












Miroslav Novotný

## The Rural Population and the Birth of the Small Intelligentsia in the Early 19th Century Czech Lands (using the Budweis Diocese as a Case Study)

*Ludność wiejska i narodziny małej inteligencji na ziemiach czeskich na początku XIX w. (na przykładzie diecezji budziejowskiej)*

### ABSTRACT

Schooling and education became a prerequisite for the emergence of modern society, a necessary condition for the success of national emancipation, and a path to creating a modern Czech intellectual elite, many of whose members were also recruited from the countryside. For the sons of rural craftsmen and peasants, a future career as a clergyman, teacher, or subaltern clerk was a safe way to join the ranks of the future small-town or rural elite. Many of them subsequently played an essential role in the national movement. The educational journey of rural youths is well documented in the sources of individual schools. This process can be illustrated by the situation in the Budweis diocese in the first half of the 19th century. Among the students of the grammar schools in Budweis, Písek, Jindřichův Hradec and Klatovy, or the Philosophical Lyceum and the Bishop's

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Seminary in Budweis, the peasant students were the second or third largest social group, and in many cases, a kind of 'family or village study tradition' can be traced.

**Key words:** 1774–1848, rural population, education, Budweis diocese, school system

#### STRESZCZENIE

Edukacja szkolna stała się warunkiem koniecznym dla powstania nowoczesnego społeczeństwa, niezbędnym warunkiem sukcesu emancypacji narodowej oraz drogą do stworzenia nowoczesnej czeskiej elity intelektualnej, której wielu członków również pochodziło ze wsi. Dla synów wiejskich rzemieślników i chłopów przyszła kariera duchownego, nauczyciela lub podrzędnego urzędnika była bezpiecznym sposobem na dołączenie do grona przyszłej elity małych miast lub wsi. Wielu z nich odegrało później istotną rolę w ruchu narodowym. Droga edukacyjna młodzieży wiejskiej jest dobrze udokumentowana w źródłach poszczególnych szkół. Proces ten można zilustrować sytuacją w diecezji budziejowskiej w pierwszej połowie XIX w. Wśród uczniów gimnazjów w Budziejowicach, Písek, Jindřichův Hradec i Klatovy lub Liceum Filozoficznego i Seminarium Biskupiego w Budziejowicach uczniowie pochodzący z rodzin chłopskich stanowili drugą lub trzecią co do wielkości grupę społeczną i w wielu przypadkach można było dostrzec pewnego rodzaju „rodzinną lub wiejską tradycję nauki”.

**Słowa kluczowe:** 1774–1848, ludność wiejska, edukacja, diecezja Budweis, system szkolny

#### INTRODUCTION

The everyday life and changes in the position and importance of the rural population in the Czech lands on the threshold of modern times can be studied from several perspectives based on a wide range of sources, even those seemingly more distant or unrelated. These also include writings from schools of all levels, documenting the growing interest of the serf population in higher education (and also the increasing need for such), which in the first half of the 19th century opened the way for rural youths to a better life, integration into the ranks of the next small-town or rural elite – most often as a subaltern clerk, teacher or clergyman. It was a time full of fundamental reforms taking place in all spheres of social life, the synergy of which enabled not only the gradual transformation of the existing traditional rural, agrarian and professional society into modern, urban, agro-industrial and civil society but also the formation of a modern Czech nation. All this also enabled the social rise of the most able members of Czech<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper has been inspired mainly by: M. Hlavačka et al., *České země v 19. století. Proměny společnosti v moderní době*, vols. 1–2, Praha 2014; M. Hroch, *Měly „plebejské”*

One of the consequences of these modernising steps was also a gradual change of social elites when, alongside the old family nobility, a new elite began to assert itself – the ennobled official nobility, the civic landlords and especially the bourgeoisie and the associated layer of especially small intellectuals recruited to a considerable extent from the ranks of the rural population<sup>2</sup>. In the case of the Czech lands, the layer of the emerging modern intelligentsia also played a leading role in the process of the national movement. Hence, the findings of the social background of the patriotic educators are not without significance. From the point of view of the social origin of the intelligentsia, a significant part of it also consisted of members coming from a rural background. According to Miroslav Hroch's findings, the largest representation, approximately 50%, in the ranks of the Czech intelligentsia before 1848 was made up of educated people from families – both urban and rural – of craftsmen and small tradesmen. The second most numerous group of Czech patriots was made up of educated people of peasant origin, about 20% (see Table no. 1)<sup>3</sup>.

