

University of Pardubice

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**Johann Adolf II of Schwarzenberg
and the company Emperor-Franz-
Joseph-Railroad**

(Ph.D. Theses)

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Introduction

The period of the second half of the 19th century in the Habsburg monarchy can be characterized as a period of great changes. The transformation primarily affected the political sphere, which first had to deal with the consequences of the revolutionary year 1848, and then with the style of government in the form of so-called Neoabsolutism in the 1850s. During the 1860s, the monarchy embarked on the long journey of democratization, which began with the October Diploma on the 20th October 1860, and the division of an overly different whole into two interconnected parts: Austria-Hungary in 1867. The monarchy had to deal with the political situation after lost military conflicts culminating in the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866. On the contrary, since the late 1960s, the country has been politically slowly following the path set in the 1960s and its direction has taken a liberal-conservative course.

On the other hand, the changes in the second half of the 19th century mainly affected the economic sphere. With political changes, the conditions for doing business have also changed. Capital, and especially new technical knowledge in various fields, came to the country. The path of innovation in agriculture, forestry and other fields, and above all the development of manufactories, brought mainly by the first half of the 19th century, continued in the second half of century by industrialization and the transformation from agricultural to industrial landscape.

This was also reflected in the social transformation. The change of way of life, the transfer of inhabitants from agrarian countryside to industrial cities, the advent of the working class as a social class and also the development of new business elites and the stagnation of the old traditional elites all affected society during the “long” 19th century. monarchy.

The transformation of society posed an aristocracy to the question of how to maintain its social status. In 1848 the nobility lost

the status of nobility. It has therefore lost many privileges, but also the duty to care for the population and infrastructure in the regions where it has operated. However, large nobility estates retained their economic potential and allowed their owners to remain economically among the elite if they embark on modernization begun in the the first half of the century and engage in a liberal market economy. On the other hand, the old family nobility had to socially cope with the fact that new social elites began to interfere in the aristocratic ranks. They usually had more capital, but in their lifestyle they tried to imitate the old elite and join their ranks.

Some aristocrats were unable to cope with dynamic social transformations and isolated themselves from the outside world. Others failed to manage farming in the new era and often fell to the poverty line. On the other hand, important noble families, such as the Liechtenstein, Lobkowitz and Schwarzenberg, tried to adapt the management of large estates to modern trends: to educate their employees and officials, to introduce new types of material processing, sugar industry or woodworking industry.

The aristocrats needed more to maintain their social status. They had to find a way to stay at the top of the social ladder. The journey traditionally led through prestigious positions in the military, in the government or in the imperial and provincial representative bodies. In addition to military and political functions, they also held honorary positions in various associations and unions.

However, the nobility also took advantage of new opportunities arising from industrialization and economic liberalization. The nobles tried to assert themselves in banking, industrial companies and in transport. Especially in the second half of the 1860s, transport business began to appear lucrative. The state supported the development of new trends in transport, led by railroad. From the state it was possible to obtain a guarantee and contribution for a railway company that would help with the construction of the main railway infrastructure.

And here was the opportunity for the nobles to lead the modern and prestigious railway company and give the impression of a patron of progress. In addition, they could help bring modern transport links to their estates, through which the raw materials and products of the estates could flow more easily to their outlets. In addition, the transport of goods by rail, in which an aristocrat, an entrepreneur, would actively operate, could be cheaper for large estates than by foreign railways.

All this was also realized by the leading representative of the Hluboká part (the so-called primogeniture) of the Schwarzenberg family, Prince Jan Adolf II. from Schwarzenberg. After trying unsuccessfully in a banking institution: Credit-Anstalt, he decided to lead a new railway project. The owner of extensive possessions in South Bohemia decided to build a new railway just through this region. No wonder he took advantage of the demand of the state, chambers of commerce and the public for a connection from Vienna to Pilsen and Prague via South Bohemia and became the head of a company called The Emperor Franz Joseph's Track and linked his name indelibly.

