyond Sopron, became the principal market center for middle Burgenland. In both cases these were the closest large gemeinden to Sopron and on the railroad through Sopron.

Since 1945 the advent of long-distance trucking has forced the local animal markets to close. Mattersburg has ceased to be an important market and has lost much of its other commercial significance to the capital, Eisenstadt. Deutschkreutz, which was by railroad the closest *gemeinde* to Vienna, is by highway among the furthest *gemeinden* in its county from Vienna, and has lost its commercial function to the node of bus transportation, Oberpullendorf. Beyond these local adjustments has been the continuing extension of the economic hinterland of Vienna. The federal capital is now the principal market center of north and middle Burgenland, directly as well as ultimately.

Until December 1921 Sopron was also the capital of the province. Just as the transportation and commercial functions of this city were dispersed, so were the political functions. For nine years the capital of Burgenland was, in practice, in two locations, on two of the railroads fanning out of Sopron. Sauerbrunn^{BC4}, between Mattersburg and Wiener Neustadt, was the center of the bureaucracy; Eisenstadt, further north, was the meeting place for the legislature. In 1930 these functions were concentrated in Eisenstadt, which was at the time considered to be only a substitute for Sopron. The choice of Eisenstadt over Sauerbrunn was, however, of great significance for Burgenland, since Sauerbrunn was politically little more than a satellite village of Wiener Neustadt, whereas Eisenstadt represented a Burgenland past and culture. Had Sauerbrunn been selected it is doubtful if Burgenland could have developed a provincial consciousness and loyalty capable of enduring the supreme trial of its seven years' dissolution.

Initially, therefore, the loss of Sopron was compensated for largely by the extension of the influence of Wiener Neustadt into the new province, with three Burgenland *gemeinden*, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, and Deutschkreutz, forming a semicircle of local substitutes around the lost city. Since the advent of trucking and buses, Sopron has been compensated for primarily by Vienna, with Eisenstadt functioning as the local governmental and transportation center.

b. The Other Cities of West-Hungary

The loss of Moson and Magyaróvár caused little difficulty to Neusiedl County, since most traffic had moved westward toward Vienna prior to 1921. Neusiedl city^{E2} has become a local commercial center for the area east of the Neusiedler See, because all traffic originating in this area must pass through the county seat in order to reach any other part of Austria.

Kőszeg was formerly an important commercial center for the southern half of middle Burgenland. Since the movement of goods and labor in middle Burgenland tends northward toward Vienna, no substitute center has developed across the boundary from Kőszeg. Oberpullendorf village, which has become the bus center as well as the county seat, has assumed the local commercial functions of middle Burgenland that were formerly served by Sopron in the northern half and Kőszeg in the southern half. The transport connection between middle and south Burgenland that passed through Kőszeg prior to 1921 has been diverted westward across the Bernstein Hill-land.

South of the Kőszeg Range the previous commercial and transportation functions of Kőszeg, Szombathely, and Kőrmend have been assumed by Gross-petersdorf^{BC9} and Güssing^{BC10} close to the border, and by the larger centers, Oberwart^{B8} and Fürstenfeld^{AB10} (Styria) further west. The north-south routeway that had run from Sopron through Kőszeg and Szombathely to Kőrmend has been replaced by the north-south highway from Eisenstadt through Oberpullendorf and Oberwart to Güssing.

In the extreme south no center has as yet compensated for the loss of Szent Gotthárd. The local trade is focused westward towards Fürstendeld or Fehring^{All} and Feldbach^{All}. Jennersdorf^{B11} has rather poorly assumed the political function of Szent Gotthárd, and no equally satisfactory transportation replacement for the Hungarian center has as yet been developed. The southern half of Jennersdorf County is still imperfectly connected to the rest of the province, and the county itself is as yet not well integrated.

2. Finances

In the inter-war years Burgenland was faced with a dilemma: a transportation network had to be constructed to provide the base for commercial growth; but only an increase in commercial life could provide the funds necessary to construct the railroads and roads. With the loss of Sopron, Burgenland lost both its governmental facilities and its richest source of tax revenue.

In its early years Burgenland suffered from too much official autonomy. Under the Austrian federal system each province established its own tax rates and collected its own share of the taxes; this revenue was then divided with the federal government. As a result of this system of collection, the poorest province, Burgenland, received the least revenue per capita for its own use. The Burgenland budgets

could cover the expenses of minimal provincial existence, but could not meet the construction costs of the projects deemed essential to the continued development of the province. Burgenland felt compelled to ask repeatedly for special financial assistance from the hard-pressed federal government. Despite bitter charges to the contrary, Burgenland did receive substantial grants with which the province was able to complete some of the most vital construction work.