The social upsurge, growing self-confidence and greater participation of the rural population in the patriotic movement is evidenced, among other things, by their relatively large involvement in the collections for establishing the Czech Industrial School in the mid-1840s. By 1847, almost 3,730 individual and collective donors had joined in, of whom more than 12% were of rural origin (not only peasants but also householders, etc.)<sup>4</sup>. It is clear that the extent to which opportunities for social advancement and access to education, especially higher education, were open to particular groups of the population was of fundamental importance.

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*kořeny inteligence význam pro tvářnost národa?*, "Cornova" 2015, 5, 2, pp. 7–17; idem, *Národy nejsou dílem náhody. Příčiny a předpoklady utvoření moderních evropských národů*, Praha 2009; idem, *Na prahu národní existence. Touha a skutečnost*, Praha 1999; M. Novotný et al., *Dějiny vyššího školství a vzdělanosti na jihu Čech. Od středověkých počátků do současnosti*, České Budějovice 2006; M. Novotný et al., *Die Diözese Budweis in den Jahren 1785–1850. Das Aschenputtel unter den Diözesen*, Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien 2018; M. Novotný, T. Veber, *Bohomluvci, vlastimilové, těšitelé. Výchova a vzdělání duchovních v česko-budějovické diecézi v letech 1803–1850*, Praha 2016; J. Štaif, *Modernizace na pokračování. Společnost českých zemí (1770–1918)*, Praha 2020.

<sup>2</sup> For general overview see: M. Hroch, *Měly*; for details see: M. Novotný, T. Veber, *Ze mlýna, tkalcovny či od řeznického špaluku ke kněžské sutaně. Formování drobné kněžské inteligence na jihu Čech v 1. polovině 19. století*, "Cornova" 2015, 5, 2, pp. 19–33.

<sup>3</sup> For more details see: M. Hroch, *Národy*, pp. 141–144. Members of the third largest group of patriotic scholars, about 15%, came from the families of officials and bailiffs.

<sup>4</sup> J. Štaif, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–115.

Table no. 1: Social Origins of the German, Czech, Slovak, Norwegian, Finn and Lithuanian Intelligentsia (university graduates)

Social origin	Germans	Czechs	Slovaks	Norwegians	Finns	Lithuanians
Landowners, high officials	30	1	2	10	5	0
Businessmen, merchants	15	1	0	25	3	0
Freelancing	15	3	2	10	5	1
Officials, ushers	12	15	2	10	20	2
Evangelical clergymen	12	–	18	20	35	–
Teachers	2	3	10	2	1	1
Officers	2	–	0	10	8	–
Craftsmen, tradesmen	8	50	35	5	10	2
Peasants	3	20	25	5	10	90

## THE ENLIGHTENMENT REFORMS AND CHANGES OF EDUCATION

The Enlightenment reforms brought about fundamental changes in the structure of education in the Czech lands in line with the transformation of society. Between 1773 and 1805, major reforms were introduced which formed the basis for the basic shape of the entire school network, which remained in force, with partial modifications, until the late 1860s and early 1870s.<sup>5</sup> At the elementary level, the school network now consisted of trivial schools established mainly in rural parishes and mainstream and normal schools established in towns. These schools were set up under the Theresian School Code of 1774, which introduced universal education for children from six to twelve years of age without distinction regarding sex, religion or status. In the trivial schools, pupils were to acquire mainly reading, writing and arithmetic skills, and were also to be introduced to basic historical, geographical and state knowledge, with, of course, an emphasis on religious instruction and the necessary loyalty to the ruling dynasty. The teaching of the main schools also included subjects to enable gifted youths to pursue higher education in the grammar schools or *gymnasia* (especially the basics of Latin, advanced mathematics, surveying,

<sup>5</sup> For general overview see: *Velké dějiny země Koruny české. Tematická řada*, vol. 7, *Školství a vzdělanost*, ed. M. Novotný, Praha 2020, p. 138an.

etc.), while the normal, and some main, schools also included teacher training. Teaching in trivial schools was in Czech or German (depending on the ethnicity of the population), while in the main (except for the first grades) and normal schools it was only in German. From the beginning of the Theresian reforms to the middle of the 19th century, the number of elementary schools in the Czech lands increased, as did the number of children attending them. In Bohemia, for example, the network of lower education had more than doubled by 1847, with nearly 3,600 schools attended by some 272,000 boys and 260,000 girls; school attendance had thus far exceeded 90% (see Table no. 2)<sup>6</sup>.