Research of nobility

Let us look at the stand of research of the nobility-history in the modern age. Already during the First World War there were some challenges to synthesize the problem of nobility in the previous century. We can mention the work of positivist-historian Josef Hanuš, who later worked at the University of Bratislava. At the initiation of Jaroslav Goll, he wrote a file in honor of the jubilee of the founding of the National Museum in Prague. The publication had several parts: the first volume entitled *Cultural and National Revival of the Czech Nobility in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century* was published in 1921. Hanuš searched for the activities of the Czech nobility in the field of arts and sciences and their importance for the czech national

movement. This work was alone in Czech historiography for many years, in addition to the post-war work by the Brno historian Antonín Okáč, who also attempted to synthesize the Czech nobility.¹

Hanuš's work found an answer from the prominent Czech historian Josef Pekař, who referred to it in polemics in the Sunday supplement of the *Národní listy* newspapers, which was finally published in 1923 in the well-known book *Omyly a nebezpečí pozemkové reformy* (The Errors and Dangers of Land Reform).² In his book, Pekař argued with the supporters of the first land reform who spoke of "atonement of the White Mountain and relieving the influence of the Germanized aristocrats" and, like Hanuš, sought to emphasize the political and cultural importance of the Czech post-White Mountain nobility for maintaining historical continuity in Bohemia. On that occasion, Pekař pointed out the role of the nobility in the national revival and in the political dialogue of the second half of the 19th century.³

Apart from Pekař, who used Hanuš's work in arguing against the ideologization of the theme Czech nobility, Josef Hanuš did not find successors for a long time. The call of Hanuš at the beginning of his book remained unanswered for a long time. The theme of the nobility in the 19th century remained taboo for a long time, for ideological reasons against which Josef Pekař fought. The topic did not fit into the national concept of the First Republic's historiography. Only genealogical and heraldic essays often written by the nobles themselves became an exception. For example, an article published by the archivist Antonín Markus in 1935 in the *Schwarzenberská ročenka* (Schwarzenberg Yearbook) entitled *Rod knížat ze Schwarzenbergu*

¹ HANUŠ, Josef: *Národní museum a naše obrození. Kniha 1. Kulturní a národní obrození šlechty české v 18. a v první půli 19. století. Jeho význam pro založení a počátky musea*. Národní muzeum, Praha 1921; OKÁČ, Antonín: *Český sněm a vláda před březnem 1848*. Zemský národní výbor, Praha 1948.

² PEKAŘ, Josef: *Omyly a nebezpečí pozemkové reformy*. Vesmír, Praha 1923.

³ LENDEROVÁ, Milena – BEZECNÝ, Zdeněk – KUBEŠ, Jiří: *Proměny elit v moderní době. Sborník k narozeninám docenta Roberta Saka*. Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, České Budějovice 2003, s. 20–21.

(The House of Princes of Schwarzenberg).⁴ Some families also published periodicals popularizing the life and activity of the family and its estates. The most important for this work is the magazine *Tradice* (Tradition) published by the Schwarzenbergs in Hluboká. In addition to various professional employees and officials of the estate, the princely archivists also contributed to this magazine. The magazine was published between 1934 and 1938. It was restored in the 1990s under the title *Obnovená tradice* (Renewed Tradition) and is still published by the Schwarzenberg Historical Society (Historický spolek Schwarzenberg).

Research on the aristocracy of the 19th century did not find good conditions even after World War II. The political climate after the war blamed the nobility on a flat-rate basis for collaboration with the Nazi regime during the war. The time was in the spirit of the nationalization of noble property. Yet, before the Communist takeover in 1948, another major synthesis came out. It was a book by Antonín Okáč, *Český sněm a vláda před březnem 1848* (Czech Parliament and the Government before March 1848). In addition to this work, Okáč published several studies on Egbert Belcredi, a nobleman and a politician in the 1950s. However, this was the end of the work of Antonín Okáč as a historian. The atmosphere of the 1950s and the repression of the regime prevented Okáč from working scientifically. The theme of the nobility of the 19th century was completely passé for the communist regime. A short release came around 1968. At that time, Okáč's work *Rakouský problém a list Vaterland 1860-1871* (The Austrian Problem and the Vaterland 1860-1871), in which the author used materials from most Czech aristocratic archives, could be published in a small edition.⁵

⁴ MARKUS, Antotnín: *Rod knížat ze Schwarzenbergu*. In: *Schwarzenberská ročenka 1935*, s. 25–85.