Since the Second World War, Burgenland has profited from a lessening of the autonomy of the Austrian provinces. The revenues are now collected by the federal government and distributed on a per capita basis. Under this system Burgenland receives relatively more than it contributes to the tax revenue. Burgenland is, therefore, now largely subsidized by the federal government. Almost all the major construction and improvements of the roads, the government buildings, the schools, and the hospitals have been supported, largely or entirely, by the other provinces of Austria.

3. Technological Change

Burgenland was established at the right time in history to make its existence and development feasible. Had this territory been transferred to Austria much earlier it would probably have been split into smaller units or incorporated into the already existing units, as actually occurred in the 15-17th centuries. Had this territory been transferred in 1951 instead of 1921 it is doubtful if the sense of history and the conservatism of the peasants would have been strong enough to prompt the inhabitants to prefer that the territory become a separate province. Burgenland was transferred to Austria when the sense of tradition was still strong enough to create a Burgenland, and in time to benefit from the rapid advances in methods of intercommunication.

Though the inhabitants of Burgenland dreamt of a north-south union based on a railroad across the ridge barriers, the province was integrated by the unforeseen development of highway traffic. The advent of motor vehicles made possible the construction of a transportational network within the financial capabilities of the province and nation.

The problems of the inequalities in landholding have also been solved to some degree by the technological developments of the 20th century. The introduction of bus lines into nearly every part of the province has released the peasant from dependence on his piece of land or on the employment facilities close to his home. Migratory industrial labor is increasing, whereas agricultural hired labor is decreasing.

The large agricultural estate is also no longer the most attractive investment for the magnate. The large holders have evidently come to feel that only forest holdings can yield a profitable return.

The extension of the modern systems of transportation into the remote corners of the province has also destroyed the previous isolation of many of the peasants and hastened the assimilation of the linguistic minorities. The increase of mobility seems to militate against the continuance of local customs. Even among the Croats, the folk dances, songs, and costumes have become little more than relics to be resurrected only for special festivals.

The strong unifying influence of modern improvements in transportation seems to indicate that almost any area can soon be effectively organized politically, if its inhabitants have the will to do so.

4. The Burgenland Concept

The sense of a provincial identity has been of great importance in the continued existence of Burgenland. In 1921 the inhabitants of this territory had one bond in common: they had all been within Hungary and had experienced an economic, political, and social history different from that known in Old-Austria. This sense of difference was crystallized into the name, Burgenland, and, in a figurative sense, localized in the choice of a capital which represented the foremost cultural achievements of the area.

Throughout Burgenland there now appears to be a strong sense of provincial identification among the inhabitants. This Burgenland concept differs from that of the other provinces of Austria in that it seems to be not a consciousness of pride or glory but one of suffering and persecution. Burgenlanders are convinced that the inhabitants of no other province of Austria have suffered as they have. "Wie viel haben die Menschen hier schon mitgemacht!" ("How much the people here have endured!") The inhabitants remember all the sufferings of the past, from the persecution of the Protestants and the ravages of the Turks to the advance of the Soviet troops.

These feelings of suffering and persecution are expressed frequently in the terms "Grenzland" (borderland) and "Stiefkind" (step-child). The inhabitants maintain that their area has always been a borderland, always facing the enemy whether from the east or the west, always neglected by the national government because of its location. They

believe that the Hungarians intentionally kept it economically retarded and treated it severely, and that the Austrians have allowed it to remain undeveloped, because it is a border area. They feel that Burgenland has always been the stepchild, the neglected child, the uncared-for part of the nation. The years of dissolution, 1938-1945, augmented this feeling; the Burgenlanders assert that Styria and Lower Austria were interested only in obtaining the material resources of Burgenland; once again they were the stepchild, the borderland.

At the present time the sense of a permanent Burgenland individuality seems indestructible. Three decades of provincial experience and education in the provincial schools have strengthened the provincial consciousness so that the continued existence of Burgenland is rarely if ever questioned. The recent development of a fine highway system and of public buildings (largely from federal funds) has induced the beginnings of a sense of pride in the accomplishments of Burgenland.

Burgenland was established as a separate province because its various parts, though they never had worked together in the past, had all shared a Hungarian history. It was re-established in 1945 and has remained a separate province largely because of a concept based on suffering and persecution. It has become an effectively operating political unit, a "going concern," because the period of its development coincided with the time of development of automotive transportation, and because the federal government in Vienna met the expenses of the construction projects which were vital to the unification and internal organization of the provincial area.