Table no. 2: *Number of Elementary Schools in Bohemia in 1772–1798*

Region	1772–1775	1790–1798
Berounský	56	100
Boleslavský	96	233
Budějovický	78	134
Bydžovský	104	183
Čáslavský	86	128
Hradecký	138	214
Chrudimský	115	188
Klatovský	61	96
Kouřimský	96	162
Litoměřický	150	277
Loketský	63	124
Plzeňský	113	169
Prácheňský	88	179
Rakovnický	65	128
Táborský	59	127
Žatecký	111	159
Summa	1479	2601

The *gymnasia* have also undergone significant changes, but their predominantly humanistic character of teaching, including the emphasis on classical languages, has remained. Ten-year-old boys were admitted to the *gymnasia* with a knowledge of German, basic Latin and mathematics.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 151–169 (already by the end of the 18th century, the number of elementary schools in Bohemia had increased by 1,122 schools to 2,601 in total) and J. Hanzal, *Nižší školství*, in: *Počátky českého národního obrození. Společnost a kultura v 70. až 90. letech 18. století*, ed. J. Petráň, Praha 1990, p. 133.

The abolition of the Jesuit order in 1773 brought several problems for *gymnasia*, some of which were abolished or converted into ordinary schools. In the middle of the 19th century, there were only 33 *gymnasia* in the Czech lands – 22 in Bohemia, 11 in Moravia and Silesia, i.e. only 56% of the number compared to 1773, and around 8,000 boys studied there. The sphere of tertiary education also changed, and in the period under review, it consisted, in addition to the universities in Prague and Olomouc and the episcopal seminaries in the individual dioceses, of new philosophical lyceums<sup>7</sup>.

The largest social stratum of the population of the Czech lands in the period under study lived in the countryside and was made up of various craftsmen, as well as peasants and other categories of rural population such as cottagers, householders, gardeners, serfs and families. The rural population's gradual social and economic rise was closely linked to the reforms of the Enlightenment state, particularly the Patent of Abolition of Serfdom of November 1781<sup>8</sup>. Trivial schools were designed primarily for the rural population to expand their employment opportunities in a gradually modernised society. However, students from the countryside were present in *gymnasium* classes too. Also, they constituted a significant group of graduates of philosophical lyceums and seminaries, thus opening the way for them to take up a corresponding position within the educational elite of teachers, clergy or officials. However, they were only a partial exception in the university environment. These facts are quite convincingly illustrated by the surviving sources from the activities of the individual schools, i.e. in the case of elementary schools, in particular the four series of gubernatorial school tax statements<sup>9</sup>, in the case of higher education institutions, chronicles, school catalogues or registers, or annual reports of individual educational institutes.

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<sup>7</sup> *Velké*, pp. 169–192.

<sup>8</sup> Serfdom in the sense of personal ownership of the serf by the upper class did not exist in the Bohemian lands, it was a so-called consolidated serfdom, because the relationship to the upper class was not based on a specific person, but on the farmstead. Serfdom was abolished only in 1848.

<sup>9</sup> Národní archiv Praha, České gubernium, *Školní fase 1772–1869*; the collection contains 115 cartons and 31 books, the reports are arranged according to regions and estates, they give an overview of the number of schools, the number of compulsory school children and the number of children actually attending school, the language of instruction, the religion of the children, the payment and income of teachers.

## THE BUDWEIS DIOCESE

The above-mentioned facts can be concretely illustrated by the example of the Budweis diocese, which can serve as a suitable case *pars pro toto*<sup>10</sup>. The vast diocese included four regions in the south and southwest of Bohemia: Budweis, Tábor, Prácheň and Klatovy. The predominantly agrarian, conservative, Catholic, two-thirds Czech-speaking and rather sceptical of modernisation processes, the region was inhabited before the middle of the 19th century by less than a million inhabitants scattered in a dense network of approximately 3,400 villages and 90 towns and townlets<sup>11</sup>.