⁵ OKÁČ, Antonín: *Český sněm a vláda před březnem 1848*. Zemský národní výbor, Praha 1948; TÝŽ: *Egbert Belcredi o moravském úřednictvu v roce 1854*. In: *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 7, 1952, s. 234–238; TÝŽ: *Rakouský problém a list Vaterland 1860-1871 I-II*. Brno 1970. Muzejní spolek v Brně, Brno 1970.

In addition to Okáč, in connection with the period of political relaxation at the end of the 1960s, we can also mention Jan Havránek's article in the magazine *Sborník historický* (Historical Proceedings) entitled *Česká politika, konzervativní aristokraté a uspořádání poměrů v habsburské říši v letech 1860-1867* (Czech Politics, Conservative Aristocrats and Arrangements in the Habsburg Empire in 1860-1867). Normalization prevented further development of research and interest in the nobility.⁶

Interest of the theme aristocracy in the Czech historical research has been gradually coming from the 1980s. In connection with the interest in art of the 19th century, interest in the aristocracy as a patron of cultural activities also increased. At that time Czech historians as Otto Urban and Josef Polišíenský also touched this theme. The important historian for my research was Milan Myška from Ostrava, who first perceived the nobility of the 19th century as entrepreneurs and modernizers. He noted the economic role of the nobility in the so-called "capitalist modernization". Myška focused mainly on the modernization role of aristocracy, especially in agriculture. Myška introduced a group of questions for the research of the economic history of the nobility. In addition to Myška, several other studies dealing with the economic problems of aristocratic estates in the 19th century were published before 1989.⁷ Let me especially mention the archivist from the State Archive in Český Krumlov Jiří Zálaha. In 1945, he joined the Schwarzenberg Central Archive in Český Krumlov and stayed there in the face of his

⁶ HAVRÁNEK Jan: *Česká politika, konzervativní aristokraté a uspořádání poměrů v habsburské říši v letech 1860-1867*. In: *Sborník historický* 17, 1970, s. 67–96.

⁷ URBAN, Otto: *Česká společnost 1848-1918*. Praha 1982; MYŠKA, Milan: *Šlechta v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku na prahu buržoazní éry (Hospodářská aktivita české aristokracie a tzv. "kapitalistická modernizace")*. In: *Časopis Slezského muzea, série B*, 36, 1987, s. 46–65; HOFMANN, Gustav: *Blatenský velkostatek v polovině 19. století. Příspěvek k dějinám vývoje kapitalismu v zemědělství*. In: *Sborník archivních prací* 8, 1985, s.98–130; LOM, František: *Dějinný vývoj změn organizační struktury zemědělských podniků 1750-1914 v Čechách. Příspěvek k vývoji intenzity a ekonomiky zemědělské výroby*. In: *Vědecké práce Zemědělského muzea* 16, 1977, s. 181–218.

numerous reorganizations. In the provenance of the archival records concerning the personal documents of Schwarzenberg family members and of the administration and estates, he gained an overview during his work, which he used in his publishing activities. Jiří Zálaha published extensively after 1989, for example in the above-mentioned magazine *Obnovená Tradice*. He died in 2009.⁸

The great development of research of the nobility from the previous century began after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. Heraldic and genealogical works began to enjoy great popularity. It was created a number of encyclopedic works, led by a book by Petr Mašek entitled *Modrá krev* (The Blue Blood). An important magazine for basic knowledge of aristocratic families was *Střední Evropa* (Central Europe) published by Milan Buben in the first half of the 1990s. There were also articles about both lines of the Schwarzenberg family. Other periodicals focusing on the topic of aristocracy were the cultural revue *Prostor* (Space) and the already mentioned *Obnovená tradice*.⁹

The problem of many works dealing with the nobility of the 1990s and younger is uncritical adoration and often lack of criticism, archival and methodological research. In the last twenty years, however, interest in the aristocracy of modern times has also increased in the context of modern historical discourse. Research of the nobility of the 19th century after 2000 focused firstly on the Institute of History (since 2006 Faculty of Philosophy) of the University of South Bohemia. Interest in the aristocracy has also shifted to historians working in this workplace of modern history, whether it was Robert Sak, Milena Lenderová or, above all, Zdeněk Bezcený, who moved

⁸ ZÁLOHA, Jiří: *Mzdy čeledi a zemědělských dělníků ve schwarzenberských dvorech ve druhé polovině 19. století*. In: *Vědecké práce zemědělského muzea* 25, 1985, s. 181–201.