GLOSSARY

- Bach - - - - - stream
- Bezirk - - - - - county
- Bezirkshauptmann - - county supervisor; chief civil servant of the bezirk,
appointed by the provincial government
- Bezirkshauptstadt - - county seat
- Bund - - - - - federation, federal government
- Bürgerschule - - - - - roughly, a junior high school
- Dekanat - - - - - deanery; subdivision of a Catholic diocese
- Filiale - - - - - mission; a chapel serviced by a priest residing
in another village
- Gemeinde - - - - - minor civil division; township; commune
- Gemeinderat - - - - - village council
- Hauptschule - - - - - roughly, a junior high school
- Kis Alföld - - - - - the Little Hungarian (Pannonian) Plain
- Komitat - - - - - Hungarian province (German term)
- Land - - - - - Austrian province
- Landeshauptmann - - Provincial Premier; Governor
- Landeshauptmann-
stellvertreter - - - Provincial Vice Premier; Lieutenant Governor
- Landeshauptstadt - - provincial capital
- Landesregierung - - the executive of the provincial government, headed
by the Provincial Premier
- Landesverwaltung - - the provincial bureaucracy
- Megye - - - - - Hungarian province (Magyar term)
- Stadt - - - - - city
- Standesamt - - - - - the registrar's office

APPENDIX A

CLIMATIC STATISTICS *

<u>Gemeinde</u>	<u>Elevation (feet)</u>	<u>Growing Season (days)</u>	<u>Annual Precipitation (inches)</u>	<u>January Temp. (F)</u>	<u>July Temp. (F)</u>	<u>Annual Range (F)</u>
Andau ^{E4}	388	250	24.1	29	68	39
Neusiedl ^{E3}	459	252	24.3	29	68	39
Eisenstadt ^{C4}	622	248	27.3	29.5	67	37.5
Rust ^{D4}	396		24.6	30	68	38
Deutschkreutz ^{D6}	627			29.5	67	37.5
Lutzmannsburg ^{D7}	670		26.7			
Oberpullendorf ^{C6}	788		23.1			
Unterrabnitz ^{C7}	1120		28.8			
Bernstein ^{B7}	2040	228	35.8			
Oberschützen ^{B8}	1150	235	28.9	27	65	38
Rechnitz ^{C8}	1160		29.7	28	67	39
Wörterberg ^{B9}	1340	237		27	66	39
Markt Allhau ^{B8}	1140	242	31.6			
Güssing ^{BC10}	730	241	31.1	29	67	38
Doibers ^{B11}	820		34.2			

*From: Josef Neunteufel, Das Klima. Burgenland, Landeskunde, pp. 137-145; and Burgenland Atlas, p. 5.

APPENDIX B

THE "AUSGLEICH" OF 1867*
(Abstract)

The two nations are completely independent of each other.

"What falls under each nation's jurisdiction, according to the constitution, shall be handled solely and independently by that nation." Hungary must recognize the interior rights of Austria.

The crown's rights include foreign policy (with the advice of a committee consisting of members of both nations), the army, the navy and the war college, the Ministry of Finance and the supreme accounting office. The two parts are to be joined in a customs and commerce union so that the Monarchy remains one unit, with free interior trade.

The revenue from customs duty is to be shared by both parts and will be utilized primarily for the armed forces, the foreign ministry, and the mutual national debt.

Hungary must contribute her share for the mutual financing of the Monarchy into the Austro-Hungarian Bank. The customs union and the quota of financial contributions are to be reviewed and revised every ten years but the "Personal Union" cannot change. Hungary recognizes the authority of the House of Habsburg-Lotharingen and agrees to assume a part of the national debt.

The mutual legislative power, which is limited virtually to the budget, is to be executed by committees which will be newly chosen each year.

Then followed a careful delineation of the activities in common, to assure that neither nation predominated, in the affairs of the state.

Ratified by Austria, March 30, 1867. Ratified by Hungary, June 3, 1867. Franz Joseph I was crowned King of Hungary on June 8, 1867, in Buda.

*From: Johannes Emmer, 60 Jahre auf Habsburgs Throne (Festgabe zum 60-jährigen Regierungs-Jubiläum Seiner Majestät Kaiser Franz Joseph I). Vol. II, Wien, 1908, pp. 82-84.

APPENDIX C

CONTRACTED ANNUAL PAYMENTS ON MANORIAL CENTERS*

1. Gutshof Albrechtsfeld (Neusiedl County). The laborer is granted a dwelling, 1,000 quadratklafter Deputatland, 6 q rye, 6 q wheat, 4 q barley, 547.5 liters milk, 12 reams wood, 30 liters petroleum, and 348 schillings cash. The worker is allowed to keep 2 swine and 20 chickens. After five years' service he receives a premium of 16 schillings.

2. Gut Pötsching-Zillingtal (Mattersburg County). The laborer is granted a dwelling, 1,000 quadratklafter Deputatland, 6 q wheat, 8 q rye, 4 q barley, 730 liters milk, 8 reams wood, 800 kilograms coal, 29 liters petroleum, and 42 schillings cash.