In the 1830s there were 641 elementary schools in the diocese, with a total of 98,209 children attending them. However, school attendance, especially in rural areas, was not always without problems<sup>12</sup>. In the period under review, however, we can state that a gradually increasing number of young men from rural backgrounds directed their steps to other educational institutes<sup>13</sup>. Their study aspirations were mainly directed towards the teaching and priestly ministry, which offered them the possibility of social advancement, social prestige and economic security – in many cases, a sort of ‘family or local tradition’ can also be observed in the choice of the type and place of study. Before the middle of the 19th century, there were four gymnasia within the diocese – the Piarist one in Budweis and three government ones in Písek, Jindřichův Hradec and Klatovy. Two schools in the diocese offered the possibility of tertiary studies: the Philosophical Lyceum and the Bishop’s Seminary in Budweis<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> For details see: M. Novotný et al., *Die Diözese*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 56–60. In the Czech lands before 1850 (with the exception of Prague and Brno) these were small towns and townlets where, as in the countryside, almost everyone knew everyone; the largest town within the diocese was Budweis, whose population grew from 5,400 to 10,600 between 1784 and 1850. For more details on the development of the town’s population see: J. Grulich, J. Honner, *Obyvatelstvo*, in: *Encyklopedie Českých Budějovic*, 2nd edition, České Budějovice 2006, pp. 358–369.

<sup>12</sup> These were 10 major, 625 trivial, 6 girls’ schools (including two non-Catholic and one Jewish); 371 elementary schools were Czech language, 194 German and 76 mixed. The data is presented R. Svoboda, *Nebroušený diamant. Třetí českobudějovický biskup Josef Ondřej Lindauer*, Praha 2015, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> The higher education provided by schools in the first half of the 19th century concerned exclusively the male part of the population. The maximum education for girls from the lower strata usually consisted of completing compulsory elementary schools; girls from the nobility, or middle and upper urban classes received their education through a home preceptor or governess, or in convent schools. See: *Velké*, pp. 156–161.

<sup>14</sup> The two-year non-university philosophical lyceums operated in the first half of the 19th century in Brno, Budweis, Litomyšl, Mikulov, Most and Pilsen; theological



Let us now take a closer look at the study tensions of rural bachelors in South Bohemian schools. All three schools in Budweis, i.e. *gymnasium*, lyceum and seminary, were among the most important educational institutions in the Czech lands in the first half of the 19th century. Scholars have already mentioned their importance for the formation of the modern intelligentsia of South Bohemia<sup>15</sup>. A detailed analysis and evaluation of the records in the chronicles, annual reports or study catalogues of the schools mentioned also demonstrates the growing interest in higher education in the environment of the South Bohemian countryside<sup>16</sup>.

The Piarist Gymnasium was founded in 1761 and, until 1848, had five (1777–1806 and 1810–1817) and six classes, respectively. Between 1762 and 1848, nearly 6,500 boys studied here for at least one year; the annual average of students in all classes during these 86 years was 249. The years 1803–1848 saw a significant increase in students, including opening the two tertiary schools in the town, when approximately 4,600 boys, or 70% of the total, enrolled at the gymnasium. The annual average was 330 boys, making the Budweis school one of the largest grammar schools in the Czech lands before 1848. The school's catchment area included mainly the entire territory of the South Bohemian diocese, where almost 84% of all gymnasium students came from, while approximately 20% of students came from Budweis. The records preserved in the student

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priestly schools were located in each diocese, i.e. in Prague, Budweis, Litoměřice, Hradec Králové, Olomouc a Brno.

<sup>15</sup> For more details namely see: M. Novotný et al., *Dějiny*, pp. 81–150; M. Novotný, *Českobudějovické piaristické gymnázium a utváření vrstvy moderní inteligence na jihu Čech (1762–1848)*, in: *Město a intelektuálové od středověku do roku 1848*, Praha 2008 (*Documenta Pragensia*, vol. 27), pp. 935–951 and idem, *Socioprofesionální a teritoriální stratifikace studentů českobudějovických vyšších a středních škol v první polovině 19. století*, "Historická demografie" 2007, 31, pp. 117–146.