⁹ MAŠEK, Petr: *Modrá krev. Minulost a přítomnost 445 šlechtických rodů v českých zemích*. Praha 1999; HALADA, Jan: *Lexikon české šlechty. Erby, fakt, osobnosti*. Praha 1999; BUBEN, Milan: *Schwarzenbergové – primogenitura*. In: *Střední Evropa. Revue pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku* 11, 1995, č. 54–55, s. 95–119.

from monographic studies to seeking the thinking and action of the nobility of the 19th century, its everyday life and mentality.¹⁰

Interest in the research of the nobility in modern times subsequently passed to other workplaces. Important is the research of the nobility at the Institute of World History of the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University in Prague around the personalities of Václav Horčíčka and Jan Županič. Their interest is primarily the aristocracy of the first half of the 20th century and its political anchoring during the First Czechoslovak Republic and during the Second World War. Jan Županič also observes in his research the so-called new-aristocrats and aristocrats of Jewish origin.¹¹

¹⁰ SAK, Robert – BEZECNÝ, Zdeněk: *Dáma z rajského ostrova*. Mladá fronta, Praha 2000; BEZECNÝ, Zdeněk: *Příliš uzavřená společnost*. Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, České Budějovice 2005 ; TÝŽ: *Die Schwarzenberger im 19. Jahrhundert – Erben der Herren von der Rose?*. in: PÁNEK, Jaroslav. Pánek – GAŽI, Martin – PAVELEC Petr (Edd.): *Die Rosenberger. Eine mitteleuropäische Magnatenfamilie*. NPÚ, České Budějovice 2015, s. 552–555; TÝŽ: *Ženy v životě Posledního lancknechta*, in: JIRÁNEK, Tomáš – RÝDL, Karel – VOREL, Petr: *Gender history – to přece není nic pro feministky: kniha, kterou napsali přátelé a studenti Mileny Lenderové u příležitosti jejího těžko uvěřitelného životního jubilea*. Univerzita Pardubice, Pardubice 2017, s. 219–226; LENDEROVÁ, Milena: *Tragický bál. Život a smrt Pavlíny ze Schwarzenbergu*. Paseka. Praha – Litomyšl 2004; GRUBHOFFER, Václav: *Pod závojem smrti: Poslední věci Schwarzenbergů v letech 1732–1914. Společnost pro kulturní dějiny*, Pelhřimov 2013.

¹¹ HORČIČKA, Václav: *Lichtenštejnové v Československu*. Agentura Pankrác Praha, 2014; HORČIČKA, Václav – MARXER, Roland: *Liechtenstein und die tschechoslowakischen Konfiskationen von 1945. Vom Zweiten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart*. Historischer Verein für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein, Vaduz 2013; HORČIČKA, Václav – ŽUPANIČ, Jan: *Šlechta na křižovatce. Lichtenštejnové, Schwarzenbergové a Colloredo-Mannsfeldové v 1. polovině 20. století*. Agentura Pankrác, Praha 2017; ŽUPANIČ, Jan – FIALA, Michal: *Nobilitas Iudaeorum. Židovská šlechta střední Evropy v komparativní perspektivě*. Agentura Pankrác, Praha 2017; GEIGER, Peter – KNOZ, Tomáš – FUCÍKOVÁ, Eliška – HORÁK, Ondřej – HOREL, Catherine – KRÄFTNER, Johann – WINKELBAUER, Thomas – ŽUPANIČ, Jan: *Liechtenstein-tschechische Beziehungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Synthesebericht der Liechtenstein-Tschechischen Historikerkommission*, Vaduz 2014; ŽUPANIČ, Jan: *Židovská šlechta podunajské monarchie. Mezi Davidovou hvězdou křížem*. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2012; TÝŽ: *Nová šlechta Rakouského císařství*. Agentura Pankrác, Praha 2006.