3. Gut Geresdorf (Oberpullendorf County). The laborer is granted a dwelling, 2,900 quadratklafter Deputatland, 8 q wheat, 8 q rye, 4 q barley, 547.5 liters milk, 10 klafter wood, and 124 schillings cash.

4. Gut Stefanshof (Oberwart County). The laborer is granted a dwelling, 800 quadratklafter Deputatland, 6 q wheat, 8 q rye, and 100 schillings cash.

5. Gut Rauchwart (Güssing County). The laborer is granted a dwelling, wood, free straw, 16 q grain, 547.5 liters milk, and 20 schillings cash.

6. Pillingerpuszta (Győr-megye, Hungary). The laborer is granted a dwelling, a free pig pasture, 1,200 quadratklafter maize, 200 q garden, 18 q grain, 20 kilograms salt, 365 liters milk, 8 reams wood, and 25 pengő cash.

*From: Hubert Lendl, Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der Burgenländischen Landwirtschaft (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Hochschule der Bodenkultur, Wien, 1937), p. 180.

APPENDIX D

THE BUDGET OF 1929*

Allgemeines Bildungswesen (Education)	4,298,800 sch.	(30%)
Landesverwaltung (Provincial Government)	2,748,100 sch.	(19%)
Bau- und Verkehrswesen (Building & Transport)	2,039,300 sch.	(14%)
Gesundheitswesen (Health)	1,576,800 sch.	(11%)
Landeskultur (Agriculture & Forestry)	1,216,700 sch.	(8.5%)
Fürsorge (Welfare)	743,900 sch.	(5.2%)
Landesvermögen (Capital Reserve Fund?)	625,000 sch.	(4.4%)
Landesverratung (Information & Publication?)	262,400 sch.	(1.8%)
Gewerbe (Crafts)	83,300 sch.	(0.6%)
Landesmittel (Provincial Property)	81,000 sch.	(0.6%)
Sicherheitswesen (Police)	52,300 sch.	(0.4%)
Other	<u>547,100 sch.</u>	(4%)
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	14,301,700 sch.	
TOTAL INCOME	<u>12,678,000 sch.</u>	
TOTAL DEFICIT	1,623,700 sch.	

*From: Der Freie Burgenländer, Eisenstadt, Organ of the Gross-deutsche Partie, December 23, 1928.

APPENDIX E

DEMANDS OF THE KROATISCHE KULTURVEREIN*

On the Austrian Federal Government: In view of the fact that the Austrian peace treaty went into effect on July 27, 1955, and in view of the fact that the Austrian peace treaty contains various articles concerning the rights of the Slovenian and Croatian minorities in Austria, the Kroatische Kulturverein of Burgenland has the honor to present the following memoir "Denkschrift" to the Austrian Federal Government and to ask it to examine the included wishes and proposals and to grant the legislative and governmental measures resulting therefrom.

I. Previously there has been no official office specifically for the minorities and their rights and needs. Therefore there should be (a) the establishment of a minority-referat in the federal chancellery, and (b) the establishment of minority referate by the concerned provincial governments. The task of the referate will be to prepare and expedite the passage of all the measures stated or implied in Article 7 of the treaty. (a) The referat is to be directly under the Federal Chancellor and the director of the referat is to be named by the federal government. (b) The referat is to be directly under the Provincial Premier.

II. They have already enjoyed the rights of Article 7, Point 1. They have already enjoyed the rights of elementary education in Article 7, point 2, but in all the Burgenland Hauptschulen, where there are at least five Croatian students, Croatian is to be a compulsory subject for those Croats who wish it. This is to be introduced where it is not already in practice.

Croatian teaching is to be introduced into all Handelschulen, Gewerblichen, B uerlichen, Hauswirtschaftlichen, Forstbildungsischeln-schulen (all trade schools), and into all Mittelschulen, which have five or more Croatian students.

*Naš Tajednik, Neodvisni Glasnik Gradišćanskih Hrvator (Denkschrift des Kroatischen Kulturvereines). Wien, November 26, 1955.

A state teachers' training school, to train the necessary Croatian teachers, is to be founded.

All teachers in the schools requiring instruction in the Croatian language must be able to pass an examination in Croatian. Those teachers already instructing have until December 31, 1958, to pass an examination.

In Croatian gemeinden the kindergartens are to be in Croatian.

The Croats are to have their own branch of the school supervisory (Landesschulrat) to supervise their own schools. The chairman of this unit is to have a voting seat on the provincial school supervisory.