<sup>16</sup> See namely: Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň, Biskupský archiv, Biskupský kněžský seminář a diecézní teologický institut České Budějovice, (1700) 1804–1950, *Prospěchový katalog studentů českobudějovického teologického institutu 1804/05–1846/47*, book no. 10; Filosofické lyceum, *Prospěchové katalogy studentů českobudějovického lycea*, cart. no. 152–158; Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň – Státní okresní archiv České Budějovice, Piaristické školy České Budějovice 1762–1872, *Knihy známek žáků pobožných škol. Calculi discipulorum gymnasii Scholarum Piarum Bohemo-Budvicensis de anno primo scholastico, 1762–1777*; *Knihy známek žáků pobožných škol. Liber calculorum quos humaniorum litterarum Studiosi in Bohemo Budvicensi Scholarum Piarum Gymnasio ab Anno 1778 ex merito retulerunt, 1778–1787*; *Výkaz o prospěchu a docházce. Catalogus II. discipulorum domus scholarum piarum Bohemo-Budvicensis erectus A. D. 1794, 1794–1835*, no. book 103; *Catalogus III. discipulorum domus scholarum piarum Bohemo-Budvicensis erectus A. D. 1836, 1836–1849*, no. book 104; *Juventus Gymnasii Budvicensis e Moribus et Progressu in Litteris*, inv. no. 132 (annual reports 1814–1831, 1835–1837, 1839–1846).



catalogues also make it possible to reconstruct most grammar school students' social origin from 1805–1843<sup>17</sup>. Of these, most – about 1,600 (i.e. 41%) – were in various craft professions, with the second largest category being students related to agriculture or forestry, which accounted almost 18% (i.e. 700). As a rough guide, more than 360 peasants (without further distinction) can be identified from this category, as well as approximately 100 cottagers, house-keepers, and gardeners, as well as a few shepherds or retired farmers. The upper stratum of the rural population was represented by the relatively large number of students from the families of peasants and landowners (189) or estate managers and bailiffs, of whom there were around 50. Among other occupational categories, students from the families of various clerks, accountants, scribes, collectors, etc., or from the families of various merchants, innkeepers and waggoners, were well represented (about 8% and 7%, respectively). There were significantly fewer grammar school students from the families of teachers, or doctors and pharmacists (144 and 104, respectively). The fathers of 87 (i.e. more than 2%) the pupils were lawyers, various administrators, directors, or mayors and councillors and about 2% of the fathers of the boys studying were connected with the military garrison located in the town (tables no. 3 and 4 show the number of students of the gymnasium, lyceum and seminary in Budweis and their social origin)<sup>18</sup>.

Table no. 3: Students of the Piarist Gymnasium, the Philosophical Lyceum and the Bishop's Seminary in Budweis in 1800–1848

Year	Number of students			Total	Year	Number of students			Total
	Gymnasium	Lyceum	Seminary			Gymnasium	Lyceum	Seminary	
1800	195	–	–	195	1825	407	120	118	645
1801	191	–	–	191	1826	388	140	129	657
1802	195	–	–	195	1827	360	153	158	671
1803	212	26	–	238	1828	363	75	180	618
1804	261	55	–	316	1829	358	101	201	660
1805	308	70	105	483	1830	372	126	208	706
1806	289	69	98	456	1831	344	65	192	601
1807	305	63	105	473	1832	348	76	180	604
1808	334	57	108	499	1833	332	62	143	537

<sup>17</sup> Between 1805 and 1843, a total of 4,030 students were listed in the catalogues, while the father's occupation was not listed or could not be safely determined in 132 cases. The following calculations are therefore based on data relating to 3,898 gymnasists.

<sup>18</sup> M. Novotný, *Socioprofesní*, pp. 130–134.

1809	341	68	118	527	1834	340	69	125	534
1810	330	93	107	530	1835	320	118	118	556
1811	346	76	108	530	1836	295	121	120	536
1812	316	75	113	504	1837	310	52	124	486
1813	303	64	134	501	1838	347	44	120	511
1814	292	73	126	491	1839	351	87	126	564
1815	271	34	111	416	1840	354	115	133	602
1816	284	35	93	412	1841	361	121	131	613
1817	237	46	96	379	1842	370	125	147	642
1818	251	57	113	421	1843	396	154	147	697
1819	277	60	107	444	1844	395	140	136	671
1820	303	82	89	474	1845	468	96	148	712
1821	327	63	90	480	1846	417	199	146	762
1822	365	37	101	503	1847	406	–	153	559
1823	375	77	102	554	1848	439	–	159	598
1824	402	56	110	568					

Table no. 4: Socio-professional Stratification of Students of Higher Schools in Budweis in the years 1805–1843