The another institution that research the nobility in the modern age was *Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů* (Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes). Scientists from this institution, focused primarily on the history of the 20th century, compare mainly the behavior of individuals from the ranks of the aristocracy in confrontation with totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, like Nazism and Communism. This topic is the main theme of the current Institute director Zdeněk Hazdra and for a historian connected to the University of Pardubice, Dita Jelínková Homolová. I can mention the latest work of Dita Jelínková Homolová *Šlechta v proměnách: osudy aristokracie v Československu v letech 1918–1948* (Aristocracy in transformation: the fate of the aristocracy in Czechoslovakia in 1918–1948). This book is focused on the mentality and strategies of the nobility in the first half of the 20th century.¹²

Research on the nobility in Bohemia must be viewed from the perspective of wider research in Europe and the world. A number of monographies on aristocratic communities in different European countries and regions have been published outside the Czech environment for a long time. The European discourse focuses on

¹² JELÍNKOVÁ HOMOLOVÁ, Dita: *Šlechta v proměnách: osudy aristokracie v Československu v letech 1918–1948*. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2017; JELÍNKOVÁ HOMOLOVÁ, Dita: *Sudetoněmecká šlechta v Československu v letech 1918 – 1945: postaje, motivy a strategie*. In: UHLÍKOVÁ, Kristina (Ed.): *Konfiskované osudy – hledání provenience movitých památek vyvlastněných v roce 1945*. Artefactum, Praha 2018; HAZDRA, Zdeněk – HORČIČKA, Václav – ŽUPANIČ, Jan (Edd.): *Šlechta střední Evropy v konfrontaci s totalitními režimy 20. století*, ÚSTR – FF UK, Praha 2011; HAZDRA, Zdeněk: *Mostem mezi dvěma světy. Osud Antonína hraběte Bořka-Dohalského z Dohalic – šlechtice, kněze a vlastence (1889–1942)*. Petit, Praha 2012; TÝŽ: *Adelige Demokraten im Kampf gegen den Totalitarismus. Das Schicksal der Grafen František, Antonín und Zdeněk Bořek-Dohalský während der nationalsozialistischen Okkupation*. In: SCHMITZ, Walter – STÜBEN, Jens – WEBER, Matthias: *Adel in Schlesien, Band 3 – Adel in Schlesien und Mitteleuropa. Literatur und Kultur von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Oldenburg Verlag, München 2013, s. 635–658; TÝŽ: *Exilová činnost Františka prince Schwarzenberga (1913–1992) jako výraz snahy o udržení hodnotové kontinuity s Masarykovým Československem*. In: JAŠEK Peter (Ed.): *Pratikomunistický odboj v strednej a východnej Európe*, Ústav pamäti národa, Bratislava 2012, s. 743–759;

transforming the social and economic position of the nobility at the time of the rise of bourgeois society.¹³

German historiography based on the study of social history has been long time beneficial for our research situation. The first impulse for the increased interest in the history of the nobility was the work of a group of authors led by Hans Ulrich Wehler from 1990. It was followed by other proceedings giving a range of questions related to the study of nobility in the 19th century.¹⁴

Important is the work of Heinz Reif, who was inspired by French structuralism in addition to social history. In his work about the nobility in Westphalia from 1770 to 1860, he showed family structure based on an analysis of the economic background, new forms of upbringing and education, career opportunities and societal activity, the way of the nobility from state to closed regional elite. Heinz Reif also created an edition of the *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte* (Encyclopedia of the German history) focused on nobility in the 19th and 20th century, which summarizes the stand of research on this theme in Germany. He also led the research project *Elitenwandel in der Gesellschaftlichen Modernisierung: Adel und Bürgerliche Führungsschichten in Deutschland 1750-1933* (Elite Change in the Social Modernization: Nobility and Civil Leaders in Germany 1750-1933), which resulted in the book *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Aristocracy and bourgeoisie in Germany).¹⁵

¹³ LENDEROVÁ, Milena – BEZECNÝ, Zdeněk – KUBEŠ, Jiří: *Proměny elit v moderní době. Sborník k narozeninám docenta Roberta Saka*. Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, České Budějovice 2003, s. 31.