In order to have successful Croatian supervision of the schools, it will be necessary to remove the Croatian primary schools (Volksschulen) from the present county supervisory units, and place them in two special Croatian supervisory units: Neusiedl-Eisenstadt-Mattersburg, and Oberpullendorf-Oberwart-Güssing. The head supervisor will be the Croatian provincial school inspector (Landesschulinspektor).

With respect to Article 7, point 3, there should be (at least) two officials in the government who speak the Croatian language. The referat would have the duty to develop a corps of Croatian-speaking officials.

With respect to Point 4, the Volksbildungs-referenten must, in the future, contain a referent for the preservation of the Croatian culture (Volkstumpflege).

III. The Kroatische Kulturverein recognizes the difficulties involved, but wishes these measures to be put into effect. The Croats will remain true and loyal. The "Kroatische Kulturverein of Burgenland advises the Austrian federal government that . . . it is bringing this memorandum to the notice of the ambassadors of the four signatory powers of the peace treaty."

APPENDIX F

LIST OF GEMEINDEN

On most of the maps of Burgenland which appear in this dissertation, each gemeinde is delimited and identified with a number. These numbers are listed below in the first column. The 1951 population is included after the name of the gemeinde. The counties are listed from north to south.

Neusiedl County

1. Andau	3,003	16. Nickelsdorf	2,225
2. Apelton	1,971	17. Pama	1,198
3. Deutsch Jahrndorf	1,132	18. Pamhagen	2,167
4. Edelstal	690	19. Parndorf	2,422
5. Frauenkirchen	2,979	20. Podersdorf	1,566
6. Gattendorf	1,172	21. Potzneusiedl	656
7. Gols	3,126	22. Sankt Andr�	1,473
8. Halbturn	1,995	23. Tadt�	1,603
9. Illmitz	2,261	24. Wallern	1,895
10. Jois	1,305	25. Weiden	1,678
11. Kaisersteinbruch	291	26. Winden	1,037
12. Kittsee	2,549	27. Zurndorf	2,070
13. M�nchhof	2,126	unnumbered:	
14. Neudorf	902	Bruckneudorf	1,455
15. Neusiedl a/See	3,624		

Eisenstadt County

unnumbered:		8. M�rbisch	2,258
Eisenstadt City	5,464	9. M�llendorf	1,027
Rust City	1,596	10. Neufeld	2,383
1. Breitenbrunn	1,230	11. Oggau	1,712
2. Donnerskirchen	1,622	12. Oslip	1,204
3. Grossh�flein	1,406	13. Purbach	2,170
4. Hornstein	2,373	14. Sankt Margarethen	2,268
5. Kligenbach	1,360	15. Sch�tzen a/Gebirge	1,321
6. Leitha-prodersdorf	857	16. Siegendorf	2,387
7. Loretto	249	17. Stinkenbrunn	1,306

18. Stotzing	646	23. Zillingtal	699
19. Trausdorf	1,406	unnumbered:	
20. Wimpassing	707	Kleinhöflein	955
21. Wulka-prodersdorf	1,764	Sankt Georgen	1,149
22. Zagersdorf	901		

Mattersburg County

1. Antau	677	12. Pöttelsdorf	657
2. Baumgarten	927	13. Pötttsching	1,877
3. Drassburg	1,293	14. Rohrbach	2,218
4. Forchtenau	1,282	15. Sauerbrunn	1,900
5. Hirm	930	16. Schattendorf	2,541
6. Krensdorf	721	17. Sieggraben	1,276
7. Loipersbach	1,194	18. Siegless	1,194
8. Marz	1,777	19. Stöttera	630
9. Mattersburg	3,881	20. Walbersdorf	867
10. Neudörfl	2,426	21. Wiesen	2,199
11. Neustift	902	22. Zemendorf	722

Oberpullendorf County

1. Bubendorf	272	22. Kroatisch Geresdorf	786
2. Deutsch Gerisdorf	286	23. Kroatisch Minihof	826
3. Deutschkreutz	3,852	24. Lackenbach	1,284
4. Dörfl	703	25. Lackendorf	624
5. Drassmarkt	1,021	26. Landsee	455
6. Frankenau	722	27. Langeck	266
7. Glashütten bei/Langeck	347	28. Lebenbrunn	193
8. Grossmutschen	369	29. Liebing	312
9. Grosswarasdorf	1,147	30. Lindgraben	316
10. Hammer-Teich	373	31. Lockenhaus	1,172
11. Haschendorf	195	32. Lutzmannsburg	1,095
12. Hochstrass	212	33. Mannersdorf	683
13. Horitschon	1,150	34. Markt Sankt Martin	928
14. Kaisersdorf	863	35. Mitterpullendorf	447
15. Kalkgruben	337	36. Nebersdorf	978
16. Karl	298	37. Neckenmarkt	1,726
17. Kleinmutschen	296	38. Neudorf b/Landsee	300
18. Kleinwarasdorf	1,100	39. Neutal	1,153
19. Klostermarienberg	518	40. Nikitsch	1,821
20. Kobersdorf	1,165	41. Oberloisdorf	884
21. Kogl	173	42. Oberpetersdorf	542