Occupation of the fathers	Number of students					
	Gymnasium		Lyceum		Seminary	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Artisan, craftsman	1,600	41.0	523	46.7	780	52.1
Peasant, farmer, rural people	671	17.2	190	17.7	310	20.7
Landowner	29	0.7	7	0.6	4	0.3
Inkeeper, cafe owner	119	3.1	29	2.7	37	2.5
Merchant, wagoner	160	4.1	54	4.8	23	1.5
Official, scribe	309	7.9	140	13	68	4.6
Teacher	144	3.7	50	4.7	70	4.7
Lawyer	24	0.6	6	0.6	3	0.2
Doctor, surgeon, pharmacist	104	2.7	27	2.4	19	1.3
Soldier, officer	91	2.3	21	1.9	16	1.1
Director	57	1.5	6	0.6	6	0.4
Mayor, councillor	6	0.1	21	1.9	6	0.4

Similar figures on the composition of the student body are also given by the student rosters, grade catalogues or registers of the remaining ‘diocesan’ grammar schools. While in the case of the Piarist school

in the ethnically mixed Budweis we can speak of its diocesan-wide reach in the first half of the 19th century, the other three *gymnasia* studied, operating in predominantly Czech-language towns, were more regional in terms of the territorial origin of their students. In Písek, the administrative centre of the Prácheň region, which had a population of approximately 6,500 in 1850, the *gymnasium* began operating in 1778 after the transfer of the abolished Jesuit school from Klatovy<sup>19</sup>. The five-class (since 1819, six-class) school in Písek was, from the very beginning, one of the smaller secondary schools in the country. Between 1778 and 1850, nearly 3,150 students were enrolled here, and more than 2,630 began their studies after 1800. It was not until the 1840s that the number of students at Písek's grammar school consistently rose above 200 per year (the highest number of students – 256 – was enrolled in 1850). Thus, on average, around 135 boys studied in Písek every year for 72 years (before 1800 it was only 68, in the following half century the annual average of enrolled Písek students rose to 162). From the sources, it is possible to determine the social origin of the Písek students only in the years 1808–1850<sup>20</sup>. Despite the difficulties due to the vagueness of some records, it is possible to determine the social structure of the students in Písek, which in percentage terms almost copies the figures found in the case of the Budweis grammar school. The largest group of students were boys from families of various craftsmen (40%) and students from families of peasants, cottagers, householders, farmers, foresters, etc. The category of clerks was also numerous (16%) and the group of students from families of tradesmen and innkeepers was much closer to 10%<sup>21</sup>.

The same was the case in Jindřichův Hradec, the administrative centre of a large dominion of approximately six thousand inhabitants. In 1807, the original Jesuit (but later government-operated) *gymnasium* was rebuilt here. Between 1808 and 1850, according to available data, more than 2,350 boys entered the first years of the Jindřichův Hradec *gymnasium*<sup>22</sup>. Until

<sup>19</sup> For the most recent publication see: J. Dvořák, M. Novotný, *Počátky píseckého školství*, in: *Almanach. 130 let českého lesnického školství v Písku (1885–2015)*, Písek 2015, pp. 23–42 and K. Čondlová, *Písecké gymnázium v letech 1778–1850*, "Jihočeský sborník historický" 2016, 85, pp. 170–198 (here see other literature and sources).

<sup>20</sup> See namely: K. Čondlová, *op. cit.*, p. 189 and Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň – Státní okresní archiv Písek, *Gymnázium, Semestrální katalogy 1804–1849*, inv. no. 15–55, fols. 1–5 and *Gymnázium, Hlavní katalogy 1849–1850*, inv. no. 63, book no. 63.

<sup>21</sup> Other occupations identified were teachers (4.5%), doctors and pharmacists (3.5%), various administrators and owners (3%), military, police (almost 3%), lawyers and judges (1.5%).

<sup>22</sup> Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň – Státní okresní archiv Jindřichův Hradec, *Gymnasium Vítězslava Nováka v Jindřichově Hradci 1807–1953* (1962), *Katalog 1808–1850*, no. books 39–121 and *Matrika žactva (1807–1832)*, no. book 774.

1850, an average of 208 boys studied here annually, and in no year did the number of boys exceed 300. The school's catchment area included mainly the Tábor region itself, i.e. the eastern and north-eastern region of the diocese with partial overlaps into neighbouring regions<sup>23</sup>. The social structure of the students in Jindřichův Hradec de facto follows the composition known at both schools mentioned above. However, the two largest occupational groups differed in percentage representation, which was higher in the craft category (49%) and lower in the case of agricultural and forestry disciplines (less than 12%)<sup>24</sup>.