¹⁴ WEHLER, Hans Ulrich (Hg.): *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, Göttingen 1990; BIRKE, Adolf M. (Hg.): *Bürgertum, Adel und Monarchie. Wandel der Lebensformen im Zeitalter des bürgerlichen Nationalismus*. München 1989; MELVILLE, Ralph – REDEN-DOHNA, Armgard von (Hgg.)

¹⁵ REIF, Heinz: *Westfälischer Adel 1770-1860. Vom Herrschaftsstand zu regionalen Elite*. Göttingen 1979; TÝŽ: *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. In: *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte. Band 55*. München 1999; TÝŽ (Hg.): *Adel und Bürgertum in Deutschland I-II*. München 2000–2001.

One of the favorite themes of German historians was the aristocracy in the Habsburg monarchy, including the Czech lands. The most important author of this theme is the historian from Mainz Ralph Melville. Since the end of the 60s, he has focused his interest on the role of the nobility in around the year 1848. The nobility in the Habsburg monarchy, especially in Moravia, has studied Robert Luft.¹⁶

A very important German historian for this work is Raimund Paleczek. He is the son of a Schwarzenberg gamekeeper (at the Krumlov estate), who had to leave with his family to West Germany for his nationality in 1946. Raimund Paleczek focuses mainly on Czech-German relations, but his major publication *Die Modernisierung des Großgrundbesitzes des Fürsten Johann Adolph II. zu Schwarzenberg* (The modernization of the estate of Johann Adolf II. of Schwarzenberg) focuses on the modernization of the Schwarzenberg estate Krumlov and the economic activities of Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg. Paleczek deals with the issues of the functioning of the estate, employees and officials, and the position of Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg as owner and manager. He had studies primarily the period of the so-called neo-absolutism, the 50s of the 19th century, when the nobility moved from the feudal system to the business management of large estates.¹⁷

¹⁶ MELVILLE, Ralph: *Der böhmische Adel und der Konstitutionalismus. Franz Stadions Konzept einer Postfeudalen Neuordnung Österreichs*. In: SEIBT, Ferdinand (Hg.): *Die Chance der Verständigung. Absichten und Ansätze zu übernationaler Zusammenarbeit in den böhmischen Ländern 1848-1918*. München 1987, s. 135–145; TÝŽ: *Adel und Grundherrschaft in Böhmen an der Schwelle des bürgerlichen Zeitalters 1760-1850*. In: FEIGL, Helmuth – ROSNAR, Wilibald (Hgg.): *Adel in Wandel*. Wien 1991, s. 75–90; TÝŽ: *Adel und Revolution in Böhmen. Strukturwandel von Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz 1999; LUFT, Robert: *Der Adel in der mährischen Landespolitik um 1900*. In: *Opera historica* 2, 1992, s. 111–115; TÝŽ: *Die Mittelpartei des mährischen Großgrundbesitzes 1879-1918. Zur Problematik des Ausgleichs*. In: SEIBT, Ferdinand (Hg.), *Die Chance der Verständigung. Absichten und Ansätze zu übernationaler Zusammenarbeit in den böhmischen Ländern 1848-1918*. München 1987, s. 187–243.

¹⁷ PALECZEK, Raimund: *Die Modernisierung des Großgrundbesitzes des Fürsten Johann Adolph II. zu Schwarzenberg : Beispiel einer deutsch-tschechischen Symbiose in Südböhmen im Neoabsolutismus 1848-1860*. N.G. Elwert, Marburg 2009; TÝŽ:

Another German historian who studies the social and cultural history of European nobility from the 18th to the 20th century is Tatjana Tönsmeier. Most valuable to us is her study comparing management and society on the estates in Bohemia and England in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁸

Of course, Austrian historians also showed interest in the nobility of the Habsburg monarchy (including the Czech lands). Let us name Lothar Höbelt, who sees the aristocracy as the bearer of conservative ideas.¹⁹

Another important inspiration for this work is one of the older works of historian Hannes Stekl about the lifestyle of the noble families Schwarzenberg and Lichtenstein in the first half of the 19th century. This historian followed with co-author Maria Wakounig later history of the Windischgraetz family in the 19th and 20th century and also a monograph comparing the lifestyle of nobility and bourgeoisies in the 18th to 20th centuries.²⁰

Jaroslav Hašek, *die Herrschaft Protiwin und die Fürsten Schwarzenberg*. Raimund Paleczek. In: *Stifter Jahrbuch: Neue Folge* 2015, č. 29, s. 37–57.