43. Oberpullendorf	1,377	54. Stoob	1,348
44. Oberrabnitz	322	55. Strebersdorf	481
45. Pilgersdorf	620	56. Tschurndorf	496
46. Piringsdorf	397	57. Unterfrauenhaid	683
47. Raiding	964	58. Unterloisdorf	384
48. Rattersdorf	668	59. Unterpetersdorf	565
49. Ritzing	1,420	60. Unterpullendorf	670
50. Salmannsdorf	166	61. Unterrabnitz	438
51. Schwendgraben	186	62. Weingraben	550
52. Steinbach	163	63. Weppersdorf	1,010
53. Steinberg	872		

Oberwart County

1. Allersdorf	92	31. Jormannsdorf	239
2. Althodis	213	32. Kemeten	1,557
3. Altschlaining	335	33. Kirchfidisch	485
4. Aschau	419	34. Kitzladen	280
5. Badersdorf	395	35. Kleinbachselten	218
6. Bad Tatzmannsdorf	496	36. Kleinpetersdorf	244
7. Bergwerk	243	37. Kleinzichen	132
8. Bernstein	1,000	38. Kohfidisch	776
9. Buchschachen	680	39. Kotezicken	352
10. Burg	403	40. Kroisegg	217
11. Deutsch Schützen	725	41. Litzelsdorf	1,259
12. Dreihütten	157	42. Loipersdorf	721
13. Drumling	211	43. Mariasdorf	369
14. Dürnbach	651	44. Markt Allhau	1,127
15. Edlitz	152	45. Markt Neuhodis	773
16. Eisenberg	485	46. Miedlingsdorf	300
17. Eisenzichen	262	47. Mischendorf	575
18. Glashütten		48. Münchmeierhof	135
bei/Schlaining	181	49. Neuhaus i/d Wart	277
19. Goberling	569	50. Neumarkt/im	
20. Grafenschachen	812	Tauchen	467
21. Grodnau	360	51. Neustift a/Lafnitz	434
22. Grossbachselten	129	52. Neustift b/Schlaining	136
23. Grosspetersdorf	1,928	53. Obersdorf	1,133
24. Günseck	210	54. Oberkohlstätten	211
25. Hannersdorf	599	55. Oberschützen	1,031
26. Harmisch	206	56. Oberwart	4,496
27. Hochart	234	57. Pinkafeld	3,519
28. Hüll	145	58. Podgoria	253
29. Holzschlag	347	59. Podler	117
30. Jabing	864	60. Rauhriegel-	
		Allersgraben	115

61. Rechnitz	3,387	77. Stadt Schlaining	842
62. Redlschlag	481	78. Stuben	424
63. Rettenbach	403	79. Sulzriegel	112
64. Riedlingsdorf	1,537	80. Tauchen	247
65. Rohrbach a/Teich	443	81. Unterkohlstätten	282
66. Rotenturm a/Pinka	795	82. Unterschützen	566
67. Rumpersdorf	140	83. Unterwart	989
68. Sankt Kathrein	220	84. Weiden b/Rechnitz	231
69. Sankt Martin i/Wart	217	85. Weinberg	77
70. Schachendorf	852	86. Welgersdorf	363
71. Schandorf	536	87. Wiesfleck	758
72. Schmiedrait	191	88. Willersdorf	370
73. Schönherrn	85	89. Wolfau	1,237
74. Schreibersdorf	227	90. Woppendorf	273
75. Siget i/d Wart	262	91. Zuberbach	385
76. Spitzzicken	308		