The youngest and also the smallest *gymnasium* was the one in Klatovy, restored in 1812 after almost forty years of caesura after the abolition of the local Jesuit Latin school<sup>25</sup>. In the first half of the 19th century, an average of 187 students studied in Klatovy every year. The largest number of boys – 255 – started their studies in the school year 1845/1846. The average number of pupils entering the first classes was around 47: the lowest number of pupils entered in 1832 and 1833 was only 28, and the highest number – 81 – in 1843. A total of 92% of the gymnasium students came to the school from Klatovy and the neighbouring Prácheň region; 488 boys, i.e. more than 24%, came directly from the regional town. As in the case of the other schools, the Klatovy school catalogues recorded several hundred rural localities, from which often only one or two students were recruited. In terms of the occupations of the fathers of the students, the two largest groups were again various craft trades (39%) and professions related to agriculture and forestry (almost 16%), with the category of clerks also relatively abundant (11.5%)<sup>26</sup>.

In terms of the social composition, all four institutes show similar features, especially in terms of the occupational structure of the fathers

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<sup>23</sup> Approximately 82% of gymnasium students came from a locality within the diocese, with one third of all students coming directly from Jindřichův Hradec (the next most represented locality was the regional town of Tábor with 5% of students).

<sup>24</sup> The category of civil servants was still represented (9.5%), with only boys from families of tradesmen and publicans or carriers (8%) and from teaching families (5.5%) getting over 5%. Other professions ranged from around 1% (lawyers, judges) to over 3% (doctors and pharmacists, various administrators, landlords and the armed forces).

<sup>25</sup> For the survey see: Š. Špáda et al., *Almanach k 200. výročí založení Gymnázia Jaroslava Vrchlického v Klatovech: 1812–2012*, Klatovy 2012; M. Novotný, T. Veber, *Bohomluvcí*, pp. 126–135; Státní oblastní archiv Plzeň – Státní okresní archiv Klatovy, *Gymnázium Jaroslava Vrchlického Klatovy 1812–2004, Matricula Gymnasii Klattoviensis I., 1812–1834 a Matricula Gymnasii Klattoviensis ab Anno Scholastico 1837*.

<sup>26</sup> The professions of merchants and innkeepers or carriers were represented by 9%, teachers 7.5%, lawyers and judges 1.5% and doctors together with pharmacists approximately 4%.

of students; partial differences are particularly evident in the case of the relative weight of certain categories, which is also related to local (natural, economic and political) conditions. In all cases, however, students whose fathers were engaged in some craft occupation dominate (most in Jindřichův Hradec, 49%), followed by boys from families of peasants, farmers, cottagers, foresters or fishermen, etc. (All four grammar schools fulfilled well the usual role of a 'regional high school', which prepared young men for further studies at universities or philosophical and theological schools. It was the graduation from the philosophical lyceum and the theological seminary, which were the only tertiary schools in the whole region, and a possible future teaching or clerical career that were still attractive to many young men, especially from the countryside, in the first half of the 19th century. Therefore, many of them, after graduating from grammar school, headed to the seat of the Bishop of South Bohemia for further studies, as evidenced by the sources from their activities (see note no. 16).

The Philosophical Lyceum operated in the town from 1803 until 1848, when it was merged with the local gymnasium. By the beginning of the school year 1847/1848, there were almost 2,600 students (on average 58 per year), who came to study from almost 700 localities located predominantly in the diocese and who almost exclusively mentioned one of the above-mentioned gymnasia as the place of their previous studies<sup>27</sup>. In terms of social origin, we have data for more than half of the students, but only about 1,100 of them could be safely identified. The findings are broadly consistent with the social structure shown above for grammar schools. There, too, craft occupations (523, i.e. more than 46%) and agricultural occupations (190, i.e. almost 18%) predominated; clerical occupations were also strongly represented (140, i.e. 13%), while only 50 (i.e. about 5%) young men from teaching families enrolled<sup>28</sup>.