¹⁸ TÖNSMEYER, Tatjana: *Adelige Moderne. Großgrundbesitz und ländliche Gesellschaft in England und Böhmen 1848-1918*. Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012; TÖNSMEYER, Tatjana – VELEK, Luboš (Hgg.): *Adel und Politik in der Habsburgermonarchie und den Nachbarländern zwischen Absolutismus und Demokratie*. München 2011.

¹⁹ HÖBELT, Lothar: *Konservatismus in Österreich. Literaturbericht*. In: SCHRENCK-NOTZING, Caspar von: *Satnd und Probleme der Erforschung des Konservatismus*. Berlin 200, s. 233–241. *The Great Landowners Curia and the Reichsrat Elections duty the Formative Years of Austiran Constutionalism 1867-1873*. In: *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 5, 1985, s. 175–183; TYŽ: „Verfassungstreue“ und „Feudale“. In: *Etude Danubienne* 7, 1991, s. 108–114; TYŽ: *Adel und Politik seit 1848*. In ELTZ, Erwein H. von – STROMAYER, Arno (Hgg.): *Die Fürstenberger. 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*, Weitra 1994, s 109–152; TYŽ, *Die Konservativen Alt-Österreichs 1848 bis 1918. Parteien und Politik*. In: RILL, Robert – ZELLENBERG, Ulrich E.: *Konservatismus in Österreich: Strömungen, Ideen, Personen und Vereinigungen von den Anfängen bis heute*. Graz–Stuttgart 1999, s. 109–152.

²⁰ STEKL, Hannes: *Österreichs Aristokratie im Vormärz. Herrschaftsstil und Lebensformen der Fürstenhäuser Liechtenstein und Schwarzenberg*. Wien 1973; TYŽ: *Adel und Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 18. Bis 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien–

Methodological basis

If we want to study the nobility of the 19th century as an entrepreneur in a railway company, we must look for the fundamental question of how to grasp this study.

We must first realize who is the personality of our research. In our viewfinder we find a man who considered himself to be a social elite and intended to be seen by his surroundings. As a member of the aristocratic family, he relied on the unquestionability of belonging through his family to the leading social society. For centuries, those who ruled or participated in government came from this society. They were given adequate preparation for leadership positions because they were noble. Moreover, the image of the nobles was enhanced by various writings, paintings and beautiful literature. The position of the nobleman was given by social symbols, style of life and education. The elite position of the nobility confirmed their economic status: they owned considerable land property. On the other hand, for a long time the aristocrats rejected the values that characterize the business elites: talent, work and money.²¹

According to Heinz Reif, noble thought could be summed up in five points: the principle of exclusivity; the principle of honor, where a set of rights and obligations applies to individuals; the principle of the family, that is to say, the family, the bond of the individual in the chain of ancestors and descendants; a way of life based on great land ownership; ability to exercise power and duty to serve (nobility perceived service to the emperor both duty and

München 2004; STEKL, Hannes – WAKOUNIG, Marija: *Windisch-Graetz. Ein Fürstenhaus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien–Köln 1992.