Güssing County

1. Bocksdorf	970	28. Moschendorf	623
2. Burgauberg	738	29. Neuberg	1,153
3. Deutsch Bieling	188	30. Neudauberg	617
4. Deutsch Ehrendorf	223	31. Neusiedl b/Güssing	675
5. Deutsch Tschan- tschendorf	628	32. Neustif b/Güssing	802
6. Eberau	481	33. Oberbildein	346
7. Eisenhüttl	245	34. Olbendorf	1,573
8. Gaas	528	35. Ollersdorf	939
9. Gamischdorf	264	36. Punitz	456
10. Geresdorf b/Güssing	713	37. Rauchwart	672
11. Glasing	220	38. Rehgraben	335
12. Gross-mürbisch	508	39. Reinersdorf	459
13. Güssing	2,760	40. Rohr	457
14. Güttenbach	1,056	41. Sankt Michael	787
15. Hackerberg	464	42. Schallendorf	139
16. Hagensdorf	333	43. Stegersbach	2,358
17. Hasendorf	107	44. Steinfurt	156
18. Heiligenbrunn	332	45. Steingraben	241
19. Heugraben	357	46. Stinatz	1,204
20. Inzenhof	612	47. Strem	627
21. Kleinmürbisch	275	48. Sulz	411
22. Kroatisch Ehrendorf	137	49. Sumetendorf	87
23. Kroatisch Tschan- tschendorf	141	50. Tobaj	441
24. Kukmirn	1,017	51. Tschanigraben	148
25. Kulm	264	52. Tudersdorf	75
26. Limbach	526	53. Unterbildein	312
27. Laising	219	54. Urbersdorf	294
		55. Winten	133
		56. Wörterberg	486

Jennersdorf County

1. Bonisdorf	214	18. Mühlgraben	462
2. Deutsch Kaltenbrunn	1,384	19. Neuhaus	713
3. Deutsch Minihof	283	20. Neumarkt a/Raab	885
4. Dobersdorf	594	21. Oberdrosen	420
5. Doiber	284	22. Poppendorf	571
6. Eltendorf	652	23. Rax	764
7. Grieselstein	670	24. Rohrbrunn	681
8. Gritsch	150	25. Rosendorf	168
9. Heiligenkreuz	1,150	26. Rudersdorf	1,295
10. Henndorf	670	27. Sankt Martin a/Raab	469
11. Jennersdorf	1,780	28. Tauka	358
12. Kalch	355	29. Wallendorf	586
13. Königsdorf	882	30. Weichselbaum	579
14. Kroboteck	443	31. Welten	517
15. Krottendorf	197	32. Windisch Minihof	536
16. Minihof Liebau	373	33. Zahling	615
17. Mogersdorf	830		

For comparison the population figures (1951) of a few of the more significant gemeinden in Old-Austria along the Burgenland boundary are included. The sequence is again from north to south.

Lower Austria

Hainburg	7,055	Wampersdorf	685
Berg	731	Ebenfurth	2,411
Bruck a/d Leitha	6,507	Wiener Neustadt	30,868
Sommerein	1,010	Schwarzenbach	1,187
Mannersdorf	3,746	Wiesmath	1,712
Deutsch-Brodersdorf	492	Kirchschlag	1,379

Styria

Friedberg	1,500	Burgau	1,186
Pinggau	2,663	Fürstenfeld	6,673
Hartberg	3,768	Fehring	1,351
Wörth	430	Feldbach	3,405
Neudau	1,259		

APPENDIX G

ALTERNATE PLACE NAMES

<u>Magyar</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Other</u>
Agfalva	Agendorf	
Albertkázmer	Albrecht-Kasimir	
Alsó Csátár	Unterschilding	
Balf	Wolfs	
Felső Csátár	Oberschilding	
Felső Ór	Oberwart	
Felső Pulya	Oberpullendorf	
Fertőbóz	Holling	
Fertőrákos	Kroisbach	
Harka	Harkau	
Hegyeshalom	Strass Sommerein	
Horvátlővő	Kroatisch Schützen	
Jakabháza	Jakobshof	
Kismarton	Eisenstadt	
Kisnarda	Kleinnahring	
Kópháza	Kohlhof	
Kőszeg	Güns	
Magyarkeresztes	Ungarische Grossdorf	
Magyaróvár	Ungarische Altenburg	
Moson	Wieselburg	
Nagyczenk	Grosszinkendorf	
Nagymarton	Mattersburg	
Nagynarda	Grossnahring	
Németkeresztes	Deutschgrossdorf	
Németujvár	Güssing	
Neszider	Neusiedl am/See	
Olmod	Bleigraben	
	Engerau	Petrzalka
Pinkamindszent	Allerheiligen	
Pornáapáti	Pernau	
Pozsony	Pressburg	Bratislava
Rábfüzés	Raab Fidisich	
Rajka	Ragendorf	
Sopron	Ödenburg	
Sopronbánfalva	Wandorf	
Szentpéterfa	Prostrum	
Szombathely	Steinamanger	
Vasvár	Eisenburg	