Between 1804 and 1848, 1,598 students studied theology at the Bishop's Seminary in Budweis, of whom about 93% (1,480) came from 458 villages in the diocese. The social composition of the theological school in Budweis was very similar to the situation at the philosophical lyceum, the graduation from which was a prerequisite for admission to the seminary. It is therefore not surprising to find that the seminarians there came

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<sup>27</sup> In the case of 13 school years, the catalogues contain information on the previous studies of almost 800 lycees, of whom at least 168 came from Jindřichův Hradec, 137 from Písek, 92 from Klatovy and 397 from České Budějovice gymnasium.

<sup>28</sup> See namely: M. Bližňáková, *Českobudějovické filozofické lyceum v letech 1803–1848*, "Jihočeský sborník historický" 2000–2001, 69–70, pp. 56–76, here namely pp. 51–64; see also: M. Novotný, T. Veber, *Bohomluvci*, pp. 137–157.

mainly from families of craftsmen (780, i.e. more than 52%) and peasants, cottagers, householders, peasants or farmers and landowners (314, i.e. 21%). To a lesser extent, there were students from families of teachers (70; i.e. almost 5%), merchants (23; i.e. 1.5%), doctors and apothecaries (19; i.e. more than 1%) or various officials (68; i.e. almost 5%), directors, mayors and councillors (12; i.e. less than 1%), etc.<sup>29</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

Among the graduates of all South Bohemian schools, gymnasiums, lyceums and seminaries, from the first half of the 19th century, we can find a number of originally rural young men who subsequently made their way in various spheres of social life outside their native region<sup>30</sup>. However, research on the social origins of intelligence, especially minor intelligence, is heuristically very challenging. As a rule, only a few, in addition to notorious leaders, make it into the wider consciousness.

<sup>29</sup> In the case of 112 seminarians, the father's profession was not given. Most recently, see T. Veber, *Trpký osud jednoho semenišť. Českobudějovický biskupský kněžský seminář a diecézní teologický institut (1803–1950)*, České Budějovice 2021 (*Jihočeský sborník historický* – Supplementum 12), pp. 32–59.

<sup>30</sup> Among the interesting, though rather forgotten, South Bohemian personalities of rural origin who spent their young years at the above-mentioned schools are, among others, the first historian of Prachatice, the parish priest of Chřestice and the dean of Bechyně, František Josef Sláma-Bojenický (1792–1844), who, among other things, prepared an (unrealised) proposal for the reform of elementary education in 1837. The co-author of this proposal was the patriotic writer and dean of Mirovice, Šimon Bernard Vrána (1785–1856), author of mainly religious writings, supporter of the establishment of libraries and collaborator of Josef Jungmann, for whom he prepared the materials for the Czech-German Dictionary. Jan Tomáš Nováček (1802–1877), a bishop's notary and co-author of Czech literature for children and youth, was also active in literature, especially in the field of Czech literature for children and youth. Outside his native region, Josef Hesoun (1830–1906), who worked in St. Louis and Chicago as a spiritual administrator, church publicist, and organizer of religious, social, and cultural life and education in the Czech community, made a name for himself. The fate of Tomáš Kazbunda (1827–1907), a professor at the local teacher's institute, district school inspector and member of a number of patriotic associations, is linked to Jičín in northeastern Bohemia. See: M. Novotný, T. Veber, *Bohomluvci*, pp. 115–116 a 178–179; V. Starý, *František Josef Sláma a Prachatice, "Zlatá stezka"* 1994, 1, pp. 79–85; *Krátké dějiny a seznam česko-katolických osad ve Spoj. státech amerických. Ku vzpomínce na 25leté jubileum vedařů. p. faráře Josefa Hessouna*, ed. A. P. Houšť, St. Louis 1890; M. Novotný, *Jihočeské kořeny Karla Kazbundy*, in: Karel Kazbunda, *kulturní dědictví a mezinárodní právo: referáty z vědecké konference konané ve dnech 19.–20. dubna 2013 v Jičíně, Semily–Turnov–Jičín 2013 (Z Českého ráje a Podkrkonoší, suppl. 16)*, pp. 21–33.



Yet members of the petty intelligentsia, who in no small measure came from rural backgrounds, were among the new social elites of their time. They stood at the forefront of public life, creating local and regional centres, which played an essential role in the language revival process and the spread of nation-building ideology. Moreover, their broader cultural and social outlook naturally linked the region where they worked with centres of cultural activity such as Prague. The basic outline for what would only much later be called civil society is being outlined here.

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