²¹ CHAUSSINARD-NOGARET (Ed.): *Histoire des élites en France du XCI. auXX. siècle. L'honneur – Le mérite – L'argent*. Paris 1991, s. 20; LENDEROVÁ, Milena – BEZECNÝ, Zdeněk – KUBEŠ, Jiří: *Proměny elit v moderní době. Sborník k narozeninám docenta Roberta Saka*. Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, České Budějovice 2003, s. 19.

personal honor). According to Rudolf Braun, the behavior of the nobleman belonged above all to honor, duty and ability to sacrifice. Eckart Conze, in turn, sees the emphasis on preserving property for next generations.²²

If we want to explore the business of a nobleman, we must first understand why, in his original way of life, he accepted the element originally unacceptable to the aristocrat: an attempt to establish himself in the business sphere (more characteristic for the middle class of society). Here we study the question of the adaptability of the nobility in the period of social transformation of the 19th century. For this we can use one of the approaches to so-called "nobility" (Adeligkeit), as understood by German historiography. It is an approach based on the centuries-old ability of the aristocracy to adapt to social change. According to Heinz Reif, "nobility" relies on the logic of maintaining its "place up" (so-called *Obenbleiben*). The concept of "nobility" then evolved along with the concept of transforming elites (*Elitenwandel*).²³

As a theoretical starting point, the German School of Social History applies the concept of "*Obenbleiben*" to the use of aristocratic strategies to acquire its exceptional social, economic and political position during the 19th century. This concept was defined by Werner Sombart and then used by Rudolf Braun. In Czech Republic it was used by Dita Jelínková Homolová for the aristocracy after 1918, so for the period when the nobility lost their political and economic position.²⁴

²² REIF, Heinz. „Adeligkeit“ - historische und elitentheoretische Überlegung zum Adelshabitus in Deutschland um 1800. Unveröffentlichtes Manuskript. Berlin 1997; BRAUN, Rudolf: *Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben Adel im 19. Jahrhundert*. In: WEHLER, Hans Ulrich (Hg.): *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*. Göttingen 1990, s. 94; CONZE, Eckart: *Von deutschem Adel. Die Grafen von Bernstorff im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*. Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart–München 2000, s. 20.

²³ REIF, Heinz. *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Oldenbourg: München 1999, s. 128–130.

²⁴ BRAUN, Rudolf. *Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben Adel im 19. Jahrhundert*. In: WEHLER, Hans Ulrich. *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, s. 87–96;

The theory of "Obenbleiben" is well applicable to aristocracy of the 19th century trying to find social status through entrepreneurial activity in a railway company. Through the management of this company, the aristocrat could easily influence the political issue of railroad tracing and, in addition, he could further develop the traditional business of the nobility: managing the dominion by interconnecting large estates by rail.

A small trouble, however, may be the fact that, when the nobleman began open business, he came into the role of a new social group: businessman. The question is whether to examine noble entrepreneurs by the method of collective biography within entrepreneurship as a specific social group, as defined by German historiography and how it is used in his work by Petr Popelka.²⁵

A more suitable approach to the study of a nobleman-entrepreneur is to use a microanalytic probe of the personality of Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg as a selected example for a more detailed analysis. So-called qualitative research was used.

Qualitative research seeks to interpret views on the subject by the historian taking their perspective. Therefore, it often uses a detailed description of recurring situations and is about understanding actions and meanings in their social context. The qualitative research does not reduce the number of variables or the relationships between them; the subjects themselves decide on their reduction. The task of qualitative research is to create a realistic picture of the subject under investigation, to capture how participants in the process interpret these situations themselves. The qualitative research used in this work favors the reality that is created by the individuals themselves (in this case, Johan Adolf of Schwarzenberg). This qualitative research first

JELÍNKOVÁ HOMOLOVÁ, Dita: *Šlechta v proměnách. Osudy aristokracie v Československu v letech 1918-1948*. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2017.

²⁵ TENFELDE, Klaus: *Unternehmung in Deutschland und Österreich während des 19. Jahrhunderts. Forschungsprobleme*. . In: RUMPLER, Helmut (Hg.): *Innere Staatsbildung und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung in Österreich und Deutschland*. Wien–München 1991, s. 125–138.

deals with the description of processes, relationships between the actors, for example, the railway business around the Emperor Franz Joseph's Railway (Kaiser Franz Josef Bahn). Then it focuses on the interpretation of these processes and finally on the verification of the obtained data. The economic level then focuses on the economic contribution of entrepreneurship to the development of the Schwarzenbergs own estates. The aim was therefore to capture the entrepreneurial mentality of a nobleman who seeks to boom of a estate and expand beyond it into the sphere of a railway company.

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