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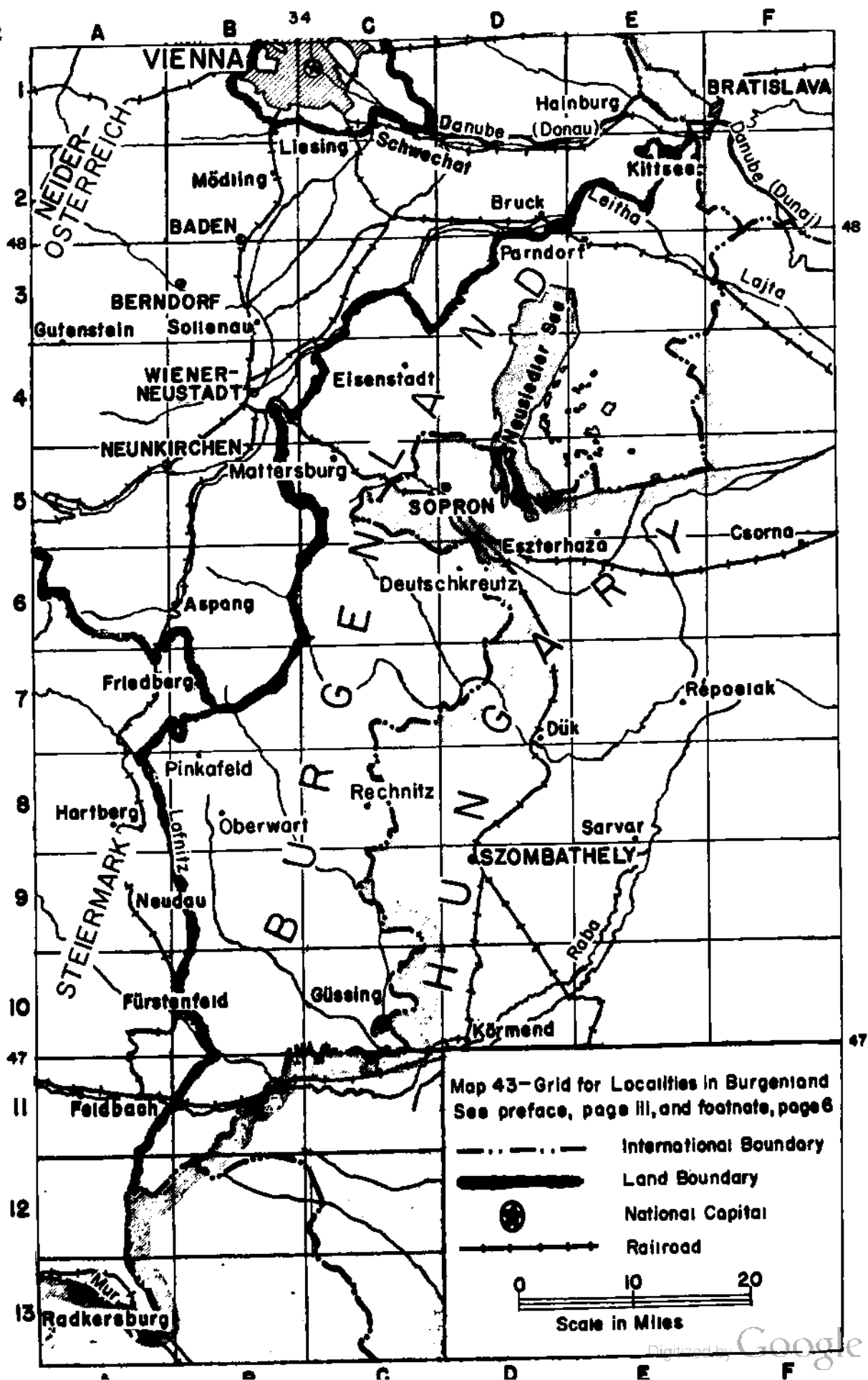
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Miscellaneous Map

Radenich, Georg, Diözensankarte der Apostolischen Administratur Burgenland.





NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES— NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

The National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council is a private, nonprofit organization of scientists, dedicated to the furtherance of science and to its use for the general welfare.

The Academy itself was established in 1863 under a Congressional charter signed by President Lincoln. Empowered to provide for all activities appropriate to academies of science, it was also required by its charter to act as an adviser to the Federal Government in scientific matters. This provision accounts for the close ties that have always existed between the Academy and the Government, although the Academy is not a governmental agency.

The National Research Council was established by the Academy in 1916, at the request of President Wilson, to enable scientists generally to associate their efforts with those of the limited membership of the Academy in service to the nation, to society, and to science at home and abroad. Members of the National Research Council receive their appointments from the President of the Academy. They include representatives nominated by the major scientific and technical societies, representatives of the Federal Government, and a number of members-at-large. In addition, several thousand scientists and engineers take part in the activities of the Research Council through membership on its various boards and committees.

Receiving funds from both public and private sources, by contributions, grant, or contract, the Academy and its Research Council thus work to stimulate research and its applications, to survey the broad possibilities of science, to promote effective utilization of the scientific and technical resources of the country, to serve the Government, and to further the general interests of science.

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